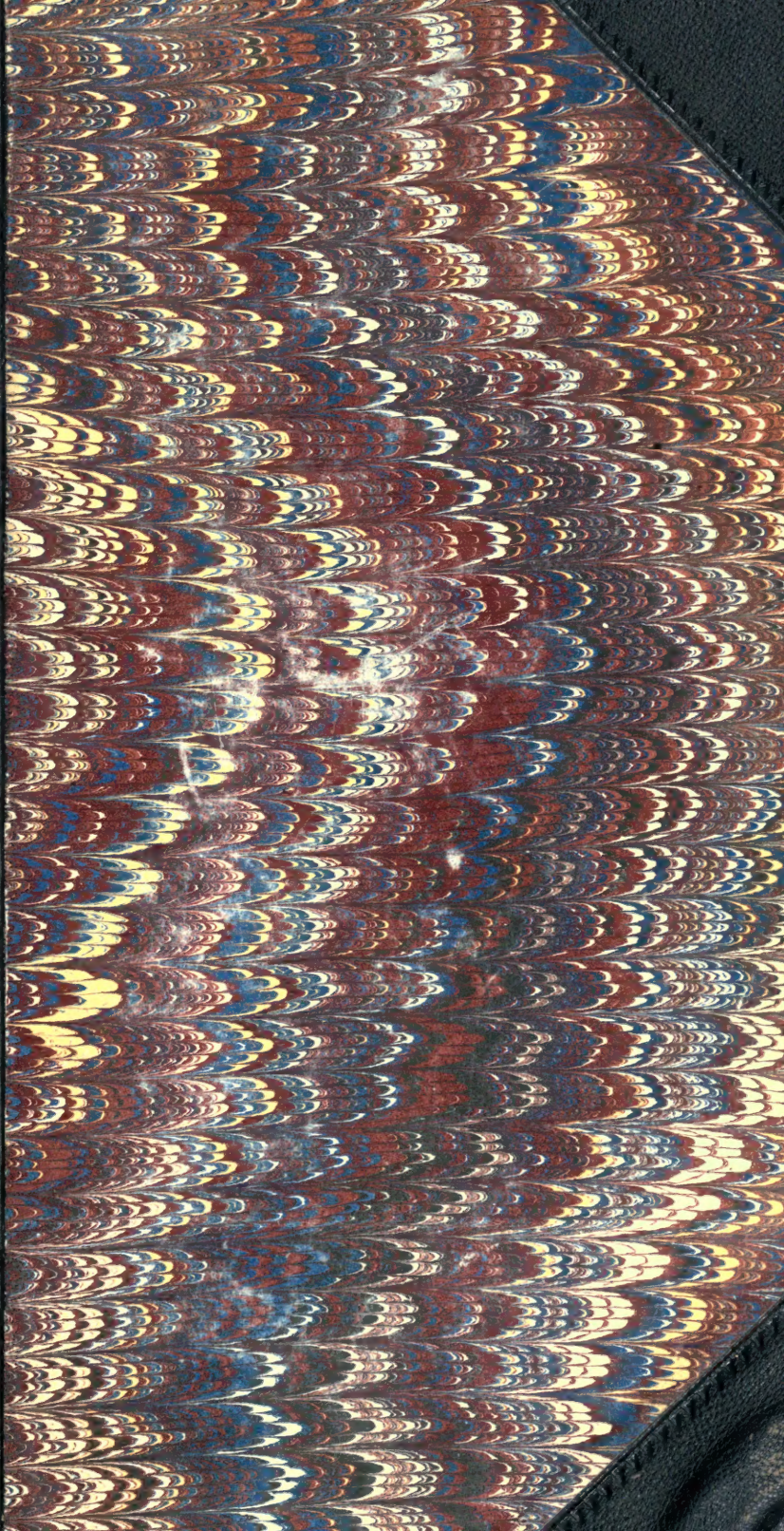


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THE
Theological and Miscellaneous
WORKS
OF
JOSEPH PRIESTLEY, LL. D. F. R. S. &c.
WITH
NOTES, BY THE EDITOR.



VOLUME VI.
CONTAINING
AN
HISTORY OF EARLY OPINIONS
CONCERNING
Jesus Christ.

CONTENTS

OF THE SIXTH VOLUME.



		Page
	DEDICATION - - - - -	3
	PREFACE - - - - -	5
	THE Introduction: containing a View of the principal Arguments against the Doctrines of the Divinity and Pre-existence of Christ - - -	ib.
Sect.	I. Of the Argument against the Doctrines of the Divinity and Pre-existence of Christ, from the general Tenor of the Scriptures - - - - -	13
	II. An Argument for the late Origin of the Doctrines of the Divinity and Pre-existence of Christ, from the Difficulty of tracing the Time in which they were first divulged - - - - -	23
	III. An Argument against the Divinity of Christ, from his not being the Object of Prayer - - - - -	28
	IV. Of the Argument against the Doctrine of the Trinity as implying a Contradiction - - - - -	33
	V. Of the Nature of the Arian Hypothesis, and of the Proof which is necessary to make it credible - - -	37
	VI. Reasons for not considering Arians as being properly Unitarians - - - - -	45
	VII. Of the Argument against the Pre-existence of Christ from the Materiality of Man; and of the Use of the Doctrine of the Trinity - - - - -	49

BOOK I.

THE HISTORY OF OPINIONS WHICH PRECEDED THE DOCTRINE OF THE DIVINITY OF CHRIST, AND WHICH PREPARED THE WAY FOR IT.

CHAPTER I.

Of those who are called Apostolical Fathers 53

CHAPTER II.

Of the Principles of the Oriental Philosophy. 62

CHAPTER III.

Of the Principles of the Christian Gnostics 74

I. Of the Pride of the Gnostics - - - - - 79

II. Tenets of the Gnostics.—Of the Origin of Evil, and the Doctrine of Æons - - - - - 80

Sect.		Page
III.	The Doctrine of the Gnostics concerning the Soul -	83
IV.	The Doctrine of the Gnostics concerning the Maker of the World, and the Author of the Jewish Dispen- sation - - - - -	85
V.	The Doctrine of the Gnostics concerning the Person - of Christ - - - - -	89
	Remarks - - - - -	100
VI.	Of the Doctrine of the Gnostics with Respect to Mar- tyrdom - - - - -	102
VII.	The Gnostics disbelieved the Resurrection -	105
VIII.	Of the Immoralities of the Gnostics, and their Senti- ments with respect to Marriage, &c. -	108
IX.	Of the Gnostic Teachers giving Lectures for Money -	111
X.	Of the refractory Disposition of some of the Gnostics -	112
XI.	Of Public Worship among the Gnostics -	113

CHAPTER IV.

The Gnostics were the only Heretics in Early Times 117

I.	Of Heresy in general - - - - -	<i>ib.</i>
II.	Of Heresy before Justin Martyr - - - - -	126
III.	Of Heresy according to Justin Martyr - - - - -	130
IV.	Of Heresy according to Irenæus - - - - -	133
V.	Of Heresy according to Clemens Alexandrinus, Ter- tullian, Origen, and Firmilian - - - - -	137
VI.	Of Heresy in a later Period - - - - -	142

CHAPTER V.

*Of the Apostles' Creed, as a Guard against
Gnosticism* - - - - - 145

CHAPTER VI.

*Of the Doctrine of Plato concerning God, and
the general System of Nature* - - - - - 152

CHAPTER VII.

A View of the Principles of the later Platonists 167

I.	The Doctrines of the later Platonists concerning God and Nature - - - - -	<i>ib.</i>
II.	Of the Doctrine of the Platonists concerning the Union of the Soul with God, and general Observa- tions - - - - -	180

CHAPTER VIII.

Of the Platonism of Philo - - - - - 186

BOOK II.

CONTAINING THE HISTORY OF THE DOCTRINE OF THE TRINITY.

CHAPTER I.

Page

Of Christian Platonism - - 196

CHAPTER II.

204

Of the Generation of the Son from the Father

Sect.

- | | | |
|------|--|-----|
| I. | The Doctrine of the Platonizing Fathers concerning the Generation of the Son, as the second Person in the Trinity, stated - - - | 204 |
| II. | Authorities for this Opinion from Justin Martyr to Origen - - - | 208 |
| III. | Authorities from Origen, and other Writers subsequent to him; with an Account of other Attributes of the Father, besides that of Wisdom, which Christ is said to have been - - - | 214 |

CHAPTER III.

221

The Defence of the preceding Doctrine by the Fathers - - -

- | | | |
|------|--|-----|
| I. | The Generation of the Son from the Father illustrated by the uttering of Words - - - | 225 |
| II. | The Generation of the Son from the Father illustrated by the prolation of a Branch of a Tree from the Root, &c. - - - | 229 |
| III. | Why only one Son was generated; the Objection of Generation implying Passion considered, and why the Son and Holy Spirit did not generate, &c. - | 235 |
| IV. | Whether the Generation of the Son was in Time, and also whether it was a voluntary or involuntary Act of the Father - - - | 241 |

CHAPTER IV.

247

The Inferiority of the Son to the Father, shewn to have been the Doctrine of all the Antenicene Fathers - - -

CHAPTER V.

259

Of the Power and Dignity of Christ as the pre-existing Logos of the Father - - -

CHAPTER VI.

270

Christ, besides being the Logos of the Father was thought to have a proper Human Soul -

CHAPTER VII.

	<i>Of the Union between the Logos and the Soul and Body of Christ, and their respective properties</i>	Page
	- - - -	281
Sect.		
I.	Of this Union in general	<i>ib.</i>
II.	Of the Ignorance of Christ concerning the Day of Judgment	285
III.	Opinions concerning the Body of Christ	290

CHAPTER VIII.

	<i>Of the Use of the Incarnation, and the Objections that were made to the Doctrine</i>	295
	- - - -	

CHAPTER IX.

	<i>Of the Controversy relating to the Holy Spirit</i>	299
	- - - -	
I.	Opinions concerning the Holy Spirit before the Council of Nice	300
II.	Opinions concerning the Holy Spirit after the Council of Nice	306
III.	Of the proper Office of the Spirit with respect to the Offices of the Father and the Son	311
IV.	Of the Arguments for the Divinity of the Holy Spirit	319

CHAPTER X.

	<i>Of the Doctrine of the Trinity after the Council of Nice</i>	326
	- - - -	
I.	The Doctrine of the perfect Equality of all the Persons in the Trinity	328
II.	Of the New Language introduced at and after the Council of Nice	333
III.	Illustrations of the Doctrine of the Trinity	337

CHAPTER XI.

	<i>Of the Arguments by which the Doctrine of the Trinity was defended</i>	350
	- - - -	
I.	Arguments from the Old Testament	<i>ib.</i>
II.	Arguments for the Divinity of Christ from the New Testament	361
III.	Answers to Objections	365

BOOK III.

THE HISTORY OF THE UNITARIAN DOCTRINE.

	Page
INTRODUCTION - - - - -	375
CHAPTER I.	
<i>That the Jews in all Ages were Believers in the Divine Unity</i> - - - - -	377
I. The Fact acknowledged by the Christian Fathers -	378
II. Of the Reasons why, according to the Christian Fathers, the Doctrine of the Trinity was not discovered to the Jews - - - - -	381
III. The Sentiments of the Jews, as expressed by themselves on the Subject - - - - -	384
IV. Of the Jewish Angel METATRON, &c. - - - - -	391
CHAPTER II.	
<i>General Considerations relating to the supposed Conduct of Christ and the Apostles, with respect to the Doctrines of his Pre-existence and Divinity</i> - - - - -	396
CHAPTER III.	
<i>Of the Conduct of our Saviour himself with respect to his own supposed Pre-existence and Divinity</i> - - - - -	402
CHAPTER IV.	
<i>Of the Testimony of Athanasius to the Caution with which the Apostles divulged the Doctrines of the Pre-existence and Divinity of Christ</i> - - - - -	411
CHAPTER V.	
<i>Of the concurrent Testimony of other Fathers to the Caution of the Apostles, in teaching the Doctrines of the Pre-existence and Divinity of Christ</i> - - - - -	417
CHAPTER VI.	
<i>Of the Caution observed by the Apostles in teaching the Doctrines of the Pre-existence and Divinity of Christ to the Gentile Converts</i> - - - - -	422
CHAPTER VII.	
<i>Of John being thought to have been the first who clearly and boldly taught the Doctrines of the Pre-existence and Divinity of Christ</i> -	427

Sect.		Page
I.	The Acknowledgments of the Christian Fathers that John was the first who taught the Doctrines above-mentioned	428
II.	Reflections on the Subject	437

CHAPTER VIII.

	<i>Of the Nazarenes and the Ebionites; shewing that they were the same People, and that none of them believed the Divinity or Pre-existence of Christ</i>	441
--	---	-----

CHAPTER IX.

	<i>Of the supposed Church of Orthodox Jews at Jerusalem, subsequent to the Time of Adrian</i>	454
--	---	-----

CHAPTER X.

	<i>Of the supposed Heresy of the Ebionites and Nazarenes, and other particulars relating to them</i>	459
--	--	-----

CHAPTER XI.

	<i>Of the Sacred Books of the Ebionites</i>	461
--	---	-----

CHAPTER XII.

	<i>Of Men of Eminence among the Jewish Christians</i>	466
--	---	-----

CHAPTER XIII.

	<i>Unitarianism was the Doctrine of the primitive Gentile Churches</i>	472
I.	Presumptive Evidence that the Majority of the Gentile Christians in the Early Ages were Unitarians	473
II.	Direct Evidence in Favour of the Gentile Christians having been generally Unitarians	483

CHAPTER XIV.

	<i>An Argument for the Novelty of the Doctrine of the Trinity, from the Manner in which it was taught and received in early Times</i>	490
--	---	-----

CHAPTER XV.

	<i>Objections to the preceding State of Things considered</i>	500
I.	Of the Testimony of Eusebius to the Novelty of the Unitarian Doctrine	<i>ib.</i>
II.	Of the Excommunication of Theodotus by Victor	503
III.	Of the Part taken by the Laity in the Excommunication of the early Unitarians, and other Considerations relating to the Subject	506

AN
HISTORY
OF
Early Opinions concerning Jesus Christ,
COMPILED FROM
ORIGINAL WRITERS;
PROVING THAT THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH WAS AT FIRST
UNITARIAN.

— Antiquam exquirite matrem.

VIRGIL.

— Ἀγρᾶραις χρεῖσασθαι φωναῖς· διὸ σφῆδον ἢ πασα γέγονε συγχυσις τε
καὶ ἀνάστασις τῆς ἐκκλησίας.

EUSEBIUS.

[First published in 1786.]

MRS. RAYNER,*
OF
SUNBURY, IN MIDDLESEX.

//////////

MADAM,

YOUR known zeal for the cause in the defence of which this work is composed, is my motive for prefixing your name to it. It is a great and important question that is now in agitation, and it is but justice that posterity should, if possible, be made acquainted with the names of those zealous advocates of truth, whose exertions, though not in the character of writers, have yet, in various other ways, contributed to its successful spread. In this honourable class I know of few names that are entitled to stand before that of Mrs. Rayner.

Such is our social nature, that those who are actuated by the purest love of truth, and whose views are the most single, feel, and therefore, in some degree, want the additional motive which arises from the concurrence of others, in a cause in which the world in general is against them. But a very few, united in a love of truth, of the importance of which they are deeply sensible, will easily bear up against any combination. Numbers, power, wealth, long establishment, fashion, interest, and every other advantage on the side of error, inspire no fear or distrust, but rather give courage to the small band that fight under the banners of truth and right. The contest itself is glorious, and their confidence of final success makes them easy, and even joyful, under all opposition.

Believing, as I am persuaded that you, Madam, as well as myself, do, that a wise Providence superintends all events, guiding the thoughts and pursuits of every indi-

* See Dr. Priestley's own *Mem.* on his "leaving Lord Shelburne;" and *Mem.* of Lindsey, pp. 119—121, 156, 359. Mrs. Rayner died at Clapham in 1800, in her 87th year. See *Gent. Mag.* LXX. p. 907.

vidual to the most proper object, and in the most proper time, we rejoice in seeing every question of great moment, and especially those relating to theology, become the subject of interesting discussion; well knowing that it is a prelude to the enlargement of the minds of men, the detection of error, and the propagation of truth, with which the well-being of mankind, here and hereafter, is always, more or less, connected.

You, Madam, have sufficiently shewn a mind superior to every thing that this world can hold out in opposition to the claims of reason and conscience; and the knowledge that I have of your enlarged views, and your noble intrepidity in following truth wherever you apprehend it to lead you, and in overlooking all obstacles that would oppose right conduct, will always, I hope, increase my own zeal and firmness in the same cause. Such examples are ever present to my mind; and it is impossible that they should be contemplated without some beneficial influence.

Society, like yours, and that of our common and excellent friend Mr. Lindsey, (without, however, excluding many others who think differently from us with respect to the object of this work, but whose christian spirit I revere, and, I hope, emulate,) is one chief source of my happiness here. And I have no greater wish than to rejoin such friends hereafter, and share in their pursuits in a future world, as I have done in the present; not doubting but that we shall find proper objects for the exercise of that ardent love of truth, and that zeal and activity in promoting it, (as well as for the principles of piety and benevolence in general,) which have been formed here.

Wishing that your sun may set with serenity, in the pleasing prospect of the successful spread of that truth which it has been your great wish to promote, and of that future happy world, in which truth and virtue will reign triumphant,

I am, with the truest respect,

MADAM,

Your most obliged, humble Servant.

J. PRIESTLEY.

Birmingham, May, 1786.



THE

PREFACE.



THE *History of the Corruptions of Christianity* I wrote as a sequel to my *Institutes of Natural and Revealed Religion*, and therefore chiefly for the use of the unlearned, who might wish to know in what manner, and from what causes, such doctrines as those of the *Trinity, Atonement, Original Sin, &c.* arose, and got so firm an establishment in the creeds of so many persons professing Christianity, with the genuine principles of which they are totally discordant.

That work having engaged me in a controversy* with respect to the first article of it, viz. the *History of Opinions concerning Christ*, I have been led to give more particular attention to the subject; and this has produced the materials for the work which I now present to the public, and especially to the learned, to whom it is more particularly addressed; though, I hope, that the greatest part of it will be sufficiently intelligible to readers of good sense, who may not have had the advantage of a scholastic education.

In composing this work, I can truly say that I have spared neither time, labour nor expense. When I formed the design of it, I was determined to do it from original writers, without even looking into any modern author whatever. I therefore perused all the books of which a catalogue will be given at the close of the work (which are all that I could purchase, or conveniently borrow), with as much care as I thought the nature of each required, having only one object in view; and I did not knowingly overlook any passage that promised to throw light upon the subject.

Having collected and arranged these materials, furnished by those original authors, I applied myself to the reading of all the modern writers of any reputation for learning in ecclesiastical history, whether their opinions were the same with

* See the Replies to the Monthly Reviewer and to Dr. Horsley.

mine, or not. But the addition that I made to my own collection of authorities by this means amounted to very little, not more than about twenty or thirty, and those, in general, of no great consequence. What more I could have done I cannot tell. By delaying the publication a year or two longer, and revising the work again and again, I might, no doubt, have made it more complete, especially as a composition. But with me this is no object at all; and the improvement that I might have made in the work in other respects would not, I think, have been very material.

With great tranquillity and satisfaction, therefore, I now commit this History to my friends, and to my enemies; sufficiently aware that it is not without its defects to exercise the candour of the former, and the captiousness of the latter. But no work of this extent, and of this nature, can be expected to be perfect. I have myself discovered great mistakes and oversights in those who have gone before me; and notwithstanding all my care, I shall not be surprised if those who come after me, especially if they walk over the same ground more leisurely than I have done, should find some things to correct in me. To make this as easy as possible, I have printed my authorities at full length. But I am confident, that all my oversights will not invalidate any position of consequence in the whole work; and this is all that the real inquirer after truth will be solicitous about.

On no former occasion have I declined, but on the contrary I have rather courted, and provoked, opposition, because I am sensible it is the only method of discovering truth, and I am far from wishing that this work may escape the most rigorous examination. It will enable me to correct any future editions of it, and make it more perfect than it is possible for me to make it at present. I hope also that the controversy will be continued by men of learning, though I may now think myself excused from taking any part in it. But with respect to this, I do not pretend to have any fixed determination. Every writer who wishes not to mislead the public, is answerable for what he lays before them. At their bar he is always standing, and should hold himself ready to answer any important question, when it is properly put to him.

This I shall have a good opportunity of doing in the *Theological Repository*, which I have revived, and which is published occasionally: and, to repeat what I said on a former occasion, "If any person will give his name, and propose any difficulty whatever relating to the subject of this

Work, so that I shall see reason to think that it proceeds from a love of truth, I here promise that I will speak fairly to it, and I shall be as explicit as I possibly can." * Notwithstanding the pains that have been taken to exhibit me to the public as an unfair and disingenuous writer, I trust that with many, at least, I have some character to lose; or if so much has been taken away that I have but little left, it may be presumed that I shall be the more careful of it on that account.

It was my earnest wish to have had the advantage of a public discussion of the subject of this work by a learned Arian, before I had proceeded to the composition of it. I solicited for such an opponent both publicly and privately, but without success; which I think is much to be regretted. In lieu of this, I have collected the ideas of the Arians in a more private way, and have myself endeavoured to suggest all that I possibly could in support of their opinion. It will be seen that I have given particular attention to their doctrine through the whole course of the work; and I must say that I find no evidence of its existence before the time of Arius. If I have proved this, the hypothesis must be abandoned. For no person can long satisfy himself with saying, it is sufficient for him if he find his opinion in the Scriptures, and that he will not trouble himself about that of others, however near to the time of the apostles. For it will be an unanswerable argument, *à priori*, against any particular doctrine being contained in the Scriptures, that it was never understood to be so by those persons for whose immediate use the Scriptures were written, and who must have been much better qualified to understand them, in that respect at least, than we can pretend to be at this day.

My Arian friends, I am well aware, will think that, in this, as well as in a great part of the work, I bear peculiarly hard upon them; and I frankly acknowledge it. I think theirs to be an hypothesis equally destitute of support in the Scriptures, in reason, and in history. There is, I even think, less colour for it than for the Trinitarian doctrine as it stood before the Council of Nice. For afterwards, it became a perfect contradiction, undeserving of any discussion.

It would give me much pain to offend my Arian friends, as I fear I shall do in this work; because to many of them I have a great esteem, for some of them as great as I have

* See Letters to Hersley, Pt. iii. Preface

for any living characters whatever. But I flatter myself that, as they know me well, they will be satisfied, that all I have advanced arises from the fulness of my persuasion with respect to the fallaciousness of their principles, and my earnest desire to recommend to them a system better founded than their own.

They will be more particularly offended at my not allowing them the title of Unitarians. But for this I have given my reasons; and I respect them as good men and good Christians, which is of infinitely more value. Besides, the title of Unitarians is that which had always been given to those who have of late been called Socinians in this country, till Arianism was introduced by Mr. Whiston, Dr. Clarke, and Mr. Pierce, at a time when the old Unitarians, such as were Mr. Biddle, and Mr. Firmin, (those most respectable of men,) were almost extinct. We therefore only reclaim an old possession, and by this means get quit of a denomination from a particular person, which is never a pleasing circumstance. But let my reasons be considered, and by them I am willing to stand or fall.

There is one particular subject on which I have much enlarged in this treatise, and about which I had no intention to write at all, when I began to collect materials for it. It is *the miraculous conception* of Jesus, concerning which I had not at that time entertained any doubt; though I well knew that several very eminent and learned Christians, of ancient and modern times, had disbelieved it. The case was, that, in perusing the early christian writers, with a view to collect all opinions concerning Christ, I found so much on this subject, that I could not help giving particular attention to it; and it being impossible not to be struck with the absurdity of their reasoning about it, I was by degrees led to think whether any thing better could be said in proof of the fact; and at length my collections and speculations, grew to the size that is now before the reader.

It has been my business to collect and digest facts and opinions, and it will be his to form a judgment concerning them. What I myself think of them he will easily perceive, because I have frankly acknowledged it, but that ought not to bias him. I rather wish that it may operate to awaken his suspicions, and lead him to examine what I have advanced, with the greatest rigour. To assist his judgment, I have kept nothing back that has occurred to myself, or that has been suggested by others; and in order to collect opinions with

more ease, I first published this article in *the Theological Repository*, as I also did that relating to the intricate business of Platonism.

I am well aware that what I have advanced on this subject will give my enemies fresh occasion for raising a clamour against me. But they cannot, with this new provocation, add to what they have already said of me. If they tax me with mean artifice, base disingenuity, gross ignorance, and the most wilful perversion of the authors I quote, there will be nothing new in it. My ears are now accustomed to these charges, and callous to them; so that I receive them as things of course. And though I, no doubt, wish to stand better with my readers, and to pass for a fair and earnest, though fearless inquirer after truth (because I believe myself to be so), it is, from habit, no great pain to me to be considered in a different light. To my enemies, therefore, who have already calumniated me so grossly, I make no apology, and of them I ask no favour. I should sue in vain if I did.

The only article for which I acknowledge myself an advocate in this work, is the truth and antiquity of the proper Unitarian doctrine, in opposition to the Trinitarian and Arian hypotheses. And even with respect to this, I am, as I have observed before, by no means sanguine in my expectations from the effect of the most forcible arguments; the minds of many being at present greatly indisposed to receive the opinion that I contend for, in consequence of strong early prejudices in favour of a different one; prejudices which have been confirmed by much reading, thinking and conversation. Least of all can I expect to make any impression on those who are advanced in life. My chief expectations are from the young, and from posterity. And it is happy for the cause of truth, as well as other valuable purposes, that man is mortal; and that while the species continues, the individuals go off the stage. For otherwise the whole species would soon arrive at its maximum in all improvements, as individuals now do.

In this work I find myself in a great measure, as I was well apprized, upon new ground. At least, I see reason to think that it has never been sufficiently examined by any person who has had the same general views of things that I have. Dr. Lardner, who was as much conversant with the early christian writers as perhaps any man whatever, and whose sentiments on the subject of this controversy were the same with mine, yet had another object in reading them.

Przipeovius* wrote upon this subject, but what he has advanced is very short and very imperfect. What Zwicker† did, I can only learn from bishop Bull, who had not seen all his works; but I suspect that he was not master of all the evidence that may be procured from a careful reading of ancient writers, and a comparison of the several circumstances to be collected from them.‡ And it certainly requires no small degree of patience, as well as judgment and sagacity, to trace the real state of the Unitarian Christians in early times, from the writings of their enemies only. For all their own writings are either grossly interpolated, or have perished, except the *Clementines*. But a candid reader will make allowance for this great disadvantage which, as the historian of the Unitarians, I have laboured under. Who is there that will pretend to collect from the Roman historians only, a complete account of the affairs of the Carthaginians, the maxims of their conduct, and the motives of their public transactions, especially in relation to those things with respect to which, we know that they mutually accused each other?

As to the learned Christians of the last age (excepting the Athanasians), they were almost all Arians, such as Dr. Whitby, Dr. Clarke, Mr. Whiston, Mr. Jackson, § Mr. Pierce, &c. In their time, it was a great thing to prove that the opinion of the perfect equality of the Son to the Father, in all divine perfections, was not the doctrine of the early ages. Those writers could not, indeed, help perceiving traces of the doctrine of the simple humanity of Christ; but taking it for granted that this was an opinion concerning him as much too low, as that of the Athanasians was too high, and

* A Polish knight, author of the Life of E. Socinus, and a variety of treatises, which Sandius has enumerated. He died, during his exile in Prussia, in 1670, aged 78. See *Bib. Anti Trin.* pp. 125—126. *Toumin's Socinus*, pp. 459—452.

† A native of Prussia, who became a physician, and died at Amsterdam, 1679, aged 60. See the titles of his numerous works in *Sandius*, pp. 151—156.

‡ Since this was written, I have had a particular account of this work from a learned foreign correspondent, and it has not contributed to heighten my regret at not having been able to procure it. It does not appear to me, that either Mr. Zwicker, or any of the Polish Socinians, were sufficiently acquainted with Christian antiquity. *P.* See Introd. Letter to Housley. Also an account of Bull's *Primitiva et Apostolica Traditio*, against Zwicker's *Irenicum Irenicorum*, in *Biog. Brit.* II. p. 704, Note. W. W. Bull's work was translated, in 1714, "by a Presbyter of the church of England," with a virulent Preface, denouncing a "formidable army of heretics," from *Simon Magus to Socinus*, &c. On the treatment of *Socinians*, see *Fillon's* and *South*—contrasted by Jortin. *Birch*, Life of Tillotson, Ed. 2, pp. 426—428.

§ Rector of Rossington, who wrote in defence of Clarke's *Script. Doct.* He died, 1707, aged 77. See *Biog. Diet.* VII. pp. 842—845, and *Nichols's Lit. Anecdotes*.

there being no distinguished advocates for the proper Unitarian doctrine in their time, they did not give sufficient attention to the circumstances relating to it. These circumstances it has been my business to collect and to compare; and, situated as I am, it may be depended upon that I have done it with all the circumspection of which I am capable.

My authorities from original writers will perhaps be thought too full; but I imagined that an error on this side would be the better extreme of the two. It will frequently be found that more is contained in the reference than in the text; but this will gratify some persons who may wish to see in what manner christian writers of so early a period expressed themselves on the subjects of this work, especially as but few of my readers will have an opportunity of seeing many of the originals. If some of my quotations should excite a smile, I hope they will not be displeased. In whatever light such passages may appear to them, they may be assured that they were written with great seriousness; and this will contribute to their forming a more perfect idea of the character and manner of that class of writers.

My classical reader must not expect the most correct style in the authors with whom I shall bring him acquainted, especially some of those who wrote in Latin; and the Greek writers abound with passages which the ablest critics have not been able to restore. In these cases I have generally given that reading which the editors have preferred, and sometimes that which I have thought the sense absolutely required. However, the meaning (which is all that I have to do with) is generally sufficiently obvious, when the grammatical construction of the words is the most difficult.


It is sometimes of great consequence to distinguish between the genuine and the spurious works of the Fathers. With respect to this, I have mostly followed Cave. But, in general, it is sufficient for my purpose, if the books I quote were written within the period to which the supposed writers belong; because all that I am concerned with, is the existence of any particular opinion in the age to which I refer it; so that, in many cases, a mistake of this kind will not affect my object. Some will think that I have done wrong in ascribing the *Philo-sophica* to Origen; and in quoting the treatise against Novatus, as if it was the work of Hippolytus, though in this Beausobre has done the same before me. But the former I really think bears the marks of an age as early as that of Origen, and the latter I have not quoted for

any purpose in which either the writer, or the exact date of the work, is concerned.

I must also apprise my readers of another circumstance relating to my references, which is, that they will often find evidence as strongly in favour of any particular proposition under some other head, as that which they will see in the place where they will most naturally look for it. But having, as I imagined, a superfluity of evidence for every thing that I have advanced, rather than tire the reader with a multiplicity of quotations of one kind, in any one place, I contrived to introduce several of them under other heads, to which they likewise bore a relation. As to those persons, therefore, who are not satisfied with what I judge to be sufficient evidence, on any article, I would wish them to suspend their judgment till they have perused the whole work; as it is very possible that they may be more struck with those authorities which they will find in some other place.

To give as much perspicuity as I possibly could to so complex a subject, I have given particular attention to the arrangement of this work. For this purpose I have made many divisions and sub-divisions in it. On this account it was not easy to prevent the occurrence of the same considerations in different places: and I took the less care to avoid it, because the views of things that are repeated are of particular importance, though never that I know of exhibited before, so that I wished to impress them on the mind of the reader.

Before I close this preface, I must apprise my readers, that I have introduced into this work every thing of which I could make any use, from any of the publications in my late controversy, as I there informed them that I should do. They have, therefore, before them all that I have been able to bring together, as materials from which to form their own judgment. And having done my duty with respect to them, let them do the same with respect to truth and to themselves.



THE
INTRODUCTION:

CONTAINING

A VIEW OF THE PRINCIPAL ARGUMENTS AGAINST THE
DOCTRINES OF THE DIVINITY AND PRE-EXISTENCE
OF CHRIST.



SECTION I.

*Of the Argument against the Doctrines of the Divinity and
Pre-existence of Christ, from the general Tenour of the
Scriptures.*

WHEN we inquire into the doctrine of any book, or set of books, concerning any subject, and particular passages are alleged in favour of different opinions, we should chiefly consider what is the general tenour of the whole work with respect to it, or what impression the first careful perusal of it would probably make upon an impartial reader. This is not difficult to distinguish. For, in works of any considerable extent, the leading doctrines, and particularly those which it was the particular design of the writers to inculcate, will occur frequently, and they will often be illustrated, and enforced by a variety of arguments; so that those things only will be dubious, the mention of which occurs but seldom, or which are not expressly asserted, but only inferred from particular expressions. But by attending only to some particular expressions, and neglecting, or wholly overlooking others, the strangest and most unaccountable opinions may be ascribed to writers. Nay, without considering the relation that particular expressions bear to others, and to the tenour of the whole work, sentiments the very reverse of those which the writers meant to inculcate may be ascribed to them.

If, from previous instruction, and early habits, we find it difficult to ascertain the real meaning and design of a writer, in this way, we shall find much assistance by considering in what sense he was actually understood by those persons for whose use he wrote, and who must have been the best acquainted with his language. For if a writer expresses himself with tolerable clearness, and really means to be understood, (being well acquainted with the persons into whose hands his work will come,) he cannot fail to be so, with respect to every thing of consequence.

If we wish to know whether Homer, for instance, entertained the opinion of there being more gods than one, we need only read his poems, and no doubt will remain concerning it; the mention of Jupiter, Juno, Mars, &c. and the part they took in the siege of Troy, occurring perpetually. If any difficulty should still remain, we must then consider what were the opinions, and what was the practice of the Greeks, who read and approved his poems. In this way we shall soon satisfy ourselves, that Homer held the doctrine of a multiplicity of gods, and that he, and the Greeks in general, were what we call idolaters.

In like manner, an impartial person may easily satisfy himself, that the writers of the books of Scripture held the doctrine of one God, and that they were understood to do so by those persons for whose use the books were written.

If we consult Moses's account of the creation, we shall find that he makes no mention of more than one God, who made the heavens and the earth, who supplied the earth with plants and animals, and who also formed man. The plural number, indeed, is made use of when God is represented as saying, Gen. i. 26, "Let us make man;" but that this is mere *phraseology*, is evident from its being said immediately after, in the singular number, ver. 27, "God created man in his own image;" so that the Creator was still one being. Also, in the account of the building of the tower of Babel, we read, Gen. xi. 6, 7, that "the Lord said—let us go down, and there confound their language;" but we find, in the very next verse, that it was one being, only, who actually effected this.

In all the intercourse of God with Adam, Noah, and the other patriarchs, no mention is made of more than one being who addressed them under that character. The name by which he is distinguished is sometimes *Jehovah*, and at other times *the God of Abraham*, &c.; but no doubt can be entertained, that this was the same being who is first mentioned

under the general title of God, and to whom the making of the heavens and the earth is ascribed.

Frequent mention is made in the Scriptures, of angels, who sometimes speak in the name of God, but then they are always represented as the creatures and the servants of God. It is even doubtful whether, in some cases, what are called angels, and had the form of men, who even walked, and spake, &c. like men, were any thing more than temporary appearances, and no permanent beings; the mere organs of the Deity, used for the purpose of making himself known and understood by his creatures. On no account, however, can these angels be considered as gods, rivals of the Supreme Being, or of the same rank with him.

The most express declarations concerning the unity of God, and the importance of the belief of it, are frequent in the Old Testament. The first commandment is, *Exod. xx. 3*: "Thou shalt have no other gods before me." This is repeated in the most emphatical manner, *Deut. vi. 4*: "Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord." I have no occasion to repeat what occurs on this subject in the later prophets. It appears, indeed, to have been the great object of the religion of the Jews, and of their being distinguished from other nations by the superior presence and superintendance of God, to preserve among them the knowledge of the divine unity, while the rest of the world were falling into idolatry. And by means of this nation, and the discipline which it underwent, that great doctrine was effectually preserved among men, and continues to be so to this day.

Had there been any distinction of *persons* in the divine nature, such as the doctrine of the Trinity supposes, it is at least so like an infringement of the fundamental doctrine of the Jewish religion, that it certainly required to be explained, and the obvious inference from it to be guarded against. Had the eternal Father had a Son, and also a Spirit, each of them equal in power and glory to himself, though there should have been a sense in which each of them was truly God, and yet there was, properly speaking, only one God; at least the more obvious inference would have been, that if each of the three persons was properly God, they would all together make three Gods. Since, therefore, nothing of this kind is said in the Old Testament, as the objection is never made, nor answered, it is evident that the idea had not then occurred. No expression, or appearance, had at that time even suggested the difficulty.

If we guide ourselves by the sense in which the Jews

understood their own sacred books, we cannot but conclude that they contained no such doctrine as that of the Christian Trinity. For it does not appear that any Jew, of ancient or modern times, ever deduced such a doctrine from them. The Jews always interpreted their Scriptures as teaching that God is simply *one*, without distinction of persons, and that the same being who made the world, did also speak to the patriarchs and the prophets, without the intervention of any other beings besides angels.

Christians have imagined that the Messiah was to be the second person in the divine Trinity; but the Jews themselves, great as were their expectations from the Messiah, never supposed any such thing. And if we consider the prophecies concerning this great personage, we shall be satisfied that they could not possibly have led them to expect any other than a man, in that character. The Messiah is supposed to be announced to our first parents under the title of *the seed of the woman*, Gen. iii. 15. But the phrase *born of woman*, which is of the same import, is always in Scripture synonymous to *man*. Job says, ch. xiv. 1, "Man, that is born of a woman, is of few days and full of trouble;" and again, ch. xxv. 4, "How can he be clean that is born of a woman?"

God promised to Abraham, Gen. xii. 3, that *in his seed all the families of the earth should be blessed*. This, if it relate to the Messiah at all, can give us no other idea than that one of his seed or posterity, should be the means of conferring great blessings on mankind. What else, also, could be suggested by the description which Moses is supposed to give of the Messiah, when he said, Deut. xviii. 18, "I will raise them up a prophet, from among their brethren, like unto thee, and will put my words in his mouth, and he shall speak unto them all that I shall command him"? Here is nothing like a second person in the Trinity, a person equal to the Father, but a mere prophet, delivering, in the name of God, whatever he is ordered so to do. By Isaiah, who writes more distinctly concerning the Messiah than any of the preceding prophets, his sufferings and death are mentioned, ch. liii. Daniel also speaks of him as to *be cut off*, ch. ix. 26. But surely these are characters of a man, and not those of a God. Accordingly, it appears, in the history of our Saviour, that the Jews of his time expected that their Messiah would be a prince and a conqueror, like David, from whom he was to be descended.

In the New Testament we find the same doctrine concern-

ing God that we do in the Old. To the scribe who inquired which was the first and the greatest commandment, our Saviour answered, Mark xii. 29, "The first of all the commandments is, Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord." And the scribe answered to him, ver. 32, "Well, Master, thou hast said the truth; for there is one God, and there is none other but he."

Christ himself always prayed to this one God, as his God and Father. He always spake of himself as receiving his doctrine and his power from him, and again and again disclaimed having any power of his own. John v. 19: "Then answered Jesus and said unto them, verily, verily, I say unto you, the Son can do nothing of himself." Ch. xiv. 10: "The words that I speak unto you, I speak not of myself, but the Father that dwelleth in me, he doeth the works." Ch. xx. 17: "Go to my brethren, and say unto them, I ascend unto my Father and your Father, and unto my God and your God." It cannot, surely, be God that uses such language as this.

The apostles, to the latest period of their writings, speak the same language; representing the Father as the only true God, and Christ as a man, the servant of God, who raised him from the dead, and gave him all the power of which he is possessed, as a reward of his obedience. Peter says, Acts ii. 22, 24, "Ye men of Israel, hear these words: Jesus of Nazareth, a man approved of God among you, by miracles, and wonders, and signs, which God did by him, &c. whom God hath raised up." Paul also says, 1 Tim. ii. 5, "There is one God, and one Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus." Heb. ii. 9, 10: "We see Jesus, who was made a little lower than the angels," i. e. who was a man, "for the suffering of death, crowned with glory and honour," &c. "For it became him for whom are all things, and by whom are all things, in bringing many sons unto glory, to make the captain of their salvation perfect through sufferings."

Such, I will venture to say, is the general tenour of the Scriptures, both of the Old and the New Testament; and the passages that even seem to speak, or that can by any forced construction be made to speak, a different language, are comparatively few. It will also be seen, in the course of this history, that the common people, for whose use the books of the New Testament were written, saw nothing in them of the doctrines of the pre-existence or divinity of Christ, which many persons of this day are so confident that

they see in them. For the right understanding of these particular texts, I must refer my readers to the writings of Mr. Lindsey,* and to a small tract which I published, entitled, "A Familiar Illustration of certain Passages of Scripture."†

Why was not the doctrine of the Trinity taught as explicitly, and in as definite a manner in the New Testament at least, as the doctrine of the divine unity is taught in both the Old and New Testaments, if it be a truth? And why is the doctrine of the unity always delivered in so unguarded a manner, and without any exception made in favour of a Trinity, to prevent any mistake with respect to it, as is always now done in our orthodox catechisms, creeds, and discourses on the subject? For it cannot be denied but that the doctrine of the Trinity looks so like an infringement of that of the unity, (on which the greatest possible stress is always laid in the Scriptures,) that it required to be at least hinted at, if not well defined and explained, when the divine unity was spoken of. Divines are content, however, to build so strange and inexplicable a doctrine as that of the Trinity upon mere inferences from casual expressions, and cannot pretend to one clear, express, and unequivocal lesson on the subject.

There are many, very many, passages of Scripture, which inculcate the doctrine of the divine unity, in the clearest and strongest manner. Let one such passage be produced in favour of the Trinity. And why should we believe things so mysterious without the clearest and most express evidence?

There is also another consideration which I would recommend to those who maintain that Christ is either God, or the maker of the world under God. It is this: the manner in which our Lord speaks of himself, and of the power by which he worked miracles, is inconsistent, according to the common construction of language, with the idea of his being possessed of any proper power of his own, more than other men have.

If Christ was the maker of the world, and if, in the creation of it, he exerted no power but what properly belonged to himself, and what was as much his own, as the power of speaking or walking belongs to man, (though depending ultimately upon that Supreme Power, in which we all live and move, and have our being,) he could not, with any propriety, and without knowing that he must be misunderstood, have said that *of himself he could do nothing*, that *the words which he spake were not his own*, and that *the Father within him did*

* *Apology*, Ed. 5, pp. 112—119.

† Vol. II, pp. 449—472.

the works. For if any ordinary man, doing what other men usually do, should apply this language to himself, and say that it was not he that spake or acted, but God who spake and acted by him, and that otherwise he was not capable of so speaking or acting at all, we should not scruple to say that his language was either sophistical, or else downright false or blasphemous.

If this conclusion would be just upon the supposition that Christ had created all things, and worked miracles by a power properly his own, though derived ultimately from God, much more force has it on the supposition of his working miracles by a power not derived from any being whatever, but as much originally in himself, as the power of the Father.

It would also be a shocking abuse of language, and would warrant any kind of deception and imposition, if Christ could be supposed to say, that *his Father was greater than he*, and yet secretly mean his human nature only, while his divine nature was at the same time fully equal to that of the Father. On the same principle a man might say, that Christ never suffered, that he never died, or rose again from the dead, meaning his divine nature only, and not his human. Indeed, there is no use in language, nor any guard against deception, if such liberties as these are to be allowed.

There is something inexplicable, and not to be accounted for, in the conduct of several of the evangelists, indeed that of all of them, on the supposition of their having held any such doctrines as those of the divinity or pre-existence of Christ. Each of the gospels was certainly intended to be a sufficient instruction in the fundamental principles of Christianity. But there is nothing that can be called an account of the divine, or even the super-angelic nature of Christ, in the gospels of Matthew, Mark or Luke; and allowing that there may be some colour for it in the introduction to the gospel of John, it is remarkable that there are many passages in his gospel which are decisively in favour of his simple humanity.

Now these evangelists could not imagine that either the Jews or the Gentiles, for whose use their gospels were written, would not stand in need of information on a subject of so much importance, which was so very remote from the apprehensions of them both, and which would at the same time have so effectually covered the reproach of the cross, which was continually objected to the Christians of that age. If

the doctrines of the divinity, or pre-existence of Christ, be true, they are no doubt in the highest degree important and interesting. Since, therefore, these evangelists give no certain and distinct account of them, and say nothing at all of their importance, it may be safely inferred that they were unknown to them.

I would farther recommend it to the consideration of my readers, how the apostles could continue to call Christ a man, as they always do, both in the book of Acts and in their epistles, after they had discovered him to be either God or a super-angelic being, the maker of the world under God. After this, it must have been highly degrading, unnatural and improper, notwithstanding his appearance in human form. Custom will reconcile us to strange conceptions of things, and very uncouth modes of speech; but let us take up the matter *ab initio*, and put ourselves in the place of the apostles and first disciples of Christ.

They certainly saw and conversed with him at first on the supposition of his being a man, as much as themselves. Of this there can be no doubt. Their surprise, therefore, upon being informed that he was not a man, but really God, or even the maker of the world under God, would be just as great as ours would now be on discovering that any of our acquaintance, or at least a very good man and a prophet, was in reality God, or the maker of the world. Let us consider then, how we should feel, how we should behave towards such a person, and how we should speak of him afterwards. No one, I am confident, would ever call any person a man, after he was convinced he was either God or an angel. He would always speak of him in a manner suitable to his proper rank.

Suppose that any two men of our acquaintance should appear, on examination, to be the angels Michael and Gabriel: should we ever after this call them men? Certainly not. We should naturally say to our friends, *those two persons whom we took to be men, are not men, but angels in disguise.* This language would be natural. Had Christ, therefore, been any thing more than man before he came into the world, and especially had he been either God, or the maker of the world, he never could have been, or have been considered as being, a man, while he was in it; for he could not divest himself of his superior and proper nature. However disguised, he would always, in fact, have been whatever he had been before, and would have been so styled by all who truly knew him.

Least of all would Christ have been considered as a man

in reasoning and argumentation, though his external appearance should have so far put men off their guard, as to have led them to give him that appellation. Had the apostle Paul considered Christ as being any thing more than a man, with respect to his nature, he could never have urged, with the least propriety or effect, that "since by man came death, by man came also the resurrection of the dead." For it might have been unanswerably replied, This is not the case; for, indeed, by man comes death, but not by man, but by God, or the creator of man, under God, comes the resurrection of the dead.

The manner in which the apostles, and those of the disciples of Christ who respected him the most, lived and conversed with him, shews clearly enough, that they considered him in no higher light than that of a prophet, or such a Messiah as the Jews in general expected; one who was destined to be a temporal prince.* But what a small matter must this have appeared to them, if they had thought him to be the being who made the world, to say nothing of his proper divinity? Had they seen him with the eyes of an Arian, they must have considered his appearing in the character of the Messiah, as a state of great humiliation, instead of a state of exaltation and glory; which, however, always appears to have been their idea of him in that character. Besides, the freedoms which they took with him, as those of Peter reproving him for talking of his sufferings, and for speaking of a person touching him in a crowd, and other little circumstances, shews that they had not that awe of him upon their minds, which they could never have divested themselves of, if they had considered him as being their maker. A person who can think otherwise, must never have attempted to realize the idea, or have put himself in the place of the apostles, so as to have imagined himself introduced into the actual presence of his maker, in the form of man, or any other form whatever. He would be overwhelmed with the very thought of it. Or if any particular person should have had the courage, and unparalleled self-possession, to bear such a thing, must there not have been numbers who would have been filled with consternation at the very idea, or the mere suspicion of the person they were speaking to being really God, or their creator? And yet we perceive no trace of any such consternation and alarm in the gospel history, no mark of

* See Watts's "Questions concerning Jesus," Sect. v. where he inquires as to the disciples of Christ, "what evidence they gave of disbelieving his true divinity." *Works*, 8vo. 1800. V. pp. 268—274.

astonishment in the disciples of our Lord in consequence of their belief of it, and no marks of indignation, or exclamation of blasphemy, &c. against those who disbelieved it.

It must strike every person who gives the least attention to the phraseology of the New Testament, that the terms Christ and God, are perpetually used in contradistinction to each other, as much as God and man; and if we attend ever so little to the theory of language, and the natural use of words, we shall be satisfied that this would not have been the case, if the former could have been predicated of the latter, that is, if Christ had been God.

We say the *prince* and the *king*, because the prince is not a king. If he had, we should have had recourse to some other distinction, as that of greater and less, senior and junior, father and son, &c. When, therefore, the apostle Paul said, that the church at Corinth was *Christ's*, and that *Christ was God's*. (and that manner of distinguishing them is perpetual in the New Testament,) it is evident, that he could have no idea of Christ being God, in any proper sense of the word.

In like manner, Clemens Romanus, calling Christ the sceptre of the majesty of God,* sufficiently proves that, in his idea, the sceptre was one thing, and the God whose sceptre it was, another. This, I say, must have been the case when this language was first adopted, though when principles are once formed, we see, by a variety of experience, that any language may be accommodated to them. But an attention to this circumstance will, I doubt not, contribute, with persons of real discernment, to bring us back to the original use of the words, and to the ideas originally annexed to them. I am persuaded that even now, the constant use of these terms Christ and God, as opposed to each other, has a great effect in preventing those of the common people who read the New Testament more than books of controversy, from being habitually and practically Trinitarians. There will, by this means, be a much greater difference between God and Christ in their minds, than they find in their creeds.

All these things duly considered, viz. the frequent and earnest inculcating of the doctrine of the divine unity, without any limitation, exception, or explanation, by way of saving to the doctrine of the Trinity; the manner in which Christ always spake of himself, and that in which the

* See Vol. V. pp. 29, 37. Let. to Horsley, 1783, I. *ad fin.*

apostles and evangelists spake of him ; the conduct of the three former evangelists, in saying nothing that can be construed into a declaration of his divinity or pre-existence ; and the term God being always used in contradistinction to Christ, no reasonable doubt can remain of the general tenour of Scripture being in favour of the doctrine of the divine unity, in opposition to that of the Trinity, and even to that of the pre-existence, as well as the divinity of Christ.

SECTION II.

An Argument for the late Origin of the Doctrines of the Divinity and Pre-existence of Christ, from the Difficulty of tracing the Time in which they were first divulged.

HAVING shewn that the general tenour of the Scriptures, and several considerations obviously deducible from them, are highly unfavourable to the doctrine of the Trinity, or to those of the divinity or pre-existence of Christ. I shall proceed to urge another consideration, which has been little attended to, but which seems to conclude very strongly against either of these doctrines having been known in the time of the apostles, and therefore against their being the doctrine of the Scriptures.

As the Jews expected that their Messiah would be a *mere man*, and even be born as other men are, the doctrine of his having had any existence, or sphere of action, before he came into the world, (as that of his having been the maker of the world, the giver of the law, and the medium of all the divine communications to the patriarchs, and especially the doctrine of his being equal to God the Father himself,) must have been quite new and extraordinary doctrines ; and, therefore, must have been received as such, whenever they were first divulged. Like all other new and extraordinary doctrines, they must have been first heard with great surprise, and they would probably be received with some doubt and hesitation. The preaching of such doctrines could not but excite much speculation and debate, and they would certainly be much exclaimed against, and would be urged as a most serious objection to Christianity, by those who did not become Christians. These have always been the consequences of the promulgation of new and extraordinary opinions, the minds of men not having been previously prepared to receive them. Let us now see whether we can perceive any of these

natural marks of the teaching of doctrines so new and extraordinary, within the compass of the gospel history.

It cannot be said that John the Baptist preached any such doctrine; and when the apostles first attached themselves to Jesus, it is evident they only considered him as being such a Messiah as the rest of the Jews expected, viz. a man and a king. When Nathanael was introduced to him, it was evidently in that light. John i. 45: "Philip findeth Nathanael, and saith unto him, we have found him of whom Moses in the law, and the prophets, did write, Jesus of Nazareth, the son of Joseph." He had then, we may suppose, no knowledge of the miraculous conception.

That Jesus was even the *Messiah*, was divulged with the greatest caution, both to the apostles and to the body of the Jews. For a long time our Lord said nothing explicit on this subject, but left his disciples, as well as the Jews at large, to judge of him from what they saw. In this manner only, he replied to the messengers that John the Baptist sent to him.

If the high-priest expressed his horror, by rending his clothes, on Jesus avowing himself to be the Messiah, what would he have done if he had heard or suspected, that he had made any higher pretensions? And if he had made them, they must have transpired. When the people in general saw his miraculous works, they only wondered that God should have given such power unto a man. Matt. ix. 8: "When the multitude saw it, they marvelled, and glorified God, which had given such power unto men." And yet this was on the occasion of his pronouncing the cure of a paralytic person, by saying, *Thy sins be forgiven thee*, which the Pharisees thought to be a blasphemous presumption.

At the time that Herod heard of him, it was conjectured by some that he was Elias, by others that he was the prophet, and by some that he was John risen from the dead; but none of them imagined that he was either the most high God himself, or the maker of the world under God. It was not so much as supposed by any person that Jesus performed his mighty works by any power of his own; so far were they from suspecting that he was the God who had spoken to them by Moses, as many now suppose him to have been.

If he was known to be a God at all before his death, it could only have been revealed to his disciples, perhaps the apostles, or only his chief confidants among them. Peter, James and John suppose on the mount of transfiguration

though nothing is said concerning it in the history of that transaction. Certainly what they saw in the garden of Gethsemane could not have led them to suspect any such thing. But if it had ever been known to Peter, can we suppose that he could have denied him as he did? Besides, as our Lord told the apostles that there were many things which he could not inform them of before his death, and that they should know afterwards, this was a thing so very wonderful and unsuspected, that if any articles of information were kept from them at that time, this must certainly have been one of them.

If it be supposed that Thomas was acquainted with this most extraordinary part of his master's character, which led him to cry, *My Lord and my God*, when he was convinced of his resurrection, as he was not one of the three who had been entrusted with any secrets, it must have been known to all the twelve, and to Judas Iscariot among the rest. And suppose him to have known, and to have believed, that Jesus was his God and maker, was it possible for him, or for any man, to have formed a deliberate purpose to betray him, (Peter, it may be said, was taken by surprise, and was in personal danger,) or if he had only heard of the pretension, and had not believed it, would he not have made some advantage of that imposition, and have made the discovery of this, as well as of every thing else that he knew to his prejudice?

If it be supposed that the divinity of Christ was unknown to the apostles till the day of Pentecost, besides losing the benefit of several arguments for this great doctrine, which are now carefully collected from the four evangelists, we have no account of any such discovery having been made at that time, or at any subsequent one. And of all other articles of illumination, of much less consequence than this, we have distinct information, and also of the manner in which they were impressed by them. This is particularly the case with respect to the extension of the blessings of the gospel to uncircumcised Gentiles. But what was this article to the knowledge of their master being the most high God, or the maker of the world under God?

It might have been expected, also, that the information that a person whom the apostles first conversed with as a man, was either God himself, or the maker of the world under God, should have been received with some degree of doubt and hesitation, by some or other of them; especially as they had been so very hard to be persuaded of the truth of his resurrection, though they had been so fully apprized of it

before-hand. And yet, in all the history of the apostles, there is the same profound silence concerning this circumstance, and every other depending on the whole scheme, as if no such thing had ever had any existence.

If the doctrine of the divinity of Christ had been actually preached by the apostles, and the Jewish converts in general had adopted it, it could not but have been well known to the unbelieving Jews. And would they, who were at that time, and have been ever since, so exceedingly zealous with respect to the doctrine of the divine unity, not have taken the alarm, and have urged this objection to Christianity, as teaching the belief of more Gods than one in the apostolic age? And yet no trace of any thing of this nature can be perceived in the whole history of the book of Acts, or any where else in the New Testament. As soon as ever the Jews had any pretence for it, we find them sufficiently quick and vehement in urging this their great objection to Christianity. To answer the charge of holding two or three Gods, is a very considerable article in the writings of several of the ancient christian fathers. Why, then, do we find nothing of this kind in the age of the apostles? The only answer is, that then there was no occasion for it, the doctrine of the divinity of Christ not having been started.

If we consider the charge that was advanced against Peter and John at the first promulgation of the gospel, we shall find it amounts to nothing but their being disturbers of the people, by preaching in the name of Jesus. What was the accusation against Stephen, (Acts vi. 13.) but his *speaking blasphemous words against the temple and the law*? If we accompany the apostle Paul in all his travels, and attend to his discourses with the Jews in their synagogues, and their perpetual and inveterate persecution of him, we shall find no trace of their so much as suspecting that he preached a new divinity, as the godhead of Christ must have appeared, and always has appeared to them.

In A. D. 58, Paul tells the elders of the church of Ephesus, (Acts xx. 27.) that he had not shunned to declare unto them *all the counsel of God*. We may be confident, therefore, that if he had any such doctrine to divulge, he must have taught it in the three years that he spent in that city, from 54 to 57; and as the unbelieving Jews were well apprized of all his motions, having laid wait for him on this very journey to Jerusalem, they must have been informed of his having taught this doctrine, and would certainly have carried the news of it to Jerusalem, where many of them attended as well as he, at

the ensuing feast of Pentecost. But if we attend Paul thither, where we have a very particular account of all the proceedings against him, for the space of two years, we shall find no trace of any thing of the kind. All their complaints against him fell far short of this.

What was the occasion of the first clamour against him? Was it not, (Acts xxi. 28,) that he taught "all men, every where, against the people, and the law," and the temple, and that he had *brought Greeks also* into it? Is it not plain that they had no more serious charges against him? If we read his speech to the people, his defence before Felix, and again before Agrippa, we shall find no trace of his having taught any doctrine so offensive to the Jews as that of the divinity of Christ must have been. Considering the known prejudices, and the inveteracy of the Jews, no reasonable man need desire any clearer proof than this, that neither Paul, nor any of the apostles, had ever taught the doctrine of the divinity of Christ at that time; and this was so near the time of the wars of the Jews, and the dispersion of that people, that there was no opportunity of preaching it with effect afterwards.

Is it possible to give due attention to these considerations, and not be sensible, that the apostles had never been instructed in any such doctrines as those of the divinity or pre-existence of Christ? If they had, as the doctrines were quite new, and must have appeared extraordinary, we should certainly have been able to trace the time when they were communicated to them. They would naturally have expressed some surprise, if they had intimated no doubt of the truth of the information. If they received them with unshaken faith themselves, they would have taught them to others, who would not have received them so readily. They would have had the doubts of some to encounter, and the objections of others to answer. And yet, in all their history, and copious writings, we perceive no trace of their own surprise or doubts, or of the surprise, doubts or objections of others.

Arians will think that the observations in this Section do not apply with much force, except to the doctrine of the proper divinity of Christ; their own doctrine of the pre-existence of Christ, and of his having been the maker of the world under God, being familiar to their minds. But they should consider that the Jews in our Saviour's time had never heard of any such being as they suppose Christ to be; and therefore they would have received the account of it

with perhaps even more surprise, than the doctrine of God himself having made his appearance in human form. In the Old Testament, there is no account of God having employed any such being as Christ in the making of the world, and he spake to the patriarchs either by angels or some temporary appearance, which may sometimes have been in the form of man.

It is really something extraordinary, that this opinion that Christ was the medium of all the divine communications to mankind under the Old Testament dispensation, should have been so readily received, and have spread so generally as it did among Christians, when it not only has no countenance from scripture, but is expressly contradicted by the author of the epistle to the Hebrews, in Heb. i. 1, 2: "God who at sundry times, and in divers manners, spake in time past unto the fathers by the prophets, hath in these last days spoken unto us by his Son." Again, chap. ii. 2, 3: "If the word spoken by angels was stedfast, &c.; how shall we escape, if we neglect so great salvation, which at the first began to be spoken by the Lord?" What can be more evident than that the writer of this epistle had no idea of God having spoken to mankind by his Son, before the time of the gospel?

To the Jews, however, the Arian doctrine must have been more novel than that of the orthodox Christians in the time of Justin Martyr, and therefore would probably have been received with more surprise. It was that kind of orthodoxy which was advanced by Justin Martyr, that prepared the way for the Arian doctrine, as will be seen in its proper place.

SECTION III.

An Argument against the Divinity of Christ, from his not being the Object of Prayer.

It must be acknowledged that the proper object of prayer is God the Father, who is called the first Person in the Trinity. Indeed, we cannot find in the Scriptures either any precept that will authorize us to address ourselves to any other person, or any proper example of it. Every thing that can be alleged to this purpose, as Stephen's short ejaculatory address to Christ, whom he had just before seen in vision, &c., is very inconsiderable. Our Saviour himself always prayed to his Father, and with as much humility

and resignation as the most dependent being in the universe could possibly do; always addressing him as his Father, or the author of his being; and he directs his disciples to pray to the same great Being, whom only, he says, we ought to serve.

Had he intended to guard against all mistake on this subject, by speaking of God as the author of his being, in the same sense in which he is the author of being to all men, he could not have done it more expressly than he has, by calling him his Father and our Father, his God and our God. At the same time he calls his disciples his brethren (John xx. 17): "Go to my brethren, and say unto them, I ascend unto my Father and your Father, and to my God and your God." Can any person read this, and say that the Unitarians wrest the Scriptures, and are not guided by the plain sense of them?

Accordingly, the practice of praying to the Father only, was long universal in the Christian church: the short addresses to Christ, as those in the Litany, *Lord have mercy upon us, Christ have mercy upon us*, being comparatively of late date. In the Clementine liturgy, the oldest that is extant, contained in the *Apostolical Constitutions*, which were probably composed about the fourth century, there is no trace of any such thing. Origen, in a large treatise on the subject of prayer, urges very forcibly the propriety of praying to the Father only, and not to Christ; and as he gives no hint that the public forms of prayer had any thing reprehensible in them in that respect, we are naturally led to conclude that, in his time, such petitions to Christ were unknown in the public assemblies of Christians. And such hold have early established customs on the minds of men, that, excepting the Moravians only, whose prayers are always addressed to Christ, the general practice of Trinitarians themselves is, to pray to the Father only.

Now on what principle could this early and universal practice have been founded? What is there in the doctrine of a Trinity consisting of three equal persons, to entitle the Father to that distinction, in preference to the Son or the Spirit? I doubt not but that, considering the thing *ab initio*, a proper Trinitarian would have thought that, since, of these three persons, it is the second that was the maker of the world, and that is the immediate governor of it, he is that person of the three with whom we have most to do; and therefore he is that person to whom our prayers ought to be addressed. This, I should think, would have been a

natural conclusion, even if Christ had not been thought to be equal to the Father, but only the maker and the governor of the world under him; supposing him to have had power originally given him equal to the making and governing of it, as I have shewn in my *Disquisitions on Matter and Spirit*.* For we should naturally look up to that being on whom we immediately depend, knowing that it must be his proper province to attend to us.

If there should have been any reason in the nature of things, though undiscoverable and incomprehensible by us, why the world should have been made and supported, by some being of communicated and delegated authority, rather than by the self-existent and Supreme Being himself, (and if the fact be so, there must have been some good reason for it,) that unknown reason, whatever it be, naturally presents this derived being to us, as the proper object of our prayers.

But supposing this second person in the Trinity to be our independent maker, governor and final judge, the propriety of praying to him, and to him exclusively, is so obvious, that no consideration whatever could have prevented the practice, if such had been the real belief of the Christian world from the beginning. That Christians did not do so at first, but prayed habitually to the Father only, is, therefore, with me almost a demonstration, that they did not consider Christ in that light. Whatever they might think of him, they did not regard him as being a proper object of worship, and consequently not as possessed of the attributes that are proper to constitute him one, and therefore not as truly God. The persuasion that he was truly God, and that God on whom we immediately depend, would unavoidably have drawn after it the habitual practice of praying to him, as it has at length effected with respect to the Moravians: and in spite of ancient custom, and against all scripture precept and example, the practice has more or less prevailed with all Trinitarians. Petrarch, we find by his letters, generally prayed to Christ. That pious treatise of Thomas à Kempis, on the imitation of Christ, consists of nothing besides addresses to him, and they compose the greater part of the litany of the church of England.

When I was myself a Trinitarian, I remember praying conscientiously to all the three persons without distinction, only beginning with the Father; and what I myself did to

* See Vol. III. pp. 452, 433

the serious simplicity of my heart, when young, would, I doubt not, have been done by all Christians from the beginning, if their minds had then been impressed, as mine was, with the firm persuasion that all the three persons were fully equal in power, wisdom, goodness, omnipresence, and all divine attributes. This argument I recommend to the serious consideration of all Trinitarians, as it is with me a sufficient proof, that originally Christ was not considered as a proper object of worship by Christians, and consequently neither as God, nor as the maker and governor of the world, under God.

As this is a thing that relates to practice, I should have imagined that if each of the three persons had been to be addressed separately, we should have been distinctly informed concerning the circumstances in which we were to pray to any one of them, and not to the others; considering how difficult it must be, from the nature of the thing, for mere men to distinguish the separate rights of three divine persons.

It has been said by some, that Christ is the proper object of prayer, in the time of external persecution. But let us consider how the supposition, or theory, corresponds to the fact. For if it be not supported by corresponding facts, how ingenious, or probable soever it may seem to be *à priori*, it must fall to the ground. The apostles and primitive Christians certainly knew whether the Father, or the Son, was the more proper object of prayer in the time of persecution. Let us see, then, both what directions they gave, and also what they themselves actually did in this case.

The apostle James, writing to Christians in a state of persecution, says, chap. i. 2, 5, "My brethren, count it all joy when ye fall into divers temptations." or *trials*. "If any of you lack wisdom, let him ask of God." It can hardly be said that, in this he advises them to apply to Christ or to the Trinity for direction in these circumstances. This hypothesis has no countenance either in the Scriptures or in any Christian writer before the Council of Nice: for they all understood the Father alone to be intended, whenever mention is made of *God* absolutely.

Peter, writing to Christians in the same situation, says, 1 Pet. iv. 19, "Wherefore, let them that suffer according to the will of God, commit the keeping of their souls to him in well-doing, as unto a faithful Creator." This is certainly meant of God the Father; but more evidently must we so interpret 1 Pet. v. 10: "The God of all grace, who hath

called us unto his eternal glory, by Christ Jesus, after that ye have suffered awhile, make you perfect, establish, strengthen, settle you." I do not find here, or any where else in the Scriptures, any direction to pray to Christ in time of persecution, or, indeed, in any other circumstances.

Let us now attend to some particulars in the history of the apostles. When Herod had put to death James, the brother of John, and imprisoned Peter, we read, Acts xii. 5. that "prayer was made without ceasing of the church unto God," not to Christ, "for him." When Paul and Silas were in prison at Philippi, we read, Acts xvi. 25, that they "sang praises unto God," not to Christ. And when Paul was warned of what would befall him if he went to Jerusalem, Acts xxi. 14, he said, "the will of the Lord be done." This, it must be supposed, was meant of God the Father, because Christ himself used the same language in this sense. when, praying to the Father, he said, *Not my will, but thine, be done.*

These, it may perhaps be said, are only incidental circumstances, on which no great stress is to be laid. But in Acts iv. 24—30, we have a prayer of some length addressed to God the Father, at the very beginning of the persecution of Christians, when Peter and John had been examined before the high-priest and his court, and had been threatened by them. The whole of it is as follows: "And when they heard that, they lifted up their voice to God with one accord, and said, Lord, thou art God, which hast made heaven and earth, and the sea, and all that in them is: who, by the mouth of thy servant David hast said, 'Why did the Heathen rage, and the people imagine vain things? The kings of the earth stood up, and the rulers were gathered together, against the Lord and against his Christ.' For of a truth, against thy holy child (or *servant*) Jesus, whom thou hast anointed, both Herod and Pontius Pilate, with the Gentiles and the people of Israel, were gathered together, for to do whatsoever thy hand and thy counsel determined before to be done. And now, Lord, behold their threatenings, and grant unto thy servants, that with all boldness they may speak thy word, by stretching forth thine hand to heal, and that signs and wonders may be done by the name of thy holy child (or *servant*) Jesus."

We have now examined some particulars both of the instructions and the examples of Scripture, with regard to the proper object of prayer in time of persecution; from which it appears, that, even in this case, we have no authority to

pray to any other than that one God, to whom Christ himself prayed in his affliction; and if we be not authorized to pray to Christ in time of persecution, there is, it is acknowledged, less propriety in praying to him on any other occasion.

As many profess a great regard for those who are called apostolical Fathers, let us attend to the prayer of Polycarp, when he was tied to the stake, ready to be burned alive. Now this prayer, which is a pretty remarkable one, is addressed to God the Father, and not to Christ; so that this disciple of the apostle John did not think the example of Stephen any precedent for him. The prayer begins as follows: "O Lord God Almighty, the Father of thy well-beloved and blessed Son Jesus Christ, by whom we have received the knowledge of thee, the God of angels and powers, and of every creature, and especially of the whole race of just men, who live in thy presence."*

We see, then, how greatly men may be misled by speculative theology, by an attention to particular texts, single incidents and imaginary proprieties, without attending to the general tenour of Scripture, the plain directions that are there given for our conduct, and the constant practice of the apostles, which supply the best interpretation of their doctrine. To conclude, as some have done, from the single case of Stephen, that all Christians are authorized to pray to Christ, is like concluding that all matter has a tendency to go upwards, because a needle will do so when a magnet is held over it. When they shall be in the same circumstances with Stephen, having their minds strongly impressed with a vision of Christ sitting at the right hand of God, they may then, perhaps, be authorized to address themselves to him, as he did; but the whole tenour of the Scriptures proves that, otherwise, we have no authority at all for any such practice. And if Christ be not the object of prayer, he cannot be either God, or the maker and governor of the world under God.

SECTION IV.

Of the Arguments against the Doctrine of the Trinity, as implying a Contradiction.

It has been shewn, that there is no such doctrine as that of the Trinity in the Scriptures, but I will now add that, if it had been found there, it would have been impossible for

* Wake's Gen. Epist. Ed. 4, pp. 147, 148.

a reasonable man to believe it, as it implies a contradiction, which no miracles can prove.

I ask, then, wherein does the Athanasian doctrine of the Trinity differ from a contradiction? It asserts, in effect, that nothing is wanting to either the Father, the Son, or the Spirit, to constitute each of them truly and properly God, each of them being equal in eternity, and all divine perfections; and yet that these three are not three Gods, but only one God. They are therefore both one and many in the same respect, viz. in each being perfect God. This is certainly as much a contradiction, as to say that Peter, James and John, having each of them every thing that is requisite to constitute a complete man, are yet altogether not three men, but only one man. For the ideas annexed to the words God, or man, cannot make any difference in the nature of the two propositions. After the Council of Nice, there are instances of the doctrine of the Trinity being explained in this very manner. The Fathers of that age being particularly intent on preserving the full equality of the three persons, entirely lost sight of their proper unity. And in what manner soever this doctrine be explained, one of these must ever be sacrificed to the other.

As persons are apt to confound themselves with the use of the words person and being, I shall endeavour to give a plain account of them.

The term being, may be predicated of every thing, and therefore of each of the three persons in the Trinity. For, to say that Christ, for instance, is God, but that there is no being, no substance, to which his attributes may be referred, were manifestly absurd; and, therefore, when it is said that each of these persons is by himself, God, the meaning must be, that the Father, separately considered, has a being, that the Son, separately considered, has a being, and, likewise, that the Holy Spirit, separately considered, has a being. Here then are no less than three beings, as well as three persons, and what can these three beings be, but three Gods, without supposing that there are "three co-ordinate persons, or three Fathers, three Sons, or three Holy Ghosts?"

By the words being, substance, *substratum*, &c. we can mean nothing more than the foundation, as it were, of properties, or something to which, in our idea, we refer all the particular attributes of whatever exists. In fact, they are terms that may be predicated of every thing that is the subject of thought or discourse, all the discrimination of things depending upon their peculiar properties. So that, when-

ever the properties differ, we say that there is a corresponding difference in the things, beings, or substances themselves. Consequently, if the Father, Son and Spirit differ in any respect, so as to have different properties, either in relation to themselves, or to other beings, we must, according to the analogy of all language, say that they are three different beings or substances.

Supposing, again, that there is an identity of attributes in each of them, so that, being considered one after the other, no difference should be perceived in them, even in idea (as may be supposed to be the case of three men who should perfectly resemble one another in all external and internal properties), and supposing, moreover, that there should be a perfect coincidence in all their thoughts and actions; though there might be a perfect harmony among them, and this might be called unity, they would still be numerically three. Consequently, though the Father, Son and Spirit had no real differences, but, as has been said, they had "the most perfect identity of nature, the most entire unity of will and consent of intellect, and an incessant co-operation in the exertion of common powers to a common purpose," yet would they, according to the analogy of language, not be one God, but three Gods; or, which is the same thing, they would be three beings with equal divine natures, just as the three men would be three beings with equal human natures.

The term *being*, as I have observed, may be predicated of every thing without distinction; but the term *person* is limited to intelligent beings. Three men, therefore, are not only three beings, but likewise three persons; the former is the genus, and the latter the species. But a person is not the less a being, on this account; for each man may be said to be a being, as well as a person. Consequently, though the word *person* be properly applied to each of the three component parts of the Trinity, yet as *person* is a species, comprehended under the genus, *being*, they must be three beings, as well as three persons.

The term *God* is a sub-division under the term *person*, because we define God to be "an intelligent being, possessed of all possible perfections." Consequently, if the Father, Son and Spirit be each of them possessed of all possible perfections, which is not denied, they are each of them a person, each of them a being, and each of them a God; and what is this but making three Gods? Let any Trinitarian avoid this conclusion from these principles, or assume other principles more just and natural, if he can.

This definition of the word person, as applied to the doctrine of the Trinity, will perhaps be objected to; but if any other definition be given, I will venture to assert, that it might as well be said that the Father, Son and Spirit are three Abracadabras, as three persons. They will be equally words without meaning.

It has been said, that "the personal subsistence of a divine logos is implied in the very idea of a God," and that "the argument rests on a principle which was common to all the Platonic fathers, and seems to be founded in Scripture, that the existence of the Son flows necessarily from the divine intellect exerted on itself, from the Father's contemplation of his own perfections. But as the Father ever was, his perfections have ever been, and his intellect has ever been active. But perfections which have ever been, the ever active intellect must ever have contemplated; and the contemplation which has ever been, must ever have been accompanied with its just effect, the personal existence of the Son."*

But there is nothing in the Scriptures, or indeed in the fathers, that gives any countenance to this reasoning. As we cannot pretend to draw any conclusions from the necessary operations of one mind, but from their supposed analogy to those of other minds, that is, our own, those who maintain this hypothesis must explain to us how it comes to pass, that if the contemplation of the divine perfections of the Father necessarily produced a distinct person in him, fully equal to himself, a man's contemplation of such perfections or powers, as he is possessed of, should not produce another intelligent person fully equal to himself.

It will perhaps be said (though there is nothing to authorize it), that the impossibility of producing this in man, is the imperfection of his faculties, or his limited power of contemplating them. But to cut off that subterfuge, I will ask why the contemplation of the Son's perfections, which are supposed to be fully equal to those of the Father, and whose energy of contemplation must likewise be supposed equal to that of the Father, does not produce another intelligent being equal to himself; and why are not persons in the Godhead in this manner multiplied *ad infinitum*?

If, for any incomprehensible reason, this mysterious power of generation be peculiar to the Father, why does it not still operate? Is he not an unchangeable being, the same now

* Horsley, as "the sense of Athenagoras." See Letters, Pt. iv. Let. viii.

that he was from the beginning, his perfections the same, and his power of contemplating them the same? Why then are not more sons produced? Is he become *αγονος*, incapable of this generation, as the orthodox fathers used to ask, or does it depend upon his will and pleasure whether he will exert this power of generation? If so, is not the Son as much a creature, depending on the will of the Creator, as any thing else produced by him, though in another manner; and this whether he be *of the same substance* (*ὁμοουσιος*) with him, or not?

I should also like to know in what manner the third person in the Trinity was produced. Was it by the joint exertion of the two first, in the contemplation of their respective perfections? If so, why does not the same operation in them produce a fourth, &c. &c. &c.?

Admitting, however, this strange account of the generation of the Trinity (equal in absurdity to any thing in the Jewish cabala) viz. that the personal existence of the Son necessarily flows from the intellect of the Father exerted on itself, it certainly implies a virtual priority or superiority in the Father with respect to the Son; and no being can be properly God, who has any superior. In short, this scheme effectually overturns the doctrine of the proper equality, as well as the unity of the three persons in the Trinity.

SECTION V.

Of the Nature of the Arian Hypothesis, and of the Proof which is necessary to make it credible.

THE doctrine of the Trinity may be reduced, as has been shewn, to a proper contradiction, or a mathematical impossibility, which is incapable of proof, even by miracles. This cannot be said of the Arian hypothesis. Because, for any thing that we certainly know, God might have created one being of such extraordinary power, as should make it unnecessary for him to exert any more creative power; so that all that remained of creation might be delegated to that great derived being. But it is highly improbable that this should have been the case. And the more improbable, *à priori*, any proposition is, on account of its want of analogy to other propositions, the truth of which is admitted, the clearer and stronger evidence we require before we give our assent to it. This improbability may be so great, as to approach very nearly to an impossibility. At least, the impression made

upon the mind will hardly be distinguished in the two cases, and the resistance to assent shall be, in a manner, as great in the one as in the other. Consequently, though the doctrine be not incapable of proof by miracles, yet it will be necessary that the proposition which contains it be very clearly expressed, that the miracles alleged in support of it be well authenticated, and that the connexion between the miracles and the proposition be very particularly established. Let us now consider whether this be the case with respect to the Arian doctrine.

1. There is something in the doctrine itself, which, if we were not accustomed to it, would appear exceedingly revolting. Such, certainly, is the idea of any being in human form, who was born, grew up, and died like other men; requiring the refreshments of food, rest and sleep, &c., having been the maker, and, while on earth and asleep, the supporter and governor of the world. Had such an opinion been first proposed in the present state of philosophy, it would have been rejected without farther examination.

That Christ emptied himself of his former glory and power, and did not sustain the world during his abode on earth, is quite a modern opinion; and, on that account only, can never be received as the original and genuine doctrine of Christianity. Besides, this hypothesis is of itself as improbable as the other. For it may reasonably be asked, Who supplied the place of Christ in the government of the world, when his office was suspended? If the Supreme Being himself undertook it, what reason can there be imagined why he should not himself have always done it? And yet, if there was a reason, in the nature of things, why this work should be done by another, and not by the Supreme Being himself, that reason must have subsisted while Christ was on earth as well as before. But the Arian hypothesis provides no other created being, of rank and power equal to that of Christ, to undertake his office when he should be disabled from discharging it. A contradiction is hardly more revolting to the mind than the improbabilities attending such a scheme as this.

2. It is obvious to remark, that the Arian hypothesis is no where clearly expressed in the Scriptures, and much less is it repeated so often, and so much stress laid upon it, as its natural magnitude required. The Old Testament, it is allowed, contains no such doctrine as that of God having made the world by the instrumentality of any intermediate being; and yet, as we have there the history of the creation,

and as the doctrine of one God having made the heavens and the earth is frequently repeated in the several books of it, it might have been expected that, if there had been such a being as the Arians suppose Christ to be, and he had made the world by the direction of the Supreme Being, some mention would have been made of it there, that being its natural and proper place.

3. The doctrine of Christ having made the world, has no connexion with the great and obvious design of the mission of any of the prophets in general, or that of Christ and the apostles in particular. The great object of the whole scheme of revelation was to teach men how to live here, so as to be happy hereafter, and the particular doctrines which we are taught, as having a connexion with this great object, are those of the unity of God, his universal presence and inspection, his placability to repenting sinners, and the certainty of a resurrection to a life of retribution after death. These doctrines occur perpetually in the discourses and writings of the prophets, of the evangelists, and of the apostles; and the miracles which they wrought have so evident a connexion with these doctrines, that it is impossible to admit their divine mission without receiving them.

On the other hand, the doctrine of there being such a super-angelic spirit as the Arian *logos*, the maker and governor of all things under the Supreme God, has no connexion with the doctrines above-mentioned. It may be true or false, altogether independent of them. It does not, therefore, follow that, admitting that such had been the private opinion of those persons who were divinely inspired, and empowered to work miracles, that their inspiration, or their miracles, could give any sanction to this particular doctrine; their inspiration and miracles relating to another distinct object, and not to this. And it must be acknowledged, that a prophet who has received no instruction from God relating to any particular subject, may be as much mistaken with respect to it as any other person whatever.

Now, considering that no such doctrine as that of there being a subordinate maker of the world was taught by Moses, or any of the ancient prophets, and that Christ himself, as it must be allowed, taught no such doctrine, (though he himself be supposed to have been that very person,) had it been advanced by the apostles, their auditors, who admitted their authority in other things, might very reasonably have demanded a distinct proof of an additional doctrine, so very new and strange, and so unconnected with their other teach-

ing, as this was. They might have said,—We admit that Jesus is the Messiah; we acknowledge that he rose from the dead, and we believe that he will come again to raise all the dead, and to judge the world; but this doctrine of Christ having made the world is quite another thing. It was not taught by Moses, or by Christ, and therefore, we cannot receive it except upon new and independent evidence. What miracles do you work in order to shew that you are commissioned to teach this doctrine?—Now, as it is not pretended that there are any miracles particularly adapted to prove that Christ made and supports the world, I do not see that we are under any obligation to believe, it merely because it was an opinion held by an apostle.

4. The doctrine of Christ having made the world, is not expressed by any of the apostles in a manner so definite and clear, or so repeatedly, as its magnitude naturally required. For the passages in their writings from which it has been inferred that they held this opinion, are very few, and by no means clear and express to the purpose. Had this doctrine been true, being of so extraordinary a nature, and so much unlike to any thing that Jews or Christians had been taught before, it would, no doubt, when it was first promulgated, have been delivered with the greatest distinctness, so as to leave no uncertainty with respect to it; and unless it had been urged by the apostles, again and again, and with peculiar force and emphasis, their auditors would naturally have imagined that they only made use of some figurative forms of speech, and did not seriously mean to advance a doctrine so very remote from their former apprehensions of things.

But in all the writings of the apostles, there are only four passages from which it has been pretended that, in their opinion, Christ was the maker of the world; and in one of them no mention is made of Christ. As they are so very few, I shall recite them all, that my reader may have the whole evidence of this extraordinary doctrine fairly before him.

No mention is made of this doctrine in any book, in the New Testament, which was written before the imprisonment of Paul at Rome, A. D. 61 and 62, and then by this one apostle only. Writing to the Ephesians, ch. iii. 9, he says, "to make all men see what is the fellowship of the mystery, which from the beginning of the world has been hid in God, who created all things by Jesus Christ." This is only an incidental expression at the close of a sentence, the object of which was to teach something else; also both the terms

creation, and *all things*, are of very uncertain signification, and therefore, may well be supposed to refer to what is figuratively called the new creation, or the reformation of the world.

The same apostle, in the epistle to the Colossians, ch. i. 15—18, says of Christ, “who is the image of the invisible God, the first-born of every creature. For by him were all things created, that are in heaven and that are in earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones or dominions, or principalities or powers. All things were created by him and for him, and he is before all things, and by him all things consist; and he is the head of the body, the church, who is the beginning, the first-born from the dead, that in all things he might have the pre-eminence.” On this passage it is obvious to remark, that the things which Christ is said to have made, are not the heavens or the earth, but some things that were in the heavens and in the earth; and these were not natural objects, such as stars or planets, trees or animals, &c. But the creation, or establishment, of such things as thrones and dominions, may naturally be interpreted as referring to some exercise of that *power in heaven and on earth*, which Christ says was given to him after his resurrection. Also, as his being *the head of the body, the church*, is mentioned after all the other particulars; it is most probable that this power, whatever it was, related only to his church, and that it had nothing to do with the creation of the heavens or the earth. It is acknowledged that these two passages, viz. from the epistles to the Ephesians and Colossians, correspond to each other, and that they are to be interpreted on the same principles. Now if the phraseology in the epistle to the Ephesians be attended to, it will be clearly seen, that the writer explains his own meaning with respect to what he calls *creation*. In the second chapter, he represents the Gentiles as being in a state of death, and quickened, or brought to life, by the gospel. Consequently they might be said to be created again, as he says, ch. ii. 10, “We are his workmanship created in Christ Jesus unto good works.” Does not this sufficiently explain what he meant, ch. iii. 9, by God having “created all things by Jesus Christ”? With the same idea he calls the heathen state of the Ephesians the old man, and their christian state, the new man, ch. iv. 22—24: “That ye put off concerning the former conversation, the old man, which is corrupt, according to the deceitful lusts: and be renewed in the spirit of your mind; and that

ye put on the new man, which, after God, is created in righteousness and true holiness."

In the idea of the apostle, the preaching of Christianity made a new and distinguished æra in the history of the world, from which things might be said to have a new origin, and this he terms *creation*, as he says, 2 Cor. v. 17, "If any man be in Christ, he is a new creature; old things are passed away, behold all things are become new." And this language is countenanced by, and was perhaps adopted from Isaiah; who, looking into future times, says, ch. lxv. 17, 18, "Behold I create new heavens, and a new earth, and the former shall not be remembered nor come into mind. But be ye glad, and rejoice for ever in that which I create. For behold I create Jerusalem a rejoicing, and her people a joy." By this language the prophet only meant to describe a glorious revolution in favour of the Jews.

In the epistle to the Hebrews, the apostle says, ch. i. 1—3, "God, who, at sundry times, and in divers manners, spake in times past unto the fathers, by the prophets, hath, in these last days spoken unto us by his Son; whom he hath appointed heir of all things, by whom also he made the worlds, who being the brightness of his glory, and the express image of his person, and upholding all things by the word of his power, when he had by himself purged our sins, sat down on the right hand of the Majesty on high."

In this passage it is evident, that it was not the object of the writer to make an express assertion concerning the making of the world by Christ, so as to exhibit it as an article of any consequence. He was asserting something else; and what he is thought to say on the subject is only one incidental circumstance, among several others. And is it to be supposed that a doctrine of this importance would never be laid down but in such a manner as this? Besides, nothing is here said, or intimated, about Christ making the material worlds, for it is only said that he made the ages (*αιωνας*); and the all things here mentioned evidently means all things relating to a particular object, viz. the mission of Christ, and not all the works of nature.

Lastly, in the introduction to the gospel of John, we read, "In the beginning was the word, and the word was with God, and the word was God.—All things were made by him (or rather by *it*) and without him (*it*) was not any thing made that was made." In this celebrated passage, there is no mention, as I observed before, of Christ, and that the *word*

(logos) means Christ is not to be taken for granted; since another interpretation is very obvious and natural, viz. that the word here spoken of is the proper *word*, or *power* of God, by which the Scriptures of the Old Testament inform us, that all things were actually made. Thus the psalmist says, Psa. xxxiii. 6, 9, "By the word of the Lord were the heavens made, and all the host of them by the breath of his mouth.—He spake and it was done, he commanded and it stood fast." The same word or power resided in Christ, and performed all his miraculous works. Agreeably to which he himself says, *the Father within me he doeth the works.*

On the slender foundation of these four passages, rests the great doctrine of Christ having been the instrument, in the hands of God of making the world and all things. When they are all put together, and even shutting our eyes on all the direct and positive evidence that the world was made by the Supreme Being himself, and by no other, acting under him, can it be said that they all together amount to a sufficiently clear declaration of a doctrine of so much magnitude as the Arian hypothesis is, viz. that Christ, having been first created himself, did (and, as far as appears, without any previous essays or efforts,) immediately make the whole system of the visible universe, and from that time support all the laws of it, himself only being supported, or perhaps unsupported, by the Father.

Where would have been the evidence of the Arian hypothesis, if Paul had not written the two epistles to the Ephesians and the Colossians, which are supposed to contain it? For, little as is the evidence for this doctrine from the passages I have recited from these epistles, it is much greater than that which can be derived from the two others. And had neither the epistles themselves, nor the introduction to the gospel of John been ever written, it would not have been suspected that any thing was wanting in the scheme of Christianity.

However, it is not, certainly, from so few casual expressions, which so easily admit of other interpretations, and especially in epistolary writings, which are seldom composed with so much care as books intended for the use of posterity, that we can be authorized to infer that such was the serious opinion of the apostles. But if it had been their real opinion, it would not follow that it was true, unless the teaching of it should appear to be included in their general commission, with which, as I have shewn, it has no sort of connexion.

If any should be convinced that these four passages, do not authorize us to conclude that Christ made the world, they must be interpreted in such a manner as not to imply his simple pre-existence; and if this cannot be inferred from these texts, it certainly cannot from any other. Consequently, both the doctrine of Christ having made the world, and that of his simple pre-existence, must stand or fall together.

5. It will be seen in its proper place, that the Arian hypothesis, loaded as it is with the greatest natural improbabilities, and altogether destitute of support in the Scriptures, was the natural consequence of other false principles, which also naturally sprung from the philosophy of the times in which Christianity was promulgated. That philosophy is now exploded, but the articles in the christian system which were derived from it remain. Platonism is no more; but the Trinitarian and Arian doctrines yet subsist; and with many, the latter remains, when the former, from which it arose, is abandoned. Thus the fruit is preserved, when the tree on which it grew, is cut down.

Had there been no Platonic *nous*, or *logos*, Christians would never have got a divine *logos*, or second God, the creator of the world under the Supreme God, and the medium of all the divine communications to the patriarchs; and had there been no such divine and uncreated *logos* in the christian system, we should never, I am confident, have heard of a created *logos* being provided to answer the same purpose.

Also, if it had not been a doctrine familiar to all the schools of philosophy, that the souls of men in general had pre-existed, it would never have been imagined that the created soul of Christ had pre-existed. But when other souls are deprived of this great privilege, it remains, contrary to all analogy, and all principles of just reasoning, attached to that of Christ only, just as with many, the doctrine of a divine uncreated *logos* is abandoned, and that of the created *logos*, which sprung from it, remains in its place. But an attention to the true causes and original supports of the Arian doctrine in all its parts, and the reasons for which these causes and supports of it have been given up, cannot fail to draw after it, in due time, the downfall of the Arian doctrine itself. In the mean time it is held by many as being a medium between two great extremes, the doctrine of the proper divinity of Christ on the one hand, and that of his simple humanity on the other.

SECTION VI.

Reasons for not considering Arians as being properly Unitarians.

THE great objection to the doctrine of the Trinity is, that it is an infringement of the doctrine of the unity of God, as the sole object of worship, which it was the primary design of the whole system of revelation to establish. Any modification of this doctrine, therefore, or any other system whatever, ought to be regarded with suspicion, in proportion as it makes a multiplicity of objects of worship, for that is to introduce **IDOLATRY**.

That the doctrine of three persons in the divine nature is making three Gods, has, I think, been sufficiently proved. But they who do not think that Christ is equal to the Supreme Being, but only the maker and governor of the world under him, are willing to think that they are not included in the censure of making a multiplicity of gods, or in any danger of introducing more objects of worship. They therefore call themselves *Unitarians*, and think themselves perfectly clear of the charge of giving any countenance to idolatry. Indeed, this is an accusation to which the Athanasians themselves plead not guilty. I think, however, that it applies not only to them, but even to the Arians, and therefore, that strictly speaking, the latter are no more entitled to the appellation of Unitarians than the former. My reasons for this are the following:

1. If greatness of power be a foundation on which to apply the title of God, they who believe that Christ made the world, and that he constantly preserves and governs it, must certainly consider him as enjoying a very high rank in the scale of divinity, whatever reason they may have to decline giving him the title of God. They must allow that he is a much greater being, or god, than Apollo, or even Jupiter, was ever supposed to be. His derivation from another, and a greater God, is no reason why he should not likewise be considered as a god. The polytheism of the Heathens did not consist in making two or more equal and independent gods, but in having one Supreme God, and the rest subordinate, which is the very thing that the Arians hold.

We have no idea of any power greater than that of creation, which the Arians ascribe to Christ, especially if by creation be meant creation out of nothing; and the Arians do not

now say that the Father first produced matter, and that then the Son formed it into worlds, &c. a notion indeed, advanced, as will be seen, by Philo and Methodius among the ancients, but too ridiculous to be retained by any; so that whatever be meant by creation, the Arians ascribe it to Christ.

2. Upon the principle which is adopted by many Arians, we must acknowledge not only two gods, but gods without number. According to some, Christ made this solar system only. There must, therefore, have been other beings, of equal rank with him, to whom the creation, or formation, of the other systems was assigned; and observation shews, that there are millions and millions of systems. The probability is, that they fill the whole extent of infinite space. Here, then, are infinitely more, as well as infinitely greater gods, than the Heathens ever thought of.

But I would observe, that the modern Arians, in ascribing to Christ the formation of the whole solar system, ascribe more to him than the ancient Arians did; for they did not suppose that he made any thing more than this world, because they had no knowledge of any other. Had the ancients had any proper idea of the extent of the solar system; had they believed that it contained as many worlds as there are primary and secondary planets belonging to it, all of which might stand in as much need of the interposition of their maker as that which we inhabit, they would, probably, have been staggered at the thought of giving such an extensive power and agency to any one created being; much less is it probable that they would at once have gone so far as the generality of modern Arians, who suppose that Christ made the whole universe. That would have been to give him so much power, and so extensive an agency, that the Supreme Father would not have been missed, if, after the production of such a Son, he had himself either remained an inactive spectator in the universe, or even retired out of existence. For why might not the power of self-subsistence be imparted to another as well as that of creating out of nothing?

3. If we consider the train of reasoning by which we infer that there is only one God, it will be found, that, according to the Arian hypothesis, Christ himself may be that one God. We are led to the idea of God by inquiring into the cause of what we see; and the being which is able to produce all that we see, or know, we call God. We cannot, by the light of nature, go any farther; and the reason why we say that there is only one God, is, that we see such marks of uniformity in the whole system, and such a mutual relation

of all the parts to each other, that we cannot think that one part was contrived or executed by one being, and another part by another being. Whoever it was that made the plants, for instance, must also have made the animals that feed upon them. Whatever being made and superintends the land, must also have made, and must superintend the water, &c. We also cannot suppose that the earth had one author, and the moon another, or indeed any part of the solar system. And for the same reason that the whole solar system had one author, all the other systems, which have any relation to it (and the probability is that the whole universe is one connected system) had the same author. There can be no reason, therefore, why any persons should stop at supposing that Christ made the solar system only. For the same reason that his province includes this system, it ought to include all the universe, which is giving him an absolute omnipresence, as well as omnipotence; and I shall then leave others to distinguish between this being, and that God whom they would place above him. For my own part, I see no room for any thing above him. Imagination itself cannot make any difference between them. If, therefore, the Arian principle be pursued to its proper extent, we must either say that there are two infinite beings, or Gods, or else that Christ is the one God.

4. If any being become the object of our worship in consequence of our dependence upon him, and our receiving all our blessings from him; and also in consequence of his being invisibly present with us, so that we may be sure both that he always hears us, and that he is able to assist us; Christ, on the Arian hypothesis, coming under this description, must be the proper object of all that we ever call worship, and therefore must be God. For he who made all things, and who upholds all things by the word of his power, must necessarily be present every where, and know all things, as well as be able to do all things. If he only made and takes care of this earth, he must be present in all parts of the earth. There must, therefore, be the greatest natural propriety in our praying to such a being. A being to whom these characters belong has always been considered as the object of the highest worship that man can pay. The psalmist says, Ps. xciv. 6, "O come, let us worship, and bow down, let us kneel before the Lord our Maker." If, therefore, Christ be the Lord our maker, we are fully authorized to worship and bow down before him.

5. If the *logos* be Christ, Arians cannot refuse to give

him the appellation of God. For John says, ch. i. 1, "and the word was God." Thus, I believe all Arians interpret the passage. It is, therefore, not a little extraordinary, that they should pretend that they do not acknowledge two Gods. They will say that Christ is God in an inferior sense, as Moses is called a god with respect to Pharaoh. But according to the Arian hypothesis, Christ is God in a very different sense from that in which Moses could ever be so. He is a God not in name only, but in power. They do not even acknowledge a great God, and a little one; but a very great God, and another greater than he. On this account the Arians were always considered as polytheists by the ancient Trinitarians, while the Unitarians were regarded as Jews, holding the unity of God in too strict a sense. For these reasons I own that, in my opinion, those who are usually called Socinians (who consider Christ as being a mere man) are the only body of Christians who are properly entitled to the appellation of Unitarians; and that the Arians are even less entitled to it than the Athanasians, who also lay claim to it. The Athanasian system, according to one explanation of it, is certainly *tritheism*, but according to another it is mere *nonsense*.

Some may possibly say,—It is not necessary that Christ should of himself have wisdom and power sufficient for the work of creation; but that, nevertheless, God might work by him in that business, as he did in his miracles on earth; Christ speaking the word, or using some indifferent action (such as anointing the eyes of the blind man) and God producing the effect.—

The two cases, however, are essentially different. That Christ, or any other prophet, should be able to foretell what God would do (which, in fact, is all that they pretended to) was necessary, as a proof of their divine mission; whenever there was a propriety in God's having intercourse with men, by means of a man like themselves. But what reason can there even be imagined why God, intending to make a world by his own immediate power, should first create an angel or a man, merely to give the word of command, whenever he should bid him to do so; when by the supposition, there was no other being existing to learn any thing from it?

Besides, a being naturally incapable of doing any thing cannot properly be said to be an instrument by which it is done. I use a pen as an instrument in writing, because a pen is naturally fitted for the purpose, and I could not write

without one. But if, besides a pen, without which I could not write, I should take a flute, and blow on it every time that I took my pen in hand in order to write, and should say that I chose to write with such an instrument, I should lay myself open to ridicule. And yet such an instrument of creation would this hypothesis make Christ to have been.

I must take it for granted, therefore, that Christ would never have been employed in the work of creation, if he had not been originally endued with power sufficient for the work. In that case, without the communication of any new powers, or any more immediate agency of God, he would be able to execute whatever was appointed him. Thus, Abraham, having a natural power of walking, could go wherever God ordered him; and a prophet, having the power of speech, could deliver to others whatever God should give him in charge to say. Any other hypothesis appears to me to be inadmissible.

Such being the hypothesis that the Arians have to defend, they ought certainly to look well to the arguments they produce for it. The greater and the more alarming any doctrine is, the clearer ought to be the evidence by which it is to be supported. I do not in this work undertake to consider particular passages of scripture; but I have shewn that the general tenour of it, as well as considerations from reason, are highly unfavourable to the Arian hypothesis, and it will be seen, in the course of this work, that it has as little support from history.

SECTION VI.

Of the Argument against the Pre-existence of Christ from the Materiality of Man; and of the Use of the Doctrine of the Trinity.

I MIGHT have urged another kind of argument against both the divinity and pre-existence of Christ, viz. from the doctrine of the materiality of man, which I presume has been sufficiently proved in my *Disquisitions on Matter and Spirit*. (Vol. III.) I have there shewn that there is no more reason why a man should be supposed to have an immaterial principle within him, than that a dog, a plant, or a magnet, should have one; because in all these cases, there is just the same difficulty in imagining any connexion between the visible matter of which they consist, and the

invisible powers, of which they are possessed. If universal concomitance be the foundation of all our reasoning concerning causes and effects, the organized brain of a man must be deemed to be the proper seat, and immediate cause of his sensation and thinking, as much as the inward structure of a magnet, whatever that be, is the cause of its power of attracting iron.

The most inanimate parts of nature are possessed of powers or properties, between which and what we see and feel of them, we are not able to perceive any connexion whatever. There is just as much connexion between the principles of sensation and thought, and the brain of a man, as between the powers of a magnet and the iron of which it is made, or between the principle of gravitation and the matter of which the earth and the sun are made; and whenever we shall be able to deduce the powers of a magnet from the other properties of iron, we may perhaps be able to deduce the powers of sensation and thought from the other properties of the brain.

This is a very short and plain argument, perfectly consonant to all our reasoning in philosophy. It is conclusive against the doctrine of *a soul*, and consequently against the whole system of pre-existence. If Peter, James and John, had no pre-existent state, it must be contrary to all analogy to suppose Jesus to have pre-existed. His being a prophet, and having a power of working miracles, can make no just exception in his favour; for then every preceding prophet must have pre-existed.

I think I have also proved in my *Disquisitions*, that the doctrine of a soul, as a substance distinct from the body, and capable of being happy or miserable when the body is in the grave, was borrowed from Pagan philosophy, that it is totally repugnant to the system of revelation, and unknown in the Scriptures; which speak of no reward for the righteous, or punishment for the wicked, before the general resurrection, and the coming of Christ to judge the world.

I might therefore have urged that, since the doctrine of Christ's pre-existence is contrary to reason, and was never taught by Christ or his apostles, it could not have been the faith of their immediate disciples, in the first ages of Christianity. This argument will have its weight with those who reject the doctrine of a soul, and make them look with suspicion upon any pretended proof of the doctrine of Christ's pre-existence, and of its having been the faith of

the apostolical age, as well as their previous persuasion that such is not the doctrine of the Scriptures. And since all the three positions are capable of independent proof, the arguing of them is not arguing in a circle, but the adducing of proper collateral evidence.

I would conclude this *Introduction* with advising the advocates for the doctrine of the Trinity to consider what there is in it that can recommend it as a part of a system of religious truth. All that can be said for it is, that the doctrine, however improbable in itself, is necessary to explain some particular texts of Scripture; and that if it had not been for those particular texts, we should have found no want of it. For there is neither any fact in nature, nor any one purpose of morals (which are the object and end of all religion) that requires it.

Is not one self-existent, almighty, infinitely wise, and perfectly good Being, fully equal to the production of all things, and also to the support and government of the worlds which he has made? A second person in the god-head cannot be really wanted for this purpose, as far as we can conceive.

Whatever may be meant by the redemption of the world, is not the Being who made it equal to that also? If his creatures offend him, and by repentance and reformation become the proper objects of his forgiveness, is it not more natural to suppose that he has, within himself, a power of forgiving them, and of restoring them to his favour, without the strange expedient of another person, fully equal to himself, condescending to animate a human body, and dying for them? We never think of any similiar expedient in order to forgive, with the greatest propriety and effect, offences committed by our children against ourselves.

Whatever be supposed to be the use of a third person in the Trinity, is not the influence of the first person sufficient for that also? The descent of the Holy Spirit upon the apostles was to enable them to work miracles. But when our Saviour was on earth, the Father within him, and acting by him, did the same thing.

Why then should any person be so desirous of retaining such a doctrine as this of the Trinity, which he must acknowledge has an uncouth appearance, has always confounded the best reason of mankind, and drives us to the doctrine of inexplicable mysteries; to the great offence of Jews, Mahometans, and unbelievers in general. Without some urgent necessity? Of two difficulties we are always

authorized to choose the least; and why should we risk the whole of Christianity, for the sake of so unnecessary and undesirable a part?

Let those then who are attached to the doctrine of the Trinity, try whether they cannot hit upon some method or other of reconciling a few particular texts, not only with common sense, but also with the general and the obvious tenour of the Scriptures themselves. In this they will, no doubt, find some difficulty at first, from the effect of early impressions, and association of ideas; but an attention to the true idiom of the scripture language, with such helps as they may easily find for the purpose, will satisfy them that the doctrine of the Trinity furnishes no proper clue to the right understanding of these texts, but will only serve to mislead them.

In the mean time, this doctrine of the Trinity wears so disagreeable an aspect, that I think every reasonable man must say with the excellent Archbishop Tillotson,* with respect to the Athanasian Creed, "I wish we were well rid of it." This is not setting up reason against the Scriptures, but reconciling reason with the Scriptures, and the Scriptures with themselves. On any other scheme, they are irreconcilably at variance.

* In his Letter to Burnet. See Birch's Life of Tillotson, Ed. 2, p. 311. Tillotson had been anticipated by Bishop Jeremy Taylor, who says, "if it were considered concerning Athanasius's Creed, how many people understand it not, how contrary to natural reason it seems, how little the Scripture says of those curiosities of explication—it had not been amiss if the final judgment had been left to Jesus Christ." Lib. of Proph. 2d ed. p. 73. In 1756, the learned Dr. Clayton, Bishop of Clogher, moved in the Irish House of Lords, "that the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds should, for the future, be left out of the Liturgy of the Church of Ireland." Biog. Brit. III. 625. To these prelates, who have expressed their disinclination to the Athanasian Creed, may be added, the present Bishop of Lincoln, Dr. Tomlin, in his *Elements of Theology*.

THE
HISTORY
 OF
Opinions concerning Christ.

BOOK I.

THE HISTORY OF OPINIONS WHICH PRECEDED THE
 DOCTRINE OF THE DIVINITY OF CHRIST, AND WHICH
 PREPARED THE WAY FOR IT.

CHAPTER I.

OF THOSE WHO ARE CALLED APOSTOLICAL FATHERS.

It must, I think, have been evident from the considerations suggested in the preceding *Introduction*, that the doctrines of the divinity and pre-existence of Christ, were not taught in the Scriptures. But as great stress has been laid upon them in later ages, it is of some moment to trace both when, and in what manner, they were introduced. With respect to the latter of these circumstances, I think I shall be able to give my readers abundant satisfaction, but with respect to the precise time when, or the particular persons by whom, they were introduced, there is less certainty to be had. This, however, is of no great consequence, it being sufficient to shew that they came in from some foreign source, and after the age of the apostles, which accounts for their not noticing the doctrines at all.

The oldest writer, in whose works these doctrines are unquestionably found, is Justin Martyr, who wrote about A. D. 140. But some traces of them are to be seen in our present copies of the writings of those who are called *Apostolical Fathers*, from their having lived in the time of the apostles, and being therefore supposed to retain their doctrines, espe-

cially as they were not men of a philosophical education. It would certainly be a considerable argument in favour of those doctrines, if they had been certainly held by such men; but this can by no means be proved. For it is to be lamented that, few as these apostolical fathers are, their works are not come down to us as they wrote them, or rather, except a single epistle of Clemens Romanus, which contains no such doctrines as those of the divinity or pre-existence of Christ, the works that are ascribed to them are almost entirely spurious, and the time of their composition is not easily ascertained. I shall make a few observations on all of them that contain any trace of the doctrines above-mentioned. They are the supposed works of Barnabas, Hermas and Ignatius.

Though I am well satisfied that the only genuine epistle of Clemens Romanus contains no such doctrine as that of the divinity or pre-existence of Christ, yet, because it has been pretended that the latter, at least, is found there, I shall produce the passage which has been alleged for this purpose, and make a few remarks upon it.

“For Christ is theirs who are humble, and not who exalt themselves over his flock. The sceptre of the majesty of God, our Lord Jesus Christ, came not in the show of pride and arrogance, though he could have done so, but with humility, as the Holy Spirit had before spoken concerning him.”*

This passage, however, is easily explained, by supposing that Clemens alluded to Christ’s coming as a public teacher, when, being invested with the power of working miracles, he never made any ostentatious display of it, or indeed ever exerted it for his own benefit in any respect.

But it has been said that the context determines the coming of Christ, of which Clemens speaks, to be from a pre-existent state. “He came not,” says Clemens, “in the pomp of pride and arrogance, although he had it in his power, but in humility, as the Holy Spirit spake concerning him. To determine what this humility is, Clemens immediately goes on to cite the prophecies which describe the Messiah’s low condition. The humility, therefore, of an ordinary condition, is that in which it is said the Messiah came. The pomp, therefore,

* Ταπ νοσημεντων ημας εν ο Χριστος εκ’ επιαιρομενων επι το ποιμινον αυτα. Ιεσπεπριν τις μεγαλαυτους τε Θεο, ο κυριος ημων Χριστος Ιησους, εκ’ ηλθει εν ταπεινωσει, οτι οτι βασιλεως, καιπερ δυναμενος, αλλα ταπεινωστρον, καθως το πνευμα το αγιον προειπτε ελαλησεν. Sect. xvi. p. 154. (P.) See Wake’s *Gen. Epis.* Ed. 4, p. 13.

of a high condition, is the pomp in which it is said he came not, although he had it in his power to come. The expressions, therefore, clearly imply that our Lord, 'ere he came, had the power to choose in what condition he would be born."*

But, if we consider the prophecies which Clemens quotes, we shall find them to be not such as describe the circumstances of the birth of Christ, but only those of his public life and death; the principal of them being, Isa. liii. which he quotes almost at full length. This is certainly favourable to the supposition, that when Christ was in public life, he made no ostentatious display of the extraordinary powers with which he was invested, and before he entered upon it, preferred a low condition to that of a great prince.

The more ancient reading of Jerome is evidently favourable to this interpretation of the passage. He read *παντα δυναμενος*, having all power, which naturally alludes to the great power of which he became possessed after the descent of the Spirit of God upon him at his baptism.

As to the phrase coming, it is used to express the mission of any prophet, and it is applied to John the Baptist as well as to Christ, of which the following passages are examples. Matt. xi. 18. 19: "John came neither eating nor drinking, &c. The Son of Man came eating and drinking," &c. i. e. not locally from heaven, but as other prophets came from God. Christ says of John, Matt. xxi. 32, "John came unto you in the way of righteousness." John the Evangelist also says of him, John i. 7, "The same came for a witness," &c.

Admitting that some one circumstance in the prophecies which Clemens quotes, rigorously interpreted, should allude to the birth of Christ, (though I see no reason to think so,) we are not authorized to conclude that Clemens attended to that in particular, but to the general scope of the whole, which is evidently descriptive of his public life only.

In the second section of this epistle we find the phrase *the sufferings of God*; † but this is language so exceedingly shocking and unscriptural, that it is hardly possible to think that it could be used by any writer so near to the time of the apostles; and Junius, who was far from having my objection to it, was of opinion that the whole passage was much cor-

* Horsley's Letters, quoted by Dr. P. Pt. ii. Let. i.

† "Being content with the portion God had dispensed to you; and he hearken-
ing diligently to his word, ye were enlarged in your bowels, having his sufferings
(παθηματων) before your eyes." Wake's *Gen. Epis.* p. 2.

rupted, and that, instead of *παθηματα αυτη* i. e. *Θεε*, we ought to read *μαθηματα αυτων*.

Whatever may be thought of this epistle by any of the moderns, it appears that, after the Council of Nice, it was not thought to be favourable to the orthodoxy of those times. Photius, in his account of it, says, that it is liable to censure for three things, the last of which is, that "speaking of our high-priest and master, Jesus Christ, he did not make use of expressions sufficiently lofty and becoming a God, though he no where openly blasphemes him."*

Of the writings of the other apostolical fathers, the epistle of Barnabas would certainly be entitled to the greatest consideration, if it was genuine; but it is almost certainly spurious, and unquestionably interpolated, besides, that the time in which it was written cannot be ascertained. Probably, however, it is not very ancient. My observations on this subject will be chiefly copied from the learned Jeremiah Jones, who, being a believer in the doctrine of the Trinity, cannot be excepted against as an unfair judge in this case.

That the writer of this epistle was not Barnabas, the companion of Paul, "who was originally a Jew," but "by one who was originally a Gentile or Pagan," appears, he says, "from the constant distinction or opposition which he makes between Jew and Gentile" in the course of the work, and from the writer, "always ranking himself among the latter sort." † It is also evident from there being no Hebraisms in the style of the work, and from its being written after the destruction of Jerusalem. For he speaks of the temple as being then destroyed, ‡ and it is highly improbable that Barnabas should have survived that event.

That this epistle was not, in early times, considered as the genuine production of Barnabas, the companion of Paul, appears, "because it is not found in any of the catalogues of the sacred books of the New Testament, made by the primitive Christians." § It is, likewise, almost certain that this

* 'Οτι αρχιερια και προσατην τον κυριον ημων Ιησυν Χριστον εξουμαζων, εδιδας θεοπροφητις και υψηλοτερας αφυκε περι αυτη φωνας' ημην εδ' απαρακαλυπτως αυτον ηδαιμη εν τητοις βλαστρημει. Bibliotheca, p. 308. (P.)

† Jones on the Canon, 1726, I. p. 526. (P.) "A new and full method of settling the authority of the New Testament, by the Rev. Jeremiah Jones. Oxford. At the Clarendon Press" 1798, II. pp. 432, 434.

‡ Sect. xvi. (P.) "The Scripture saith, (Zechar. ii 6, juxta Hebr.) 'And it shall come to pass in the last days, that the Lord will deliver up the sheep of his pasture, and their fold, and their tower unto destruction.' And it has come to pass, as the Lord hath spoken." Wake's *Gen. Epis.* p. 188.

§ Jones on the Canon, I. p. 534. (P.) Oxford, II. p. 440.

epistle could not be written by Barnabas, or indeed any respectable writer, from the extreme weakness and absurdity of many parts of it, especially from his finding in the two first letters of the name of Jesus, and the figure of the cross, the number 318, which he says, was the number that Abraham circumcised, (but which was the number of those that Abraham armed, in order to pursue the kings who had plundered Sodom,) T, which makes the figure of the cross being 300, in the Greek method of notation, and I, II, 18. This curiosity he speaks of as having been imparted to him by divine inspiration, and as certain a truth as any that he had divulged.*

The author of this epistle carries his allegorizing of the writings of Moses so far as to assert that it was not his intention to forbid the use of any meats as unclean, but only to signify, by his prohibiting the flesh of certain animals, that we ought to avoid the dispositions for which they are remarkable.† Mr. Jones proceeds to mention ten instances of mistakes and falsehoods in this epistle of Barnabas, and says that it would be easy to instance as many more.‡

The age of this epistle cannot be clearly ascertained. It is not mentioned by Irenæus, Justin Martyr, Athenagoras, Theophilus, or Tertullian; but it is quoted by Clemens Alexandrinus. It is not, therefore, certain that this epistle is older than Justin Martyr, and therefore, it is of little consequence whether the writer held the doctrine of the pre-existence of Christ, or not.

At whatever time this epistle was written, it is evidently interpolated. Two passages in the Greek, which assert the pre-existence of Christ, are omitted in the ancient Latin

* *Διότι οὗν τὸν μὲν Ἰησοῦν ἐν τοῖς δυσὶ γραμμασὶ καὶ ἐν ἑνὶ τῶν σταυρῶν. Οἶδεν, ὅ τιν ἐπιφύτων ὄντεσσαν τῆς διδασχῆς αὐτοῦ θεμενὸς ἐν ἡμῖν. Οὐδεὶς γνησιωτερον ἐμαθεν ἀπ' ἐμοῦ λογιόν· ἀλλὰ οἶδα, ὅτι ἀξιοὶ ἐστε ὑμεῖς.* Sect. ix. p. 80. (P.) "Abraham, who was the first that brought in circumcision, looking forward in the spirit to Jesus, circumcised, having received the mystery in three letters. For the Scripture says, that Abraham circumcised 318 men of his house. But what therefore was the mystery that was made known to him? Mark first the 18, and next the 300. For the numeral letters of 10 and 8, are I, II.; and these denote *Jesus*. And because the cross was that by which we were to find grace, therefore he adds 300, the note of which is T. Wherefore by two letters he signified *Jesus*, and by the third his cross. He who has put the engrafted gift of his doctrine within us knows that I never taught to any one a more genuine truth. But I trust that ye are worthy of it." Sect. ix. *ad fin.* Archbishop Wake adds, on authorities which he quotes, as to the 318 men circumcised, "that many others of the ancient fathers have concurred in this." *Gen. Epist.* pp. 175, 176.

Mr. Jones remarks that, "the author of the Epistle, in his allegory, supposes that Abraham understood Greek, at least that he knew the Greek letters, many hundred years before" they "were invented." *New Meth.* Oxford, II. p. 450.

† Sect. x. Wake, pp. 176—179.

‡ *New Meth.* Oxf. II. pp. 446—453.

version of it. And can it be supposed that that version was published in an age in which such an omission was likely to be made? Both the interpolations are in Sect. VI., where we now read thus: “For the Scripture says concerning us, as he says, to the Son, ‘Let us make man according to our image and our likeness.’”* But the ancient Latin version corresponding to this passage is simply this: “As, says the Scripture, ‘Let us make man,’” &c.†

Again, in the same section, after quoting from Moses, “Increase and multiply, and replenish the earth,” the Greek copy has “These things to the Son;”‡ but in the old Latin version the clause is wholly omitted; and, certainly, there is no want of it, or of the similar clause in the former passage, with respect to the general object of the writer. These appear to me pretty evident marks of interpolation.

In another passage, God is represented as speaking to the Son on the day before the making of the world;§ but this is in that part of the epistle of which the original is lost, and it is by no means improbable, that this version may have been interpolated, as well as the original, and for the same reasons.

The passage that looks the least like an interpolation, and which yet speaks of Christ as pre-existing, is one in which he is represented as regulating the Jewish ritual, and having a view to himself in the frame of it. Speaking of the obligation of the priests to fast, he says, “This the Lord ordered because he himself was to offer for our sins the vessel of his spirit, and also that the type by Isaac, who was to have been offered, might be fulfilled.”|| He also gives it as a reason, why the priests only should eat the inwards, not washed with vinegar, that “he knew that they would give him vinegar mixed with gall to drink, to shew that he was to suffer for them.”¶ A little alteration in the words of this passage would make it speak of God as ordering this with a view to

* Α γ γ ε λ ι α ἡ γ γ α ρ α περὶ ἡμῶν, ὡς λέγει τῷ υἱῷ, Πνευματικὸν καὶ εἰκόνα καὶ κατ’ εἰκόνα ἡμῶν, τὸ ἀνθρώπινον. (P.) Wake, p. 169.

† Sicut, deit Scriptura, Faciamus hominem. (P.)

‡ Ταῦτα πρὸς τὸν υἱόν. P. Wake, p. 169.

§ Die ante constitutionem seculi. Sect. v. p. 61. (P.) Wake, p. 166.

|| Ἐπιτάλας κενός ἐστι, καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἡμῶν ἱερῶν ἀμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν ἅλλε σκευὸς τῆ πνευματικῆς προσφορῆς ἡμῶν, ἵνα καὶ ὁ τυπὸς ὁ γενομένος ἐπὶ Ἰσαακ, τῆ προστερεχθῆναις πρὸς τὸ θυσιασεύειν, τελεσθῆ. Sect. vii. p. 21. (P.) Wake, p. 171.

¶ Πρὸς τίς ἐπιτάλας ἐστίν, ὑπὲρ ἀμαρτιῶν μελλόντων τῆ λαοῦ τῆ καινῆ προσφορῆς τὴν σαρκὰ μὴ, μελλόντι πόλιν χολῆν μετὰ οἴνου. Ἴνα δεῖξῃ, ὅτι δεῖ αὐτὸν παθεῖν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν. Sect. vii. p. 21. (P.) Wake, p. 171.

Christ. As it stands, however, it certainly conveys the idea of the pre-existence of Christ, and of his having been the framer of the Jewish constitution. But what certain inference can be drawn from this, when it is considered that the work was not written by the companion of Paul, and that it cannot be proved to be older than the writings of Justin Martyr?

The supposed author of the next piece, which contains the doctrine of the pre-existence of Christ, is Hermas, mentioned in the conclusion of Paul's epistle to the Romans. His work, entitled *The Shepherd*, is quoted by Irenæus, though not by name. The sentence which he cites is as follows: "The Scripture, therefore, well says, in the first place, believe that there is one God, who created and established all things, making them out of nothing,"* which is found in Hermas.† But we have only a Latin translation of Hermas, and, therefore, cannot be quite sure that the words were the same. The sense of them is certainly found in what are properly called The Scriptures, and I do not know that Irenæus ever quotes any other book by this title, except those which we now characterize in that manner. He quotes no other author, I believe, without mentioning either his name, or some title or circumstance sufficiently descriptive of him.

Though this book of Hermas is quoted with respect by some of the more early fathers, it is treated with contempt by the later ones, as Le Clerc, who thought it genuine, observes.‡ Tertullian says of this work of Hermas, "it is rejected as spurious by all the councils of the churches;"§ and it was declared to be apochryphal under pope Gelasius, A. D. 494. It is, indeed, a work highly unworthy of the apostolical age, the contents of it being weak and foolish in the extreme, to say nothing of its pretended visions, which looks as if the writer designed to impose them upon the world for something else than his own inventions. Those who deny the authenticity of this work, generally ascribe it to another Hermas, or Hermes, brother of pope Pius, about the year 146, which is after the time of Justin Martyr.

* Καλως εν ειπεν η γραφη η λεγουσα Πρωτον παλιον πισευσον οτι εις εστι ο θεος, ο τα παντα κτισας, και καταρτισας, και ποιησας εκ τε μη ουλης εις το ειναι τα παντα. L. iv. C. xxxvii. p. 330. (P.)

† Primum omnium, crede quod unus est Deus, qui omnia creavit et consummavit, et ex nihilo omnia fecit. L. ii. M. i. p. 85. (P.) Wake, p. 281.

‡ Hist. Eccl. A. D. 69, p. 469. (P.)

§ Ab omni concilio ecclesiarum inter apochrypha et falsa judicatur. De Pudicitia. C. x. p. 568. (P.)

The pre-existence of Christ is certainly referred to in this work. For the writer, speaking of an old rock and a new gate, and being asked the reason of it, says, "It represents the Son of God, who is older than the creation, so that he was present with the Father when the world was made."* He also says, "the name of the Son of God is great and immense, and the whole world is sustained by it."† But this language might be figurative. However, the uncertainty, to say the least, with respect to the age of this work, is sufficient to overthrow the authority of the evidence which it might furnish for the early date of the doctrine of the pre-existence of Christ, without having recourse to interpolation, which few writings of so early an age have escaped.

The only writer besides these, that I have any occasion to mention, is Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, who, on his journey to Rome, where he suffered martyrdom under Trajan, wrote several epistles; and many bearing his name are now extant. But of these a great part are universally allowed to be spurious, and the rest are so much interpolated, that they cannot be quoted with safety for any purpose. Dr. Lardner, who thinks that the smaller epistles are *in the main* genuine, says, "If there be only some few sentiments and expressions which seem inconsistent with the true age of Ignatius, it is more reasonable to suppose them to be additions, than to reject the epistles themselves entirely; especially in this scarcity of copies which we now labour under. As the interpolations of the larger epistles are plainly the work of some Arian, so even the smaller epistles may have been tampered with by the Arians, or the orthodox, or both, though I do not affirm there are in them any considerable corruptions or alterations."‡

Salmasius, Blondel and Daillé are decided that all the epistles are spurious; and Le Sueur, after having given an account of the whole matter, says, that the last of them, viz. M. Daillé, has clearly proved that the first, or small collection of Ignatius's epistles was forged about the beginning of the fourth century, or two hundred years after the death of Ignatius; and that the second, or larger collection, was made at the beginning of the sixth century.

* Petra hæc, et porta quid sunt? Audi, inquit: Petra hæc, et porta, Filius Dei est. Quoniam pecto, inquam, Domine, petra vetus est, porta autem nova! Audi, inquit, insipiens, et intellige. Filius quidem Dei omni creatura antiquior est, ita ut in consilio Patri suo adfuerit ad condendam creaturam. L. iii. Sim. ix. Sect. xii. p. 115. P. Wake, p. 10.

† Nomen Fili Dei magnum et immensum est, et totus ab eo sustentatur orbis. L. iii. Sect. xiv. p. 116. P. Wake, p. 324.

‡ Credibility, Pt. ii. l. p. 154. P. Works, II. p. 69.

Ignatius not being quoted by Eusebius, or the writer whose work he cites, among ancient authorities for the doctrine of the divinity of Christ, is alone a sufficient proof that no passage favourable to it was to be found in the epistles of Ignatius in his time.

Jortin says, "Though the shorter epistles are on many accounts preferable to the larger, yet I will not affirm that they have undergone no alteration at all."* Beausobre thinks that the purest of Ignatius's epistles have been interpolated.†

For my own part, I scruple not to say, that there never were more evident marks of interpolation in any writings than are to be found in these genuine epistles, as they are called, of Ignatius; though I am willing to allow, on reconsidering them, that, exclusive of manifest interpolation, there may be a ground-work of antiquity in them. The famous passage in Josephus concerning Christ is not a more evident interpolation ‡ than many in these epistles of Ignatius.

A passage in these epistles on which much stress has been laid, as referring to the pre-existence of Christ, is the following: "There is one physician, fleshly and spiritual, begotten and unbegotten, in the flesh made God, in immortal life eternal, both of Mary and of God, first suffering and then impassible."§ Theodoret read the passage, γεννητός ἐξ ἀγεννητός, "begotten of him that was unbegotten," and in other respects this passage is neither clear nor decisive.

It will weigh much with many persons in favour of the genuineness of the pieces ascribed to Barnabas, Hermas and Ignatius, that Dr. Lardner was inclined to admit it.¶ But it must be observed, and I would do it with all possible respect for so fair and candid a writer, that the object of his work might, unperceived by himself, bias him a little in favour of their genuineness; as their evidence was useful to his purpose, which was to prove that of the books of the New Testament, by the quotation of them in early writers. Other men, as learned as Dr. Lardner, and even firm be-

* Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, 1751, l. p. 361. (P.) Ed. 1805, I. p. 357.

† Histoire de Manichéisme, l. p. 378. (P.) "L'opinion, qui me paroît la plus raisonnable, est, que les plus pures ont été interpolées." Pt. ii. L. ii. Ch. iv. Sect. ii. Note.

‡ See on this supposed interpolation, Vol. IV. p. 488, Note.

§ Ἐἷς ἰσθός ἐστιν, σαρκικός τε καὶ πνευματικός, γεννητός καὶ ἀγεννητός, ἐν σαρκὶ γενόμενος Θεός, ἀθανάτω ζωῇ ἀληθινῇ, καὶ ἐκ Μαρίας καὶ ἐκ Θεοῦ, πρῶτον παθῆτος καὶ τότε ἀπαθῆτος. Act. I. ph. Sect. vii. p. 13. (P.) Wake, p. 67.

¶ Works, II. pp. 13, 51, 70, IV. pp. 258, 259.

believers in the doctrines of the pre-existence and the divinity of Christ, have not scrupled to pronounce all the works above-mentioned to be spurious. These circumstances considered, the reader must form his own judgment of the value of any testimony produced from them.

CHAPTER II.

OF THE PRINCIPLES OF THE ORIENTAL PHILOSOPHY.

IN order clearly to understand the nature and origin of those corruptions of Christianity which now remain, it will be proper to consider those which took their rise in a more early period, and which bore some relation to them, though they are now extinct, and therefore, on that account, are not, of themselves, deserving of much notice. The doctrine of the *deification of Christ*, which overspread the whole christian world, and which is still the prevailing opinion in all christian countries (but which is diametrically opposite to the genuine principles of Christianity, and the whole system of revealed religion), was preceded by that system of doctrines which is generally called Gnosticism. For these principles were introduced in the very age of the apostles, and constituted the only heresy that we find to have given any alarm to them, or to the christian world in general, for two or three centuries.

That these principles of the Gnostics were justly considered in a very serious light, we evidently perceive by the writings of the apostles. For that the doctrines which the apostles reprobated were the very same with those which were afterwards ascribed to the Gnostics, cannot but be evident to every person who shall compare them in the most superficial manner. The authority of the apostles, which, in all its force, was directly pointed against the principles of these Gnostics, seems to have borne them down for a considerable time, so that they made no great figure till the reign of Adrian, in the beginning of the second century. But at that time, some persons of great eminence, and very distinguished abilities, having adopted the same, or very similar principles, the sect revived, and in a remarkably short space of time became very prevalent.

The principles of Gnosticism must be looked for in those of the philosophy of the times, especially that which was most prevalent in the East: and as much of this philosophy

as is sufficient to explain the general principles of the Gnostics is easily deduced from the accounts that we have of that heresy. Also the Greek philosophy, having been originally derived from that of the orientals, and having always retained the same fundamental doctrines, with no very considerable variations, and those easily distinguished, is another guide to us in our investigation of this subject.

But we have happily preserved to us one work of a singular construction, in which the principles of this philosophy are represented such as they were, before they were incorporated into Christianity, by a writer tolerably near to the time of the first promulgation of it, at least as near to it as any other certain account of the principles of the Gnostics, except what may be collected from the New Testament itself. And what makes this work an *unique* of its kind, and therefore more deserving of our notice, is, that it appears to have been written by a person who was unquestionably an Unitarian; whereas every other account that is now extant of the principles of the Gnostics, or of those from which they were derived, is from persons who were either Trinitarians, or had adopted those principles which afterwards led to the doctrine of the Trinity.

The work I mean, is the *Clementine Homilies*, written probably about the time of Justin Martyr; and it is pretty remarkable, that the author of the *Clementines*, as the work is generally called, does not appear to have known any thing of Justin's doctrine of the personification of the *logos*, which was borrowed from Platonism; and yet in the compass of his work there is an account of every other system that made any considerable figure in those times. The author himself appears to have been well acquainted with philosophy, and has evidently borrowed from it a variety of opinions which are sufficiently absurd. It may, therefore, be presumed, that this writer, who was a man of learning and ability, well acquainted with the different systems that prevailed in his time, and with the arguments by which they were supported, had never heard of any such doctrine; and that no questions relating to religion were much agitated in his time by Christians, except against the Heathens on the one hand, and the Gnostics on the other. Of all these a very full detail is given in this work, in which speakers are introduced on both sides, who exhibit in the best light the principles of their respective systems.

It is possible that this writer might be mistaken in his account of the opinions of persons who lived about a century

before his time, and it is evident he has ascribed to Peter several opinions which he could not have entertained: but he would naturally (since he must have wished to gain credit to his theological romance, for such his work properly is) endeavour to give to every personage introduced into it such opinions and arguments as he thought would pass for theirs. Since, however, this is the only account that we have of the tenets of those oriental philosophers so near to the time in which their doctrines were most in vogue, I shall give a separate view of them as they are exhibited in this work; and it will be seen, that the principles here ascribed to Simon Magus were in general the very same with those which were afterwards entertained by the christian Gnostics, though Simon is not here represented as a Christian, but an open opposer of Christianity.

Beausobre says that this work is a well-written romance, composed by a christian philosopher who wished to publish his theology under the names of Peter and Clement.*

Cotelerius, the editor, says, that “ though it abounds with trifles and errors, which had their source in a half-christian philosophy and heresy, especially that of the Ebionites, it may be read with advantage, both on account of the elegance of the style and the various learning that it contains, and likewise for the better understanding the doctrine of the first heretics.” †

It was an opinion very prevalent among Christians, that *Simon Magus was the father of all heresy*, and it is probable that the opinions which he maintained, being adopted by Christians, were the true source of those heresies which went under the general name of Gnosticism. Thus much may be learned from the work before us, in which Peter is represented as saying, “ There will be, as the Lord said, false apostles, false prophets, heresies, pretensions to power, which, as I conjecture, have their origin from Simon, who blasphemes God, and who will concur with him in speaking the same things against God.” ‡

* Histoire de Manichéisme, I. p. 161. P. “ C'est un roman bien écrit, composé par un chrétien philosophe, qui a voulu débiter sa théologie sous le nom de S. Pierre ou de S. Clement ” Pt. ii. L. ii. Ch. xv.

† “ Et vero que datus *Clementina*, licet nugis, licet erroribus scatent, à semi-christiana philosophia et heresi, præcipuè Ebionitica, profectis, non sine fructu tamen legentur, tum propter elegantiam sermonis, tum multiplicis doctrine causa, tum denique ad melius cognoscenda primarum hæresion dogmata.” Prof. P.

* Εροῦναι γὰρ ἀπὸ κεραι εἰπὶν, ψευδοπροφῆται, αἰρέσεις, φιλαρχίαι· αἱ ταύται, ὡς συγγράμματα, ἐπι- τῆ του Θεου βλασφημηθῆσι Σιμωνος του αρχην λαθρασι, εις τα κεία τε Σιμων, κατὰ τῆ Θεο λεγειν συνεργησασιν. Hom. xvi. Sect. XXI. p. 729. P.

This Simon is represented as having supplanted one Dositheus, who preceded him as a teacher of the same doctrines.* The successor of Simon was Menander, whose disciple was Saturninus, of Antioch, and was followed by Basilides, of Alexandria.† These were the first Christian Gnostics.

The age of Simon Magus is fixed by the history of the book of Acts, in which mention is made of his interview with Peter. The severe reproof given him by Peter, might be supposed to have silenced him; but he is represented as being indefatigable in teaching his opinions afterwards. Theodoret speaks of him as sowing his heretical thorns when Paul was writing his second epistle to Timothy.‡

The great principles of the oriental philosophy, as far as they affected Christianity were these, viz. That matter is the source of all evil, that the Supreme Being was not the maker of the world, that men had souls separate from their bodies, and that these souls had pre-existed. And it must be owned that the reasoning by which the authors of this philosophy had been led to adopt these principles were very specious. It was a fundamental maxim with the oriental philosophers, as it also was with Plato, who borrowed from them, that the Supreme Being is perfectly good, and therefore that he could not be the Author of any thing evil. In this work Simon is represented as saying, “If God be the author only of what is good, we must conclude either that evil has some other origin, or that it is unoriginated.”§ It is on this subject that he is represented as speaking with the greatest confidence, saying to Peter, “Since you acknowledge, from the Scriptures, that there is an evil being, tell me how he was made, if he was made, and by whom, and for what purpose.”||

But as it is evident that there is much evil in the world, and the principles of it seem to be interwoven into the very constitution of nature, these philosophers concluded that the visible universe must have had some other author, who must either have been derived from the Supreme Being, or have been eternal and underived. The latter, however, was so

* Hom. ii. Sect. xxiv. p. 627. (P.)

† Euseb. Hist. L. iv. C. vii. p. 147. (P.)

‡ Σίμων ηρξάλο κατ' εκείνον τον καιρον τας αιρετικας κατασπειρειν ακανθας. In 2 Tim. ii. 8. Opera, III. p. 497. (P.)

§ Ουκεν ει ο Θεος μονων των καλων αιτιος εστιν, τω λοιπω τι εστιν νοειν, η ολι το πονηρον ελευρα τις εγεννησεν αρχη, η αρ' αγεννηλον εστιν. Hom. xix. Sect. xii. p. 747. (P.)

|| Επει εν ευγνωμοχησας ομολογησας ειναι τον πονηρον, απο γραφαι, και λεγε το πως γεγονεν, ειπερ γεγονεν, και υπο τις, και δια τι. Ibid. Sect. iii. p. 744. (P.)

hold an hypothesis, that it does not seem to have been adopted very early. At least, the more general opinion was, that matter only had been eternal, and that its nature was such, as that nothing perfectly good could be made out of it; so that, however it might be modified by the Supreme Being, every system into which it entered must necessarily contain within itself the seeds of evil.

In the same system it was generally supposed that all intelligence had only one source, viz. the divine mind; and to help out the doctrine concerning the origin of evil, it was imagined, that though the Divine Being himself was essentially and perfectly good, those intelligences, or spirits, which were derived from him, and especially those which were derived from them, were capable of depravation. It was farther imagined, that the derivation of these inferior intelligent beings from the Supreme was by a kind of *efflux*, or emanation, a part of the substance being detached from the rest, but capable of being absorbed into it again. To these intelligences, derived mediately or immediately from the divine mind, the authors of this system did not scruple to give the name of gods, thinking some of them capable even of creative power, that is, a power of modifying matter: for creation out of nothing was an idea that they never entertained. In this work Simon Magus supposes two of these inferior gods to have been sent out by the Supreme God, and that one of them made the visible world, and the other gave the law to the Jews.*

As these divine intelligences were capable of animating the bodies of men, it was supposed that this was occasionally done by them, as well as that all souls had come into this world from a pre-existent state, and generally for the punishment of offences committed in that state. Simon himself claimed to be one of those superior powers, as it is likewise said, that he maintained his wife Helena to be another of them. We read, Acts viii. 9, that he said, that “himself was some great one,” and the people said of him, ver. 10, “This man is the great power of God.” In this work likewise, he claims to be a great *power*, *δυναμις*, even superior to the Being that made the world; and he intimates, that he

* Σίμων σημερον κἀδὲ περιεβῆτο, εἶσμος ἐστὶν ἀπὸ τῶν γραφῶν, ἐπὶ πάντων ἐλθὼν, κατασκευῆσαι ἡμᾶς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν, καὶ πάντα ἐν αἰσίοις οὐρανοῖς ἀλλῶν τῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ ἀγγέλων, ὡς ἐν ἀποκρήσει οὐρα Θεοῦ Θεῶν· ὃς διὰ ἐπεμφθε Θεῶν· ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ ἔμειν ἕως ἐστὶν ὁ κόσμος κτίστας, ὁ δὲ Ἴερός, ὁ τὸν νομὸν ὄντας. Hom. iii. Sect. ii. p. 634. P.

was a christ, or a person anointed, or set apart for some great office, calling himself *ἕξως*, as if he should always continue, having no cause of corruption in himself.* In another place he calls himself the son of god,† meaning, probably, that he was some principal, or immediate emanation from the Supreme Being.

When, upon this ground, Simon would, for argument's sake, insinuate that Jesus Christ, being called the Son of God, and said to proceed from him, must therefore claim to be a god, Peter replied that, "upon this principle, all souls, which are the breath of God, must be gods; and," says he, "if they must be called gods, what great matter is it for Christ to be a god in that sense, as he has no advantage over others?"‡ This, I would observe, is a very different kind of answer from what would have been given by a Trinitarian, or one who had adopted the doctrine of the personification of the *logos*.

No other peculiar principles of Simon's appear in this piece, except that he denied the resurrection,§ which was also done by all the Christian Gnostics afterwards. They had too bad an opinion of matter, and consequently of the body, which was composed of it, to think the resurrection a desirable thing.

It may not be possible to imagine every thing that might have been urged by the patrons of this oriental philosophy in its favour; but we may easily perceive in this work, that the principal sources of their mistakes were such as have been represented above, especially their fixed persuasion concerning the pure benevolence of the Supreme Being; considering what their idea of this pure benevolence was. For it was such as was incompatible with justice; so that the very admission that God was just, was with them a proof that he was not that good being whom they placed at the head of the universe.

In this work Simon says, "It is the property of men to be, some good, and others bad, but it belongs to God to be

* *Και φρονεῖσθε δελεῖν κοιμῆσθαι ἀνάτῃ τοῦ εἰναι ἀναμῆς, καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ τοῦ κοσμοῦ κλισανός θεῖ· ἐπιθε δε καὶ χριστὸν ἑαυτὸν αἰνισσομένους, ἕξωτὰ προσαγορεύει ταύτῃ δε τῇ προσηγορίᾳ κεχρηῖται, ὡς ἄθ ἴσησομένος αἰε, καὶ αἰάταιν φθόρας, τὸ σωμια πέσειν, ἔκ εχων' καὶ ἠε θεὸν τὸν κλισαντὰ τὸν κοσμον, ἀνάτῃν εἶνα λέγει. Hom. ii. Sect. xxii. p. 626. (P.)*

† *Συ δε καὶ τα σαφῶς λεγομένα μη συνων, ὄιον ἑαυτὸν εἰπειν δελεῖς. Hom. xviii. Sect. vii. p. 739. (P.)*

‡ *Εἰ δε προσφιλονεικῶν με ερεῖς, καὶ αἰτίας θεὸς εἶναι* καὶ τι τῆλο εἰ μεγα καὶ Χριστῷ, τῷ θεῷ λεγεσθῆναι; τ-ῆ γὰρ εχει, ἡ καὶ παντὸς εχ-σιν. Hom. xvi. Sect. xvi. p. 728. (P.)*

§ *Ου νεκρὸς ἐγγηγεσθαι πιζεσει. Hom. ii. Sect. xxii. p. 626. (P.)*

unmixed good.”* Again, he says, “ You must say that the Creator either was a law-giver, or not. If he was a law-giver, he was just ; but if just, he was not good : and if so, Christ preached another god, when he said, ‘ There is none good but one, that is God.’ ” †

Though Simon avowed himself an enemy to Christianity, he nevertheless undertook to prove the truth of his system with respect to the maker of the world from the Scriptures, as *argumentum ad hominem* to Peter and the Jews ; alleging, as a proof that there was another god besides the Supreme, the imperfections of Adam, who was made after the image of this god ; his being punished by being cast out of paradise ; God’s saying, “ Let us descend to see what is doing in Sodom ; let us cast out Adam, lest he should eat of the tree of life, and live for ever ; ” his saying that he repented of his making man, that he smelled a sweet savour, and that he tempted Abraham. ‡

All these circumstances he thought to be proofs either of imperfection, ignorance, envy, vice, or severity, in the being who is styled God, and who is supposed to be the maker and governor of the world ; who, therefore could not be the Supreme Being, because he is omniscient, and also absolutely perfect and good.

As a proof that mention is made in the Scriptures of there being more gods than one, and that the great God was not offended at it, Simon alleges God’s saying, *Adam is become one of us*. The serpent’s saying, *You shall be as gods* ; its being said, (Exod. xxii. 28,) “ Thou shalt not revile the gods, nor curse the ruler of thy people.” *The gods who have not made the heavens and the earth shall perish*, &c. Which he says implied that there were other gods who had made

* Εἰ μὲν προτεσιν ἀνδραπίς, τὸ κακοὺς εἶναι καὶ ἀγαθοὺς τῷ δὲ Θεῷ, τῷ ἀσιΓκρίφ ἀγαθὸν εἶναι. Hom. xix. Sect. xi. p. 746. (P.)

† Ἀλλὰ καὶ γὰρ τοῦ Δαίμονος ἀλλοῦ καὶ νυμφίδου φησὶ εἶναι, ἡ -χ' εἰ μὲν ἡ νυμφίδου εἰσὶν ἄκακοι τετραχῆναι δίκαιον δὲ ὄν, ἀγαθὸν ἢ κἄν εἰσὶν εἰ δὲ κἄν εἰσὶν, ἕτερον ἐκρησσειν ὁ Ἰησὺς τοῦ λεγῆναι Μὴ με λέγε ἀγαθόν, ὁ γὰρ ἀγαθὸς εἷς ἐστίν, ὁ Παῖτήρ ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς. Hom. xviii. Sect. i. p. 737. (P.)

‡ Ἀλλὰ καὶ γὰρ ὁ κατ' ὁμοίωσιν αὐτῆ γεγονώς Ἄδαμ καὶ τυφλῶν κτιζέται, καὶ γινώσκει ἀγαθὸν καὶ κακόν - ἢ ἐργὸν παραδέδοται, καὶ παραβάτης εἰσέσκειται, καὶ τῆ παραδείσῃ ἐκβάλλεται καὶ ἴδιον ἄνθρωπος γίνεται. Ὅμοίως τε καὶ ὁ πλάσας αὐτὸν, ἐπεὶ μὴ πανταχοῦθεν ἔβλεπει, ἐπὶ τῆ Σοδομῆν καταστροφῆ, λέγει δευτε, καὶ καταβάντες ἴδομεν εἰ κατὰ τὴν κραυγὴν αὐτῶν τὴν ἐπιμύσειν πρὸς μὲ συνετέλεσται εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἵνα γινῶ καὶ ἀγρονῶτα αὐτὸν δεῖκνυνοσιν. Τὸ δὲ εἰπεῖν πρὸς τὸ Ἄδαμ ἐκβάλλομεν αὐτὸν, μήπως ἐκτεινας τὴν χεῖρα αὐτῆ αἴψεται τῆ ἕλκῃ τῆς ζῆσῃ, καὶ φησὶ, καὶ ζῆσεται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, τὸ εἰπεῖν μήπως ἀγρονῶ τὸ δὲ ἐταραχεῖν, μήπως φάσκειν ζῆσεται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, καὶ φθῶνει. Καὶ τὸ γεγραφεῖται ὅτι ἐνεδειμήθη ὁ Θεὸς ὅτι ἐταραχῆν τὸν ἀνθρώπον. Καὶ μετάνοει, καὶ ἀγρονῶ. — καὶ τὸ γεγραφεῖται, καὶ σφραγίσθη Κυρὸς στήθεσ ἐνώπιον, εὐθέως ἐστὶ, καὶ τὸ ἐπι κνήστῃ σασκῶν ἠσθῆσαι ἢ ἀγαθὸν τὸ δὲ πειθεῖσθαι, ὡς γεγραπται, καὶ ἐταραχῆν Κυρὸν τὸν Ἀβραάμ, κακὸν, καὶ τὸ τέλος τῆς ἵταμονῆς ἀγρονῶν. Hom. iii. Sect. xxxix. p. 642. (P.)

the heavens and the earth. Deut. x. 17: "The Lord thy God, he is God of gods." *Who is like unto thee, O Lord, among the Gods. The Lord standeth in the congregation of the Gods.**

He likewise pretended to bring proofs of his doctrine from the New Testament. Thus, in order to prove that there is another God besides him that is supremely good, Simon alleges Christ's saying "No man knoweth the Father but the Son, and him to whom the Son shall reveal him;" as if, before this time, the Father had been unknown to all. He also asserted, that Christ represents one God as a just and severe being, and not a good one.†

It cannot be worth while at this day to give a serious answer to such arguments as these; but it may not be amiss to shew in what manner, and on what principles, they were answered in the age in which they were urged. With respect to the general system of these philosophers, viz. that the Supreme Being, or the God of gods, can produce other beings who may be properly called gods by generation, the latter being, as it were, the sons of the former. Peter says, "It is the property of the Father to be unbegotten, and of the Son to be begotten; but that which is begotten cannot be compared with that which is unbegotten, or self-begotten." Simon says, "Are they not the same on account of generation?" meaning, probably, their being produced from the very substance of the Father. Peter answered, "He who is not in all respects the same with any other, cannot be entitled to the same appellation."‡ He also says, according to the philosophy of the age, that "the souls of men are immortal, being from the breath of

* Εγώ δε φημι τας πεπιστευμενας γραφας παρα Ιηδαιους πολλης λεγειν Θεου, και μη χαλεπαινειν επι τετρω τον Θεον, τω αυτου δια των γραφων αυτη πολλης Θεου ειρηκεναι.—Ο μιν εν οφει ειπων, Εσεσθε ως Θεοι, ως οταν ειρηκως φαινεται. Ταυτη μαλλον η και Θεου εμαρτηρησεν, ειπων, Ιδε γεγονεν Αδαμ ως εις ημων ητας ο της πολλης ειπων οφει ειναι Θεου ακ εφεναστο. Παλιν τω γεγραφηται Θεου η κακολογησεις.—Πολλης σημαίνει Θεου και αλλοτε, Θεοι οι του βραβυ και την γην εκ επιρησαν απολεσθασαν.—Και παλιν γεγραπται, Κυριου ο Θεου σε ητος Θεου των Θεων. Και παλιν, Τις ομοιος σοι, Κυριε, εν Θεοις; Και παλιν, Θεου Θεων Κυριου. Και παλιν, ο Θεου εση εν συναγωγη Θεων. Hom. xvi. Sect. vi. p. 725. (P.)

† Και ουτως τοις προ αυτου πασιν αγνωστος ην ο Πατηρ.—Φοβερων και δικαιων συνισηςσι Θεον, λεγων, Μη φοβηθητε απο του αποκτεινοντου το σωμα τη δε ψυχη μη δυναμενου τι ποιησαι. Φοβηθητε τον δυναμενον και σωμα και ψυχην εις την γενναν του πυρος βαλειν. Ναι, λεγω υμιν, τουτου φοβηθητε.—Ο δε ειλικρινετα και αμειβομενον λεγων Θεον, δικαιον αυτου τη φρεσει συνισηςσι, και εν αγαθω. Hom. xvii. Sect. xlv. p. 731. (P.)

‡ Προς τουτους δε, τον Πατρος το μη γεγενησθαι εσιν, διου δε το γεγενησθαι γεννητον δε αγεννητω η και αυτογεννητω ου σιγνησεται. Και ο Σιμων εφη· ει και τη γενεσει ου ταυτην εσιν; Και ο Πετρος εφη· ο μη κατα παντα το αυτο αν τινη, τας αυτας αυτω πασας εχειν προσωπωνιας ου δυναται. Hom. xvi. Sect. xvi. p. 728. (P.)

God, and therefore of the same substance with him, but that they are not therefore gods.”*

This is by no means such an answer as one of the orthodox Fathers would have made. On the contrary, they always pleaded the propriety of the *logos* being called God, and for the same reason that Simon here alleges, viz. his being generated from God, and therefore, of his being God of God, as it is expressed in the Nicene Creed. In this work Peter is represented as being more scrupulous how he applied the term God. “Wherefore,” says he, “above all things consider that none reigns with him, nor is any one entitled to the appellation of God besides himself.” †

Equally unlike the reasoning of the Catholics is Peter’s reply to the arguments of Simon from the Old Testament. In answer to what he alleged from the phrase, “Let us make man,” viz. that “two or more were implied, and not one only,” Peter says, “It is one who said to his own wisdom, *Let us make man*. For this wisdom is his own Spirit, always rejoicing with him, and it is united as a soul to God, and is extended from him as a hand that maketh all things.” ‡ According to the reasoning of this Unitarian, God was only represented by Moses as holding a soliloquy with himself, and not as speaking to another intelligent person, which the orthodox fathers supposed. His comparing the wisdom of God to a hand extended from him, was agreeable to the ideas of all the philosophical Unitarians of the early ages, as will be seen in its proper place.

With respect to the term God, Peter is represented as replying, that it is sometimes used in the Scriptures in an inferior sense, so that angels, and even men, may be called gods; but that this was far from amounting to the acknowledgment of such gods as Simon contended for. Peter alleges, that angels are sometimes called gods, and instances in him who spake in the bush, and him who wrestled with Jacob. He also observes that Moses is called a God to Pharaoh, though he was no more than a man. “To us,”

* Ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῦτα καθεὶς τὰ ἀνθρώπων σώματα ψυχὰς εἶναι ἀθανάτους, τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ πνοὴν ἠμφισβησέναι; καὶ ἐν τῷ Θεῷ παρεῖδ’-σαι, τῆς μὲν αὐτῆς ἰουίας εἶναι, θεοὶ δὲ κινεῖσιν. Hom. xvi. Sect. xvi. p. 728. (P.)

† Δὲ τῶν ταύτων ἡμεῖς, ὅτι σοὶς αὐτῶ συνέχευε, κθεὶς τῆς αὐτῶ κινεῖσιν ἰουασίας, τῆτο ὁ ὄχι λεγέται Θεός. Hom. in Sect. xxxvii. p. 612. (P.)

‡ Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ Θεός· Πνεῦμα ἄνθρωπον καὶ ἕνωσα καὶ καθ’ ὁμοίωσιν ἡμετέραν· τὸ, ποιῶσαμεν, ἡν συνέχευε, ἡ πῆσαναι, πῆχον ἡ ἐν’ ἑνὶ ὄντι εἶναι, ὁ τῆ αὐτῶ σφίρη εἶπεν· Πνεῦμα ἄνθρωπον. Ἡ δὲ σφίρη ὡσπερ ἰδίῳ πνεύματι, αὐτῶς αὐτῶ συνέχευεν· ἡρτάται μὲν ἡ ψυχὴ τῶ Θεῷ· ἐκτείνεται δὲ ἀπ’ αὐτῶ, ἡς χεῖν ὁμοίωσιν τὸ παν. Hom. xvi. Sect. xii. p. 727. (P.)

he says, "there is one God, who made all things, and goverus all things, whose Son Christ is."* And whereas Simon had insinuated that, according to the rule laid down by Moses, to distinguish the prophets of the true God from those who should speak in the name of false gods, even though they should work miracles. Christ ought to have been rejected as a false prophet, or another god, Peter says, "Our Lord never said that there was any other God besides him that made all things, nor did he ever call himself God; but he pronounced him blessed who called him the Son of God."†

Had not this curious piece of antiquity been imperfect, and even been broken off in the very midst of the principal disputation between Peter and Simon, we might have known more concerning the state of the reasoning between the Unitarian Christians, and the oriental philosophers.‡ In what manner, and on what principles, the orthodox Christians reasoned upon these subjects, we have abundant information.

As this work is the only one that is universally allowed to be written by an Unitarian, in so early a period, § I shall conclude this article with citing from it a few more passages expressive of the Unitarian principles. "The whole

* Ἦμῶν ἓς Θεός, εἰς ὃ τὰς κτίσεις πεποιηκώς, διακοσμήσας τὰ πάντα, ἡ καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς υἱός. Hom. xvi. Sect. xiv. p. 727. (P.)

† Ὁ Κελεύς ἦμῶν, ἥτε Θεός εἶναι ἐφ' ἡμετέρας, τὰς αὐτὸν κτίσαντα τὰ πάντα, ἥτε αὐτὸν Θεὸν εἶναι ἀπηγόρευεν· ἕνα δὲ Θεὸν, τὰ πάντα διακοσμήσαντ' αὐτὸν, τὸν εἰπόντα αὐτὸν εὐλογίας ἐμακαρίσεν. Hom. xvi. Sect. xv. p. 728. (P.)

‡ It is probable, however, that we do not lose much by this mutilation, as the Recognitions are entire, and this work Dr. Lardner supposes to have been only another, and a later edition of the Homilies. He thinks so because it is more finished and artificial. Both the works, he thinks, were originally Ebionite, and therefore, that if there be any Arianism in them, it has been interpolated. Credib. Pt. ii. Il. p. 812. (P.) Works, II. pp. 360, 361.

§ Beausobre supposes that the author of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs was an Ebionite, and this appears to have been written in a very early period. Others think it to have been the work of a Jew, and that it has been altered by a Christian. (P.) See Lardner, II. pp. 324—354. VII. p. 21, where he says, "it is a very curious work. When it came in my way, I enlarged in my extracts of it; nor do I now repent of that labour."

Besides Whiston's English translation of the Testaments, to which Lardner refers, there was one published in 1710, and reprinted in 1731, with a wood-cut, rudely executed, at the head of each Testament, a preface by Richard Day, and the following title: "The Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, the Sons of Jacob. Translated out of Greek into Latin, by Robert Grosthead, sometime Bishop of Lincoln; and out of his Copy, into French and Dutch by others, and now Englished. To the Credit whereof, an ancient Greek Copy, written in Parchment, is kept in the University Library of Cambridge." At the end is some account of the discovery, and translation from the Hebrew, of these Testaments, stating that Grosthead "did in the year 1242 translate them painfully and faithfully, word for word, out of Greek into Latin,—by the help of Mr. Nicholas Greek, Parson of the church of Datchot, and Chaplain to the Abbot of St. Albaus."

church," he says, " may be compared to a large ship, which carries a great number of men, who are desirous of going to inhabit a city of some good state, through a violent tempest. Let the proprietor of this ship be God, and the governor" (or master) " Christ, the steersman the bishop, the sailors the presbyters, &c."* And Christ is represented as joining with the rest in praying to God for a prosperous voyage.†

The demiurgus of the Gnostics was not the Supreme Being, but an inferior one, and according to the Catholics, it was the logos, or Christ; but in this work the Supreme Being himself is represented as the demiurgus, or the immediate creator of all things.‡

The term generation was applied both by the Gnostics and by the orthodox to the Supreme Being; but this writer says, " To beget is the property of men, not of God."§

All the Unitarians of antiquity resolutely held what they called the *monarchy* of the Supreme God, the Father of all. This was urged against the Trinitarians who made a second God of Christ; and it is urged by Peter against Simon, saying, " He ought to be rejected, who even listens to any thing against the monarchy of God."||

Cotelierius says, that there are interpolations of Arians in this work. But if there be any such, they have escaped my notice. There is, however, a pretty evident interpolation of some Trinitarian in it, viz. in the doxology. " Thine is the eternal praise, and glory [to the Father, to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit] for ever, Amen."¶ That the words inclosed in brackets are an interpolation, is evident, not only from their holding a language entirely different from that of the whole work, but from the awkwardness and incoherence with which they are introduced, after a pronoun in the singular number, viz. thine. The interpolator would

* Έσκειν γαρ όλον το πρραγμα της εκκλησίας ηη μεγάλη, δια σφύδρη χειμάρως ανδρας φεινση εκ πολλων τωτων οντας, και μιαν τινα αγαθης βασιλείας πόλιν οικειν θέλοντας· εσα μεν εν ύμω ό ταυτης δεσποτης Θεος, και παρειακασθα, ό μεν κηβεινητης Χρι-στ, ό παλαις επισκοπος, ό καιτοι προσβυτεροι, όι ταυραυτη διακονοις, όι ναυτολογοι τοις καταχ-σιν, τοις επιβουταις το των αδελφων πληθθ'ον, τα βυθη ό κοςμος, οι αντιπνοιαι τοις πειρασμοις, όι διαγωμι και όι κινδυνι και παντοδαπει θληφεις τοις τοικουμιαις. Epist. Sect. xiv. p. 609. (P.)

† Όι δε παντες τα Θεω περι τη ηρια πλειον προσευχεσθωσαν. Sect. xv. ibid. (P.)

‡ Όμοις αυτοις μνησθη θυμωσ αγγελων και πνευματων, βολης νευματι σημειωρησασ, επλησε της φραν-ης. Hom. iii. Sect. xxxiii. p. 641. (P.)

§ Ότι το γενναν ανδρων εστιν, ο Θεω. Hom. xix. Sect. x. p. 746. (P.)

¶ Αξιος ην της αποβολης τας κατα της τη Θεω μοναρχιας αυτο μονον και ανησαι τι τωτων θελησας. Hom. iii. Sect. ix. p. 636. (P.)

¶ Ση γαρ εστιν δοξα αιωνιος, θυμωσ [πατρι, και υιω, και αγιω πνευματι] εις τες αιωνιαις αιωνας· αμην. Hom. iii. Sect. lxxii. p. 650. (P.)

have concealed his design better, if he had written, together with the Son and Spirit. It will be seen in its proper place, that this form of doxology, in which glory is given to the Holy Spirit, was complained of as an innovation in the time of Basil, and that it was altogether unknown before the Council of Nice.

The philosophical opinions that appear to have been held by the author of the *Clementines* and *Recognitions* are absurd enough, but they were those of the age in which they were written, and, therefore, require no particular apology. He considered God as being in the form of man.* But this is an opinion that is generally ascribed to the Jews, as we may see in the works of Agobard.† It is also well known to have been the opinion of Melito, the Christian bishop of Sardis, and from him Tertullian is thought to have derived the same notion. Indeed, this Anthropomorphism, Beausobre shews to have been common in the Christian church.‡ The thing that is most objectionable in the conduct of this work is, that the writer thought artifice might be safely employed to promote a good cause, and he exemplifies this principle in a curious manner. But this dangerous maxim was generally admitted by the philosophers of that age. All the use that I would now make of this work is, to exhibit the principles of the oriental philosophy, as held by one who did not profess Christianity, that they may be compared with those of the Christian Gnostics, which I shall now proceed to explain.

No inconsiderable argument for the antiquity of the *Clementines* may be drawn from the writer of them supposing that Christ preached only one year, which I have shewn to have been the opinion of the ancients in general, and which, from the circumstances of the gospel history, must be the truth; as I think I have proved in the *Disser-*

* Και ὁ Σιμων εφη· ἠθελον ειδεναι Πητρε εἰ αληθως σκισσεις εστι· η ανδρωπε μορφη εστι· τῆς κεινη μορφη διατετυπεται. Και ὁ Πητρος εἰς αληθειας, ὁ Σιμων, κτας εχει πεπορευθησθαι. Hom. xvi. Sect. xix. p. 728. (P.)

† Deum esse corporeum, audire, et videre corpus hominis ad imaginem Dei factum. *Simopsis.*

‡ Deum, denique, Deum suum esse corporeum, et corporeis linamentis per membra distinctum, et aliquidem parte illum audire ut nos, alia videre, alia vero loqui, vel aliquid quid agere; ac per hoc humanum corpus ad imaginem Dei factum, excepto quod ille digitos manuum habet inflexibiles ac rigentes, utpote qui nihil manibus operetur. Sedere autem in re terrena alicujus regis in solio, quod à quatuor circumferatur bestiis, et magno quamvis palatio contineri." *De Judaicis Superstitionibus*, p. 75. (P.)

† Histoire de Manichéisme, I. p. 501. (P.) "L'erreur des Anthropomorphites est si ancienne, qu'il seroit bien difficile d'en marquer l'époque." Pt. ii. L. in Ch. iv.

tations prefixed to my *Harmony of the Gospels*, and in my *Letters to the Bishop of Waterford*. “If Christ,” says Peter, in his disputation with Simon, “appeared and conversed only in vision, why did he, as a teacher, converse a whole year with his disciples, who were awake?”*

CHAPTER III.

OF THE PRINCIPLES OF THE CHRISTIAN Gnostics

NOTWITHSTANDING the extreme repugnance between the principles of the oriental philosophy, and those of Christianity, many persons who were addicted to that philosophy, were likewise so much impressed with the evidence of the divine mission of Christ, that they could not refuse to believe it; and yet, being strongly attached to their former principles, they endeavoured to retain both. Nor can it be doubted but that they were very sincere in their profession. Indeed, in that age there was no external temptation for any man to become a Christian. Simon Magus was tempted with the sight of the miracles which Peter wrought, and especially his power of communicating the Holy Spirit; but it would soon be evident, that this was a gift that could not be exercised at pleasure, and therefore could not answer the purpose of any pretended converts; and wealth and power were not then on the side of Christianity.

Besides, we are not to suppose that every person who professed Christianity, embraced it in all its purity, or immediately resigned himself to the full and proper influence of it; and least of all are we to suppose that every person who believed it to be true, was resolved to expose himself to all hazards in adhering to it. Many persons who had been addicted to philosophy (in every system of which the doctrines concerning God, and his intercourse with the world, were primary articles), would consider Christianity as a new and improved species of philosophy, and (as they had been used to do with respect to other systems), they would adopt, or reject, what they thought proper of it, and in doing this would naturally retain what was most consonant to the principles to which they had been long

* Ε. τις θεὸς δὲ ἀπειταύτην πικρὴν ἐπιστάλασαν σφραγίσθαι δυνατόν; καὶ εἰ μὴ ἐπιπέταται ἡμεῖς ἕνα τὸ ἀλλ' ἐναυτῶν ὑπερῆσαν παρωμένων ἡμετέρων δ' διδασκαλῶν; Hom. xvii. 301. xix. p. 736. (P.)

attached. Greater numbers still would content themselves with ranking themselves with Christians while they were unmolested, but would abandon Christianity in time of persecution, not thinking it necessary to maintain any truth at the hazard of life, liberty, or property.

Christianity would, of course, find persons in every possible disposition and state of mind, and would therefore be received with every possible variety of effect; and in all cases time would be requisite to the full understanding both of its principles and its requirements, and to separate the proper professors from the improper and unworthy. Of this we may be satisfied by reading the apostolical epistles, where we find accounts of persons who classed themselves with Christians, and yet both disbelieved some of its most fundamental doctrines, and likewise allowed themselves in practices which it strictly prohibited. This continued a long time after the age of the apostles, as ecclesiastical history testifies.

With respect to opinions held by any persons who called themselves Christians, and which were foreign to the genuine principles of Christianity, it is evident to any person who attentively peruses the apostolical epistles, that they are all reducible to one class. The writers sometimes speak of, or allude to, one of their errors or practices, and sometimes to another of them; but we no where find that they were of two or more classes. And if we collect all that the apostles have occasionally dropped concerning heresy, we shall find that all the articles of it make no more than one system; and that this was, in all its features, the very same thing with that which, in the age after the apostles, was universally called Gnosticism; the leading principles of it being those which have been represented as belonging to the oriental philosophy, and to have been ascribed to Simon Magus in the *Clementines*, viz. that matter is the source of all evil, and therefore, that the commerce of the sexes is not to be encouraged, and the resurrection no desirable thing.

History, however, shews that there were two distinct kinds of the Gnostics, who equally held the general principles above-mentioned; and these were the Jews and the Gentiles. It is to the former only that the apostle Paul ever alludes; and accordingly we find, by the unanimous testimony of all ecclesiastical history, the Jewish Gnostics (at the head of whom Cerinthus is placed) appear before any of the others. That this man himself was so early as

Epiphanius represents him, viz. as opposing Peter,* may not perhaps be depended upon; but the tradition of John meeting with him at Ephesus,† is not improbable, especially as his sect is spoken of as being most prevalent in Asia Minor.‡ The Nicolaitans, concerning whom we are much in the dark, we may be almost certain were Gnostics, from what is mentioned of them in the book of Revelation, and from other Gnostics being said to be derived from them. §

These authorities are much strengthened by an attention to the actual state of things among Christians in the age of the apostles. For we there find no certain trace of that doctrine which most of all distinguished the Gnostics in the following age, viz. that the supreme God, the Father of Jesus Christ, was not the being who made the world, or gave the law to the Jews. The Gnostic teachers who opposed the apostles were Jews, who, together with a most rigid adherence to the law, (and consequently firmly believing it was the true God who made the world, who gave the law by Moses, and lastly spake to men by Jesus Christ,) held every other principle that is ascribed to the Gnostics, as will be clearly seen when I come to the detail of them. They were, therefore, in several respects, the same that the Cerinthians are described to have been. From the mean opinion which they entertained of matter, and their contempt of the body, they would not allow that the man Jesus was the Christ; but they either supposed that he was man only in appearance, having nothing more than the semblance of a body, so as to deceive those who conversed with him; or if he had a real body, it was some celestial intelligence, some principal emanation from the Supreme Being, that was properly the Christ. This Christ they said entered into him at his baptism, and quitted him at his death.

That the authors of heresy in the time of the apostles were chiefly Jews, is evident from a variety of circumstances, and may be inferred particularly from Tit. i. 9—14: “ Holding fast the faithful word, as he hath been taught, that he may be able, by sound doctrine, both to exhort and to convince the gainsayers. For there are many unruly and vain talkers

* Har. xxviii. l. p. 111. (P.)

† Euseb. Hist. l. iii. C. xxviii. p. 123; and l. iv. C. xiv. p. 161. (P.)

‡ Εν ταυτη γαρ τη πατριδι, φημι δε Ασια, αλλα και εν τη Γαλατια, παν ηκμασε το ταυτα διδασκαλειον. Epiphanius Har. xxviii. l. p. 114. (P.)

§ Και εντεθεν αρχηται δε της ψευδαλημ γνωστως πακος τη κοσμη επιφεισθαι φημι δε Γουρνοικ, &c. Ibid. Hist. xxv. l. p. 77. (P.)

and deceivers, especially they of the circumcision, whose mouths must be stopped, who subvert whole houses, teaching things which they ought not, for filthy lucre's sake.—Wherefore rebuke them sharply, that they may be sound in the faith, not giving heed to Jewish fables, and commandments of men that turn from the truth.” The persons who opposed Paul at Corinth were also evidently Jews, and so was Alexander at Ephesus.

My object, as I have observed already, does not require that I should enter very minutely into the history of the Gnostics. I shall therefore only give an outline of their system; but this will contain a view of all their distinguishing tenets, shewing the dependence they had on each other, and especially their influence with respect to Christianity, as it was held by those who were not Gnostics, and as it continues to be held by many to this day. To each article, I shall likewise subjoin a view of each tenet as it may be inferred from the New Testament, that no doubt may be entertained of these being the very heretics alluded to there, and of course of their being the only heretics in that age: which is an article of great importance in my general argument.

It seems probable, that Gnosticism was in a great measure repressed by the writings of the apostles, as we do not find that the Gnostics made any great figure from that time till the reign of Adrian, when several distinguished teachers of that doctrine made their appearance: as Cerdon, who is said by Eusebius, to have been of the school of Simon,* and to have appeared in the time of Hyginus, the ninth bishop of Rome from the time of the apostles, Marcion of Pontus, who succeeded him, and who was living in the time of Justin Martyr: † but especially Basilides of Alexandria, and Valentinus, the most celebrated of them all, and whose followers were the most numerous in the time of Tertullian, ‡ and continued to be so till the time of Manes, who was after

* Κερδων τις απο των περι τον Σιμωνι τας αφορμας λαβων, και επιδημησας εν τη Ρωμη επι Τριτη εναντι κληρον της επισκοπικης διαδοχης απο των Αποστολων εχοντας, ειδαζε τον υπο τη νομη και προφητων κεκευθμενον Θεον, μη ειναι Πατερα τη Κυρια ημων Ιηση Χριστη. Τοις μεν γραφικωδισθηται τοις δε αγρωτων ειναι. Και τον μεν δικαιον τον δε αγρωτον υπαρχειν. Διαδεξαμενος δε αυτον Μαρκιων ο Ποντικος, ηρξησε το διδασκαλειον, απηρυθριασμενος βλασφημαν. Hist. L. iv. C. xi. p. 155. (P.)

† Μαρκιωνα δε τινα, Ποντικον, ος και νυ επι επι διδασκων τρεσ πειθόμενης, αλλων τινα νομιζειν μειζονα τη δημιουργη Δεον. Ος κατα των γενθ ανθρωπων, δια της των δαιμονων συλληψεας, πολλους πεποιθη βλασφημιας λεγειν. Apol. I. p. 43. (P.)

‡ “Valentiniani frequentissimum plane collegium inter hæreticos.” Adv. Valentinianos, Sect. i. p. 250. (P.)

the Council of Nice. From that time his system, called the *Manichean*, was the most predominant.

It should seem, however, that the preceding Gnostic systems had been in some measure repressed before the Council of Nice, but that they revived about the same time that Manes appeared. For Theodoret speaks of the heresies of Marcion, Valentinus, Manes, and other *Docetæ*, as being revived in his time.* Theodoret speaks of “about a thousand Marcionites converted in his diocese;” and “the great number of books published” against them in the second century, shews, as Dr. Lardner observes, “the prevalence of this doctrine” †

Gnosticism prevailed most in the East; for the principles of it were more agreeable to those of the oriental philosophy, which was, in several respects, different from that of Plato, which prevailed more in the West; though Egypt, where Platonism prevailed as much as in any place whatever, was likewise distinguished by giving rise to some very eminent Gnostics. Rome, it is observed, was more free from Gnosticism than most other places. It is said, however, by Epiphanius, to have been introduced there in the time of Anicetus.‡

The principles of this system, whatever we may think of it at present, must have been exceedingly captivating at the time of their publication, as many excellent men were much taken with them. This was the case with Epiphanius,§ with the father of Gregory Nazianzen,|| and the famous Austin who is well known to have been a Manichean. I shall now proceed to mark the distinguishing features of the Gnostics; and this is so uniformly done by all the writers who mention them, that there is no danger of mistaking them for those of any other sect whatever.

* Ο, γὰρ τὴν Μαρκιανὸς, καὶ Βαλεντίνου, καὶ Μανιῆτος, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Δοκίτων αἵρεσιν ἐστὶ τῶν παλαιῶν ἀναγενημένων, δισχεματιστὸς ὅτι τὴν αἵρεσιν αὐτῶν αὐτικῶς σφρατίζειται. Ep. lxxvii. Opera, III. p. 955. (P.)

† History of Heresies, p. 210. (P.) Works, IX. p. 367.

‡ Εἰς ἕρηνον ἀναγενητὴν παλιθήλαρον Μανιχέλιον ἐν Ρώμῃ γενόμενον, τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς Κασσιῆς ἐπέστράφηκεν εἰσελθεῖν πολλὰς τῶν ἐκεῖσε λιμνησμένων ἡφαισῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν γένοντο ἔργα Γνωστικῶν τῶν καλούμενων. Har. xxvii. l. p. 107. (P.)

§ Har. xxvi. l. p. 99. (P.)

|| Orat. xix. Opera, p. 297. (P.)

SECTION I.

Of the Pride of the Gnostics.

As the Gnostics were generally persons of education, and addicted to the study of philosophy, the most conspicuous feature in their general character, was their pride, their contempt of the vulgar, and of their opinions, boasting of their own knowledge, and being proud of their superiority to others. They represented their institution as more refined than that of other Christians, and pretended to a degree of perfection which other Christians did not claim. This feature is equally marked by the christian fathers, and the apostles: and it will be seen, in its proper place, that, in opposition to them, the Unitarian Christians were considered as weak and simple people, in all respects the very reverse of the Gnostics.

Irenæus says, that the Gnostics pretended to perfection, and called themselves spiritual;* and he says, that they called the orthodox ψυχικοί, carnal.† Clemens Alexandrinus also speaks of the Gnostics “as pretending to perfection, boasting of more knowledge than the apostles; whereas Paul himself says, that he had not yet attained, nor was already perfect.”‡ But I have no occasion to quote many authorities for a circumstance which marks the Gnostics wherever they appear; and it is equally evident, that there were teachers of Christianity pretending to the same superiority of knowledge and perfection in the time of the apostles.

The first certain evidence of the existence of the Gnostic doctrine in the Christian church is at the time of Paul's writing his first epistle to the Corinthians, which was probably in the year 56; and the false teachers of that place are assiduously marked by the apostles for their pride, conceit, and high pretensions to wisdom. In opposition to their pretended deep knowledge, the apostle says, 1 Cor. i. 18, “The preaching of the cross is to them that perish, foolishness; but unto us which are saved, it is the power of God.” Ch. iii. 18: “Let no man deceive himself. If any man

* “Plurimi autem et contemptores facti, quasi jam perfecti, sine reverentiâ, et in contemptu viventes, semetipsos spiritaliter νομαίνοντες, et se nosse jam dicunt eum qui sit intra pleroma ipsorum refrigerii locum.” I. iii. C. xv. p. 237. (P.)

† Δια ταύτα ἐν ἡμῶν ψυχικῶς νομαίνομεθα. I. i. C. i. p. 92. (P.)

‡ Ἐμοὶ δὲ καὶ θαυμάζειν ἐπέσιον ὅπως τῆρας τέλειος τινας τολμῶσι καλεῖν καὶ γνωστῶν ὡς τοῦ Ἀποστόλου φρονῶντες, φυσιζόμενοι τε καὶ φημιζόμενοι ὡς αὐτῆ ἐμολογούντες τὸ Παῦλος περ. ἑαυτῶ, μὴ ὅτι ἤδη ἐλάβον, ἢ ἤδη τετέλειωμαι. Pæd. I. i. C. vi. p. 107. (P.)

among you seemeth to be wise in this world, let him become a fool, that he may be wise." He seems to allude to their pretended spirituality and refinement, when he says, ver. 1, "I could not speak unto you as unto spiritual, but as unto carnal, even as unto babes in Christ." He likewise speaks ironically of their pretensions to wisdom: iv. 10. "We are fools for Christ's sake, but ye are wise in Christ;" and x. 15, "I speak as to wise men: judge ye what I say." That they were Gnostics who corrupted the gospel at Corinth, is evident from the fifteenth chapter of this epistle, where it appears, that they explained away the doctrine of the resurrection.

These teachers are distinguished by the same features at Ephesus not long after this, as we find, 1 Tim. vi. 3, 4: "If any man teach otherwise, and consent not to wholesome words, even the words of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to the doctrine which is according to godliness, he is proud, knowing nothing, but doting about questions and strifes of words," &c. In the epistle to the Colossians, ii. 18, the apostle cautions the Christians against those who *intruded into things which they had not seen, being vainly puffed up by their fleshly minds*, which could be no other than the same description of men. It is also probable that they were the same persons that the apostle James alluded to, iii. 13: "Who is a wise man, and endued with knowledge amongst you; let him shew, out of a good conversation, his works with meekness of wisdom." Let us now see what kind of knowledge these Gnostics had to be so proud of.

SECTION II.

Tenets of the Gnostics.—Of the Origin of Evil, and the Doctrine of Æons.

All the Gnostics were persuaded, that *evil* had some other cause than the Supreme Being, but, perhaps, none of them before Manes held that it arose from a principle absolutely independent of him. Bardesanes maintained that evil was not made by God.* Marcion, Cerdon and Manes, all held that the devil and demons were unbegotten.† Valen-

* Ἀποτὸν ἄγγελοι τοῦ ἁερίου ὕδατος τοῦ κακοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ θεογεννησῆσαι. Ὁ θεὸς γὰρ κακὰ κρᾶσις ἐστίν. Origen Contra Marcionitas, pp. 70, 71. (P.)

† Τὸ δὲ διαβόλιον καὶ τὰς ἐπιτοκίας αἰχμητάς ἕμεροναι, κατὰ τὰς Μαρριωνίους, καὶ Κερδωνίους καὶ τὰς Μανιχῶν μύθους, ἢν ἀρχηγῆται εἶναι φημεν. Theodoret, Hær. Fab. l. v. C. viii. IV. p. 268. (P.)

Thus held that matter was self-existent, and the cause of evil.*

But the great boast of the Gnostics was their profound and intricate doctrine concerning the derivation of various intelligences from the supreme mind, which they thought to be done by emanation or *efflux*. And as these were equally capable of producing other intelligences in the same manner, and some of them were male and others female, there was room for endless combinations of them; so that the genealogy of these intelligences, or *æons*, as they were called, must have been a very intricate business.

Basilides held that the unbegotten produced *nous*, that *logos* was produced (or *prolatid*) from *nous*, that *phronesis* (that is, thought) came from *logos*; from *phronesis* came wisdom and power, and from these, angels and archangels, and that these made the heavens.† Marcion was the first who said that there were three gods; ‡ meaning, perhaps, the three gods of Simon above-mentioned, viz. the Supreme Being, him that made the world, and him that gave the law. For I do not find that any of those who believed that there was another maker of the world besides the Supreme Being, thought that there was any other evil being, or devil, distinct from him; it being imagined that, upon either hypothesis, the origin of evil, which was the problem to be resolved by all these schemes, was sufficiently accounted for.

The Gnostics also held that these superior intelligences might occasionally come in the form of men, to instruct the world. Such they imagined Christ to have been. Simon Magus pretended to be one of these great powers; and, it is said, that Manes maintained that he was the *Paraclete* promised by Christ. §

The most complicated system of æons is that of Valentinus, of which we have a particular account in Irenæus, from which his editor, Grabe, has drawn out a distinct table, which he has inserted in his edition of Irenæus.

* Διὸ περ ἐδοξεν μοι, συνπαρχειν τε αὐτῶ, ὡς τὸν ἕνα ὄλη· ἐξ ἧς τὰ οὐτὰ ἐδραμιργήσῃ, τεχνῆ, σοφῆ διακρίνας, καὶ διακοσμησῆς καλῶς, ἐξ ἧς καὶ τὰ κακὰ εἶναι δοκεῖ. Origen, *Contra Marcionitus*, p. 88. (P.)

† Ἐφῆσε γὰρ τὸν ἀγεννητὸν ἦν πρῶτον γεννησάμην, ἐκ δὲ τῆς νοῦς προβλήθηται τὸν λόγον, φρονῆσιν δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς λογῆς, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς φρονῆσεως σοφίαν καὶ δυνάμιν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἀγγελῶν καὶ ἀρχαγγέλων· τῶν δὲ δραμιργήσῃ τὸν κόσμον. Theodoret, *Hæc. Fab. l. i. Sect. iv. IV. p. 194.* (P.)

‡ Πρῶτος γὰρ Μαρριων ὁ ἀδωτατος, ὁ πρῶτος τρεῖς θεοὺς εἶπεν. Cyrilli. *Jer. Cat. xvi. p. 226.* (P.)

§ Ὁ δὲ δυσσεβῆς Μανῆς, ἑαυτὸν εἶναι τὸν ὑπὸ Χριστοῦ πεμφθέντα παρακλητὸν εἶπεν· τολμήσεν. *Ibid.* (P.)

As it is no where said that Valentinus, or Basilides, or, indeed, any of the earlier Gnostics whose names have come down to us, were the original inventors of the system of æons, it may be concluded to be a part of the ancient oriental philosophy, and therefore to have existed long before the age of the apostles. It may be presumed, at least, that, in some form or other, it was held by the Gnostics of their time, and that these were the endless genealogies of which Paul makes such frequent mention, as idle and vain; and, indeed, nothing could be more so than the doctrine of the intricate relations that these æons bore to each other. The genealogies of particular Jewish families could never have furnished any cause of dispute or inquiry to the Gentile Christians at Ephesus, and other places, where we read of there being disturbances on account of these things. But the genealogies of the Gnostic æons made a considerable part of a general system of faith, very capable of deeply interesting those who gave much attention to them.

The passages in the New Testament, in which mention is made of these fabulous genealogies, are the following, 1 Tim. i. 3, 4: "I besought thee to abide still at Ephesus, when I went into Macedonia, that thou mightest charge some that they teach no other doctrine, neither give heed to fables, and endless genealogies, which minister questions, rather than godly edifying, which is in faith." Ch. iv. 6, 7: "If thou put the brethren in remembrance of these things, thou shalt be a good minister of Jesus Christ, nourished up in the words of faith, and of good doctrine, wherunto thou hast attained; but refuse profane and old-wives fables." Ch. vi. 20: "O Timothy, keep that which is committed to thy trust, avoiding profane and vain babbling, and oppositions of science falsely so called." 2 Tim. ii. 15—18: "Study to shew thyself approved unto God, a workman that needeth not to be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth; but shun profane and vain babblings, for they will increase unto more ungodliness. And their word will eat as does a canker, of whom is Hymenæus and Philetus, who concerning the truth have erred, saying, that the resurrection is past already, and overthrow the faith of some."

As the persons here described were most evidently Gnostics, it is almost impossible not to conclude that the *profane and vain babblings*, synonymous no doubt to the *fables* and *endless genealogies*, were some part of the Gnostic system; and in this there is nothing to which

they can be imagined to correspond beside that of the æons. It is, no doubt, the same thing to which the apostles allude, 2 Tim. ii. 23: "But foolish and unlearned questions avoid; knowing that they do gender strifes." Tit. iii. 9, 10: "But avoid foolish questions and genealogies, and contentions, and strivings about the law, for they are unprofitable and vain. A man that is a heretic after the first and second admonition, reject." The Gnostics, as will be shewn hereafter, were the only heretics of that age; and therefore the *genealogies* here mentioned must have been some part of their system.

It is probable, that the apostle Paul might allude to the great respect paid to these invisible æons, by what he says, Col. ii. 18, of the "worshipping of angels," and "intruding into those things which *a man* hath not seen, vainly puffed up in his fleshly mind," as the last circumstance evidently marks the Gnostics. And as they pretended to great spirituality and dislike of the flesh, the apostle might intend a farther rebuke to them by insinuating that their minds were fleshly.

Lastly, it is possible that the apostle Peter might allude to these idle Gnostic fables, when he said, 2 Pet. i. 16, "We have not followed cunningly-devised fables," &c.

SECTION III.

The Doctrine of the Gnostics concerning the Soul.

THERE was something peculiar in the doctrine of the Gnostics, with respect to the soul. As it was a fundamental principle with all the ancients, that there could be no proper creation, and consequently that souls, not being material, nor yet created out of nothing, were either parts detached from the soul of the universe, or emanations from the divine mind, this doctrine was held by the Gnostics. And as some men are vicious and others virtuous, it was supposed that their souls had two different origins, and were therefore good or bad by nature, the good having sprung from the divine mind, mediately, or immediately, and the bad having had some other origin, the same from which every thing evil was supposed to have sprung. They likewise held that the future fates of men depended upon their original nature. *Saturninus*, Theodoret says, held that "there were two kinds of souls, the one good, and the other bad; and that they had this difference from nature, and that as the evil demon assisted the

bad, so the Saviour came to assist the good.”* Origen says, that the disciples of Basilides and Valentinus, held that “there is a kind of souls that are always saved, and never perish, and others that always perish, and are never saved” † He also says, that “Marcion introduced different kinds of souls.” ‡ This doctrine of the original difference of souls, is likewise well known to have been part of the Manichean system; and therefore a considerable topic of argument with Austin, and others who wrote against the Manicheans, is, to prove that men are not wicked by nature, but from the abuse of free-will. On this subject Austin, who wrote against the Manicheans in the early part of his life, advanced many excellent things in favour of free-will, and the natural power of man to do good and evil, which he contradicted when he afterwards wrote against the Pelagians. We find this doctrine of fate ascribed to Simon in the *Recognitions*. §

As the Gnostics were always ready to allege the Scriptures in support of their doctrines, they pretended to have an authority in them even for this part of their system; for Cyril of Jerusalem says, that “some inferred from *John*, (1 Ep. iii. 10.) ‘By this we know the children of God, and the children of the devil,’ that some men were to be saved, and others to be damned by nature. But this holy sonship,” he says, “we arrive at, not from necessity, but choice. Neither,” adds he, “was Judas, the traitor, the son of the devil, or destruction, by nature.” ||

As these Gnostics held that the souls of all good men were derived from the divine mind, they could have no difficulty in admitting that Christ, whom they supposed to be one of the greater æons, was of the same substance with the Father. Accordingly, Beausobre observes, that, on this principle,

* Διὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν εἶναι ἕξει διαφοράς, καὶ τῶς μὲν εἶναι ἀγαθῶς, τῶς δὲ πονηρῶς, καὶ ταύτων ἐν φρεσὶ τὴν διαφοράν εἰσφέρειν· τῶν γὰρ πονηρῶν δαιμονίων τοῖς πονηρῶς συμπεπρατιστοῖσι, κήδεϊ, φρεσίν, ἢ δαδῆρ ἐπαμύνει τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς. Hier. Fab. L. i. C. iii. IV. p. 194. P.

† “Nescio quomodo qui de schola Valentina et Basilidis veniunt, hæc ita à Paulo dicta non audientes, putent esse naturam animarum quæ semper salva sit, et nunquam pereat, et aliam quæ semper pereat et nunquam salvetur.” In *Rom. Opera*, II. p. 596. P.

‡ “Marcion tamen, et omnes qui diversis figmentis varias introducunt animarum naturas.” Ibid. p. 479. P.

§ “Et Simon nescio inquit si vel hoc ipsum sciam. Unusquisque enim sicut ei fato decernitur vel sapit aliquid, vel intelligit, vel patitur.” L. iii. C. xxii. p. 523. (P.)

|| Οἱ γὰρ ἀνέξεμεθα τῶν κακῶν ἐπιλαμβανούτων τὸ ἐπιχρῆμεν ἐκεῖνο· τὸ ἐκ τῆς γυναισκόμει τα τέκνα τῆ Θεοῦ, καὶ τα τέκνα τῆ διαβολῆς, ὡς οὐκ ἐν φρεσὶ τινῶν, καὶ ταΐζομεν καὶ ἀποδίδμεν ἐν ἀνδράποισι· ἢ ἐ γὰρ ἐπαναγκῆς, ἀλλ’ ἐκ τῶν αἰρεσεῶς εἰς τὴν τοιαύτην ἀγίαν ἐκδόσιν ἐπιχρῆμεθα· ἢ ἐ ἐν φρεσὶ ὁ πρόβῳς, Ἰησοῦς, εἶς γὰρ διαβολῆς καὶ ἀποδείας. Cat. vii. p. 108. P.

they escaped all censure at the Council of Nice. They even used the famous term (*ὁμοουσιος*) *consubstantial*, with respect to the human soul; in opposition to which principle Theodoret says, “The soul is not consubstantial with God, as the wicked Marcionites hold, but was created out of nothing.”*

This doctrine concerning the soul seems to have been peculiar to the Gentile Gnostics. The Jewish Gnostics do not appear ever to have departed from their proper principles, so far as to suppose that any souls had a proper divine origin; but either thought that they were created out of nothing, or, if they were so far philosophers as to deny this, they would probably say, with some others, that they were only the breath of God, and not any proper part of his substance. Accordingly, we do not find any allusion to this doctrine, of two kinds of souls, in the apostolical writings.

SECTION IV.

The Doctrine of the Gnostics concerning the Maker of the World, and the Author of the Jewish Dispensation.

ANOTHER article which was probably peculiar to the Gentile Gnostics, and which makes the greatest figure in their history, is, that the Supreme Being, the Father of Jesus Christ, was not the maker of the world, or the author of the Jewish dispensation; for that these were derived from some inferior and malevolent being. This was the distinguishing tenet of all the celebrated Gnostics who arose about the time of Adrian; and as they derived their principles not from Platonism, but from the oriental philosophy, Clemens Alexandrinus, speaking of them in general, says, “The heresies, which are according to a barbarous philosophy, though they teach one God, and sing hymns to Christ, do it in pretence only, and not in truth; for they have invented another God, and shew another Christ, than him who is announced by the prophets.”† Again, he says, “Some pretend that the Lord,” meaning the God of the Old Testament, “could

* Οὐ γὰρ καὶ τὸν δισσεβὲς Μαρκεῖονος λόγον ἡμο-ουσιος ἐστὶν ἡ ψυχὴ τοῦ πεποιητοῦς Θεοῦ, ἀλλ’ ἐκ μη οὐκ ἐκίσθη. Hær. Fab. L. v. C. v. Opera, IV. p. 264 (P.)

† Δυσπερ, οἱ καὶ τὴν βαρβάρην φιλοσοφίαν αἰρεσεῖς, καὶ Θεὸν λεγούσιν ἓνα, καὶ Χριστὸν ἔμνοσι, κατὰ περιλήψιν λεγούσιν, ὅτι πρὸς ἀληθείαν· ἄλλον τε γὰρ Θεὸν παρενέουσκησι, καὶ τὸν Χριστὸν ἢ ὡς ἢ παροήσῃσι παραδύσαντι ἐκβεχρῆσαι. Strom. I. vi. p. 67

Porphyry in his life of Plotinus, speaking of the Christians, and the heretics, says, that the latter were of the old philosophy. Γεγονάσι δὲ κατ’ αὐτὸν τῶν Χριστιανῶν πολλοὶ μὲν καὶ ἄλλοι αἰρετικοὶ δὲ ἐκ τῆς παλαιᾶς φιλοσοφίας ἀνηγγενοῦ. (P.)

not be a good being, on account of the rod, the threatening, and the fear.”* meaning his justice and severity. And Tertullian says, they deny that God, meaning the Supreme Being, is to be feared. †

According to the Gnostics, the god of the Jews was so far from being a good being, or in any respect subservient to the designs of the Supreme Being, that he was at open variance with him; so that the true God was obliged to take measures in order to counteract his designs. Saturninus says, that “the Father of Christ, willing to destroy the god of the other angels, and of the Jews, sent Christ into the world, for the salvation of those who were to believe on him.” ‡ Basilides said, that “the god of the Jews, willing to reduce all nations to his power, and opposing other principalities, the Supreme Being seeing this, sent his first-born *nous*, whom he called Christ, to save those who believed on him.” § Valentinus said, that “the true God was not known till our Saviour announced him;” || and Eusebius informs us, that “Cerdon, of the school of Simon, coming to Rome in the time of Hyginus, the ninth bishop from the time of the apostles, taught that the God who was preached in the law and the prophets was not the father of our Lord Jesus Christ; for that the one was known, the other unknown: the one was just, the other good. He was succeeded by Marcion of Pontus, who increased the school, blaspheming without blushing.” ¶ Of Marcion, Justin Martyr says, that “he was living in his time, teaching his followers that there is a god greater than he that made the world, who is every where, by the instigation of the demon, teaching many blasphemies.” ** It was on account of the Gnostics reviling the maker of the world, whom the other Christians justly considered as the true God, that they are so generally charged with blasphemy; so that in those early ages, a heretic, a blasphemer, and a Gnostic, were synonymous terms.

Contradictory as these principles manifestly are to those

* ENIATHA τῶν ἁγίων, ἢ ἀγαθὸν εἶναι φησὶν τὸν Κύριον διὰ τὴν εὐχὴν, καὶ τὴν ἀπειρῶν, καὶ τὸν φόβον. — Ped. L. i. C. viii. p. 113. (P.)

† “*Negant Deum timendum.*” De Præscrip. Sect. xliii. p. 218. (P.)

‡ Τὸν ἡγεῖνα φησὶ τὸ Χριστὸν, κατὰ τὴν βολήν μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ἀγγέλων καὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων θεῶν, ἀποστέλλει τὸν Χριστὸν εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἐπὶ σωτηρίαν τῶν εἰς αὐτὸν πιστευόντων ἁβραάμ. Theodoret, Har. Fab. L. i. C. iii. IV. p. 194. (P.)

§ Βουλόμενός ἐστι τὸν τοῦ κόσμου ἀναγὰ ἐκπύσαι τὸ ἔθνος, τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχαίας αὐτὸν ἐκείνου, τῶν ἁγίων ἡγεῖνα τὸν Χριστὸν ἀποστέλλει, ὃν καὶ Χριστὸν πιστεύουσι, ἵνα σωθῶν τὴν πιστευομένην. Ibid. L. i. C. iv. IV. p. 195. (P.)

|| Ἀγνοοῦσιν ὅτι τὸν ἑαυτοῦ τῶν τῶν Χριστὸν παύσας. Irenæus, L. i. C. xvi. p. 85. (P.)

¶ See *supra*, p. 77, Note.*

** See Ibid. Note †.

of the Scriptures, the Gnostics were not sensible of it, and even did not scruple to argue from them. Marcion argued from its being said, that ‘no man knows the Father but the Son,’ that Christ preached a God who had not been known either to the Jews by revelation, or to the Gentiles by nature.”* He also alleged in support of his doctrine concerning the author of the Jewish dispensation, Paul’s saying, (Gal. iii. 13.) “Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the law.”† According to Austin, the Manicheans said, that “the Old and New Testament contradicted each other, by the former ascribing the creation to God the Father, and the latter to Christ.”‡

To these arguments the Catholic Christians found no difficulty in making very satisfactory replies, especially from our Saviour’s acknowledging the God of the Jews to be his Father, as in John viii. 54: “Jesus answered, if I honour myself, my honour is nothing. It is my Father that honoureth me, of whom ye say that he is your God.”

Even the Platonic philosophers were much offended at this part of the Gnostic system, because, in order to prove that the world was not made by the supreme and essentially good Being, they represented it as abounding with all evil, and took pleasure in vilifying it. Plotinus wrote a tract against the Gnostics, in which he speaks of the world as exhibiting marks of goodness. He says, “it is not to be admitted that this world is a bad one, because there are many disagreeable things in it.”§ Though, according to the principles of Platonism, the world was made of matter, and men and animals were not made by the Supreme Being himself, they were, however, made by his direction, and with a great mixture of good in them; whereas the Gnostics held, that the world was not only made of bad and intractable materials, but

* “Sed, nemo scit qui sit Pater, nisi Filius; et qui sit Filius, nisi Pater, et cuiusque Filius revelaverit. Atque ita Christus ignotum Deum prædicavit. Hinc enim et ubi hæretici fulciuntur, opponentes creatorem omnibus notum; et Israeli, secundum familiaritatem; et nationibus, secundam naturam.” Tertullian *Adv. Marcionitas*, L. iv. Sect. xxv. p. 411. (P.)

† “Christus nos redemit de maledicto legis. Subrepat in hoc loco Marcion de potestate creatoris, quem sanguinariam, crudelem infamat, et vindicem, asserens nos redemptos esse per Christum, qui alterius boni Dei filius sit.” Jerom. In Gal. C. ii. VI. p. 134. (P.)

‡ “Hoc capitulum legis adversum esse evangelio stultissimi Manichæi arbitrantur; dicentes in Genesi scriptum esse, quod Deus per seipsum fecerit cælum et terram, in evangelio autem scriptum esse per dominum nostrum Jesum Christum fabricatum esse mundum; ubi dictum est, et mundus per ipsum factus est.” *Contra Adimantum*, VI. p. 174. (P.)

§ Οὐ δε τὰ κακῶς γεγενῆσθαι τὸν δε τοῦ κόσμου ὄλεον, τῷ πολλῶν εἶναι ἐν αὐτῷ δυσχερῆ. En. ii. L. ix. C. iv. p. 202. (P.)

also by a being of a bad disposition. The Gnostics, whom the apostle Paul had to do with, did not hold this principle with respect to the maker of the world. They were Jews, who believed as other Jews did in this respect, and they held the law of Moses in the greatest possible veneration.

It appears to me, that the Gnostics had advanced so many specious arguments to prove that the Supreme Being himself was not the immediate maker of the world, and the author of the Jewish dispensation, that the orthodox Christians were staggered by them, and so far conceded to their adversaries, as to allow that the Being who made the world, and who appeared to the patriarchs and the prophets, was not the Supreme God himself. On this account they might be the more readily induced to adopt the principles of the Platonists, and of Philo, who said that the world was made, and that the law was given, by the *divine logos* personified. This being the Son of God, they said he must be the same with Christ. In fact, the orthodox used many of the same arguments with the Gnostics, to prove that the Supreme Being was not the person who spake to the patriarchs. Thus they alleged the same texts to prove that he who had intercourse with Abraham, &c. was not the Supreme Being himself, but one different from him.

In some part of Justin's Dialogue with Trypho, one might imagine that Justin had been a Gnostic, and Trypho a Unitarian Christian. Trypho says, "Prove to me first that there is another God besides the maker of all things."* Justin answered, "I will endeavour to shew you, from the Scriptures, that there is another God and Lord, and one who is so called, besides the maker of all things." This is precisely what a Gnostic would have said. But he proceeds to speak of this second god as the messenger of the true God, which the Gnostics would not have done. "He is also," says he, "called an angel, on account of his informing men of what he that made all things, above whom there is no God, wills that he should inform them."†

* Ἀποδείξαι ἢ μὴ πῶς ἐστὶν πῶς εἶχε ἀποδείξαι ἢ καὶ ἀλλῶν Θεῶν παρὰ τὸν ποιητὴν τῶν ὁλῶν. Dial. p. 238. (P.)

† Ἄλλοτε πειρασμένοι ἕστε πεισῆαι, νοησαίνας τὰς γραφὰς, ἢ ἐστὶ καὶ ἄγγελος Θεὸς καὶ Κεῖ. ὁ ἕως ἄρτι ἐπέε τῶν ποιητῶν τῶν ὁλῶν, ὅς καὶ ἀγγέλος καλεῖται, ἵνα τὸ ἀγγέλλειν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἕσται. ὁ δὲ ἄλλος ἀγγέλος ὁ τῶν ὁλῶν ποιητὴς, ἐπεὶ οὐ ἀλλῶν Θεῶν ἢ ἐστὶ. Ibid. p. 249. See Thirlby's note on the place. (P.) "Hanc veram lectionem esse non posse, et res ipsa demonstrat, et, nequis ἕπερ interpretetur *prater*, quæ mox sequuntur in hac periodo, nisi credas Jurtinum et esse et non esse alium Deum ἕπερ τῶν ποιητῶν τῶν ὁλῶν uno spiritu dicere potuisse. Wolfius itaque legit *παρὰ*, &c." Thirlby, Ibid.

SECTION V.

The Doctrine of the Gnostics concerning the Person of Christ.

THE principles of the Gnostics which I have occasion to consider most particularly, are those which relate to the person of Christ. Their aversion to every thing that bore the name, and had the properties of matter, was such, that they could not think well of any thing that was material. Accordingly, besides supposing that the being who was properly entitled to the appellation of the Christ, or the messenger of God to man, was a super-angelic spirit, who had pre-existed, and was sent to make his appearance among men, all of them would not admit that what he did assume, as necessary to his manifestation, was a proper human body, consisting of real flesh and blood, but something that had only the external appearance of one, and that it was incapable of passion, and of the sufferings and pain of a real human body. This was so much a general opinion among them, that it is commonly ascribed to them all; so that Epiphanius says, “the Gnostics say that Jesus was not born of Mary, but only exhibited by her, and that he did not take flesh except in appearance.”*

As it was an opinion of the Gnostics that Christ had no proper human body, of course they could not believe that Mary had a proper child-birth; for they said that, on inspection, she was found to be a virgin after the delivery, which Clemens Alexandrinus observes.† And as they supposed this phantom in the human form could not suffer, or die, Novatian says, that “both the birth and the death of Christ are confutations of them.”‡

The opinion, however, that the body of Jesus was only the semblance of a proper human body, was not universal among the Gnostics. For the Cerinthians and Carpocratians believed that Jesus was not only a man, born as other men are, but also the proper offspring of Joseph as well as of Mary, and that he continued to be nothing more than any

* Μη ειναι δε αυτων απο Μαρίας γεννηθημενον, αλλα δια Μαρίας δεδειγημενον. Σαρκα δε αυτων μη ειληφεναι, αλλ' η μονου δεκταν ειναι. Πρωτ. xxvi. p. 91. (P.)

† Αλλ' ως εωκεν τοις πολλοις, και μεχρι νυν δοκει η Μαριαμ λεγω ειναι, δια την τε παιδια γενησιν, εκ οσα λεγω και ουκ, μετα το τεκειν αυτην μειωθεισαν, φασι τινες, παρθενον ευρεθηναι. Strom. vii. p. 756.

‡ This notion was afterwards adopted by the Catholics; but Clemens Alexandrinus evidently ascribes it to the Gnostics. (P.)

§ “Omnes enim istos et nativitas Domini et mors ipsa confutat.” C. x. p. 81. (P.)

other man till his baptism, when the Cerinthians said that a super-angelic spirit, which alone they called the Christ, came into him.*

I shall proceed to mention the opinions of other Gnostics concerning the body of Jesus, which, though various, agree in this, that Jesus was not the Christ, and shew an aversion to do so much honour to any thing that had proper flesh and blood. Bardesanes maintained that Christ had a celestial body.† Cérdo also denied that Christ was born of Mary.‡ According to Tertullian, “ Marcion denied the birth of Christ, that he might deny his flesh; Apelles, his scholar, allowed the flesh, but denied the nativity; and Valentinus both admitted the flesh and nativity, but gave a different interpretation to them.”§ By denying the birth of Christ, they meant that Jesus derived nothing from his mother, but that whatever his body consisted of, it was something that only passed through her, as water through a pipe. Accordingly, Epiphanius says, “ Valentinus held that the body of Christ came from heaven, and took nothing from the Virgin Mary.”|| It is remarkable, that this very opinion was afterwards adopted by Apollinaris, who likewise maintained, with the Arians, that Christ had no human soul.

Christ having no proper human body, could not have the proper functions of one; and, accordingly, Valentinus said that “ Christ ate and drank in a peculiar manner, not voiding excrements.”¶ With respect to the super-angelic nature of Christ, Valentinus held that he was one of the *aons*; and, according to his genealogies, both Christ and the Holy Spirit were the offspring of *Monogenes*, which came from *Logos* and

* Λαθὲν δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ἀνοῦ θεοῦ μὲτα τὸ ἀδρινηθῆναι Ἰησοῦν τὸν ἐκ σπέρματος Ἰωσήφ καὶ Μαρίας γεγεννημένον κατέλαθθησαν τὸν Χριστὸν εἰς αἶόν. Epiphanius, Har. xxviii. l. p. 110.

Β-λοῦμαι μὲν Ἰησοῦν οὐκ ἄνδρα πῶν εἶναι, ὡς εἶπον, Χριστὸν δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ γεγεννησῆσαι τὸν ἐξ ἑσπεύου καὶ ἀπεβηκότα. Har. iii. l. p. 158. (P.)

† Har. τ-Χ. 157 ἐστὶ τὸ ζήτημένον. Ἐγὼ γνωρίζομαι ὅτι ἠραμὸν σῶμα ἐλάβει. Origen, *Contra Marcionitas*, p. 105. (P.)

‡ Μὴ εἶναι δὲ τὸν Χριστὸν γεγεννημένον ἐκ Μαρίας, μᾶλλον ἐν σαρκὶ πεφηνέναι, ἀλλὰ ὄσκησαι αὐτῷ, καὶ ὄσκησαι πεφηνότα, ὄσκησαι δὲ τὰ ἕλα σπαικῶτα. Epiphanius, Har. xli. l. p. 160. (P.)

§ Marcion, ut carnem Christi negaret, negavit etiam nativitatem; aut ut nativitatem negaret, negavit et carnem. Scilicet ne invicem sibi testimonium redderent et responderent, nativitas et caro: quia nec nativitas sine carne, nec caro sine nativitate: quasi non eadem licentia haretica et ipse potuisset, admissa carne nativitatem negare, ut Apelles discipulus, et postea desertor ipsius; aut carnem et nativitatem confessus, alter illas interpretari, ut condiscipulus et condertor epus Valentinus” *De Carne Christi*, Sect. i. p. 307. (P.)

|| Φασὶ δὲ ἀνώθεν κατὰ κληρονομίαν τὸ σῶμα, καὶ ὡς ἐν σαρκὶ ὄσκησεν, διὰ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου διελάθηθαι μὴδὲν δὲ ἀπο τῆς παρθενικῆς μήτρας εἰληφέναι, ἀλλὰ ἀνώθεν τὸ σῶμα εἶναι. Har. xxxi. l. p. 171. (P.)

¶ Πᾶσι, φησὶν, ὑπομεινας, ἐγκρατῆς ἦν, δεύλητα Ἰησοῦς ἐργαζέιο ἡσθιεν καὶ ἐπιπεν μῆλα, καὶ ἀποδίδος τα βρωμαῖα. Clemens Alex. Strom. l. iii. p. 451. (P.)

Zoe, as these were the offspring of *Nous* and *Veritas*, and these of *Bythus* and *Sige*.*

It may be proper to observe, in this place, that those of the Gnostics who believed that Christ was the son of Joseph as well as of Mary, must have thought that, antecedent to his baptism, he had a human soul, as well as a human body. Their opinion, therefore, concerning him after his baptism, must have been similar to that of the orthodox Christians, who believed the *logos* of the Father to be attached to the man Jesus. On the other hand, those Gnostics who thought that Christ had no proper human body, but only the appearance of one, must have held that he had no intelligent principle within him besides the super-angelic spirit which they called the Christ. These, therefore, resembled the Arians. And as they agreed with them in holding the pre-existence of Christ as a great created spirit, not indeed the maker of the world, but superior to him that made it, and that this great spirit condescended to become incarnate for the salvation of men, they were agreed with respect to every sentiment that could excite reverence and gratitude. Both the schemes had the same object, viz. the exaltation of the personal dignity of Christ, though a created being, and they had the same effect upon the mind.

It is probable that the Gnostics differed much among themselves with respect to their celestial genealogies; and these being altogether the work of imagination, there was room for endless systems on the subject. All that deserves our notice is, that, according to them all, Christ was a pre-existent spirit, which had been of high rank before he came into the world.

It appears to me highly probable, that it was in opposition to this doctrine of *aons*, that John wrote the Introduction to his gospel, in which he explains the only proper sense in which the terms *logos*, *only-begotten*, *life*, &c. of which the Gnostics made such mysteries, ought to be taken; asserting, more especially, that the *logos*, which is spoken of in the Scriptures, and the only *logos* that he acknowledged, was the power of God, an attribute of the Father, and therefore not to be distinguished from God himself.

It is possible, however, that John had heard of the doctrine of Philo, who made a second God of the *logos*; and if that kind of personification had begun to spread among Christians so early as the time of John, it is not impossible

* Irenæus, L. i. C. i. pp. 7, &c. (P.)

but that he might, in his usual indirect manner, allude to it. In any view, the meaning of the apostle seems to be as follows: "In the beginning, or before all time, was the *logos*, and the *logos* was with, or rather belonged to God, as his proper attribute, and therefore was no other than God himself. By this *logos*, or power of God, all things were made, and without it was not any thing made that was made;" agreeably to what the Psalmist says, "By the word (*logos*) of the Lord were the heavens made, and all the hosts of them by the breath of his mouth;" God "spake and it was done, he commanded and it stood fast;" and many other passages of the same import.

The last of the Gnostics, viz. the Manicheans, thought, as others had done before them, that Christ had no real flesh, but only the appearance of it;* but, according to Theophylact, Manes thought he had a real body till his baptism, when he left it in the river Jordan, and took another, which had only the appearance of one.†

Absurd as these notions of the Gnostics are, and dangerous as we shall find their consequences were, it must not be forgotten, that the object of them was to do honour to Christ, as the most illustrious messenger of God to man. For it was thought that he could not have had that perfection of character which was requisite for his high office, if his mind had been subject to the influence of common flesh and blood. Marcion said, that "he could not have been pure, if he took human flesh."‡

We find that the Gnostics argued in defence of even this part of their system, from the New Testament. For we learn from Origen, that some of the heretics endeavoured to prove, from Paul's saying, *We are planted in the likeness of Christ's death*, that he did not really die, but only had the appearance of death;§ and the Marcionites said that, according to Paul, Christ was only "in fashion as a man, and not a man."||

No writer in the New Testament opposes this very prin-

* Τον Χριστον εν σαρκι γεγονεναι η βεβηλαι, φαντασμα αιων λεγων ειναι. Socratis Hist. L. i. C. xxii. p. 55. (P.)

† 'Οι Μανιχαϊοι λεγουν οτι το σωμα αυτη απεβητο εν τη Ιορδανη, κατα φαντασιν δι αλλο σωμα εδειξεν. In Matt. C. iv. I. p. 20. (P.)

‡ Παλιν Μαρκιων ορα τι φησιν' εκ ηδυνατο ο Θεος σαρκα αναλαβων μιναι καθαρος. Chrysostom, In Eph. vi. 10, X. p. 1188. (P.)

§ "Sed hoc non intelligentes quidam hæreticorum, conati sunt ex hoc apostoli loco asserere quod Christus non verè mortuus sit, sed similitudinem mortis habuerit, et visus sit magis mori quam verè mortuus sit." Origen Ad Rom. Opera, II. p. 342. (P.)

|| Ιδου, φησι, και σχηματι, και ως ανθρωπος. Chrysostom, In Phil. ii. Opera, X. p. 1250. (P.)

ciple of the Gnostics concerning the person of Christ, as well as their general doctrine that Jesus was not the Christ, more plainly, or more earnestly, than John: and yet we find that Valentinus interpreted the Introduction to John's gospel in his favour,* making *αρχη*, to be a principle different from the Father and the same with the *monogenes*; and the *logos* different from the *αρχη*. †

That the gospels, however, and especially that of John, are unfavourable to this principle of the Gnostics, is very evident; and Chrysostom represents it as “the first and principal reason why Christ is exhibited with all the weaknesses and infirmities of human nature, to prove that he had real flesh, and that he meant that all persons who then lived, and all who should come after him, should believe that he was no apparition, or mere visible appearance, but the truth of nature,” ‡ i. e. a real man.

Christ being so frequently called a man in the gospel history, is, on this account, very properly urged by the christian fathers, as an argument against this doctrine of the Gnostics. Thus, in answer to Valentinus, who held that Christ had a kind of spiritual flesh, Tertullian observes, that then he would not have been called a man, as he repeatedly is, or have been so denominated by himself; as when he said, “ye seek to kill me, a man, that has told you the truth.” § This argument of Tertullian makes equally against any doctrine that supposes Christ to have been, in any respect, different from, or more than, another man, and therefore would have carried him farther than he intended. Basil says, “there was no occasion for his being born of a virgin, if the flesh which was to contain God was not to be of the mass of Adam.” ||

But the most serious objection to this part of the Gnostic system is, that if Christ had not proper flesh and blood,

* Εἰς τε Ἰωαννῆν τὸν μαθητὴν τε Κύριε διδάσκεισιν τὴν πρώτην. Ὁμοίως ἀναμνησκόμενοι αἰτίας λέξεσι, λεγοντοῦς εἶπας Ἰωαννῆς, ὁ μαθητὴς τῆς Κυρίου, βύλομεν ὅτι εἶπεν τὴν τῶν ὄλων γενεσιν, καθ' ἣν τα πάλαια προεβαλεν ὁ πατὴρ ἀρχὴν τινὰ προϊδέσθαι τὸ πρῶτον γεννηθῆν ὑπο τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἐν δὲ καὶ ἕνω μονογενῆ καὶ Θεοῦ, κελήκεν, ἐν φ' ἑτα πάντα ὁ πατὴρ προεβαλε σπερματικῶς, ὑπο δὲ τῆς φησὶ τὸν λόγον προεβλήθησθαι, &c. Irenæus, L. i. C. i. p. 39. (P.)

† Ibid. See also Epiphanius, Hæc. xxxi. I. p. 196. (P.)

‡ Πρῶτῃ μὲν ἦν αἰτία καὶ μετρίῃ, τὸ σαρκὰ αἰὼν προεβλήθησθαι, καὶ βλεσθῆναι καὶ τὸς τοῦ, καὶ τὸς μετὰ τοῦτα πιστώσασθαι πάλαι, ὅτι ἐσκία τις ἐστίν, ἐδε σχῆμα ἀπλῶς, τὸ ὀρωμενόν, ἀλλ' ἀληθῆς αἰ φησὶσιν. Hom. xxxii. I. p. 408. (P.)

§ “Licuit et Valentino ex privilegio hæretico, carnem Christi spiritalem comminisci. Quidvis eam fingere potuit, quisquis humanam credere noloit; quando quod ad omnes dictum est) si humana non fuit, nec ex homine; non video ex qua substantia ipse se (Christus hominem et filium hominis pronunciarit. ‘Nunc autem vultis occidere hominem, veritatem ad vos loquutum.’” *De Carne Christi*, Sect. xiv. Opera, p. 319. (P.)

|| Τίς δὲ χρεια τῆς ἁγίας παρθένης, εἰ μὴ ἐκ τοῦ φυραμαίως τοῦ Ἀδάμ ἐμῆλεν ἡ θεοφορῶς σακίς προσλαμβάνεσθαι. Ep. lxy. Opera, III. p. 104. (P.)

and therefore was not properly a man, he had not the feelings of a man, and therefore he is no proper example to us, especially in his sufferings and death, with respect to which his example is more particularly proposed to us; and in time of persecution this consideration was of the greatest consequence. As Origen says, "If Christ suffered nothing in his death, how can his example be of any use to those who suffer for righteousness' sake, if he only seemed to suffer, but really felt nothing?"*

Sometimes, therefore, the whole scheme of Christianity is spoken of as defeated by this doctrine of the Gnostics, so that they are ranked with unbelievers, merely in consequence of not believing the reality of Christ's sufferings and death. Thus, in the epistles ascribed to Ignatius, he says, "If, as some atheists, that is, unbelievers, say, he suffered in appearance only, it being only an appearance, why am I bound, why do I glory in fighting with beasts? I die in vain."† Alluding to the same doctrine, he likewise says, "I endure all things, he who is a perfect man strengthening me;"‡ meaning, probably, that he strengthened himself by the example of Christ. Accordingly, we find that, in general, the Gnostics avoided persecution. But before I consider their maxims and conduct in this respect, I shall cite what we find in the New Testament against the opinion of Christ's not having a real human body.

In whatever light the apostles saw this doctrine, it is evident, that they were much alarmed at it. This is particularly clear with respect to the apostle John; but Paul seems to allude to this tenet of the Gnostics in 2 Cor. xi. 4, where he speaks of the false teachers as preaching another Jesus than him that he had preached. For in this sense the same phrase is used by some of the early christian writers, and indeed it does not appear that he could have any other meaning; as in no other sense did any persons ever preach what could be called another Jesus. But a Jesus not consisting of flesh and blood, or a Jesus whose soul had been a super-angelic spirit, was indeed a very different Jesus from

* Ἀλλὰ καὶ οὐ, ὡς φησὶν ὁ Κέλσος, μὴτ' ἀλγεῖναι τι μὴτ' ἀναίρειν τὰ Ἰησοῦ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς ἐπιπέρας αὐτοῦ, ὡς ἂν τὰ ἄλλα τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς ἐπιπέρας τὰ ἔτι ἐπιπέρας ἐπιπέρας ἐπιπέρας ἡμετέρας Ἰησοῦ, μὴ παθούμην τὰ ἀνθρώπινα, μόνον δὲ ὄψαντι πεπονθένον. *Ad. Cel.* l. ii. p. 77. P.

† Εἰ δὲ ὡς περὶ τινος ἀποδείξει, τὸ φησὶν ἀπίστον, λέγειν τὸ δοκεῖν πεπονθέναι αὐτὸν, αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἐστὶ τὸ δοκεῖν ἐργάτῃ τῆς ἀποδείξεως, τὸ δὲ ἐργάτῃ ἡμετέρας ἡμετέρας, ὄψαντι ἢ ἀποδείξει. *Ad. Trall.* Sect. x. p. 24. P. Wake, *Gen. Ep.* p. 90.

‡ Πάντα ὑπομένω, αὐτὸς μὲ ἀνθρώπου-σώμα, τὸ τίθειν ἀνθρώπου γενομένου. *Ad. Smyrn.* Sect. iv. p. 30. P. "I undergo all, to suffer together with him; he who was made a perfect man strengthening me." Wake, pp. 115, 116.

him that Paul had preached, viz. a man like himself, and only distinguished by the peculiar presence and power of God accompanying him.* Also, what could Peter mean by those who “shall bring in damnable heresies, even denying the Lord that bought them,” 2 Pet. ii. 1, but the same that Paul meant by *preaching another Jesus*, which implied a denial of the true Jesus? If these persons had been apostates from Christianity, they would not have been classed with heretics, or have been mentioned as intermixed with Christians.

There can be no doubt, however, with respect to the meaning of the apostle John, as the bare recital of the passages from his writings will evince. The doctrine of the Gnostics concerning the person of Christ was so offensive to him, and it was so much upon his mind, that he begins his first expistle, seemingly in a very abrupt manner, with the strongest allusions to it. “That which was from the beginning, which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we have looked upon,” i. e. have closely inspected and examined, “and our hands have handled, of the word of life: (for the life was manifested, and we have seen it, and bear witness, and shew unto you that eternal life which was with the Father, and was manifested unto us;) that which we have seen and heard, declare we unto you,” &c.

What could he mean by speaking of Jesus under the figure of life, as a person who had been heard, seen, and even handled, so that they had the evidence of all their senses, but that he was really a man, had a real human body, and not merely the appearance of one; which, it is universally allowed, was an opinion that was entertained by many persons in his time? I shall proceed to give other extracts from the writings of John, in which he alludes to this doctrine of the Gnostics, and strongly expresses his disapprobation of it.

1 John iv. 1—5: “Beloved, believe not every spirit, but try the spirits, whether they are of God. Because many false prophets are gone out into the world. Hereby know ye the spirit of God. Every spirit that confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh” (or, as it might be rendered, that *Jesus is Christ, come in the flesh*) “is of God. And every spirit that confesseth not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is not of God. And this is that spirit of Antichrist, whereof you have heard that it should come; and even now

* See, at the close of this Section, (p. 100,) *Remarks* on the former part of this paragraph, by a friend of the author.

already is it in the world." Coming in the flesh, can have no other meaning than having real flesh, which many of the Gnostics said Christ had not; and coming, cannot here imply any pre-existent state, for then the flesh in which he came must have pre-existed.

2 John 7: "For many deceivers are entered into the world, who confess not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh. This is a deceiver and an Antichrist." The importance of holding the true doctrine concerning the person of Christ, in opposition to these deceivers, he urges with great emphasis in the following verses: "Look to yourselves, that *ye* lose not those things which *ye* have wrought, but that *ye* receive a full reward. Whosoever transgresseth, and abideth not in the doctrine of Christ, hath not God. He that abideth in the doctrine of Christ, he hath both the Father and the Son. If there come any unto you, and bring not this doctrine, receive him not into your house, nor bid him God speed. For he that biddeth him God speed, is a partaker of his evil deeds."

Though I do not propose, in this work, to enter into a critical examination of the meaning of particular texts of Scripture, yet, as it has of late been strongly urged that the phrase coming in the flesh, used by John in these passages, has a reference to a pre-existent state of Christ. I shall endeavour to shew that such a construction is ill-founded.

It has been said that, by this phrase, "the opinion that Christ was truly a man is very awkwardly and unnaturally expressed. The turn of the expression seems to lead to the notion of a being who had his choice of different ways of coming, and therefore is levelled against the Ebionites as well as the Gnostics."

On the contrary, I think the expression sufficiently similar to other Jewish phrases, of which we find various examples in the Scriptures, and that it may be explained by the phrase "partakers of flesh and blood," Heb. ii. 14. If the word coming, must necessarily mean coming from heaven, and imply a pre-existent state, John the Baptist must have pre-existed: for our Saviour uses that expression concerning him, as well as concerning himself, Matt. xi. 18, 19: "John came neither eating nor drinking, and they say he hath a *demon*. The Son of Man came eating and drinking," &c. It may also be asserted, with more certainty still, concerning all the apostles, that they pre-existed; for our Saviour, in his prayer for them, respecting their mission, makes use of the term *world*, which is not found in 1 John iv. 2, where he

says, John xvii. 18, "As thou has sent me into the world, even so have I also sent them into the world."

The phrase *coming in the flesh*, in my opinion, refers very naturally to the doctrine of the Gnostics, who supposed Christ to be a super-angelic spirit, which descended from heaven, and entered into the body of Jesus. The phrase *he that shall come*, or *who was to come* (his coming having been foretold by the prophets), appears to have been familiar to the Jews, to denote the Messiah: but with them it certainly did not imply any coming down from heaven, because they had no such idea concerning their Messiah.

Besides, there is no trace in the epistle of John of any more than one heresy. He neither expressly says, nor hints, that there were two; and part of his description of this one heresy evidently points to that of the Gnostics; and this heresy was as different as possible from that of the Ebionites. The early writers who speak of them mention them as two opposite heresies, existing in the same early period; so that it is very improbable, *à priori*, that "the same expression should be equally levelled at them both." Gnosticism, therefore, being certainly condemned by the apostle, and not the doctrine of the Ebionites, I conclude, that in the latter, which is allowed to have existed in his time, he saw nothing worthy of censure, but that it was the doctrine which he himself had taught. If this apostle had thought otherwise, why did he not censure it unequivocally, as those who are called orthodox now do, and with as much severity?

Tertullian maintained, that, by those who denied that Christ was come in the flesh, John meant the Gnostics, though he says that by those who denied that Jesus was the Son of God, he meant the Ebionites.* He had no idea that the former expression only could include both. But as the Gnostics maintained that Jesus and the Christ were different persons, the latter having come from heaven, and being the Son of God, whereas Jesus was the son of man only, the expression of Jesus being the Son of God is as directly opposed to the doctrine of the Gnostics as that of Christ coming in the flesh.

As a proof has been required that the phrase *coming in the flesh* is descriptive of the Gnostic heresy only, and not of the Unitarian doctrine also, I would observe, that it is so used in the epistle of Polycarp, the disciple of John. In a passage in this epistle, in which the writer evidently alludes

* *De Præscriptione Hæreticorum*, Sect. xxxiii. p. 214. (P.)

to the Gnostics only, he introduces this very phrase, *coming in the flesh*. "Being zealous of what is good, abstaining from all offence, and from false brethren, and from those who bear the name of Christ in hypocrisy; who deceive vain men. For *whosoever does not confess that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, he is Antichrist*; and whosoever does not confess his suffering upon the cross, is from the devil; and whosoever perverts the oracles of the Lord to his own lusts, and says, that there shall neither be any resurrection nor judgment, he is the first-born of Satan. Wherefore, leaving the vanity of many, and their false doctrines, let us return to the word that was delivered from the beginning."*

Had this writer proceeded no farther than the second clause, in which he mentions those who did not believe that Christ suffered upon the cross, it might have been supposed that he alluded to two classes of men, and that the latter were different from those who denied that he came in the flesh. But as he goes on to mention a third circumstance, viz. the denial of the resurrection, and we are sure that those were not a third class of persons, it is evident that he alluded to no more than one and the same kind of persons by all the three characters. I conclude, therefore, that the apostle John, from whom the writer of this epistle had this phrase, used it in the same sense, and meant by it only those persons who believed that Christ was not truly man, i. e. the Gnostics.

It has been said that "the attempt to assign a reason why the Redeemer should be a man, implies both that he might have been, without partaking of the human nature, and by consequence that, in his own proper nature, he was originally something different from man; and that there might have been an expectation that he would make his appearance in some form above the human." But it is certainly quite sufficient to account for the apostle's using that phrase *coming in the flesh*, that in his time there actually existed an opinion that Christ had no real flesh, and was not truly a man, but a being of a higher order, which was precisely the doctrine of the Gnostics. That, before the appearance of the Messiah, any persons expected that he would, or might, come in a form above the human, is highly improbable.

"A reason," it is said, "why a man should be a man, one would not expect in a sober man's discourse." But, certainly, it was very proper to give a reason why one who was not thought to be properly a man, was really so; which is what the apostle has done.

* See Sect. vi. vii. Abp. Wake's Translation, pp. 55, 56. (P.)

The very circumstantial account that John has given of the blood which issued from the wound in our Saviour's side, could hardly have any other meaning than to contradict the doctrine of the Gnostics, that he had not real flesh and blood, John xix. 34, 35: "But one of the soldiers with a spear pierced his side, and forthwith came thereout blood and water. And he that saw it bare record, and his record is true; and he knoweth that he saith true, that ye might believe." What could be the meaning of this remarkably strong asseveration, but to assure the world that Jesus had real blood, like other men? To the same thing he probably alludes, when he mentions the blood by which Christ came, as well as the water, 1 John v. 6: "This is he that came by water and blood,—not by water only, but by water and blood." Again, and probably with the same view, he says, 1 John v. 8, "There are three that bear witness,—the spirit, and the water, and the blood, and these three agree in one;" the spirit and the water referring probably to his baptism, and the blood to his death.

With respect to the other articles of the Gnostic creed concerning the person of Christ, viz. that Jesus was one being, and the Christ another, and that the proper Christ came into Jesus at his baptism, John also bears his strongest testimony against it; and he lays no less stress on a right faith in this respect than in the other, 1 John ii. 21—23: "I have not written unto you because ye know not the truth, but because ye know it, and that no lie is of the truth. Who is a liar, but he that denieth that Jesus is the Christ? He is Antichrist that denieth the Father and the Son. Whosoever denieth the Son, the same hath not the Father." This also may explain what Peter meant by "denying the Lord that bought them," as it may be supposed that he meant denying Jesus to be the Christ. 1 John iv. 15: "Whosoever shall confess that Jesus is the Son of God" (which is equivalent to being *the Christ*), "God dwelleth in him, and he in God." Chap. v. 5: "Who is he that overcometh the world, but he that believeth that Jesus is the Son of God?" From the conclusion of John's gospel we may perhaps infer what several of the ancients have asserted, viz. that he wrote it with a particular view to refute the Gnostics. Chap. xx. 31: "These are written that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that, believing, ye might have life through his name."



REMARKS on Page 94, Paragraph 2.

[The apostle observes (1 Cor. iii. 11), that “other foundation can no man lay than that which is laid, which is Jesus Christ;” and this he lays down as a principle, not only true in itself, but admitted to be so by his opposers in the church of Corinth. They all professed to inculcate his religion, to own him as the author of their faith, and to speak as his ministers (2 Cor. ii. 13, 23), and, though they wretchedly perverted his doctrine, assumed to themselves the character of his followers. If they had any desire indeed to pass for Christian preachers, they could not do otherwise. That the Corinthians might not, however, implicitly believe what they said on this account, St. Paul reminds them (ver. 12), that it was very possible for persons pretending to lay this foundation, to build upon it both doctrines and practices very unsuitable to the design of the gospel; and such he intimates to them, though in an indirect manner, were several of the tenets advanced among them by their new instructors.

Persons teaching doctrines under the name of Christianity, so inconsistent with what the Corinthians had received from St. Paul, could have no prospect of succeeding in their attempts by any other method than by depreciating his apostolic character and authority; and this they endeavoured by various ways. In opposition to their arts, the apostle makes it his business to lay open the vanity of their objections against him, and to shew that as he was not in the least inferior to the very chiefest of the apostles, so none who thus vilified him deserved to be accounted equal to him. And this point being clearly established, the Corinthians could have no excuse for casting off their regard to him. But then it is obvious, that all the pertinence of his arguments to this purpose, rested upon this supposition, that his antagonists professed to adhere to the same Lord of their faith with himself. Had they declared themselves advocates for any other system of religion than his whom Paul preached, the state of the question between the apostle and his adversaries would have been entirely altered. The competition would then have been between one religion and another, not between ministers of the same religion; and the Corinthians, without doubting in the least of St. Paul's eminence as a christian preacher, might have been inclined to hear what was said by one who addressed them under a different denomination.

The apostle, in the words under consideration, appears to

admit, therefore, that if he who came, undertook to direct them to any other Jesus, as the author of their salvation, besides him whom he, the apostle, had preached; or if they had received from his ministration any other spirit, different from, or superior to, what they had already received, there might be some reason for their regarding him; but as this could not be so much as pretended, their conduct in suffering themselves to be so perverted was capable of no defence.

If this view of the apostle's reasoning with the Corinthians in his own vindication be just, it should seem that he does not in this place refer to any as actually preaching another Jesus, but only supposes a case, the only one which could apologize for their behaviour, a case which they knew did not exist; and from the non-existence of it, lets them see how indefensible they were in preferring others to him, who, as a minister of Christ, was, as he goes on to shew, in the qualifications by which they endeavoured to recommend themselves, equal, or far superior to them.

As to the rest, I have no doubt but that Gnosticism had, when St. Paul wrote to the Corinthians, made its appearance in the church, and amongst them in particular, nor that the apostle makes it his business, in these epistles, to shew the falsity and pernicious nature of its doctrines.

The date assigned to the first epistle to Timothy by bishop Pearson, is about the year of Christ 65. But Lightfoot and Lord Barrington place the writing of it between the times of the writing of the first and second epistle to the Corinthians, but before the epistle to the Romans; and Theodoret mentions it in the same order, and says he takes it to be the fifth epistle of those which we have of St. Paul's writing. The patrons of this opinion differ about the year, but all place it much sooner than Pearson.

If this early date of this epistle could be clearly established, it would be a great confirmation of Dr. Priestley's opinion of the introduction of Gnosticism into the church of Corinth, at the time of the writing the first epistle to it. But perhaps it is too doubtful, or at least it will be too much disputed to admit of laying stress upon it; though it appears, from p. 80, that the Doctor has not entirely overlooked it. (X)]*

* "Having employed much time and labour in the composition of this work, which, on account of the necessary expensiveness of it, and the nature of the subject, is not likely to meet with many purchasers, and consequently may not soon be reprinted, I was willing to make this edition as perfect as I could; and for this purpose requested some of my learned friends to peruse it with care, and favour me with their remarks. All of them were by no means persons whose sentiments on the subject were the same with mine; and, indeed, I chose to apply to them in preference to those who were of the same opinion with myself.

"Being favoured with their remarks, and having myself re-considered every part

SECTION VI.

Of the Doctrine of the Gnostics with respect to Martyrdom.

An obvious consequence of denying the reality of Christ's flesh and blood was, that he never really suffered. This, indeed, the Gnostics contended for, as his prerogative and excellence; thinking all the affections of the flesh reproachful to a being of his high rank and natural dignity. Some of them, rather than suppose that Christ really suffered, said that it was not even Jesus, but Simon of Cyrene, who carried the cross after him, that was hung upon it; and that Christ, seeing this from a distance, laughed at the mistake of his enemies, and then returned to his Father who had sent him. This notion is by Theodoret ascribed to Basilides.*

As, in the opinion of the Gnostics, Christ did not really suffer, we are not surprised to find that, in general, they did not allow the obligation of martyrdom. Irenæus says, that some of them despised the martyrs, and reproached them for their sufferings.† Clemens Alexandrinus says, that some of the heretics argued against martyrdom, saying, that "the true martyrdom, or testimony to the truth of God, was the knowledge of the true God; and that he was a self-murderer who confessed Christ by giving up his life."‡

In order to extenuate the merit of martyrdom, Basilides maintained, that the martyrs not being perfectly innocent, suffered no more than they deserved.§ But this he might hold, without denying the obligation to die in the cause of truth.

According to Epiphanius, also, Basilides held that martyr-

of the work, I have thought it most advisable to subjoin such additional observations, as, since the printing of the work, have been suggested by them, or have occurred to myself. They consist of corrections of the text, improvements in the translation of passages, replies to objections, or observations tending to throw farther light on the subject; whether in favour of what I have advanced, or not. Those of them to which is subjoined the letter X were written by a person to whom I am more particularly obliged for his attention to this work, but whose name I do not know that I am at liberty to mention." Dr. Priestley's *Appendix*, 1786.

* Πάθειν ἢ τιτὸν ἄσθεμας λέγει, ἀλλὰ Σίμωνα τὸν Κερρηαῖον ὑπομένειναι τὸ πάθος νομισθέντα εἶναι Χριστὸν· τὸν δὲ Χριστὸν πορρωθέν ὄραντα, γέλαν τὸν Ἰθαῖαιον τὴν ἀπονομίαν, εἰς ὄψρον, ἀπέλειπεν πρὸς τὸν ἀποσειλάντα. Hier. Fab. l. i. c. iv. IV. p. 195. (P.)

† "Et cum hinc ut se habeant, ad tantam temeritatem progressi sunt quidam, ut etiam martyres spernant, et vituperent eos qui propter Domini confessionem occiduntur." L. iii. C. xx. p. 247. (P.)

‡ Τίνας δὲ τῶν αἰρετικῶν τὴν κερὴν παρακηκόους ἀσθεῖας ἄμα καὶ δεῖλως φιληζούσι· μαρτυρίαν λέγοντες ἀλόγη· εἶναι τὴν τὴν ὄντως ὄντως γινώσκειν Θεοῦ· ὅπερ καὶ ἡμεῖς ὁμολογοῦμεν· φανερὸν δὲ εἶναι τὸν εἶναι ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ τοῦ ὄντος, τὸν δὲ Θεοῦ εἰς ἀπονομίαν ὁμολογησάντα· καὶ ἀλλὰ τοιαῦτα δεῖλως σοφισματά εἰς μέτρον κομίζουσι. Shern. L. iv. p. 481. (P.)

§ Clem. Alex. Strom. iv. p. 506. (P.)

dom was unnecessary.* In the passage quoted above from the epistle of Polycarp, there is an allusion to this doctrine of the Gnostics: "Whosoever does not confess that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, he is Antichrist. And whosoever does not confess the martyrdom of the cross is from the devil. And whosoever perverts the oracles of the Lord to his own lusts, and says that there shall be neither any resurrection nor judgment, he is the first-born of Satan."† Here is an enumeration of the principal, at least the most obnoxious, tenets of the Gnostics, who were the only heretics in that early age.

In consequence of this maxim concerning martyrdom, the Gnostics are said to have made no difficulty of eating things sacrificed to idols, though nothing can be more expressly forbidden than this practice is in the New Testament; as it makes one of the four articles of things prohibited to the Gentile converts by an assembly of all the apostles, is most pointedly argued against by Paul in his epistles to the Corinthians, and is likewise severely reprehended in the book of Revelation.

In the Dialogue of Justin Martyr, Trypho says, that "many who were called Christians ate of things sacrificed to idols, and said there was no harm in it."‡ But it appears, by Justin's answer, that they were Gnostics. Irenæus says of the Valentinians, that, "without distinction, they ate of things sacrificed to idols, not thinking themselves defiled by them, and were the first to attend the feasts in honour of the heathen gods."§ The Nicolaitans, also, Austin says, sacrificed to idols, and did not oppose the Gentile superstitions.||

Upon the whole, this doctrine of the non-obligation of martyrdom, and the practice of sacrificing to idols, is so generally laid to the charge of the Gnostics, and it is so consonant to their other principles, that it is impossible not to give some credit to the accounts. It is evident, however, that the charge was not universally true. Some Marcionites,

* Διδασκει δε παλιν και αναλρεπει, φασκων μηδεν μαρτυρειν. *Hæc.* xxiv. I. p. 71. (P.)

† Πας γαρ, ός αν μη όμολογη Ιησουν Χριστον εν σαρκι εληλυθεναι, Αντιχριστος εστι και ός αν μη όμολογη το μαρτυριον του σταυρου, εκ του Διαβολου εστι και ός αν μεθοδευη τα λογια του Κυριου προς τας ιδιαις επιθυμιας, και λεγη μητε αναστασιν, μητε κρισιν ειναι, ούτως πρωτοτοκος εστι τει Σατανα. *Ep. Ad. Phil. Sect. vii. p. 187. (P.) Wake, p. 56.*

‡ Και ό Τρυφων, και μην πολλους των τον Ιησουν λεγονταν όμολογεσθαι, και λεγομενων χριστιανων, συνθανομαι εσθιεσθαι τα ειδωλοδουτα, και μηδεν εκ τουτου βλαπησθαι λεγειν. *P. 207. (P.)*

§ Και γαρ ειδωλοδουτα αδιαφορως εσθιουσιν μηδε μολινεσθαι επ' αυτου ηγουμενοι και επι πασαν εορτασμιον των εθνων τερψιν εις τιμην των ειδωλων γινομενην πρωτοι σιτιασιν. *L. i. C. i. p. 30. (P.)*

|| "Hi nec ab iis quæ idolis immolantur cibos suos separant, et alios ritus Gentium superstitionum non adversantur." *Catalogus Hæc. VI. p. 14. (P.)*

in particular, had so great a value for the gospel, and held the obligation of truth so sacred, that they suffered martyrdom rather than renounce their profession of Christianity. In Eusebius the Marcionites are said to have boasted of many martyrs;* and particular mention is made by him of one Asclepius, a Marcionite martyr.†

We may learn from the New Testament, that some persons professing Christianity did not, for some time at least, refrain from eating things sacrificed to idols, or from fornication. But though this might be from want of consideration, rather than from principle, the apostle Paul does not fail to expostulate with them with peculiar earnestness on the subject. See 1 Cor. x. 20, 2 Cor. vi. 16. See also what he observes concerning the necessity of all who would “live godly in Christ Jesus,” suffering persecution, 2 Tim. iii. 12, with the enumeration of his own sufferings in several places, which seems to allude to the contrary principles and practices of others.

There are also persons characterized by *holding the doctrine of Balaam*, both in the second epistle of Peter, the epistle of Jude, and the book of Revelation; and in this book, chap. ii. 14, they are described as teaching “to eat things sacrificed unto idols,” as well as “to commit fornication.” It is probable, that they were all the same class of persons, and that they were Gnostics, who held these principles. The particular commendation given to the martyr *Antipas*, in this book, ch. ii. 13, and the reproof given to the church of Thyatira for suffering a person called *Jezabel* to teach, and to *seducer* persons “to eat things sacrificed to idols,” ch. ii. 20, shew that there were Gnostics when that book was written.

Also the solemn promise at the conclusion of each of the epistles to the seven churches, of especial favour to those who should overcome, plainly points out the obligation that Christians were under to maintain the truth at the hazard of their lives. Nothing can more clearly prove this obligation on all Christians, than our Lord’s own doctrine and example. Matt. x. 39: “He that findeth his life shall lose it, and he that loseth his life for my sake shall find it.” But his own death, with respect to which we are particularly exhorted to follow his example, is the strongest sanction that he could give to his precept on this head.

* Και πρῶτοι γε ἐκ αὐτῆς Μαρκωνίαν ἀίρεσιν Μαρκωνίανται καλοῦμενοι, πλείους ἴσους ἔμεν Χριστῶ μαθητῶν λεγόντων ἄλλα τοῦ γε Χριστοῦ αὐτὸν κατὰ ἀληθειαν οὐκ ὁμολογοῦσι. Hist. l. v. c. xvi. p. 232. P.

† *De Martyribus Palestina*, C. x. p. 426. (P.)

Indeed, nothing but the sense of this obligation, to maintain the profession of our faith in all events, could have secured the prevalence of Christianity in the world, and have enabled it to triumph over all the obstacles that it had to encounter. Nothing else could have been so well calculated to give mankind in general such a full persuasion of the sincerity of Christians, and of their high sense of the importance of the gospel, and, consequently, to procure a proper attention to its principles, and gain converts to it.

SECTION VII.

The Gnostics disbelieved the Resurrection.

ALL the Gnostics, without exception, from those who made their appearance in the time of the apostles, down to the Manicheans, disbelieved the resurrection. They held matter and the body in such abhorrence, that they could not persuade themselves that the soul was to be encumbered with it any longer than in this life. But they did not, therefore, give up all belief of future rewards and punishments. They believed the immortality of the soul; and that the soul, divested of the body, would be rewarded or punished according to the actions performed in it. Without this there could never have been any martyrs at all among them, as we have seen that there were among the Marcionites.

However, as the doctrine of a resurrection makes so great a figure in the Christian scheme, the Gnostics, or at least some of them, did not venture to deny it in words; but they said it was a figurative expression, and either related to the moral change produced in the minds of men by the preaching of the gospel, or a rising from this mortal life to an immortal one, after the death of the body. According to Epiphanius, Hierax said that the resurrection related to the soul, not to the body;* and the Manicheans said that the death of which Paul wrote was a state of sin, and the resurrection a freedom from sin.†

This must have been the doctrine taught by Hymenæus and Philetus, whose words Paul says, 2 Tim. ii. 17, “ will

* Βεβηλαι γαρ και ούτος την σαρχα μη αναστῆσαι το παραπαν, αλλα την ψυχην μονοταλην, πνευμαλικην δε την αναστασιν φασκει. Hær. lxxvii. l. p. 709. (P.)

† Θανατον, ενταυθα φασι, εδεν αλλο λεγει ὁ Παυλος η το εν αμαρτια γινεσθαι, και αναστασιν το των αμαρτων απαλλαγηναι. Chrysostom, In 1 Cor. xv. Opera, XI p. 664. (P.) See Dr. Priestley's Notes on 1 Cor. xv. *ul in it.*

eat as doth a canker," and "who concerning the truth have erred, saying that the resurrection is passed already, and overthrow the faith of some." It is possible, also, that Paul might allude to this doctrine of the Gnostics, when, in the epistle to the Colossians, after speaking of their "voluntary humility, and worshipping of angels," *intruding into things which they had not seen, vainly puffed up in their fleshly minds*, ch. ii. 18 (which are evident characters of the Gnostics), he added, ver. 20, "If ye be dead with Christ from the rudiments of the world, why, as though living in the world, are ye subject to ordinances?" As if, arguing with them on their own principles, he had said, If the death from which we are to rise be merely a death of sin, why do you continue to live as men of this world only? And again, ch. iii. 1: "If ye then be risen with Christ, seek those things which are above, where Christ sitteth on the right hand of God," i. e. If, as you pretend, the resurrection be passed already, and you be actually risen again with Christ, live in a manner agreeable to this new and better life.

But in the fifteenth chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians, the apostle argues at large against the doctrine of the false teachers in that church, who held that the dead would not rise; and therefore he proves the doctrine of an universal resurrection from that of Christ, and answers the objections that were made to it from its seeming natural impossibility. And it evidently appears, from the whole tenour of the apostle's discourse on this subject, as well as from his consolatory address to the Thessalonians, on the death of their Christian friends, that he had no expectation of any future life at all but on the doctrine of a resurrection. "If the dead rise not," he says, 1 Cor. xv. 16—19, "then is not Christ raised; and if Christ be not raised, your faith is vain, ye are yet in your sins. Then they also which are fallen asleep in Christ are perished. If in this life only we have hope in Christ, we are of all men most miserable." And again, ver. 32, "If the dead rise not, let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die." In the whole discourse he makes no account of, he does not even mention, their doctrine of happiness or misery without the body.

But the most extraordinary circumstance is, that, after this positive assertion, and copious illustration of the doctrine of the resurrection, it should still continue to be denied by the Gnostics, who were not without respect for his authority and writings. They even pretended that his writings

were in favour of their principles. Bardesanes appealed to the Scriptures, and proposed to abide by them.* The chief advantage which they imagined they had from the Scriptures on this subject, was from its being said by Paul, that "flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God," 1 Cor. xv. 50. Ambrose says that "the heretics who deny the resurrection urge its being said, that they do not rise in the flesh."† The Marcionites also pretended to prove from the Scriptures that the body would not rise again, "because the prophets and apostles never mentioned flesh or blood in a future state, but the soul only. David," they said, "speaks of his soul being delivered from death. Thou wilt not leave my soul in hell," &c.‡ They also argued from *God's giving it a body as it pleased him.*§

It seems, therefore, that they thought that the gross body being dropped in the grave, the soul would be clothed with something which, though it might be called a body, was of an ethereal and subtile nature, free from all the imperfections of the present body. And in this they have, in some degree, the authority of the apostle. But then they held that whatever the change was, it took place at death, and that what was committed to the ground always remained there; whereas nothing could give any propriety even to the term resurrection. if the body that died did not live again, how improbable soever it may appear to us. If nothing of that which dies is to appear again, in any future period of our existence, there may be a new creation of men, but there cannot be any proper resurrection. It seems to have been in opposition to any other resurrection than that of a proper body. that, in the epistles ascribed to Ignatius, mention is made of the resurrection as being fleshly, as well as spiritual.||

As the resurrection was denied, or explained away, by the Gnostics in the age of the apostles, and they appear, from other circumstances, to have been Jews, it seems that their philosophy had prevailed over the principles of their

* Το των χριστιανων δογμα πεισει και γραφαις συνεστηκε' χρη εν απο γραφων, η πεισαι, η πεισθησαι. *Contra Marcionitas*, p. 106. (P.)

† "Sicuti illi heretici qui resurrectionem carnis negant, ad diciendas animas simplicium, dicunt, his quia in carne non resurgant." *De Divinitate Filii*, l. i. C. iii. Opera, IV. p. 279. (P.)

‡ Πεισω σε απο γραφων, οτι ηλε γραφηται, ηλε αποστολοι μνημην εποησαντο σαρκος η αιματος, αλλα ψυχης μονης, ην και ηυχονλο σωσαι. Και πρωτον μεν ο Διαβιδ' οτι ερρωσω, φησι, την ψυχην με εκ θανατου. Origen, *Contra Marcionitas*, p. 186. (P.)

§ Ου τελο τι σωμα λεγει ανισασθαι, αλλ' ελευον, απο τε λεγειν' ο δε Θεος διδωσιν αυτα σωμα, καθως ηθελησεν. *Ibid.* p. 143. (P.)

|| Εν ονοματι Ιησου Χριστου, και τη σαρκι αυτου και τη αιματι, παθει τε και αναστασει, ταρσικη τε και πνευμαλικη, &c. *Ad Smyrn.* Sect. xiii. p. 38. (P.) *Wake*, p. 120.

former religion. This is the less to be wondered at, as the Sadducees, a considerable sect among the Jews, and sufficiently attached to their religion in other respects, did likewise disbelieve the resurrection. But then they disbelieved a future state in any form, which the Christian Gnostics did not.

SECTION VIII.

Of the Immoralities of the Gnostics, and their Sentiments with respect to Marriage, &c.

THE contempt with which the Gnostics treated the body, was capable of two opposite applications, and would therefore naturally operate according as persons were previously disposed, or as they were influenced by other principles. For either they would think to purify and elevate the soul by neglecting or macerating the body, rigorously abstaining from all carnal gratifications; or, considering the affections of the body as bearing no relation to those of the soul, they might think it was of no great or lasting consequence whether they indulged the body or not. It is well known that principles similar to theirs have had this twofold operation in later ages, leading some to austerity and others to sensual indulgence.

That the principles of the Gnostics had, in fact, the worst of those influences, in the age of the apostles, their writings sufficiently evidence; and though it is probable, that the irregularities of the Gnostics were in a great measure repressed by these writings, so that we hear less complaint of these things afterwards; yet charges of this kind are so generally and so strongly urged, and they are so probable in themselves, as to be entitled to some degree of credit. In the treatise ascribed to Hermas, we read that some thought, "as the body was to perish, it might safely be abused to lust."* Eusebius says, that "the Nicolaitans, contemporary with Cerinthus, but a sect of no long continuance, were said to have their women in common, on the maxim that it was lawful to abuse the flesh."†

But, perhaps, the most unexceptionable evidence in this case may be that of a heathen philosopher; and Plotinus represents the Gnostics as ridiculing all virtue. But as he

* "Atque etiam vide ne quando persuadeatur tibi interire corpus hoc, et abutaris eo in libidine aliqua." L. iii. Sect. vii. p. 106. (P.)

† *Λυλίσθηον γὰρ εἶναι φασὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν ταύτης ἐκείνη τῆ φωνῆ τῆ δὲ παραχρᾶσθαι τῆ σαρκὸς δεῖ.* Hist. L. iii. C. xxix. p. 123. (P.)

intimates that the goodness of their dispositions might overrule the influence of their principles, it is possible that the Gnostics themselves might deny that supposed tendency of their doctrines.* It was also generally said, and probably with some foundation, that the calumnies of the Heathens against the Christians, as addicted to criminal indulgences, were occasioned by the practices of the Gnostics, who called themselves Christians, and were not distinguished from other Christians by the Heathens.†

That those who are considered as heretics in the New Testament were licentious in their manners, appears from a variety of passages. The apostle Paul, applying to his own times the prophecies concerning the apostacy of the latter days, speaks (2 Tim. iii. 1, &c.) of some who, "having the form of godliness, but denying the power thereof," were addicted to almost every vice, which he there enumerates. He expresses this with equal clearness, chap. iv. 3, 4: "For the time will come when they will not endure sound doctrine, but, after their own lusts, shall they heap to themselves teachers, having itching ears; and they shall turn away their ears from the truth, and shall be turned unto fables."

But the most shocking picture of the irregularities of some professing Christians, though, perhaps, in a state of separation from those who were termed Catholic, is drawn by Peter in his second epistle, and also by Jude. It is evident, that they are the same persons who are described by them both; and one feature in the account of Jude seems to fix the charge upon the Gnostics. He says, ver. 3, 4, "It was needful for me to write unto you, and exhort you, that ye should earnestly contend for the faith which was once delivered unto the saints. For there are certain men crept in unawares, who were before of old ordained to this condemnation; ungodly men, turning the grace of our God into lasciviousness, and denying the only Lord God, and our Lord Jesus Christ." This denying of God and of Christ in Jude, the "denying the Lord that bought them" of Peter, and the

* 'Ο δε λογος ούτος, ει νεανικωτερον, τον της προνοιας Κυριου, και αυτην την προνοιαν, κερμαμενος και παντας νομους της ενλαυδα αιμασας, και την αρεην την εκ παντος τη χρόνου ανασημενην, το, τε σωφρονειν τελο εν γελαθ. Ξεμενος, ινα μηδεν καλον ενλαυδα δε εφθει ηπαρχη. Λρειλε το, τε σωφρονειν, και την εν τοις ηθεσι συμφν τον δικαιοσυνην, την τελημενην εκ λογη και ασκησεως, και ολας καθ' ασπυδωις ανθρωπω αν γενοισι' ως τε υλοις και αλειπεσθαι την ηθονην και το περι αυτης, και το ε κοινον προς αλλης ανθρωπος. α. το της χρειας μονον, ει μηλις τη φυσει τη αυτε κρειττων ειη των λογων τελων. Επ. Λ. ικ. C. xiii. p. 218. (P.)

† Τοις δε απιστοις εδνεσιν πολλην παρεχειν κατα τα Ξειη λογη δυσφημιας περιεσταν της εξ αυλων φημης εις την τα παυλⓄ Χριστιανων εδνης διαβολην καταχουμενης. Euseb. Hist. L. iv. C. vii. p. 149. (P.)

denying "that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh," or that *Jesus is the Christ*, of John, were probably phrases of the same import, as they nearly resemble each other, and then there can be no doubt of the persons so described being Gnostics.

It is possible, also, that, by "denying the only Lord God," Jude might mean their ascribing the making of the world to some other being than the only true God, which was the *blasphemy against God* with which the Gentile Gnostics were charged; though this is the only circumstance that can lead us to think that the apostles had to do with any such Gnostics. But this is very possible, as there is no circumstance in this epistle that shews these particular Gnostics to have been Jews; no hint being given of their bigotted attachment to the law of Moses. If the Gnostics that Jude alludes to were Gentiles, this may also have been the case with those of whom John writes. That they were the same description of persons there can be no doubt; and even John says nothing of their attachment to the law.

Also, the same persons whom John characterizes, by saying, they denied that *Jesus is the Christ*, and that "Christ is come in the flesh," he represents, 1 John iv. 3, as "of the world," and that "they speak of the world:" and says that therefore "the world heareth them." It was, probably, in opposition to the licentious maxims of the Gnostics that John enlarged so much on the moral influence of true Christianity in his first epistle; as, 1 John iii. 3—9: "Every man that hath this hope in him, purifieth himself, even as he is pure. Whosoever committeth sin, transgresseth also the law, for sin is the transgression of the law. And ye know that he was manifested to take away our sins, and in him is no sin. Whosoever abideth in him, sinneth not. Whosoever sinneth hath not seen him, neither known him. Little children, let no man deceive you; he that doeth righteousness, is righteous, even as he is righteous.—Whosoever is born of God, doth not commit sin, for his seed remaineth in him, and he cannot sin, because he is born of God."

Here seems to be an allusion to licentious principles, as well as practices. "The deeds of the Nicolaitans," who were Gnostics, mentioned Rev. ii. 6, were probably some impurities, or vicious practices; and as it is sometimes called "the doctrine of the Nicolaitans," ver. 15, that is spoken of with such abhorrence, it is probable that they vindicated their practices by their principles. Besides, vices would hardly be laid by the apostles to the charge of men, as known

by a particular name, if they were not vices avowed by those who bore that name.

In general, however, it must be acknowledged, that the Gnostics, at least those of a later period, were advocates for bodily austerity and mortification; thinking the body, in all cases, a clog to the soul, and that all sensual indulgence, even such as was deemed lawful by others, had an unfavourable operation. Saturninus, as Theodoret says, taught that "marriage was the doctrine of the devil."* And we may clearly perceive, from Paul's first epistle to the Corinthians, and other parts of his writings, that similar principles were inculcated by the false teachers of his day. Hence, probably, the questions about marriage proposed to him by the Christians at Corinth, and his decision, Heb. xiii. 4, that "marriage is honourable in all, and the bed undefiled."

That he might allude to the Gnostics in the epistle to the Hebrews, is not impossible, as they were Jewish Gnostics that he had to do with, and they were strenuous advocates for the law of Moses; and against that part of their system much of the epistle is directed. But towards the conclusion he seems to descant upon other parts of it; and presently after the above-mentioned observation concerning marriage, he says, "Be not carried about with divers and strange doctrines;" which, no doubt, alludes to the Gnostics, as in similar expressions he certainly does refer to them in various parts of his writings.

This doctrine of the prohibition of marriage, it is evident that Paul thought very ill of, by his making it one of the characters of the great apostacy of the latter times, 1 Tim. iv. 3: "Forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats," &c.

SECTION IX.

Of the Gnostic Teachers giving Lectures for Money.

THE Gnostics were not only persons addicted to the philosophy of their times (many of them being, as we may presume from this circumstance, in the higher classes of life), but, having had the advantage of a liberal education, many of them had studied eloquence, and, like the philosophers of antiquity, gave lectures, or harangues, for money. It has been seen, in the passages quoted from Origen and others,

* Τον δε γαμον ουτος πρωτος τε διαβολη διδασκαλιαν ωνομασε. Her. Fab. L. i. C. iii. Opera, IV. p. 194. (P.)

that the preaching of the Gnostics was said to be calculated to please, rather than to edify their hearers, which was probably done by delivering such discourses as Plato and other philosophers did, who received money from their pupils. To this custom there are many allusions in the New Testament, especially in the two epistles of Paul to the Corinthians, in which he opposes his own conduct (he having worked with his own hands among them, to maintain himself, while he preached to them *gratis*) to that of these teachers, who made a gain of them.

They are thus described, Titus 1. 9—11: "That he (viz. the bishop) may be able, by sound doctrine, both to exhort and to convince the gainsayers. For there are many unruly and vain talkers and deceivers, especially they of the circumcision, whose mouths must be stopped, who subvert whole houses, teaching things which they ought not, for filthy lucre's sake." Those also who, Peter says (2 Pet. ii. 1, &c.) "shall bring in damnable heresies, even denying the Lord that bought them," did likewise, ver. 3, "through covetousness, with feigned words, make merchandize" of their hearers.

SECTION X.

Of the refractory Disposition of some of the Gnostics.

THERE is another circumstance which distinguished the Jewish Gnostics of the apostles' times, and perhaps those of no other, which was the high sense they had of the dignity of their nation, their aversion to the Roman government, and indeed to all subordination. On this account the apostles frequently urged the necessity of a due subjection to superiors, and the propriety of prayer being made for all men, as for kings, &c. This Paul particularly enjoins Timothy with respect to the church at Ephesus, where there were many Gnostics, 1 Tim. ii. 1: "I exhort, therefore, that, first of all, supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giving of thanks, be made for all men: for kings, and for all that are in authority." The same charge he gives to Titus, ch. iii. 1: "Put them in mind to be subject to principalities, and powers, to obey magistrates," &c. Peter also speaks of them, 2 Pet. ii. 10, as "them that despise government, presumptuous, self-willed,—not afraid to speak evil of dignities;" and, ver. 19, as *promising men liberty*. Jude also describes them, ver. 8, as *despising dominion, and speaking evil of dignities*.

This promise of liberty they might extend to the Gentile

Christians; and for this reason the apostle Paul might think it necessary to urge the obligation of christian slaves to continue in subjection to their masters, 1 Tim. vi. 1—4: "Let as many *slaves* as are under the yoke, count their own masters worthy of all honour, that the name of God and his doctrine be not blasphemed.—If any man teach otherwise (from which it is evident that some had done so), and consent not to wholesome words, even the words of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to the doctrine which is according to godliness, he is proud, knowing nothing, but doting about questions, and strifes of words," &c. This circumstance clearly marks the Gnostics, and therefore makes it highly probable, that the other doctrine, concerning freedom from servitude, was taught by the same persons.

SECTION XI.

Of Public Worship among the Gnostics.

As the Gnostics were philosophical and speculative people, and affected refinement, they did not made much account of public worship, or of positive institutions of any kind. They are said to have had no order in their churches. We do not hear much of their having regular bishops among them; and, making themselves by this means much less conspicuous than other Christians, they were not so much exposed to persecution, even though they had not been disposed to make improper compliances in order to avoid it.

A particular account of the disorderly state of church discipline among the Gnostics may be seen in Tertullian. He describes it as "without dignity, authority, or strictness. It is uncertain," he says, "who is a catechumen, or who, one of the faithful, as they all attend the worship, hear and pray in common. They are all conceited, and promise to instruct others. They are proficients before they are properly catechumens. How noisy are their women; how they have the assurance to teach, to dispute, exorcise, undertake cures, and perhaps baptize! Their ordinations are hasty, light and inconstant. Sometimes they advance mere novices, sometimes persons engaged in secular business, and sometimes apostates from us. To-day one man is the bishop, to-morrow another. To-day he is a deacon, who to-morrow will be a reader. To-day he is a presbyter, who to-morrow will be a layman; for they impose on the laity the functions of

the clergy. They have no reverence for their clergy. Many of them have no churches," &c.*

In an epistle ascribed to Ignatius, we read that "some abstained from the eucharist, and from prayer, because they did not acknowledge the eucharist to be the flesh of the body of our Saviour Jesus Christ, which suffered for our sins, and which the Father in his goodness raised up. It is proper, therefore," he says, "to abstain from such, nor speak of them in private, or publicly, but attend to the prophets, and especially the gospel, in which the suffering (of Christ) is manifest to us, and the resurrection completed, and avoid divisions as the principal beginning of evils."† Clemens Alexandrinus speaks of the heresy of Prodicus, who rejected prayer.‡ Origen also says, there "are some who say that men ought not to pray, admitting of no external signs, using neither baptism nor the Lord's supper; perverting the Scriptures, saying that something else than prayer is meant by them."§

As many of the Gnostics thought that Christ had no real body, and therefore had not proper flesh or blood, it should seem that, on this account, when they did celebrate the eucharist, they made no use of wine, which represents the blood of Christ, but of water only. Clemens Alexandrinus speaks of some who used water only in the eucharist, and they were evidently Gnostics, or heretics who had quitted

* "Non omittam ipsius etiam conversationis hæreticæ descriptionem quam futilis, quam terrena, quam humana sit, sine gravitate, sine auctoritate, sine disciplina, ut fidei suæ congruens. In primis quis catechumenus, quis fidelis, incertum est; pariter adeunt, pariter audiunt, pariter orant.—Omnes tument, omnes scientiam pollicentur. Ante sunt perfecti catechumeni quam edocti. Ipse mulieres hæreticæ quam pro-cæces; quæ audeant docere, contendere, exorcismos agere, curationes repromittere, forsitan et turgere. Ordinationes eorum temerariæ, leves, inconstantes. Nunc neophytos collocant, nunc sæculo obstrictos, nunc apostatas nostros. Alius hodie episcopus, cras alius; hodie diaconus qui cras lector; hodie presbyter qui cras laicus; nam et laicis sacerdotalia munera injungunt.—Nec suis præsidibus reverentiam noverunt. Plerique nec ecclesias habent," &c. *De Præscriptione*, Sect. xli. p. 217. (P.)

† Ἐπιμαρτυρίας καὶ προσευχάς ἀπεχρονίαι, δια το μὴ ὁμολογεῖν τὴν εὐχαριστίαν σάρκα ἐμὰν, τὴ σαμαίαν ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τὴν ὑπὲρ ἀμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν παθῆσαν, ἣν τῷ Χριστοῦ ὁ Πατὴρ ἔγειρον.

‡ Πρὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀπεχεσθῆαι τῶν ταπεινῶν, καὶ μήτε κατ' ἴδιαν περὶ αὐτῶν λαλεῖν, μήτε κοινῶς προσχεῖν ἢ τὰς προφητείας, ἐκείνης δὲ τῷ εὐαγγέλιῳ, ἐν ᾧ τὸ παθῆναι ἡμῖν δεδηλωταί, καὶ ἡ ἀναστασις τετέλειωται· τὰς δὲ μεισιμῶς φευγίτε, ὡς ἀρχὴν κακῶν. *Σμύρνη*. Sect. vii. p. 37. (P.) *Waki*, p. 117.

§ Ἐπιμαρτυροῦμενος ὑπεμνησθῆναι τῶν περὶ τὸ μὴ εἶναι εὐχεσθῆαι πρὸς τινὰ ἐπεριδοξῶν, ταπεινῶν τῶν κατ' ἴδιαν, καὶ Περὶ τῶν αἰσιῶν παρεπιταγμένων δογματῶν. *Strom.* vii. p. 172. (P.)

¶ Καὶ περὶ τὸ μὴ εἶναι εὐχεσθῆναι δεδονῆναι πεισισαί τινες· ἢς γνώμης προσημαῖαι διὰ τὰ αἰσθητὰ πάντῃ ἀναγκασίτες, καὶ μήτε βαπτισμαί, μήτε εὐχαριστία χρωμέναι, σκυφοφανήνες τὰς γραφὰς ὡς καὶ τὸ εὐχεσθῆναι τῶν ἢ βλομένων, ἀλλ' ἴσον τὸ σημαζόμενον τὰς αὐτῶν διδασκαλίας. *De Oratione*, Sect. xv. (P.)

the church.* With a view to this, Cyprian orders that wine be used in the eucharist, and not water.† Chrysostom says, that “Christ drank wine after his resurrection, in order to eradicate the pernicious heresy of those who used water instead of wine in the eucharist.”‡

It is not improbable, however, but that many of the Gnostics might decline the use of wine in the celebration of the eucharist, on account of their abstaining from wine altogether as a part of their system of bodily austerity. Such, says Beausobre, were the principles of the Encratites, who abstained from wine, flesh meat, and marriage.§

We have fewer accounts of what the Gnostics thought or did with respect to baptism, but it seems that some of them at least, disused it. Tertullian speaks of the *Cajanan* heresy, as excluding baptism.|| Valentinus, Jerome says, pleaded for two baptisms.¶ But what he meant by this does not appear. Perhaps he might say that there was a spiritual baptism, as well as a carnal one, and that the former superseded the latter, which is the doctrine of the Quakers.**

The Gnostics did not reject the Scriptures; but, as I have already shewn, they appealed to them, and defended their doctrines from them. But as they did not consider them as written by any proper inspiration, they seem to have thought themselves at liberty to adopt what they approved, and to neglect the rest, without disputing their genuineness. This, indeed, was not peculiar to them, but seems to have been a liberty taken by other primitive Christians, who, living near the times of the great transactions recorded in the gospel

* Ἀπὸν καὶ ὕδωρ ἢ ἐπ' ἀλλῶν τινῶν, ἀλλ' ἢ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀρῶν καὶ ὕδατι κατὰ τὴν προσφοράν, μὴ κατὰ τοὺς κανόνας τῆς ἐκκλησίας, χρῆμενων αἵρεσεων, ἐμφανῶς, ταπείωσης τῆς γραφῆς· εἰσι γὰρ οἱ καὶ ὕδωρ ψιλον εὐχαριστοῦσιν. *Strom.* L. i. p. 317. (P.)

† “Admonitos autem nos scias, ut in calice offerendo dominica traditio servetur, neque aliud fiat à nobis quam quod pro nobis. Dominus prior fecerit: ut calix qui in commemoratione offertur mixtus vino offeratur. Nam cum dicat Christus, *Ego sum vitis vera*, sanguis Christi, non aqua est utique, sed vinum. Non potest videri sanguis ejus, quo redempti et vivificati sumus, esse in calice, quando vinum desit calice, quo Christi sanguis ostenditur; quò, scripturarum omnium sacramento ac testimonio, effusus prædicatur.” *Epist.* p. 118. (P.)

‡ Καὶ τινος ἕνεκεν ἢ ὕδωρ ἐπιεν ἀναστας ἀλλ' οἶνον; ἀλλὴν αἴρεσιν ποιεῖραν παρουσιζον ἀνασπῶν· ἐπειδὴ καὶ τινες εἰσι ἐν τοῖς μισθμοῖς ὕδατι κεχρημένοι. *In Matt.* xixvi. *Opera*, VII. p. 700. (P.)

§ *Histoire de Manicheisme*, II. p. 724. (P.) “C'étoient ceux qu'on a nommez *Encratites*, c'est-à-dire *Abstineus* et *Continens*, parce qu'ils s'abstenoient de vin. de viande et du mariage.” L. ix. Ch. vii. Sect. v. See also Vol. III. p. 445, Note*.

|| “Atque adeo nuper conversata istie quædam de Caiana hæresi vipera venenatissima de trina sua plerosque rapuit, in primis baptismum destruens.” *De Baptismo*, Sect. i. *Opera*, p. 224. (P.)

¶ “Unum baptismum et contra Valentinum facit, qui duo baptismata esse contendit.” *In Eph.* C. iv. *Opera*, VI. p. 177. (P.)

** See Barclay's *Apol.* Prop. xii. Sect. vi.

history, might think themselves as good judges with respect to them as those who undertook to write histories. Thus the Ebionites made no public use of any other gospel than that of Matthew, though they might easily have had the other gospels, and the rest of the books of the New Testament, translated for their use; and it appears from Jerome, who saw that gospel as used by them, that it was not exactly the same with our copies. It is well known, that their copies of Matthew's gospel had not the story of the miraculous conception; and they also added to the history such circumstances as they thought sufficiently authenticated. No less liberty was taken by the Gnostics. Cerinthus, says Philaster, enjoined the observance of the Mosaic law, rejected Paul, and admitted the gospel of Matthew only, agreeing with Carpocrates with respect to the nativity of Christ.*

Making any alteration in the books of Scripture was called corrupting them; and this, no doubt, was done by the Gnostics; but they could not thereby intend to impose their alterations upon the world, as the genuine writings of the apostles; for that they must have known to be impossible. It is, therefore, rather to be supposed, that they retained only such parts of them as they thought the most useful; and in this they would naturally be biassed by their peculiar principles.

This charge of corrupting the Scriptures does not affect all the Gnostics. "I know of none," says Origen, "who corrupt the gospel, except the disciples of Marcion and Valentinus, and those of Lucian."† "The Marcionites," says Chrysostom, "use only one gospel, which they abridge, and mix as they please."‡ What were all the particulars of Marcion's alterations of the gospel, we are not informed, but he began the gospel of Luke with the third chapter, thus, "In the 15th year of Tiberius Caesar;"§ and this was owing to his not giving credit to the history of the miraculous conception, contained in the two first chapters.

We could not, however, have concluded, from this omission, that Marcion thought them not to have been written

* "Carpocrates—Christum de semine Joseph natum arbitratur. Cerinthus successit huic errori, docens de generatione itidem Salvatoris, docet circumcidi et sabbatizari—apostolum Paulum non accipit—Evangelium secundum Matthaeum solum accipit," &c. *Bib. Pat. V. p. 15. (P.)*

† *Μείζαρχαβανίας*; ὅτι το εὐαγγέλιον ἀλλῆς ἐκ οὐδα ἢ τῆς ἀπο Μαρκίωνος, καὶ τῆς ἀπο Βαλεντίνου, οἰμαὶ δὲ καὶ τῆς ἀπο Λευκάνου. *Ad. Cels. L. ii. p. 77. (P.)*

‡ Οὐδὲ γὰρ παραβέχονται τῆς εὐαγγελίσης ἀπαύτης, ἀλλ' ἓνα μόνον, καὶ αὐτὸν περι-
καὶ ἀνίης καὶ συγχεανίης ὡς ἐβέβητο. *In Gal. i. Opera, X. p. 971. (P.)*

§ Ταῦτα πάντα περιέλας ἀπεκδέχσε καὶ ἀρχῆν τῆ εὐαγγελίᾳ ἐπέθε ταῦτ'.—Ἐν τῇ
τὴν ἑβραϊκῆν οὐκ ἔτι Τιβέριου Καίσαρος. *Epiphanius, Hæc. xli. Opera, I. p. 312. (P.)*

by Luke, if he had not expressly maintained this, as we are informed by Tertullian, who, speaking of the two copies of Luke's gospel, his own and Marcion's, says, "I say that mine is the true copy, Marcion, that his is so. I affirm that Marcion's copy is adulterated; he, that mine is so."* He adds, that his own copy was the more ancient, because Marcion himself did for some time receive it. But this he might do till, on examination, he thought he saw sufficient reason to reject it. Cerinthus, Carpocrates and other early Gnostics rejected the history of the miraculous conception, as well as Marcion and the Ebionites.

CHAPTER IV.

THE GNOSTICS WERE THE ONLY HERETICS IN EARLY TIMES.

IT appears, from the evidence of all antiquity, that the Gnostics were always considered by other Christians as heretics; and though there were some of them in the church of Corinth, and also in that of Ephesus, and other churches at first, they either soon separated themselves from the communion of other Christians, or were expelled from it; so that when the apostle John wrote, they were a distinct body of men, distinguished by peculiar names. It is easy to shew, from ecclesiastical history, not only that the Gnostics were considered as heretics, but that they were the only persons who were considered in that light for two or three centuries after Christ. But before I enter on the proof of this, it may not be amiss to make a few observations relating to heresy, and the ideas of the ancients concerning it.

SECTION I.

Of Heresy in general.

HERESY properly signifies a division, or separation, and therefore was used to express a part detached from a large body of men. In this case, the larger body, or majority, would, of course, entertain an unfavourable opinion of them;

* "Ego meum dico verum, Marcion suum. Ego Marcionis affirmo adulteratum, Marcion meum." *Adv. Marcionem*, L. iv. C. iv. p. 415. "Quod vero pertinet ad evangelium interim Lucæ—adeo antiquius Marcione est ut et ipse illi Marcion aliquando crediderit." *Ibid.* (P.)

but the minority, without denying that they were heretics, or the minority, would not think themselves subject to any just opprobrium on that account. Thus, while the Christians were the minority among the Jews, and were consequently considered as heretics, Paul says, Acts xxiv. 14, "After the way which they call *heresy*, so worship I the God of my fathers."* As heretics, we also find that the Christians were cast out of the Jewish synagogues (which was a pattern for the Christian excommunications), and yet it appears that, for some time, Christians were admitted into the synagogues, and allowed to preach and dispute in them.

Thus we find it to have been the custom of Paul, in all his apostolical journeys, to begin with teaching in the Jewish synagogues, and that he continued so to do, till, on account of their coming to no agreement, he was either denied that liberty, or withdrew of his own accord. This was the case at Ephesus, where he first preached three months in the Jewish synagogue, but then left it, Acts xix. 8, 9: "And he went into the synagogue, and spake boldly for the space of three months, disputing and persuading the things concerning the kingdom of God. But when divers were hardened, and believed not, but spake evil of that way before the multitude, he departed from them, and separated the disciples, disputing (or discoursing) daily in the school of one Tyrannus."

In like manner, when the Gnostics began to distinguish themselves, and to be troublesome in christian churches, in which they had been tolerated for a time, they either sepa-

* "The word *αἵρεσις* (heresy) in Greek writers is of a middle nature, and signifies the embracing any particular set of opinions, either good or bad. Diogenes Laertius says, the ancient moralists were distinguished into ten *αἵρεσις* or sects. And a little after, speaking of the Pyrrhonists, he says, some allow them to be *αἵρεσις*, a heresy or sect, and others not, according to their different notion of that word. Which some defined to be—*τὴν λόγῳ τινὶ κατὰ τὸ φαινόμενον ἀκολούθησαν, ἢ ἕκασται ἀκολούθησαν*—that which follows a certain scheme according to the appearance of things, or which seems to follow it. But others—*προσκλησίν ἐν δόγματιν, ἀκολούθιαν ἐχόντιν*—the embracing a set of decrees (or doctrines) consequent upon one another. (Proem. Serm. 20.) To which latter definition Clemens Alexandrinus adds,—and tending to happiness of life (*πρὸς τὸ ἐν Ζῆν συντηνεσθαι*). Strom. L. viii. And thus Cyprian uses the word *heresis* in speaking of Cato, when he says (Paradox. l. 1. 'Ic ea est haeresi, quae nullum sequitur florem orationis'—meaning the sect or heresy of the Stoics.

"The word *αἵρετικός* is seldom to be met with, except in ecclesiastical writers. But Suidas, applying it to philosophers, uses it in the same indifferent sense with *αἵρεσις*. For describing the Pyrrhonists in voce Πυρρωνιστῶν, he calls them *αἵρετικοί* heretics—who, embracing the opinions of Pyrrho, were so called from their master. In the New Testament this word is used but once, and that in an ill sense; but if there had been any occasion for introducing it thus, no good reason can be assigned why it might not have been used (as it is by Suidas in an indifferent sense." Foster's Answer to Stebbing, 1785, pp. 17, 18, Note.

rated of themselves, or were expelled. Paul tolerated them for some time at Corinth, and only gave orders for the excommunication of the incestuous person, who is generally supposed to have been at the head of that party in the place: and at Ephesus, he contented himself with excommunicating "Hymenæus and Alexander," 1 Tim. i. 20. As Hymenæus denied the resurrection, as appears from 2 Tim. ii. 18, it is probable that Alexander did so too, and therefore that they were both excommunicated as Gnostics.

Paul's directions to Titus were general and decisive, requiring him to reject heretics after the first or second admonition only; having perhaps, from a more perfect knowledge of their character, and a longer acquaintance with their conduct, found that there was but little prospect of convincing them, and therefore thought that the sooner they were entirely separated from the society of Christians the better. That they were Gnostics, and Gnostics only, concerning whom he gave these directions, is clear from the context, which I shall therefore recite, Titus iii. 9—11: "But avoid foolish questions, and genealogies, and contentions, and strivings about the law, for they are unprofitable and vain. A man that is a heretic, after the first and second admonition, reject, knowing that he that is such, is subverted, and smeth, being condemned of himself." He here probably alludes to the profligacy of some of the Gnostics, which he imagined they could not but themselves think to be blameable. As to mere opinions, no person can actually hold any one, and at the same time think it to be wrong, so as to condemn himself for holding it; and indeed those practices which men really think to be justified by their opinions, they must themselves consider as innocent, whatever others may think of them.

With respect to doctrines, this is a piece of justice that Evagrius very candidly does to the heretics, after the separation had continued a long time. "No heretics," he says, "meant to blaspheme, but all thought their opinion to be preferable to that of those who went before them."*

In the time of the apostle John, the Gnostics seem to have been entirely separated from the church; and it should seem that they had generally retired of their own accord, as may be collected from 1 John ii. 19: "They went out from us, but they were not of us: for if they had been of us,

* Καὶ ἄνευ ἀδυνατῶν τῶν αἰρετικῶν παρὰ Χριστιανῶν ἐξενεργῶν πασιτοῦτως βλασφημῶν ἠβέησαν, ἢ αἰμασσαι το θεῶν βελομενος ἐξελισθησεν' ἀλλὰ μαλλον ἰπολαμῶσαν κρεισσον τῆ φθασαῶλος λεγειν εἰ τοδε πρεσβευσει. Hist. L. i. C. xi. p. 263. (P.)

they would, no doubt, have continued with us; but they went out, that they might be made manifest that they were not all of us." That these persons were Gnostics, is evident from the context. For in the verse preceding he had spoken of there being many Antichrists, and in ver. 22 he had defined Antichrist to be one who denied that Jesus is the Christ, which is well known to be a Gnostic doctrine.

It appears, however, from the book of Revelation, that there were exceptions in this case, and that Gnostics were not absolutely excluded from all churches. There were Nicolaitans in the church of Pergamos, as well as others who did not come under that particular denomination; for the Gnostics were very early divided into a variety of sects and parties. Such persons also there were in the church of Thyatira, Rev. ii. 14, 15, 20. As Christians had no *creeds* in those days, any person openly professing Christianity might be a member of a christian church; and if he did not make himself troublesome by propagating offensive opinions, would certainly be allowed to continue in it. For this has been the case in all ages. Afterwards the creed to which every person gave his assent at baptism, was so framed as purposely to exclude the Gnostics, and then the separation was complete, as will be shewn in its proper place.

In later times, when there was a still greater diversity of opinion among Christians, the definition of a heretic came to be much more difficult, as is acknowledged by Austin. "Every error," he says, "is not heresy, though all heresy, which consists in vice, must be an error. What it is, therefore, that makes a heretic, cannot, I think, be strictly defined, or at least not without difficulty."*

At length, the rule in which Christians acquiesced with the most satisfaction, was to define that to be orthodox which was received in those great churches which had been founded by the apostles, such as those of Rome, Antioch and Jerusalem. Irenæus strongly urges this topic, saying, that the Valentinians were not before Valentinus, nor the Marcionites before Marcion, &c.† This is the short method taken by Tertullian, in his treatise *De Præscriptione*, the great prin-

* "Non enim omnis error hæresis est, quamvis omnis hæresis quæ in vitio ponitur, nisi errore aliquo hæresis esse non possit. Quid ergo faciat hæreticum, regulari quodam definitione comprehendi sicut ego existimo, aut omnimò non potest, aut difficillimè potest." Index *Hæresium*, Pref. Opera, VI. p. 11. (P.)

† "Ante Valentium enim non fuerunt, qui sunt à Valentino; neque ante Marcionem erant, qui sunt à Marcione; neque omnimò erant reliqui sensus inaligni, quos supra enumeravimus, aut quam initiatores et inventores, perversitatis eorum fierent." L. iii. C. iv. p. 206. (P.)

ciple of which is thus briefly expressed by himself: "That is the true faith which is the most ancient, and that a corruption which is modern."* But then to determine what was ancient, and what was modern, he appeals to the tenets of those churches, or rather the bishops and clergy of those churches, at that time, without considering what changes had, in a course of time, been gradually and insensibly introduced into them.† In this manner, however, *heresy* and *novelty* came to be considered as synonymous. Thus the term *καινοτομία* seems to be used by Athanasius.‡ Without attending to this circumstance, we shall often be misled in reading ecclesiastical history. For it is not unusual with historians to speak of an opinion as new, when they themselves have said that it was adopted from some other person. Of this I shall, in its place, give several instances.

In later times, heresy came to be distinguished from schism by the former signifying a wrong opinion, and the latter an actual separation from the communion of the catholic church, though on any other account. Thus Jerome defines the words.§

As the great body of Gnostics had no communion with the catholic church, this very want of communion, on the principle above-mentioned, was alleged as a decisive argument against them. "Heretics," says Tertullian, "have nothing to do with our discipline. The very want of communion with us shews that they are foreign to us."|| "When heresies and schisms rose afterwards," says Cyprian, "they set up separate conventicles to themselves, and left the head and origin of truth."¶ And again, "If heretics are Christians, why are they not in the church of God?"**

* "Id esse verum quodenuque primum; id esse adulterum, quodcumque posterius." *Ad. Prax.* Sect. i. p. 501. (P.)

† "Quid autem prædicaverint, id est, quid illis Christus revelaverit, et hic præscribam non alter probari debere, nisi per easdem ecclesias, quas ipsi apostoli considerunt, ipsi eis prædicando, tam viva, quod aiunt voce, quam per epistolas postea. Si hæc ita sunt, constat proinde omnem doctrinam, quæ cum illis ecclesiis apostolicis, matricibus et originalibus fidei conspirat, veritati deputandam; sine dubio tenentem quod ecclesiæ ab apostolis, apostoli à Christo, Christus à Deo accepit." *De Præscriptione*, Sect. xxi. p. 209. (P.)

‡ Δι' ἃν ἐκβαλλεῖται μὲν ἐκείως ἢ τῆ Σαμοσαίως καινοτομία. *Can. Sabel.* Opera, I. p. 654. (P.)

§ "Inter hæresim et schisma hoc interesse arbitramur, quod hæresis perversum dogma habeat: schisma propter episcopalem dissectionem ab ecclesia pariter separet." Opera, VI. p. 209. (P.)

|| "Hæretici autem nullum habent consortium nostræ disciplinae, quos extraneos atque testatur ipsa ademptio communicationis." *De Baptismo*, Sect. xv. p. 230. (P.)

¶ "Et cum hæreses et schismata post modum nata sunt dum conventicula sibi diversa constituunt, veritatis caput atque originem reliquerunt." Opera, p. 112. (P.)

** "Hæretici Christiani sunt, an non? Si Christiani sunt; cur in ecclesia Dei non sunt?" *Ibid.* p. 234. (P.)

Heretics are also spoken of as out of the church, by Eusebius.* “Dionysius,” says Athanasius, “was no heretic, because he did not separate himself from the church.”† “It seemed proper,” says Basil, “from the beginning, to reject heretics entirely.”‡ “Every heretic,” says Jerome, “is born in the church, but is cast out of the church, and fights against the church.”§ Austin also says, “As soon as any heresy existed, it separated itself from the catholic church.”||

This being the case, according to the uniform testimony of all antiquity, in every period of it, it may be safely concluded, that though numbers of quiet people, whose opinions were sufficiently known to be heretical, might continue in communion with the church, yet that the majority must have been such as were not deemed heretics; especially as all persons had equal liberty to retire, and set up separate places of worship, and the temptation to continue in the church was not great. Since, therefore, there were no separate places of worship for Christians of any denomination, besides either those who were termed Catholics, or those who were called Gnostics, under some name or other, it may be safely concluded, that in these early times none could be deemed heretics besides the Gnostics.

When bodies of men distinguish themselves so much as to form separate places of assembly, they will of course be much talked of, and thence will arise a necessity of giving them some name, by which they may be distinguished from other classes of men. The purpose of discourse and writing will make this unavoidable; because it is inconvenient frequently to use periphrases and long descriptions of persons or things. Accordingly, the disciples of Christ had not long been known as a separate body of men, before they were distinguished by the name of *Nazarenes*, from Nazareth, of which place Jesus was, and then by that of *Christians*.

As the Gentile Christians used a different language from the Jewish, and of course held separate assemblies, and on

* Ταῦτα τα ἕσχηματα ἦναι οἱ ἐξω τῆς ἐκκλησίας αἰρετικοὶ ἐτόλμησαν ἀποφραγεῖσθαι ποτε. *Hist. l. v. C. xx. p. 288. (P.)*

† Μὴτε αὐτῶν αἱ αἰρέσεις ἐκόκκων ἐξηλθεῖ τῆς ἐκκλησίας. *De Sententia Dionysii, Opera, l. p. 550. (P.)*

‡ Αἰρέσεις μὲν τῆς παντὸς ἀπερρημαίνης, καὶ κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν πῖσιν ἀπὸλλοτριωμένης εὐσεβεῖ τῶν τοῦ ἐξ ἀρχῆς τοῦ μὲν τῶν αἰρετικῶν παντὸς αἰδέσθαι. *Ad Amphilocho. Ep. Opera, lll. p. 20. (P.)*

§ “Omnis enim hæreticus nascitur in ecclesia, sed de ecclesia projicitur, et contendit et pugnat contra parentem.” *In Jerom. xxii. IV. p. 277. (P.)*

|| “Statim enim unaquæque hæresis ut existeret, et à congregatione Catholicae communionis exhibit,” &c. *De Baptismo, contra Donatistas, l. v. C. xix. VII. p. 440. (P.)*

other accounts had little communication with them, the latter came soon to be distinguished by a peculiar name, viz. that of *Ebionites*, which was probably given them by their unbelieving Jewish brethren, or that of *Nazarenes*, which, not being any longer used in Greek, as synonymous to Christians, but retained by the Jews, was not wanting to distinguish the Gentile Christians.

For similar reasons, the Gnostics were soon distinguished by a variety of peculiar names, as Nicolaitans, Cerinthians, &c., insomuch that other Christians having no other name, this circumstance alone came to be considered as a proof that all those who were known by these peculiar names were not Christians. It may, therefore, be taken for granted, that all bodies of men who had no peculiar names by which they were distinguished, were, in those early times, considered as orthodox Christians; and this was the case with all the Unitarians among the Gentiles, at the same time that they are allowed to have been even the majority of the unlearned among them. But of this hereafter.

A person disputing with a Marcionite says, "How can you be a Christian, who bear not the name; for you are not called a Christian, but a Marcionite?"* Athanasius also argues, that "Arians are not Christians, because they bear his name, and not that of Christ."† Chrysostom, teaching how to distinguish the Catholics from others, says, that "Heretics have some persons from whom they are called. According to the name of the heresiarch, so is the sect. But no man has given us a name, but the faith itself."‡ Again, he says, "Were we ever separated from the church? Have we heresiarchs? Have we any name from men; as Marcion gave his name to some, Manes his to others, and Arius his to a third part?"§ Tertullian says, "If they be heretics, they cannot be Christians."||

I shall now proceed to prove, by a great mass of evidence, that the Gnostics were in fact considered as the only heretics

* Πως ει Χριστιανος, δε ουδ' ονομα Χριστιανη καταξίωσαι φερειν· ο γαρ Χριστιανος ονομαζει αλλα Μαρκιωνιστης; Origen, *Contra Marcionites*. p. 12. (P.)

† Χριστιανισμ' εσμεν κη' καλημεθα. 'Οι δε γε τοις ερετικοις ακολουθοντες, και μυριαις διαφοχας εχουσι, αλλα παντας το ονομα τη την αιρεσιν φεροντος φερατιν, ομιλει τελευτησαντος Αρειου. *Contra Arianos*, Orat. i. Opera, 1. p. 309. (P.)

‡ Εκεινοι εχουσι τινας αη' αν καληνται, αυτη η αιρεσιαρχη, δηλουσι το ονομα, και εκαστη αιρεσις ομιλει· περ' ημιν αυτη μεν ηδεις ουδ' εν ημιν ονομα η δε πιστις αυτη. *In Acta Apost. C. xv. Hom. xxxiii. VIII.* p. 680. (P.)

§ Μη γαρ απισχημεθα της εκληθησας· μη γαρ αιρεσιαρχεις εχημεν μη γαρ η' ανθρωπων καλημεθα μη γαρ προσηρημεν· ημιν τις εστιν, ωσπερ τω μεν Μαρκιων, τω δε Μανιχαϊος, τω δε Αρειου, τω δε αλλος τις αιρεσεως κρηνηθη. *Ibid.* p. 681. (P.)

|| "Si enim hæretici sunt, Christiani esse non possunt." *De Præscriptione*, Sect. xxxvii. p. 215. (P.)

in early times; and it is particularly remarkable, that the term heretic and Gnostic had been so long used as synonymous, that there are many instances of their being used as such, long after the Arians, Unitarians and others had been decreed to be heretics, which is a plain proof of the long-established use of that term. In the instances that I shall produce, it will be exceedingly evident, that when the writers which I quote speak of heresy in general, the circumstances of the discourse are such as admit of no other application of the term than to the Gnostics only. As this is an article of some importance, I shall produce a number of instances from writers of every period; and I can assure my readers, that I could have added greatly to the number of such quotations, if I had thought it necessary.

I shall take the writers in the order of time; but in addition to what I have already said concerning the apostles, and the notice that they have taken of the Gnostics, and especially concerning John, and the introduction to his gospel, I shall previously observe, that the oldest opinion on this subject, viz. that of Irenæus, is in favour of my supposition, that even, in the introduction to his gospel, he had a view to the Gnostics only; and by no means, as it was afterwards imagined, and to serve a particular hypothesis, perpetually insisted upon by the later fathers, to the Unitarians.

Irenæus, speaking of the Cerinthians and Nicolaitans, says, that "John meant to refute them, and shew that there is only one omnipotent God, who made all things by his word, visible and invisible, in the introduction to his gospel."* "No heretics," he says, "hold that the word was made flesh."† Again, he says, "John alludes to the Gnostics both in his gospel and in his epistle, and describes them by the name of Antichrist, and those who were not in communion with Christians."‡ The whole of these passages are well worth the reader's consideration.

* "Omnia igitur talia circumscribere volens discipulus Domini, et regulam veritatis constituere in ecclesia qui est unus Deus omnipotens, qui per verbum suum omnia fecit, et visibilia, et invisibilia; significans quoque, quoniam per verbum, per quod Deus perfecit conditionem, in hoc et salutem his qui in conditione sunt, præstitit hominibus, sic inchoavit in ea quæ est secundum evangelium doctrina. In principio erat verbum." L. iii. C. xi. p. 218. (P.)

† "Secundum autem nullam sententiam hæreticorum, verbum Dei caro factum est." Ibid. p. 219. (P.)

‡ "Non ergo alterum filium hominis novit evangelium, nisi hunc qui ex Maria, qui et passus est: sed neque Christum avolantem ante passionem ab Jesu; sed hunc qui natus est, Jesum Christum novit Dei filium, et eundem hunc passum resurrexisse, quemadmodum Johannes Domini discipulus confirmat, dicens: Hæc autem scripta sunt, ut credatis quoniam Jesus est Christus Filius Dei, et ut credentes, vitam æternam habeatis in nomine ejus; providens has blasphemias regulas, quæ dividunt Dominum.

He had the same idea with respect to the introduction of the gospel of Matthew. For, speaking of those who said that Jesus who was born of Mary was not the Christ, he says. "The Holy Spirit, foreseeing their perverseness, and guarding against their artifice, said by Matthew, the generation of Christ was in this wise."*

With respect to the apostle John, Clemens Alexandrinus had the same idea, when he said, that "They are the Antichrist, intended by John in his epistle, who reject marriage, and the procreation of children, being guilty of impiety towards the omnipotent Creator, the one God, that they may not be the authors of misery, and supply food for death."† Cœcumenius also says, that by Antichrist, John meant Cerinthus, and those who were like him.‡ He also says, that "Peter, by those who follow the flesh, meant the accursed Nicolaitans, as the Gnostics, or Naasenes, or Cerdonians, for the mischief goes by many names."§

This, I doubt not, was the truth of the case; and if this apostle expressed so much indignation against the Gnostics,

quoniam ex ipsis attingit, ex altera et altera substantia dicentes eum factum. Propter quod et in epistola sua sic testificatus est nobis: Filioli, novissima hora est, et quemadmodum audistis quoniam Antichristus venit, nunc Antichristi multi facti sunt; ande cognoscimus quoniam novissima hora est. Ex nobis exierunt, sed non erant ex nobis, si enim fuissent ex nobis permansissent utique nobiscum: sed ut manifestarentur quoniam non sunt ex nobis. Cognoscite ergo quoniam omne mendacium extraneum est, et non est de veritate. Quis est mendax, nisi qui negat quoniam Jesus non est Christus; hic est Antichristus.—Sententia enim eorum homicidalis, Deos quidem plures confingens, et patres multos simulans, communiens autem et per multa dividens Filium Dei: quos et Dominus nobis cavere prædixit, et discipulus ejus Johannes in prædicta epistola fugere eos præcepit, dicens: Multi seductores exierunt in hunc mundum, qui non confitentur Jesum Christum in carne venisse. Hic est seductor et Antichristus. Videte eos, ne perdati sitis quod operati estis. Et rursus in epistola ait: Multi pseudopropheteæ exierunt de seculo. In hoc cognoscite Spiritum Dei. Omnis spiritus qui confitur Jesum Christum in carne venisse ex Deo est. Et omnis spiritus qui solvit Jesum Christum, non est ex Deo, sed ex Antichristo est. Hæc autem similia sunt illi quod in evangelio dictum est, quoniam verbum caro factum est. Et habitavit in nobis. Propter quod rursus in epistola clamat. Omnis qui credit quia Jesus est Christus, ex Deo natus est; unum et eundem sciens Jesum Christum cui apertæ sunt portæ cæli propter carnalem ejus assumptionem: qui etiam in eadem carne in qua passus eat, veniet, gloriam revelans Patris." L. iii. C. xviii. pp. 241, 242. (P.)

* "Sed prævidens Spiritus Sanctus depravatores, et præmuniens contra fraudulentiam eorum, per Mathæum ait: Christi autem generatio sic erat." L. v. C. xviii. p. 239. (P.)

† Τῶς δε εὐφημῶς δι' ἐγκρατείας ἀσεβῆσιν, εἰς τε τὴν κλίσιν καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα δημιουργοῦ τοῦ παλαιοκαρῶνα μὴν Θεῶν, καὶ ἰδύσασθαι μὴ δύνανται παραδεχέσθαι γάμον, καὶ παιδοποιεῖν μήδ' ἀνέλυσαι τῷ κόσμῳ δυσσυχρονίας ἑτέρας, μήδε επικορηγεῖν τῷ θανάτῳ τροφήν· ἐκεῖνα ἀκλήρον· πῶρον μὲν, τὸ τῆ ἀποστολῆς Ἰωάννη, καὶ νῦν Ἀντιχριστοὶ πολλοὶ γεγόνασιν. Strom. L. iii. p. 445. (P.)

‡ Ταῦτα δε Σίμων ὁ κνοσιος ἐληφει, ἄλλον εἶναι τὸν Ἰησοῦν, καὶ ἄλλον τὸν Χριστὸν· τὸν μὲν Ἰησοῦν, τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγίας Μαρίας, τὸν δε Χριστὸν, τὸν ἐπὶ τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ καταβαίνοντα ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ, ὃ τῷ μὲν δεικνύον περιπρωτομεινός φησι τοῖς τῶν αὐτοῦ Ἀντιχριστοῦ εἶναι. In 1 John iii. Opera, li. p. 578. (P.)

§ Λέγει δε περὶ τῶν καταρατῶν Νικολαϊτῶν, ἡτο Γνωστικῶν, ἡ Ναασηνῶν, ἡ Κερδωνιανῶν, πολυανυμῶς γὰρ αὐτῶν ἡ κακία. In 2 Pet. Opera, li. p. 542. (P.)

and the Gnostics only (for no hint is given of there being more than one heresy that gave him any disturbance), it is plain that the Unitarians, who were always considered as directly opposite to the Gnostics, gave him none. And yet not only the nature of the thing shews, that there must have been Unitarians in the church at that time, but it was expressly allowed by all the fathers, that the church was full of them, most of them disbelieving even the miraculous conception. But this will be discussed more largely hereafter.

SECTION II.

Of Heresy before Justin Martyr.

IGNATIUS frequently mentions heresy and heretics, and, like John, with great indignation; but it is evident to every person who is at all acquainted with the history, learning and language of those times, and of the subsequent ones, that he had no persons in his eye but the Gnostics only. I desire no other evidence of this, than a careful inspection of the passages. I shall recite only one of them. Speaking of his own sufferings, he says, "he who was made a perfect man strengthening me. Whom some, not knowing, do deny, or rather have been denied by him, being the advocates of death rather than of the truth: whom neither the prophecies, nor the law of Moses, have persuaded, nor the gospel itself, even to this day, nor the sufferings of every one of us. For they think also the same things of us. For what does a man profit me, if he shall praise me, and blaspheme my Lord, not confessing that he was truly made man? Now he that doth not say this, does in effect deny him, and is in death. But for the names of such as do this, they being unbelievers, I thought it not fitting to write them unto you. Yea, God forbid that I should make any mention of them, till they shall repent, to a true belief of Christ's passion, which is our resurrection. Let no man deceive himself." &c.* He afterwards speaks of those persons abstain-

* From the Epistle to the Smyrneans, Sect. iv. v. vi. in Wake's translation, p. 116.

ἅπαντα ὅπου αὐτοὶ με ἐνδυναμίσθησαν τοὶ τελεῖαι ἀνδρῶν γενημένοι. Ὅτι τινες ἀγνοῦντες ἀρνούνται, μᾶλλον δὲ κηρύττουν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, ὅτις συνέχησεν τοῦ θανάτου μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς ἀσκήσιας, ὡς οὐκ ἐπίστην αἱ πωφίηται, οὐδὲ ὄνομος Μαισείας, ἀλλὰ οὐδὲ μέχρι νῦν τῶν ἀσκήσιων, οὐδὲ τὰ ἥμισυ τῶν κατὰ ἀνδρῶν πειρασμάτων· καὶ γὰρ περὶ ἡμῶν το αὐτοῦ ἠκούσαμεν. Ἐγὼ γὰρ μετὰ τὸ αὐτοῦ, ὡς ἡμεῖς ἐπαινοῦ τὸν ὀκνητὸν καὶ φιλασκήτην, μὴ ἠμολογῶν ὡς οὐκ ἀσκήσιων; Ὅτι οὐκ ἐπίστην αἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ, τελεῖαι ὡς οὐκ ἀσκήσιων, ὡς νεκροφίλους. Ταῦτα δὲ ὠνόμαζα αὐτῶν, ὅτι αὐτίκα οὐκ ἔδοξε μοι εἰς γράβου· ἀλλὰ μὴδὲ γενοίτο μοι αὐτῶν μνημονεύειν, μέχρις οὗ μετανοήσων ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς, ὃ ἐστὶν ἡμῶν ἀναστάσις. Μήρεις πλανησάντων. P. 56. (P.)

ing “ from the eucharist, and from the public offices, because they confess not the eucharist to be the flesh of our Saviour Jesus Christ, which suffered for our sins, and which the Father, of his goodness, raised again from the dead.—It will, therefore,” he adds, “ become you to abstain from such persons, and not to speak with them, neither in private nor in public.”*

How like is this to the language of the apostle John, and how well they explain each other! Here we see the blasphemy ascribed to the Gnostics, which Justin mentions, their separating themselves from the communion of Christians, their denying the resurrection, and their pride. Now, how came this writer, like John, never to censure the Unitarians, if he had thought them to be heretics? Their conduct can only be accounted for on the supposition, that both himself and the apostle John were Unitarians, and that they had no idea of any heresies besides those of the different kinds of Gnostics.

Pearson says, that Ignatius refers to the doctrine of the Ebionites in his epistle to Polycarp, and in those to the Ephesians, the Magnesians and the Philadelphians. But I find no such references in them, except perhaps in two passages which may easily be supposed to have been altered; because, when corrected by a Unitarian, nothing is wanting to the evident purpose of the writer; whereas his censures of the Gnostics are frequent and copious; so that no person can pretend to leave them out, without materially injuring the epistles. Indeed, the evidence that I shall produce of writers subsequent to Ignatius not considering Unitarians as heretics, affords a strong presumption that he did not consider them in that light, and therefore that any passages in his epistles which express the contrary must be spurious.

Besides, there are in these epistles of Ignatius several things that are unfavourable to the doctrine of the divinity of Christ. Thus, to the Ephesians, he says, “ How much more must I think you happy who are so joined to him (the bishop) as the church is to Jesus Christ, and Jesus Christ to the Father, that so all things may agree in the same unity!”† To the Magnesians, he says, “ As, therefore, the Lord did nothing

* Ευχαριστίας και προσευχης απεχονται, οια το μη ημελοειν την ευχαριστιαν σαρκι ενει του Σατηρος ημων Ιησου Χριστου, την υπερ αμαρτιων ημων παθουσαν, ην τη χρηστοτητι ο Πατηρ ηγειρεν. Προσκοι ουν εστιν απεχεσθαι των τοιουτων, και μητε κατ' ιδιαν περ αυτων διαλειν, μητε κοινη. Ibid. p. 37. (P.) Sect. vii. Wake, p. 117.

† Ποσα μαλλον υμας μακαριζω τοις εγκρατεμενοις οιτας, ως η εκκλησια Ιησου Χριστου, και ο Ιησους Χριστος τω Πατρι, ινα παντα εν ενωτητι συμφανα η. Sect. v. p. 13. (P.) Wake, p. 66.

without the Father, being united to him, neither by himself, nor yet by his apostles; so neither do ye do any thing without your bishop and presbyters.*

What this excellent man said when he appeared before the emperor Trajan, was the language of a Unitarian: "You err," he said, "in that you call the evil spirits of the Heathens, gods. For there is but one God, who made heaven and earth, and the sea, and all that are in them; and one Jesus Christ, his only-begotten Son, whose friendship may I enjoy!"†

In Ignatius there is a passage which shews that the writer of it considered the Gnostics as out of communion with the church, and the only persons who were so. Speaking against heretics in general, he says, "Be upon your guard against such, which you will do, if you be not puffed up, and do not separate yourselves from [God] Jesus Christ."‡

In the epistle of Polycarp, contemporary with Ignatius, written to the Philippians after his death, there are several references to heretics, especially the quotation I made from it, p. 103, which I wish the reader to look back to. In that passage, and in the others in which he alludes to heresy, it is evident he had no view to any besides the Gnostics; as when he says, "Laying aside all empty and vain speech, and the error of many, believing in him that raised up our Lord Jesus Christ from the dead; but he that raised up Christ from the dead shall also raise us up in like manner."§

The account that Irenæus gives of Polycarp, contains little more than a declaration of the antipathy that he bore to the Gnostics, and his having taught a doctrine contrary to theirs. Among other things he says, "that when he met Marcion, who asked him whether he would own him, he replied, I own you to be the first-born of Satan;"|| and that if he had heard of the heresy of which he was treating, which was that of Valentinus, he would have said, accord-

* Ὅσπερ οἱ ὁ Κριος ἀνευ τοῦ Πατρὸς οὐδεν ἐποίησε, ἠραμενος αἰς εἰτε δι' αὐτοῦ, οὔτε δια τῶν ἀποστόλων· οὕτως μήτε ὁμοίως ἀνευ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, μηδεν πράσσετε. Sect. vii. *ibid.* (P.) Wake, p. 80.

† "Unus enim est Deus, qui fecit cælum, et terram, mare, et omnia quæ sunt in ipsis; et unus Jesus Christus, Filius ejus unigenitus, cujus amicitia fruar." *Cotelieri: Patres*, l. p. 173. (P.)

‡ Φιλατίεσθε ἢν τοῖς τοῖτοις· τίτω δε εἶσαι ὄνιν μὴ φησιμενεις, καὶ ἡσὶ ἀχωρισμοῖς [Θεῷ] Ἰησὺ Χριστῷ. *Ad Mag.* Sect. ix. p. 24. (P.)

§ Ἀπολιπόντες τὴν κενὴν ματαιολογίαν, καὶ τὴν τῶν πολλῶν πλάνην, πιστεύσαντες εἰς τὸν εὐεργετὰν τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐκ νεκρῶν—ὁ δε εὐεργετὰς αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν καὶ ἡμᾶς εὐεργετῆ. Sect. ii. p. 185. (P.) Wake, p. 52.

|| Καὶ αὐτὸς δε ὁ Πολυκαρπὸς Μαρκιῶνι ποτε εἰς οἴκῳ αὐτῷ ἐλθόντι, καὶ φησάντι, Ἐπιγινώσκεις ἡμᾶς; ἀπεκρίθη, Ἐπιγινώσκω τὸν πρῶτόκεν τῆ Σατανα. L. iii. C. iii. p. 204. P.

ing to his custom, "Good God, to what times hast thou reserved me, that I should hear such things!"*

The manner in which Polycarp inscribes his epistle is that of an Unitarian; "Mercy unto you and peace, from God Almighty, and the Lord Jesus Christ our Saviour, be multiplied."†

I shall consider the evidence for Hegesippus being an Unitarian more particularly hereafter. But, in this place, to take all the writers in the order of time, or nearly so, I shall produce two extracts from his works, preserved by Eusebius, in which a variety of denominations of Gnostics are mentioned as heretics; and such circumstances are added, as, exclusive of the consideration of his omitting the mention of the Ebionites, Nazarenes, or Unitarians of any kind, clearly shews that his idea was fixed to the Gnostics only.

"Hegesippus," Eusebius says, "wrote the history of the preaching of the apostles in five books. Conversing with many bishops in his journey to Rome, he found the same doctrine with them all.—The church of Corinth continued in the right faith till their bishop Primus.—Hitherto," i. e. till the time of Simon, bishop of Jerusalem, "the church remained a virgin, for it was not corrupted with absurd doctrines. But first Thebuthis, because he was not a bishop, began to corrupt it, being one of the seven heresies, himself being of the laity, of whom were the Simonians from Simon, Cleobians from Cleobius, Dositheans from Dositheus, Gorthæus from Gorthæus, and the Masbotheans. From them came the Menandrians, the Marcionites, the Carpocratians, the Valentinians, the Basilidians, and the Saturnilians; each of them preaching their different doctrines. From them came false Christs, and false prophets, who divided the unity of the church with corrupt doctrines against God, and against his Christ."‡

* Και δυναμαι διαμαρτυρασθαι εμπροσθεν τη Θεω* οτι ει τι τοιoutον ακηκοει εκεινος ο μακαριος και αποστολικος πρεσβυτερος* ανακραξας αν, και εμφραξας τα ωτα αυτου, και κατα το συνηθες ειπων* Ω καλε Θεε, εις οiως με καιρης τελετηκας, ινα τειων ανεχωμαι* πεφειγος αν και τον τοτον εν φ καθεζομενος η εως των τοιoutων ακηκοει λογων. Hist. L. v. C. xx. p. 239. (P.)

† Ελεος υμιν, και ειρηνη, παρα Θεω παντοκρατορος, και Κυριη Ιηση Χριστη τη σωτηρη θημων, πληθυνθεν. P. 184. (P.) Wake, p. 51.

‡ Ο μεν εν Ηγησιππου, εν πεντε τοις εις ημας ελθουσι υπομνημασι, της ιδιας γνωμης πληρησατην μνημην καταλειπειν. Εν οiς δηλοι, ως πλειουσι επισκοποις συμιξειεν, αποδημασι φυλαμενοις μεχρι Ρωμης* και ως οτι την αιτην παρα παντων παρειληφε διδαττιαλιαν.

Και επεμενε η εκκλησια η Κορινθιων εν τρι ορθω λογω, μεχρι Πριμη επισκοπου τονος εν Κορινθω.—Δια τελο εκατην την εκκλησιαν παρθενον* επα γαρ εφθαλο ακαις μητταιαις* ακηται δε ο Θεουθεις δια το μη γενεσθαι αυτων επισκοπον, υποφθειρειν, απο των επι ε αϊρεσαν, αν και αυτος ην εν τρι λαφ* αφ' αν Σιμων, οθεν οι Σιμωνιανοι* και Κλεβιους, οθεν Κλεβιανοι* και Δοσιθεος, οθεν Δοσιθιανοι* και Γορθαιος, οθεν Γορθηανοι, και Μασβοθαιαι. Οθεν

What could this writer mean by those who divided the unity of the church, (which, in his time, the Gnostics only did, and the Unitarians certainly did not,) by the false Christs, and especially the doctrine against God, but the tenets of the Gnostics only? Corrupt doctrine against Christ is a more ambiguous expression; but the false notions of the Gnostics concerning Christ were as conspicuous as any of their doctrines, and are most particularly noticed by John.

The other extract from this writer is no less to my purpose. "Till this time," viz. the time of Trajan, "Hegesippus says, that the church continued a virgin uncorrupted; those who corrupted its doctrines, if they then existed, concealing themselves. But when the holy choir of the apostles was dead, and all that generation who were favoured with their divine instructions, then the system of atheistical error commenced, through the deceits of the heterodox; who, when none of the apostles were remaining, with open face undertook to oppose their knowledge, falsely so called, to the preaching of the truth."* What could be meant by atheistical errors, and by knowledge falsely so called, but the principles of the Gnostics? No characters of any sect in ecclesiastical history are more clearly marked than these. In later times, indeed, almost every erroneous opinion was called atheistical, but it was not so in that early age; and knowledge falsely so called, is as descriptive of the Gnostics as if they had been mentioned by name.

SECTION III.

Of Heresy according to Justin Martyr.

CONTEMPORARY with Hegesippus was Justin Martyr. the first writer that can be proved to have advanced the

απο τῶν Μενανδριανισαι, και Μαρκιωνισαι, και Καρποκραϊανοι και Βαλεντινιανοι, και Βασιλειδιανοι, και Σαθουρηϊανοι· εκασος ιδιως και ἑτερος ιδιαν δοξαν παρεισηγαγεν. Απο τῶν ψευδοχριστων· ψευδοπροφητων· ψευδοαποστολων· δι τινες εμερισαν την ενωσιν της εκκλησιας· φθρηματιος λογους καια τα Θεα, και καια τη Χριστη αυτη. Hist. L. iv. C. xxiv. pp. 182, &c. (P.)

* Επι τῶν ος αἰῶνις ἀνηρ διηγημενος τα καια της δηλημενης, επιλεγει ως αρα μεχρι των τοιε χρονων πισθενος καθαρα και αδιειθθορος εμεινεν ἡ εκκλησια εν ἀδελφω πη σκαίει φολευ οἶαν ειστι τοιε, των ει και τινες ὑπηρχον, παραφθειρειν επιχειρηντων τον ὑγιη κανονα τη σωτηριη κηρυγματιος. Ως δ' ο ἱερος των αποστολων χορος διαφθορον ειληφει τη βην τελος, παρεληλυθει τε ἡ γενεια εκεινη των αιταις ακοαις της ενθεν σοφιας επακησσαι κατηξιωμενων πηρικαυλα της αθεν πλανης την αρχην ελαμβανεν ἡ συσασις, δια της των ἑτεροδιδασκαλων ατατης· δι και αιε μεθενος ει των αποστολων λειπομενη, γυμνη λαιπον ηδη τη κεφαλη, τη της αληθειας κηρυγματι· την ψευδανημον γνωσιν ανημεριττειν επιχειρησεν. Eusebii Hist. L. iii. C. xxxii. p. 128. (P.)

doctrine of the permanent personification of the *logos*, of which a full account will be given hereafter. He had occasion to mention both the Unitarians and the Gnostics. The former, as I shall shew in its proper place, he mentions with respect, and a tacit apology for differing from them, even from those who believed that Christ was the son of Joseph, as well as of Mary. But the manner in which he speaks of the Gnostics is very different indeed from this. The apostle John himself does not express a greater abhorrence of their principles. He speaks of them as fulfilling our Saviour's prophecy, that there should be false Christs and false prophets (the very language of Hegesippus above-mentioned) who should deceive many. One of the passages is as follows :

“ There are, and have been, many persons, who, pretending to be Christians, have taught to say and do atheistical and blasphemous things, and they are denominated by us from the names of the persons whose doctrines they hold, (for some of them blaspheme the Maker of the universe, and him who was by him foretold to come as the Christ, and the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, in one way, and others in another,) with whom we have no communication, knowing them to be atheistical, wicked and impious persons, who, instead of reverencing Jesus, confess him in name only. They call themselves Christians, in the same manner as those among the Heathens inscribe the name of God on the work of their own hands, and defile themselves with wicked and atheistical rites. Some of them are called Marcionites, some Valentinians, some Basilidians, some Saturnilians, and others go by other names, each from their peculiar tenets ; in the same manner as those who addict themselves to philosophy are denominated from the founders of their respective sects. And, as I have said, Jesus, knowing what would come to pass after his death, foretold that there would be such men among his followers.”*

* Εἰσιν ἢν καὶ ἐγεγονόη, ὡ φίλοι ἀνδρες, πολλοὶ, οἱ ἄθεοι καὶ βλασφημία λεγέειν καὶ κρατεῖν εἰδότες, ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ Ἰησοῦ προσεῖχόμενοι· καὶ εἰσὶν ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἀπο τῆς προσωπίδος τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐξ ἕπερ ἐκάστη διδασχὴ καὶ γυμνῆ πρῆξις· (ἀλλοὶ γὰρ κατ' ἄλλοι τρόποι βλασφημεῖν τὸν ποιητὴν τῶν ὅλων, καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ κρηφῆρευόμενον εὐευσσεῖσαι Χριστὸν, καὶ τὸν Θεὸν Ἀβραάμ, καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ, διδασκῶσιν· ὡν ἕθεν κοινωνοῦμεν, οἱ γνωρίζοντες ἀθεοὺς καὶ ἀσεβεῖς, καὶ ἀδικῆς καὶ ἀνομῆς αὐτῆς ὑπαρχούτας, καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ σεβεῖν, ὀνομαζέμενοι μόνον ὀμολογῶσι· καὶ Χριστιανῆς ἐαυτῶν λεγόντων· οὐ τρόποι, οἱ ἐν τοῖς εἰδέναι το ὄνομα τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐπιγραφῆσαι τοὺς χειροποιήτους, καὶ ἀνομοῖς καὶ ἀθεοῖς τελευταῖς κοινωνοῦσι) καὶ εἰσὶν αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν τινες καλεῖσθαι Μαρκιωνοὶ, οἱ δὲ Βαλεντινιανοὶ, οἱ δὲ Βασιλιδιανοὶ, οἱ δὲ Σατυρνιλιανοὶ, καὶ ἄλλοι ἄλλῃ ὀνομαζέμενοι, ἀπο τῆ ἀρχηγείας τῆς γυμνῆς ἐκάστος, ὀνομαζέμενοι— καὶ ἐν τῶν ἡμεῶν— τὸν Ἰησοῦν καὶ τῶν μετ' αὐτῶν γενησόμενων προγενέστην ἐπισταμεῖσα.
Dial. p. 208. (P.)

He must be entirely unacquainted with ecclesiastical history who can imagine that any of the characters here mentioned are descriptive of any other class of men than the Gnostics. For they were persons whose tenets were deemed *atheistical*, who went by the names of certain leaders, who are particularly specified, all of them known to be Gnostics, and they were not in communion with the catholic church.

The other passage is to the same purpose. After speaking of some who held the true Christian doctrine, he adds: "For I have shewn you that there are some who call themselves indeed Christians, but are atheistical and wicked heretics, teaching blasphemous, atheistical and stupid doctrines. If you compare them with those who are called Christians, they will not agree with them, but dare to blaspheme the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob; who also say, that there is no resurrection of the dead, but that immediately after death souls are received into heaven. Do not take these to be Christians."*

Had the writer expressly said that the persons he was describing were Gnostics, and *Gnostics only*, he could not have spoken more plainly than he has done, especially in saying that they denied the resurrection, which none but Gnostics ever did, but which was done by all Gnostics without exception. If any person can think otherwise, I scruple not to say, that he has not the smallest tincture of that kind of knowledge which is requisite to qualify him for judging in these matters. It may be safely concluded, therefore, that, in the opinion of Justin, there were no heretics besides the Gnostics; and he does not appear to spare any whom he thought deserved the name of heretics, and were not in communion with the catholic church.

Lastly, I would observe, that it is after giving an account of Simon, Menander and Marcion, known Gnostics, and without any allusion to Unitarians, that Justin mentions his writing a treatise against all heresies.†

* Της γὰρ λεγόμενης μὲν Χριστιανῆς, οὐίας δὲ ἀθεῖας, καὶ ἀσεβείας αἰρεσιώδους, ὅτι καὶ τὰ πάντα βλασφημῶν, καὶ ἀθεῖα, καὶ ἀνοήτῃ διδασκῶσιν ἐδήλωσα σοι.—Εἰ γὰρ καὶ σινεβαλέτε ἡμῖς τισὶ λεγόμενης Χριστιανῶν, καὶ τὴν μὴ ὁμολογῶσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ βλασφημῶσιν τοῖς ὀνόμασι τοῦ Θεοῦ Ἀβραάμ, καὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ Ἰσαὰκ, καὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ Ἰακώβ, οἱ καὶ λεγῶσιν μὴ εἶναι νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν, ἀλλ' ἡμῶν τὸ ἀποθνήσκειν τὰς ψυχὰς αἰῶν ἀναλαμβάνεσθαι εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν· μὴ ἐπολαβήτε αὐτῶν Χριστιανῶν. Dial. p. 311. (P.) The opinion here ascribed to these heretics, has been maintained, in later times, by several learned and pious Christians. See Vol. II. p. 355, Note.

† Apol. I. p. 41. (P.)

SECTION IV.

Of Heresy according to Irenæus.

IRENÆUS, who wrote a very large work on the subject of heresy, forty or fifty years after the time of Justin, and in a country where it is probable there were fewer Unitarians than when Justin lived, again and again characterizes heretics in such a manner, as makes it evident that even he did not consider any other class of men as properly entitled to that appellation besides the Gnostics. He expresses great dislike of the Ebionites; but though he appears to have known none of them besides those who denied the miraculous conception, he never directly calls them heretics, and he takes no notice at all of any *gentile* Unitarians, though it will appear that they composed the majority of the common people, among Christians.

In the introduction to his work it is exceedingly evident, that Irenæus had no view to any persons whatever besides the Gnostics; for he mentions their distinguishing opinions, and no others, speaking of them as “drawing men off from him that made and governs the world, as if they had something higher and greater to shew than he who made the heavens and the earth, and all things therein, and as holding blasphemous and impious opinions.”*

Irenæus considered Simon Magus as the person from whom all heresies sprung,† which was an opinion universally received in the Christian church, and a proof that he thought no other opinions to be properly heretical besides those which might have been derived from him. But his doctrines were those of the Gnostics, and so directly opposite to those of the Unitarians, that they were never considered as having the same source. It is likewise a proof of Irenæus considering the Gnostics as the only proper heretics, that, speaking of heretics in general, as foretold in the Scriptures, he says that, “though they come from different places, and teach different things, they all agree in the same blasphemy against the Maker of all things, and derogating from the

* Ως ὑψηλοτέρου τι καὶ μείζονος ἐχόντες ἐπιδειξάει τὴν τὸν θρανόν, καὶ τὴν γῆν, καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αἰσίς τετυπηκόσι Θεοῦ πειθάνως μὲν επαγομένον δια λόγων τεχνης τῆς ἀκεραίας εἰς τὴν ἡ ζῆσειν τυσπον, ἀπιθάνως δὲ ἀπολλήνεις αἰτίες ἐν τῷ βλασφημίον, καὶ ἀσεβῆ τὴν ἡρωικὴν αἰτίαν καὶ ἀσκηναζέειν εἰς τὸν Δημιουργόν, μὴδὲ ἐν τῷ διακρίνειν ὀναμενον τὸ ψευδὸς ἀπο τῷ ἀληθῆς. (P.)

† “Simon autem Samaritanus, ex quo universæ hæreses substiterunt, habet hujusmodi sectæ materiam.” L. i. C. xx. p. 94. L. iii. Pref. p. 193. (P.)

salvation of men.”* He likewise says, that “the doctrine of Valentinus comprehended all heresies; † that by overturning his system, all heresy is overturned; ‡ that “they all blasphemed in supposing the Maker of all things to be an evil being; and that they blasphemed our Lord, dividing Jesus from the Christ.”§ It could never have been said by any person, that the doctrine of Valentinus comprehended that of the Unitarians, that the Unitarians were ever said to blaspheme the Maker of all things, or to divide Jesus from the Christ.

Irenæus likewise says, that “there was a connexion among all the heretics, except that Tatian advanced something that was new.”|| But what connexion was there ever supposed to be between the tenets of the Gnostics and those of the Unitarians? He likewise speaks of all heretics “as having quitted the church, and taxing the holy presbyters with ignorance; not considering how much better is an ignorant person, who is religious, than a blasphemous and impious sophist.”¶ Speaking of the Gnostics, he says, that “the apostles were so far from thinking as they did, that they signified by the holy spirit that they who then began to teach their doctrine were introduced by Satan, to overturn the faith of some, and withdraw them from life.”** He likewise says, that “all the heretics were much later than the bishops to whom the apostles committed the churches.”††

* “Per omnes hæreticos qui prædicti sunt hi enim omnes, quamvis ex differentiis locis egrediantur, et differentia doceant, in idem tamen blasphemiam concurrent propositum, lethaliter vulnerantes, docendo blasphemiam in Deum factorem et nutritorem nostrum, et derogando salutem hominis.” L. iv. Pref. p. 275. (P.)

† “In quo et ostendimus doctrinam eorum recapitulationem esse omnium hæreticorum.” Ibid. p. 274. (P.)

‡ “Quapropter et in secundo tanquam speculum habuimus eos totius eversionis. Qui enim his contradicunt secundum quod oportet, contradicunt omnibus qui sunt malæ sententiæ: et qui hos evertunt, evertunt omnem hæresim.” Ibid. (P.)

§ “Super omnes est enim blasphemia regula ipsorum: quando quidem factorem et fabricatorem, qui est unus Deus, secundum quod ostendimus, de labe sive defectione eum emissum dicunt. Blasphemant autem et in Dominum nostrum, abscondentes et dividentes Jesum à Christo.” Ibid. (P.)

|| “Connexio quidem factus omnium hæreticorum, quemadmodum ostendimus; hoc autem à semetipso adinvenit, uti novum aliquid præter reliquos inferens.” L. iii. C. xxxix. p. 265. (P.)

¶ “Qui ergo relinquunt præconium ecclesiæ, imperitiam sanctorum presbyterorum arguunt, non contemptantes quanto pluris sit idiota religiosus à blasphemo et impudente sophista.” L. v. C. xx. p. 430. (P.)

** “Necesse habemus, universam apostolorum de Domino nostro Jesu Christo sententiam adhibere, et ostendere, eos non solum nihil tale sensisse de eo, verum amplius et signatissime per spiritum sanctum, qui inciperint talia docere, summissi à Satana, uti quorundam fidem everterent, et abstraherent eos à vita.” L. iii. C. xvii. p. 238. (P.)

†† “Omnes enim non valde posteriores sunt quam episcopi quibus apostoli tradiderunt ecclesiæ.” Ibid. C. xx. p. 430. (P.)

He meant, probably, the celebrated Gnostics, who appeared in the time of Adrian; whereas he could not but know that the Ebionites, and the Unitarians in general, were very considerable before that time. He must have meant the Gnostics, when he said that "all heretics were agreed that the Maker of the world was ignorant of the power above him."* He likewise considered all heretics to be Gnostics in many other passages of his work.†

How little is it that Irenæus says of the Ebionites, and with how little severity, in his large treatise concerning *heresy*! It is not one four hundredth part of the whole, while all the rest is employed on the different branches of Gnosticism. The harshest epithet that he applies to them is that of *vani*; which, considering the manner of the ancients, is certainly very moderate: *Vani autem et Ebionæi*.‡ He says, indeed, that "God will judge them;" and "how can they be saved, if it be not God that worketh out their salvation upon earth?"§ But this is no sentence of damnation passed upon them in particular, for holding their doctrine, but an argument used by him to refute them; and is the same as if he had said, mankind in general could not be saved, if Christ had not been God as well as man.

That Irenæus did not mean to pass a sentence of what we should now call *damnation* upon the Ebionites, is, I think, evident from what he says concerning them in the 21st chapter of his third book, and which has the appearance of great harshness. "If they persist," he says, "in their error, not receiving the word of incorruption, they continue in mortal flesh, and are subject to death, not receiving the antidote of life."|| The idea of this writer and that of the fathers in general was, that Christ recovered for man that immortality which Adam had lost; so that without his interference the whole race of mankind must have perished in the grave. This he represents as the punishment of the Ebionites. But he certainly could not mean that the Ebionites, *as such*, should continue in the grave, while all the

* "Omnes enim hæretici decreverunt, demiurgum ignorare eam quæ sit super eum virtutem." L. iii. C. i. p. 219. (P.)

† See L. ii. C. lv. p. 185. L. iii. C. i. p. 199. (P.)

‡ L. v. C. i. p. 894. (P.)

§ Ανακρινει δε και της Ηβιωνες; πως δυναται σωθηναι, ει μη ο Θεος ην ο την σωτηρια αυτων επι γης εργασασμενος; η πως ανθρωπος χωρησει εις Θεον, ει μη ο Θεος εχωρηθη εν ανθρωπον; L. iv. C. lix. p. 358. (P.)

|| "Qui nude tantum hominem eum dicunt ex Joseph generatum perseverantes in servitute pristinae inobedientia moriuntur. Non recipientes autem verbum incorruptionis perseverant in carne mortali, et sunt debitores mortis, antidotum vitæ non accipientes." P. 249. (P.)

rest of mankind would rise from the dead. He must, therefore, have meant, not that they in particular, but that mankind in general, could have had no resurrection if their doctrine had been true.

Irenæus no where directly calls the Ebionites heretics. I had thought that in one passage he had included them in that appellation; but observing that, in his introduction, and in other places, in which he speaks of heretics, in general, he evidently meant the Gnostics only, and could not carry his views any further, I was led to re-consider that particular passage, and I found that I had been mistaken in my construction of it.

“All heretics,” he says, “being untaught, and ignorant of the dispensations of God, and especially of that which relates to man, as being blind with respect to the truth, oppose their own salvation; some introducing another Father besides the Maker of the world; others saying, that the world and the matter of it was made by angels,” &c.; and, after mentioning other similar opinions, he adds, “others, not knowing the dispensation of the Virgin, say that he (Jesus) was begotten by Joseph. Some say that neither the soul nor the body can receive eternal life, but the internal man only,” &c. i. e. they denied the resurrection.*

Now as Cerinthus, Carpocrates and other Gnostics, denied the miraculous conception, as well as the Ebionites; and all the rest of this description, both before and after this circumstance, evidently belongs to the Gnostics only, and as in no other place whatever does he comprehend them in his definition of *heresy*, it is natural to conclude that he had no view to them even here, but only to those Gnostics who, in common with them, denied the miraculous conception. If there be any other passage in Irenæus in which he calls, or seems to call, the Ebionites *heretics*, I have overlooked it. The Ebionites were Jews, and had no communion with the Gentiles, at least that appears; and Irenæus says nothing

* “Indocti omnes hæretici, ignorantés dispositiones Dei, et inscii ejus quæ est secundum hominem dispensationis, quippe cæcutientes circa veritatem, ipsi suæ contradicunt salutis. Alii quidem alterum introducentes præter demiurgum, patrem. Alii autem ab angelis quibusdam dicentes factum esse mundum, et substantiam ejus. Alii quidem porro et longe separatam ab eo, qui est secundum ipsos patre, à semet ipsa floruisse, et esse ex se natam. Alii autem in his quæ continentur à patre, de labe et ignorantia substantiam habuisse. Alii autem manifestum adventum Domini contemnunt, incarnationem ejus non recipientes. Alii autem rursus ignorantés virginis dispensationem, ex Joseph dicunt eum generatum. Et quidam quidem neque animam suam, neque corpus recipere posse dicunt æternam vitam, sed tantum hominem interiorem. Esse autem hunc eum qui in eis sit sensus, volunt, quem et solum ascendere ad perfectum decernunt. Alii autem anima salvata, non participari corpus ipsorum eam quæ est à Deo salutem.” L. v. C. xix. p. 429. (P.)

of all of the Unitarians among the Gentiles (who, in the time of Origen, generally believed the miraculous conception), though, as appears from other evidence, they constituted the great mass of the unlearned Christians.

It may be said that, since Irenæus condemns the Ebionites for holding an opinion which he also condemns in the Gnostics, he must have considered them as heretical, on that account. And, had this common opinion been a principal feature in the character of the Gnostics, and such as had originally a great share in rendering them odious to other Christians, the inference must have been admitted. But there are many reasons to prevent our thinking so, especially the consideration that, both from the nature of the thing, and the superabundant acknowledgment of the fathers, the great body of the primitive Christians must have been, and actually were, Unitarians, knowing nothing either of the pre-existence or divinity of Christ, and not immediately, at least, hearing any thing of his miraculous conception. Such plain Christians could never have been considered as heretics in the age in which they lived, though circumstances might arise which should make their opinions very obnoxious afterwards; and Irenæus, without making the distinction that he ought to have done, might enumerate their opinions among other offensive ones of the Gnostics, and even as a part of their heresy: and hence might arise his embarrassment in calling the Gnostics, heretics, and yet never calling the Ebionites so. It is a conduct that I cannot account for in any other way.

SECTION V.

Of Heresy according to Clemens Alexandrinus, Tertullian, Origen and Firmilian.

CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS makes frequent mention of heretics, and expresses as much abhorrence of them as Justin Martyr does; but it is evident that, in all the places in which he speaks of them, his idea of heresy was confined to Gnosticism.

He considers it as an answer to all heretics to prove that there is one God, the Almighty Lord, who was preached by the law and the prophets, and also in the blessed gospel.*

* Και απασαις ενλευθεν ταις αιρεσιν, ένα θεον και Κυριον παλοκρατορα, γεννητα και σφρηλαν, προς δε και τε μακαριε ειαγγελιο γρησιωσ κεντολυμενον. Strom. I. vi. p. 475. P.

He also speaks of heresy as “borrowed from a barbarous philosophy;” and says of heretics that, “though they say there is one God, and sing hymns to Christ, it was not according to truth; for that they introduced another God, and such a Christ as the prophets had not foretold.”* He likewise speaks of heretics in general as having a high opinion of their own knowledge.† He calls them δοξισοφοί, *men who think that they have found the truth*, and ὑποδοξοτατίας επηρμενοι, *elated with a conceit of their knowledge*.‡ He says that “heresy began in the time of Adrian,” when it is well known that Basilides and the most distinguished of the Gnostics made their appearance.§ He says, that of the heretics some were distinguished by the names of particular persons, as those of Valentinus, Marcion and Basilides, some by the place of their residence, others by their tenets, &c. mentioning none but Gnostics.|| It may only be conjectured that he meant the Ebionites by the *Peratici* enumerated by him among those who had their denomination from the place of their residence; but this is the only passage in which the word occurs. It is the more remarkable that this writer should omit the Unitarians, as he mentions fourteen different heretics by name, and ten heresies by character.

As the strict Ebionites held no communion with the Gentile Christians, it is very possible that Clemens Alexandrinus might insert them in a catalogue of heretics, and allude to them under the name of *Peratici*, without intending any censure of their doctrine with respect to Christ. Besides, this was a name given them, as he says, from their place of residence, and therefore did not include the Unitarians, among the Gentiles.

Tertullian represents our Saviour as alluding to false teachers, who said that he was not born of a virgin: but it is evident, from the whole passage, that he referred to the

* Διπλοῦς αἰ καὶ τῆς βαρβαρῶν φιλοσοφίας αἰρέσεως καὶ Θεοῦ ἕνεκα ἕνα, καὶ Χριστοῦ ἕνα, καὶ περὶ τῆς ἑξῆς, * πρὸς ἀληθινὰ ἄλλα γὰρ τοῦ Θεοῦ περιερισσάμεναι. καὶ τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ αἰς αἰ προφήτεται περιερίθυσται ἐκείνην. Strom. I. vi. p. 675. See also pp. 542, 662. P.

† Οὐσία γνωστῶς ἀγνοῦσαν. Ibid. I. vii. p. 754. P.

‡ Ibid. pp. 755, 759.

§ Καὶ ἔτι πρὸς τὴν Ἀδριανὸν τὸν βασιλεῦς χρόνος ἐστὶ τῆς αἰρέσεως ἐπισημαίνουσας γεγενῆσθαι. Ibid. p. 764. P.

|| Τῶν ἑτάσεων αἰ μὲν ἀπὸ ἀνομιῶν προσηγορευομένης, ὡς ἡ ἀπὸ Βαλεντίνου καὶ Μαρκίωνος καὶ Βασιλίδου, καὶ τῆς Μαίβης ἀπὸ τῶν πρὸς αὐτῶν αἰ ὡς ἂν, μὴ γὰρ ἡ πάντων ἡμερῶν τῶν ἀποστόλων ὑπερδιδασκαλία, ὡς τὰς βε καὶ γ, ταυτίσιν· αἰ δὲ, ἀπὸ τοῦ, ὡς β, Πελαγίου· ε, β, ἀπὸ Ἰδίου· ὡς γ, τῶν Φιγῶν· ὡς δ, ἀπὸ αἰωνίου, ὡς γ, τῶν Εὐκαρίτων· αἰ β, ἀπὸ Ἰουδαίων ἰδαίον· αἰ γ, τῶν Δουδῶν· καὶ γ, τῶν Αἰμαλιῶν· αἰ δ, ἀπὸ ἑσπέρων, αἰ ε, τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ὡς Κανιῶν τε καὶ β, Ὁφίωνι προσηγορευομένων· αἰ β, ἀπὸ τῶν παρὰ τὴν ἑξῆς τε καὶ ἑβδόμην. Ibid. p. 765. P.

Gnostics only, who said that it was disgraceful to him to be so born.*

In all other places in which I have found Tertullian speak of heresy in general, it is most evident that his ideas went no farther than to the opinions of the Gnostics, except that he once calls Hebion a heretic. And then he expressly makes his heresy to consist in his observance of the Jewish ritual.†

“Heresies,” he says, “do not differ from idolatry, having the same author, and the same work, with idolaters, for that they make another god against the Creator, or if they acknowledge one Creator, they discourse of him in a manner different from the truth.”‡ “Heresies,” he says, “deny that God is to be feared,”§ which agrees with his saying, that “the heathen philosophers were the patriarchs of heresy,”|| for they held that doctrine; but it was very remote from any thing that is ever laid to the charge of the Unitarians.

“Heresies,” he says, “associated with the magi, with fortune-tellers, with astrologers, with philosophers; being actuated by a principle of curiosity; so that the quality of their faith may be judged of from their manner of life; for discipline is the index of doctrine.”¶

The whole of this account is inconsistent with Tertullian's considering Unitarians as heretics. But much more is his saying, that “the Valentinians were the most numerous of all the heretics, and that the heretics had nothing to do with their discipline. Their want of communion,” he says,

* “Prænuñciaveram planè futuros fallaciæ magistros in meo nomine, et prophetarum et apostolorum etiam; et discentibus meis eadem ad vos prædicare mandaveram, semel evangelium, et ejusdem regulæ doctrinam apostolis meis delegaveram; sed quum vos non crederetis; libuit mihi postea aliqua inde mutare. Resurrectionem promiseram etiam carnis, sed recogitavi ne implere non possem. Natum me ostenderam ex virgine, sed postea turpè mihi visum est,” &c. *De Præscriptione*, Sect. xlv. p. 218. (P.)

† “Ad Galatas scribens invehitur in observatores et defensores circumcisionis et legis. Hebionis hæresis est.” *Ibid.* Sect. xxxiii. p. 214. (P.)

‡ “Neque ab idolatria distare hæreses, cum et auctoris et operis ejusdem sint enjus et idolatria. Deum aut fingunt alium adversus Creatorem, aut si unicum Creatorem confitentur, aliter eum disserunt quam in vero.” *Ibid.* Sect. xl. Opera, c. 217. (P.)

§ “Negant Deum timendum.” *Ibid.* Sect. xliii. p. 218. (P.)

|| “Hæreticorum patriarchæ philosophi.” *Ad Herm.* Sect. viii. p. 236.

¶ “Ipsæ denique hæreses à philosophia subornantur. Inde æones, et formæ nescio quæ, et trinitas hominis apud Valentinum. Platonius fuerat.” *De Præscriptione*, Sect. vii. p. 204. (P.)

¶ “Notata etiam sunt commercia hereticorum cum magis quampluribus, cum circulatoribus, cum astrologis, cum philosophis, curiositati scilicet delictis.—Adeo magis generis conversationis qualitas fidei aestimari potest: doctrinæ index disciplina est.” *Ibid.* Sect. xliii. p. 218. (P.)

.. shews that they are foreign to us.”* For it is most evident that those whom he calls *simplices* and *idiotæ*, were ranked by him among the *credentes* or *believers*. They were even the *major pars credentium*, though Unitarians, and holding the doctrine of the Trinity in abhorrence, as we shall see in its proper place.

Origen says, that “heretics borrowed from the Greek philosophy, from abstruse mysteries, and from strolling astrologers.”† Jerome also says, “the vain words of the philosophers, which, in the doctrine of Plato, have killed the children of the church, is turned into divine wrath and blood to them.”‡ Valentinus is said to have been a Platonist; but it is certain that, in general, the philosophy of the Gnostics was that of the Oriental sect. Plotinus, we have seen, calls it a foreign philosophy. With much more justice might the Gnostics have recriminated on Origen and his friends, for their principles were certainly more properly those of the Platonists.

Farther: Origen says, that “heretics may be proved to be atheists by their doctrines, manners and works,”§ which is a charge that was never advanced against the Unitarians, but constantly against the Gnostics. “I wonder,” says he again, “how the heterodox can say that there are two Gods in the Old Testament.”¶ He also speaks of the heretics as “studying eloquence to please their hearers, not to convert them from vice.”|| “Such,” again, says he, “are the heretics, who adorn their discourse, not to convert their hearers, but to please them.”** Lastly, he says, “the heretics, through their great madness, concealed their private myste-

* “Valentiniani frequentissimum planè collegium inter hæreticos.” *Ad Valen.* Sect. i. p. 250.

† “Hæretici autem nullum habent consortium nostræ disciplinæ, quos extraneos atque utique testatur ipsa adeptio communicationis.” *De Baptismo*, Sect. xv. p. 280. (P.)

‡ “Ἀλλ’ ἐπει πάλαι τα δοξαζόμενα αὐτῶν μὲν ἐκ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς σοφίας λαβόντα ἐκ δογματικῆν φιλοσοφίας, ἢ ἐκ τῆς μυστικῆν ἐπιχειρησμένων, καὶ ἀστρολογῶν ρεμβουμένων. *Philosophumena*, pp. 17, 185. (P.)

§ “Vana philosophorum verba, quæ in doctrinis Platonicis ecclesiæ parvulos inferna habent, in ultionem diuinam illis conversa est et in cruorem.” *In Ps. lxxvii.* *Opera*, VII. p. 97. (P.)

|| “Ἐπει αὐτοὶ οὐκ ἐπίβουλον καὶ κατὰ γνώμην, καὶ κατὰ τόπον, καὶ κατ’ ἔργον. *Philosophumena*, pp. 8, 16. (P.)

** “Ὅθεν ἰσχυροὶ καὶ σπεῖσι τὰς οὐσι θεοὺς προσαπλήθισιν ἀμφοτέρας τὰς διαθήκας ἢ ἑτεροδοξοῦν, ἢ ἀποκρίναι καὶ ἐκ τούτων τὴν οὐκ ἐλεγχόμενα. *Comment.* II. p. 14. (P.)

¶ “Τὴν τὴν οὐκ ἐλεγχόμενα τῶν ἑτεροδοξῶν, καὶ τὰ καλλῆ τῶν πιθανότητων αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπιβουλοῦν τὰς ἀκούσας. *In Jer. Hom. i. Comment.* I. p. 72. (P.)

** “Fales sunt hæretici, qui orationem suam verborum decore component, non ut convertant audientes à vitis, sed ut delectent.” *Opera*, I. p. 614. (P.)

nes.”* All these characters are exactly descriptive of the Gnostics, but not one of them can be said to apply to the Unitarians.

But, besides this, there are a great variety of characters by which Origen distinguishes heretics in general, and by which it may be perceived that he could not mean any besides the Gnostics.

In one place he evidently considers the *Unitarians* and *heretics* separately, as two distinct classes of men; but supposes that the Unitarians confounded the persons of the Father and the Son, on which account they were called *Patripassians*. But, notwithstanding the evil that he says of them, he acknowledges that they adhered to their opinion as thinking that it did honour to Christ, as on other occasions he ascribes it to their regard to the one true God the Father. “We are not,” says he, “to consider those as taking the part of Christ, who think falsely concerning him, out of an idea of doing him honour. Such are those who confound the intellect of the Father and the Son, distinguishing their substance in idea and name only. Also the heretics, who, out of a desire of speaking magnificently concerning him, carry their blasphemy very high, even to the Maker of the world, are not on his side.” †

Eurmilian, writing to Cyprian on the subject of re-baptizing heretics, in answer to one Stephanus, who urged a direction of the apostles to that purpose, replies, that all heresies of any consequence were subsequent to the time of the apostles. The entire passage, which I shall insert in the notes, deserves the attention of the reader. ‡ It is also evident that that excellent bishop considered the Gnostics as

* Δια την υπερβαλλουσαν των αιρετικων μαριαν, οι δια του σωπαν αποκρισειν τε τα αρχατα εαυτων μωσηρια. Philosophumena, p. 6. (P.)

† Ου νομιζομεν γαρ ειναι υπερ αυτου τους τα ψευδη φρονοντας περι αυτου φαντασια του ελταζειν αυτον, οποιαι ειναι συγκεντες Πατρος και Υιου εννοιαν, και τη υποστασει ενα υδοντε, ειναι τον Πατερα και τον Υιου, τη επινοια μνη και τοις ονομασι, διαφουριτες το εν υποκεκε- μινον και δι απο των αιρεσεων, φαντασια του μεγαλα περι αυτου φρονειν, αδικιαν εις το ελφες λαλουντες, και κακιας λεγοντες τον Δημιουργον, οχι ειναι υπερ αυτου. Comment. in Matt. I. p. 471. (P.)

‡ “Et quidem quantum ad id pertinet quod Stephanus dixit, quasi apostoli equi ab hæresi veniant baptizari prohibuerint, et hoc custodiendum posteris tradiderint; plenissimè vos respondistis, neminem tam stultum esse qui hoc eredit apostolos tradidisse, quando etiam ipsis hæreses constet execrabiles ac detestandas postea extitisse. Cum et Marcion, Cerdonis discipulus, inveniatur, sero post apostolos et post longa ab eis tempora, sacrilegum adversus Deum traditionem induxisse. Apelles quoque blasphemie ejus consentiens multa alia nova et graviore fidei ac veritatis inimica addiderit. Sed et Valentinus et Basilidis tempus manifestum est quod, et ipsi post apostolos et post longam ætatem, adversus ecclesiam Dei sceleratis mendaciis suis rebellaverint. Cæteros quoque hæreticos constat pravos suas sectas et inventiones perversas prout quisque errore ductus est, postea induxisse; quos omnem manifestum est à semetipsis damnatos esse, et ante diem judicii inexcusabilem ser-

the only heretics, when he said they had neither God, nor Lord, nor church, nor faith, &c. in common with them.*

SECTION VI.

Of Heresy in a later Period.

IT is of no great consequence to carry these authorities any farther, as it is acknowledged that the Unitarians were considered as heretics after the time of Origen; and it is possible that they may be so called occasionally by him, as well as others of his time who disliked their principles. For, about this time, the term *heresy* began to be applied to the doctrines which were not entertained by those more learned Christians, whose opinions (being in appearance more flattering to Christ, the author of their religion) continually gained ground; though it was a long time before the common people in general could relish them. So well established, however, by a long course of time, was the synonymous use of the terms *heretic* and *Gnostic*, that they continued to be so used occasionally, even long after the decrees of councils had pronounced other doctrines to be heretical; and of this I shall give some instances.

Athanasius says, “the heretics make to themselves another Maker of the universe besides the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.”† Indeed, Athanasius considered the proper Unitarians in a more favourable light than he did either the Gnostics or the Arians.‡ Again, he says, “the heretics, leaving the discipline of the church, and making shipwreck of faith,—make themselves another God besides the true God, the Father of Christ, who, they say, was unbegotten, the author of evil, and the maker of the world.”§

Eusebius, speaking of the heresies of the Jews, and those

tentiam adversus semetipsos dixisse: quorum baptisma qui confirmat, quid aliud quam cum ipsis se adjudicat, et se ipse participem talibus faciendo condemnat.” Cyprian *Opera*, II. p. 219. (P.)

* “Porro cum nobis et hæreticis nec Deus unus sit, nec Dominus unus, nec una ecclesia, nec fides una, sed nec unus spiritus, aut corpus unum; manifestum est nec baptisma nobis et hæreticis communi esse posse, quibus nihil est omninò commune.” Ibid. p. 229. (P.)

† “Οὐδὲ αὖτε τὸν αἰετὸν ἀλλοῦ ἑαυτὸς ἀναπλαστοῖαι δημιουργὸν τῶν πάντων παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς τοῦ Κ. καὶ ἴσον Ἰσοῦ Χ. ἴσα. De Incarnatione, *Opera*, I. p. 55. (P.)

‡ See *Opera*, I. p. 975, 977, 978. (P.)

§ “Οὐδὲ αὖτε τὸν αἰετὸν ἐπιστάτης τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς διδασκαλίας, καὶ περὶ τὴν πίστιν νομογρησάντης, καὶ αἰτῆ μὴ ἴσοστα τοῦ κακοῦ παραφρονοῦσιν εἶναι ἀναπλαστοῖαι δὲ ἑαυτοῦ παρὰ τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ Πατρὸς Θεοῦ ἑτέρου, καὶ ταῖτον ἀγεννητοῦ, τοῦ κακοῦ ποιητοῦ καὶ τῆς κακίας δημιουργοῦ, τοῦ καὶ τῆς κτίσεως δημιουργοῦ. *Contra Gentes*, *Opera*, I. p. 6. (P.)

of the Greeks, describes them as atheistical, some of them introducing several contrary principles, and others ascribing the government of the universe to wicked persons.* He also says, that Simon Magus was the leader of all heresy.†

Cyril of Jerusalem, whose neighbourhood seems to have abounded with Gnostics, and especially with Manichæans, advises to “hate all heretics, but especially those who had their name from madness.”‡ meaning *Manes*; and through his whole work he generally speaks of the Gnostics as if he had thought them to be the only proper heretics, though he does not scruple occasionally to give the same appellation to others who thought differently from him. Thus he joins others in calling Simon Magus the inventor of all heresy.§ “The heretics,” he says, “do not acknowledge one God Almighty. For *almighty* is he who rules over all, and has power over all; for they who say he is Lord of the soul, but not of the body, do not make him perfect. For how can he be perfect who wants either of these? If he has power over the soul, and not over the body, how is he almighty; and if he has power over the body, and not over the soul, how is he almighty?”||

The term heretic seems also to be appropriated to the Gnostics in the following passage: “Nor has the devil made these attempts with respect to the Gentiles only; but many who are falsely called Christians, improperly called by the fragrant name of Christ, have impiously dared to alienate God from his own works. I mean the heretics, who are abominable and atheistical, pretending to be lovers of Christ, but who are in reality haters of Christ; for he who blasphemes the Father of Christ is the enemy of the Son. Ye are considered to say, that there are two deities, one good and the other evil.”¶ “Let the mouths of all heretics be stopped

* In Ps. lxiv. Montfaucon's *Collectio Patrum*, I. p. 513. (P.)

† Παστος μεν ην αρχηγος αιρεσεως παλιου γενεσθαι του Σιμωνος παρεληρημεν. Hist. Eccl. C. viii. p. 32. (P.)

‡ Και μιση μεν παντας αιρετικος, εξαιρειας δε, τον της μανιας επωνυμω. Cat. v. p. 91. (P.)

§ Και παστος μεν αιρεσεως ευρειης Σιμων ο Μαγος. Ibid. p. 87. (P.)

¶ Αιρετικωι δε παλιω, καθως κρηται και προερον, η ούρασην ενα παντοκράτωρ Θεω. παντοκράτωρ γαρ εστιν, ο παντων κρηται, ο παντων εξουσιαζων. οι δε λεγοντες, τον μεν, ειναι της ψυχης εσποδη, τον δε, τη σαρκατος, η τελευτη λεγουσι. πως γαρ τελειος, ο λεπων ενεασην εαυτου; (ο γαρ ψυχης εξουσιαν εχον, σαρκατος εδουλιαν μη εχει, της παντοκρατορας και ο δεσποτης σαρκατων, μη εξουσιάζον δε πνευματος, της παντοκρατορας; Cat. viii. p. 111. (P.))

¶ Και η μωρον εν τοις εθνικωις επηρηγασατο ταυτα ο διαβολος; αλλη γαρ ηδη και πολλοι των Χριστιανων ψευδως λεγουμενων των τε ανωβραχια Χριστη ανακαλι κωπως προσαγγελουμενων, εδοκωσαν ασεβας απαλλοτριωσαι τον Θεω τον οικειων ποιηταιων της των αιρετικων λεγου, παυσης της δυταρμης και αδελφιαης συσπειρουμενης μεν ειναι φιλοχριστης, μητοχριστης η παντεως ο γαρ τον Πατερα τε Χριστη δυτηρμεν, εχθρος εστι. (Υπο ούρασην ενα παντοκράτωρ Θεω δεσποτης, μιας αναθη, και μιας κωρη. Cat. vi. p. 85. (P.))

who complain of the body, or rather of him that formed it.”* Lastly, immediately after speaking of Unitarians, who said that Christ was from the earth only, he mentions “the heretics, who say that Jesus is one person, and Christ another.”† Heretics seem also to be used as synonymous to Gnostics in other parts of his work.‡

Basil, distinguishing between heretics and schismatics, says, that “the heretics were entirely broken off from the church, on account of the faith itself;”§ and all the instances that he mentions are of Gnostics. Gregory Nazianzen, who represents the Father as the only person in the Trinity who was spared in his time, says, that he was the first who had been dishonoured by the heretics, being divided into the *good* and the *demiurgus*.|| This was never laid to the charge of the Unitarians.

“Where,” says Jerome, “are Marcion, Valentinus and all the heretics who assert that one being was the maker of the world, that is, of things visible, and another of things invisible?”¶ “All within the church,” he says again, “are rustic and simple, all heretics Aristotelians or Platonists.”** Of these two descriptions of men, the former, by the confession of all antiquity, much better applied to the Unitarians than the latter.

Chrysostom represents it as an answer to “all the heresy that would ever arise, that Moses said, ‘In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth.’” He adds, “If the Manichæans come to you, and talk of their pre-existent matter, or Marcion, or Valentinus, or the Gentiles, say to them, ‘In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth.’”†† This was never denied by any Unitarian.

* Φημιθώσαν γὰρ αἱ αἰρέσεις πάντες ἐν κατήχησίνεσι των σαμαίται, μᾶλλον δὲ αὐτῶν ἐπισημαίοντες. Cat. xiii. p. 162. (P.)

† Καὶ διὰ τὰς πλάνας των αἰρέσεων, των λεγομένων, ἀλλοὶ μὲν ἠναὶ τὸν Χριστὸν, ἀλλοὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦν. Cat. x. Opera, p. 125. (P.)

‡ See pp. 112, 113, 116, 115. (P.)

§ Ἐπίθεσι των αἰρέσεων, τὸ μὲν τὸν αἰρέτων πάντεσιν ἀπέθεσα. Ad Amphilo- schium Ep. Opera, III. p. 20. (P.)

|| Πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν καὶ ἀγαθὸν καὶ δημοφιλῆ παρα τῆς αρχαιας καινοδομίας. Orat. xxiv. Opera, p. 128. (P.)

** “Ubi sunt Marcion et Valentinus, et omnes heretici, qui alterum mundi, vel est, visibilium, et alterum asserunt invisibilium conditorem.” In Eph. C. v. Opera VI. p. 173. (P.)

†† “Ecclesiastici enim rustici sunt et simplices: omnes vero heretici Aristotelici et Platonici sunt.” In Ps. lxxvii. Opera, VII. p. 95. (P.)

‡‡ Ἀπαύλα εἰς τὸ ἴδιον ἔσται ὅσα τὰς δικτῶν ζήσαντων ἐπισημαίνοντας αἰρέσεις τῆ ἐκλήσεως ἐπιθετῶν ἀνασπῶν δια τὴ ἐπιστολῆ. Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν. Καὶ γὰρ Μανιχαῖοις προσέθετο λέγειν τὸν ἄλλο παρὰ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ Μαρκίον, καὶ Βασιλείδην, καὶ Ἐπισημαίνοντας πάντες, λέγει πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν. In Gen. C. v. Opera, II. p. 18. (P.)

Lastly, **Œcumenius** represents the wisdom of the world as the cause of heresy;* and this writer always speaks of the Unitarians as a *simple* people. These are all evident traces of its having been an original opinion, that the Gnostics were the only heretics; since the language and the sentiment occurred so frequently after the principle itself had been abandoned, which is a thing by no means uncommon.

CHAPTER V.

OF THE APOSTLES' CREED, AS A GUARD AGAINST GNOSTICISM.

NOTHING perhaps that has hitherto been advanced can give us so clear an idea of the extreme dread which the Catholic Christians entertained of the principles of the Gnostics, as an attention to the several articles of that *creed* which is commonly called *the apostles'*,† all of which, in its original state, were evidently intended to exclude the Gnostics, and no other class of persons whatever.

A profession of faith in the divine mission of Christ, and generally of repentance also, which had been the great object of John's baptism, to which that of Christ succeeded, was always required of every person who was a candidate for admission into the Christian church. But while there were no heresies that gave much alarm to the body of Christians, it was thought sufficient to make the catechumens simply profess their faith in Christ, or, if they were Jews, that Jesus was the Messiah; and such are all the instances of baptism that are mentioned in the book of Acts. But afterwards, whether in the time of the apostles or not, but very probably before the death of John, other articles were added, intended to exclude persons who were not thought to be proper members of christian churches, though they did profess to believe in the divine mission of Christ. At what time each of these articles was inserted in the creed is not known; and indeed the practice of the church appears to have been various in this respect, some articles having been

* Τις σοφος εν ὄμιν. Φιλασοχι οὐλες δι ἀνθρώπων, καὶ τῆ σοφίᾳ τε κόσμῳ τῆτε αἰχρῆτες, κατ' ἐριν καὶ ζήλον τῶν οὐραν διδασκαλῶν ἐκρηστίου, σπλαγγογενῆς ἀπλᾶς καὶ φῆσον πρὸς τῆλοῖς ἐγγύλες, καὶ παραμυγνῆλες τοῖς Θεοῖς τα ἀνθρώπινα, ἵνα τῆ καινότητι τῶν λεγομένων ἐπιστολῶν ἡμῶν ἀνεούλας ἴδωεν καὶ ἀρεστέας ἐβήρωον. In Jac. Opera, II. p. 165. (P.)

† Lactantius refutes this notion, in his *Critical History of the Apostles' Creed* Ed. 5, 1728, pp. 28—29. See also his *Inquiry*, Pt. ii. Ch. iii. Sect. v.

used in one church, and others in another, and still less was the same *form of words* strictly adhered to.

We are able, however, in some measure, to trace the progress of this baptismal creed by its being published, with more or less comment, by different christian writers, from Irenæus, who is the first who has given any of the articles of it, to Rufinus, who first published a professed commentary upon it, and since whose time no considerable alterations have been made in it. And it is remarkable that Irenæus introduces this creed into his Treatise on Heresy, as a proof that the persons he wrote against were condemned by it: and in those parts of his work he condemns none but the Gnostics. Accordingly we read in Optatus, that “heretics deserted the sacred *symbol*,”* for so this creed was called, and this was not true of any set of persons whatever, besides the Gnostics.

We have accounts of this creed in two different places of the work of Irenæus; and though it is evident that he does not give this creed in the very words in which it was delivered to the catechumens, (indeed the two copies of the creed that he does give, differing considerably from each other, is a proof that he did not mean to give the creed itself, but only a commentary upon it,) it is easy to perceive, by his gloss, what was the real object of each article in it, and for this purpose I shall recite both his copies.

“He who holds, without swerving, the rule of truth which he received at baptism, will understand the names, phrases and parables of the Scriptures, and will not receive this blasphemous hypothesis.—The churches planted by the apostles, and their disciples, to the end of the earth, received that faith which is in one God, the Father Almighty, who made the heavens and the earth, and the sea, and all things that are in them; and in one Jesus Christ, the Son of God, incarnate for our salvation; and in the Holy Spirit, who preached by the prophets the dispensation of the gospel, and the coming, and the birth by a virgin, and his sufferings and resurrection from the dead, and the ascent of our beloved Lord Jesus Christ into heaven in the flesh, and his return from heaven in the glory of the Father, to complete all things, and to raise all the flesh of mankind; that to Christ Jesus, our Lord and God, and Saviour, and king, according

* “Heretici vero, veritatis exules, sani et verissimi symboli desertores.” L. i. p. 13. (P.) On the term *symbol*, see “A playne and godly Exposition of the Common Crede—by the famous Clarke Master Erasmus of Roterdame,” 1538 pp. 10, 11. Also *Crit. Hist.* pp. 6—12.

to the will of the invisible Father, every knee might bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth; that every tongue should confess to him, and that he should judge all in righteousness; that he might send into everlasting fire spiritual wickedness, the angels who transgressed and who apostatized, the ungodly, the wicked, and lawless and blasphemous men; but give life immortal, and eternal glory, to the righteous, the holy and those who keep his commandments, those who remain in his love from the beginning, and also those who repent.”*

The other copy, if it may be so called, of the baptismal creed, is shorter than this, but to the same purpose; representing all Christians as believing “in one God, the maker of heaven and earth, and of all things that are therein, by Jesus Christ, the Son of God, who, from his great love to his creatures, submitted to be born of a virgin; he by himself uniting man to God, and suffered under Pontius Pilate; and having risen again, and being received into glory, will come to save those who are saved, and to judge those who are judged, and send into everlasting fire those who change the truth, and despise the Father and his coming.”†

The articles in our present creed to which those in these two glosses correspond, are easily perceived to be the following: “I believe in God the Father Almighty, maker of

* Οὕτω δὲ καὶ ὁ τὸν κανόνα τῆς ἀληθείας ἀκλήνη ἐν ἑαυτῷ καλεχων, ὃν διὰ τὴ βαπτισματικῆς εἰληφε, τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῶν γραφῶν νομαλα, καὶ τὰς λέξεις, καὶ τὰς παραβολὰς ἐπιγνώσεται, τὴν δὲ βλασφημῶν ὑποδέσειν ταύτην ἢ ἐπιγνώσεται.

HMEN γὰρ ἐκλήθησα, καίπερ καθ' ὅλης τῆς οἰκουμένης ἕως περὶ τῶν τῆς γῆς διεσπαρμένη, παρὰ δὲ τῶν ἀποστόλων, καὶ τῶν ἐκείνων μαθητῶν παραλαβέσα τὴν εἰς ἓνα Θεόν, Πατέρα πάντοκρατορα, τὴν πεποιηκότα τὸν ἔρανον, καὶ τὴν γῆν, καὶ τὰς θάλασσας, καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αἰτοῖς, πῆσιν· καὶ εἰς ἓνα Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν, τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, τὸν σαρκῶθέντα ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡμέτερας σιλῆριας· καὶ εἰς Πνεῦμα ἅγιον, τὸ διὰ τῶν προφητῶν κεκρυχὸς τὰς οἰκονομίας, καὶ τὰς εἰσεις, καὶ τὴν ἐκ παρθενοῦ γενεσιν, καὶ τὸ παῖδος καὶ τὴν ἐγερσιν ἐκ νεκρῶν, καὶ τὴν ἐνσαρκίαν εἰς τὴς ἡμέτερας ἀναλήψιν τοῦ ἡγαπημένου Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν, καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῶν ἡμερῶν ἐν τῇ διέξῃ τοῦ Πατρὸς παρθεσίαν αὐτοῦ, ἐπὶ τὸ ἀνακεφαλαιωσάσθαι τὰ πάντα, καὶ ἀναστῆσαι πᾶσαν σάρκα πᾶσης ἀνθρώπινης, ἵνα Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν, καὶ Θεῷ, καὶ σωτῆρι, καὶ βασιλεῖ, κατὰ τὴν εὐδοκίαν τοῦ Πατρὸς τοῦ ἀορατοῦ, πάντων γόνων καμψῆ ἐπερανίαν καὶ ἐπιγείων καὶ καταχθόνιων, καὶ πᾶσα γλῶσσα ἐξομολογησῆται αὐτῷ, καὶ κρίσιν δικαίαν ἐν τοῖς πᾶσι ποιησῆται· τὰ μὲν πνευματικὰ τῆς πονηρίας, καὶ ἀλγέλης παραβέβηκτοτας, καὶ ἐν ἀποστασίᾳ γεγονότας, καὶ τὴς ἀσεβείας, καὶ ἀδικίας, καὶ ἀνομίας, καὶ βλασφημίας τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰς τὸ αἰῶνιον πῦρ πεμψῆ· τοῖς δὲ δικαίοις, καὶ ὁσίοις, καὶ τὰς ἐντολάς αὐτοῦ τητήρηκοσι, καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀγαπῇ αὐτοῦ διαμεμενηκοσι τοῖς ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, τοῖς δὲ ἐκ μετανοίας, ζῶντες χαρίσασθαι, ἀβύδασιαν δωρησῆται, καὶ δοξᾶν αἰῶνιαν περιποιήσῃ. L. i. C. ii. pp. 44, 45. (P.)

† “In unum Deum credentes fabricatorem cœli et terræ, et omnium quæ in eis sunt, per Christum Jesum Dei Filium. Qui propter eminentissimam erga figmentum suum dilectionem, eam quæ esset ex virgine generationem sustinuit, ut se per se hominem adiuvans Deo, et passus sub Pontio Pilato, et resurgens et in claritate receptus in gloria, venturus salvator eorum qui salvantur, et iudex eorum qui judicantur, et mittens in ignem transfiguratores veritatis, et contemptores Patris sui et adventus ejus.” L. iii. C. iv. p. 206. (P.) On *Baptismal Creeds*, See Lord King's *Inquiry*, Pt. ii. Ch. iii. Sect. v. vi.

heaven and earth, and in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord, who was conceived by the Holy Spirit, born of the Virgin Mary, suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried. The third day he rose from the dead, he ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of God the Father Almighty, from thence he shall come to judge the living and the dead." To these perhaps may be added the article which, in a still more explicit manner, expresses the resurrection of the dead, or, as it was more anciently expressed, *of the flesh*.

These are certainly all the articles to which those in the two glosses of Irenæus can be supposed to correspond; and nothing can be more evident than that every one of them was intended to exclude the Gnostics, except, perhaps, that which speaks of Christ as *born of a virgin*. But even this might not be intended to describe the *birth* of Christ in such a manner as to exclude those who thought it natural, so much as to assert that he was really and properly *born*, in opposition to those Gnostics who said that he was not properly born, as he took nothing from his mother. As we learn from Origen that there were even in the Gentile church some persons who did not believe the miraculous conception, and as this is only a gloss upon the creed given by Irenæus, who did believe it, and thought it to be of considerable importance, we cannot be sure that this article, in its present form, was in the creed as it was made use of in his time. At most, this article could only be intended to exclude from christian communion those Unitarians who disbelieved the miraculous conception, and by no means those who *did* believe it, which is the case of almost all the Unitarians of the present age.

Indeed the fact, which is universally acknowledged, viz. that great numbers of Unitarians were in communion with the catholic church, before and after the time of Irenæus, sufficiently proves that the proper creed, to which all Christians gave their consent, did not contain any articles that must (if they had any operation or effect) have excluded them. The learned Dr. Grabe supposes that the article concerning the miraculous conception was not in the early baptismal creeds, but was reserved for a head of instruction after baptism.*

All the other articles above-mentioned are acknowledged, by the learned writer of the *History of the Apostles' Creed*,

* "Annotata in Bulli Judicium," C. vi. *Bulli Opera*, p. 339. (P.)

to be directed against the Gnostics, who did not believe that the maker of heaven and earth was the Father of Jesus Christ, that Jesus was the Christ, that he was ever properly born, or suffered, and who did not believe in a resurrection or future judgment.* If it be thought that any of these articles, or any clause in them, was not originally intended to exclude the Gnostics, at least it cannot be said that they were intended to exclude any other set of men, but to express such facts, or principles, as were believed by all Christians.

Dr. Sykes observes, that since these two creeds of Irenæus do not agree in words, nor consist of the same articles, but differ in many instances, they cannot be looked upon as creeds of any church, but as summaries of the doctrines of Christianity drawn up in this author's own form.† However, though they certainly, for these reasons, are not creeds in words and form, they are evidently the writer's gloss or comment on some actual creed, and allude to the particular articles of one.

The next copies of the creed, or at least something like it, we find in the writings of Tertullian; who gives us *three* of them, all very different from each other, and from those of Irenæus: two of them evidently diffuse glosses, and more likely to be so, as they are introduced into treatises against particular heresies; the other more simple, and, being inserted in a treatise relating to practice, is more likely to approach nearer to the real creed proposed to the catechumens in his time. It is as follows: "The rule of faith is only one, admitting of no change or emendation, requiring us to believe in one God Almighty, the maker of the world; and in his Son Jesus Christ, born of the Virgin Mary, crucified under Pontius Pilate, raised from the dead on the third day, received up into heaven, now sitting at the right hand of the Father, and who will come again to judge both the living and the dead, even by the resurrection of the flesh. This law of faith remaining, other things, being matters of discipline and conduct, admit of new corrections, the grace of God co-operating.‡

* See Lord King's *Crit. Hist.* Ch. ii. iii.

† "An Inquiry when the Resurrection of the Body, or Flesh, was first inserted into the public Creeds," 1757. (P. See Disney's *Mem. of Sykes*, p. 345.)

‡ Regula quidem fidei una omninò est, sola, immobilis et irreformabilis, credendi scilicet in unicum Deum, omnipotentem, mundi conditorem, et Filium eius Jesum Christum, natum ex Virgine Maria, crucifixum sub Pontio Pilato, tertà die resuscitatum à mortuis, receptum in cælis, sedentem nunc ad dextram Patris, venturum iudicare vivos et mortuos, per carnis etiam resurrectionem. Hæc lege fidei manente.

This creed contains no articles that are not contained in the creed of Irenæus, except the more distinct mention of the resurrection of the flesh, which it is well known all the Gnostics denied; so that there can be no doubt of its having been directed against them.

The second creed of Tertullian occurs in his treatise *De Prescriptione*, in which he combats the Gnostic doctrine; and therefore he enlarges upon the several articles, with a view to make it more evidently levelled against them. The rule of faith is that by which we are taught to believe that there is but one God, and this no other than the maker of the world, who produced every thing out of nothing by his own word, then first sent down; that that word was called his Son, that he appeared variously in the name (i. e. in the character) of God, to the patriarchs, that he was afterwards conveyed by the Spirit and power of God the Father, into the Virgin Mary; that he was made flesh in her womb, and from her appeared in the person of Jesus Christ: that he thence preached a new law, and a new promise of the kingdom of heaven; that he performed miracles, was fixed to the cross, rose again on the third day, was taken up into heaven, sat at the right hand of the Father, sent the power of the Holy Spirit, in his place, to inspire believers; that he will come with glory to take the saints to inherit eternal life, and the celestial promises, and to judge the wicked to everlasting fire, being raised again in their flesh.* Admitting this to have been the genuine creed, every article in it is still more evidently pointed at the Gnostics.

The third copy of the creed, or rather another gloss upon it, is found in Tertullian's Treatise against Praxeas; and being a gloss, the object of it is evidently to make it express more clearly his own doctrine of the personification of the *logos*, which Praxeas denied. It is as follows: "We believe

caetera in disciplina et conversationis, admittunt novitatem correctionis, operante scilicet et proficiente usque ad finem gratiâ Dei." *De Virginibus velandis*, Sect. i. p. 173. P.

* "Regula est autem fidei, ut jam hinc quid defendamus profiteamur, illa scilicet quâ creditur unum omninò Deum esse; nec alium præter mundi conditorem; qui universa de nihilo produxerit, per verbum suum primo omnium demissum: id verbum filium ejus appellatum, in nomine Dei variè visum à patriarchis, in prophetis semper auditum, postremo delatum ex spiritu Patris, Dei et virtute, in Virginem Mariam, carnem factum in utero ejus, et ex ea natum egisse [exisse] Jesum Christum; exinde prædicasse novam legem, et novam promissionem regni caelorum; virtutes fecisse, fixum cruce; tertia die resurrexisse; in caelos ereptum sedisse ad dextram Patris; misisse vicarium vim Spiritus Sancti, qui credentes agit; venturum cum claritate, ad sumendos sanctos in vitæ æternæ et promissorum celestium fructum, et ad profanos adjudicandos igni perpetuo, facta utriusque partis resuscitatione cum carnis restitutione." Sect. xiii. p. 206. {P.}

in one God, but under that dispensation which we call the œconomy; so that there is also a Son of this one God, his word, who proceeded from him, by whom all things were made, and without whom nothing was made that was made; that he was sent by the Father into a virgin, and of her born man and God, the Son of man and the Son of God, and called Jesus Christ; that he suffered, died, and was buried, according to the Scriptures; that he was raised by the Father, and taken up into heaven; that he sits at the right hand of the Father, and that he will come to judge the living and the dead; who thence, according to his promise, sent from the Father the Holy Spirit, the comforter, and the sanctifier of the faith of those who believe in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit.*

Of the other articles which were added to the creed afterwards, an account may be seen in the learned *History of the Creed* mentioned above, and it is very apparent that they were all levelled at particular heresies; but all the original articles of the creed were calculated to exclude the Gnostics, and not one of them can be said to affect the Unitarians, especially if they believed the miraculous conception, as I may have occasion to observe more particularly hereafter. At present I produce these creeds with a view to shew how soon the Christian church took the alarm at the principles of the Gnostics, and how careful they were to take all the methods in their power to keep them out of the church.

It appears, from Cyril of Jerusalem, that the use that was made of the creed was to interrogate each of the candidates for baptism, whether they believed the several articles of it.†

I shall conclude this account of the creed, with observing that, in the Apostolical Constitutions, which were probably written in the fourth century, we have a very short and simple creed proposed. For it is there said, that “the faith of Christians is, to believe that there is one Almighty God,

* “Unicum quidem Deum credimus, sub hæc tamen dispensatione quam œconomiam dicimus, ut unici Dei sit et Filius sermo ipsius, qui ex ipso processerit, per quem omnia facta sunt, et sine quo factum est nihil; hunc missum à Patre in virginem, et ex ea natum hominem et Deum, Filium hominis et Filium Dei, et cognominatum Jesum Christum. Hunc passum, hunc mortuum, et sepultum, secundum Scripturas; et resuscitatum à Patre, et in cœlos resumptum, sedere ad dextram Patris, venturum judicare vivos et mortuos, qui exinde miserit, secundum promissionem suam, à Patre Spiritum Sanctum, paraclctum, sanctificatorem fidelium, et eorum qui credunt in Patrem et Filium, et Spiritum Sanctum. Hanc regulam de unitio evangelii decucurrisset,” &c. *Ad Praxeam*, Sect. ii. p. 501. (P.)

† Μέγα ταῦτα ἐπὶ τὴν ἀγιαν τὴν θεὸν βαπτίσματος ἐχειραγωγείσθαι καὶ μετῴρθαν, ὡς ὁ Χριστὸς ἀπὸ τῆς σαύρας ἐπὶ τὸ ἀποκειμενὸν μνημαῖ· καὶ πρώτῳ ἕκαστος εἰ πιστεύει εἰς τὸν ἀγιαν τὸν Πατέρα, καὶ τὸν Ὑἱόν, καὶ τὸν ἀγιαν Πνευματικόν. *Cat. Myst.* ii. p. 285. (P.)

and no other, and that he alone is to be worshipped, by Jesus Christ, in the holy spirit.”*

In the times in which the doctrine of the Trinity was much agitated, the articles of the Apostles' Creed were not thought to be sufficient; and some of the more zealous bishops proposed the Nicene Creed, and other tests, to those who were in communion with them. Theodoret made his catechumens recite the Nicene Creed at baptism.† Epiphanius also proposed a large creed to be used at baptism, in opposition to heretics.‡ But this practice does not appear to have been general. A copy of the Apostles' Creed, much enlarged, with a kind of comment, may be seen in the works of Cyril of Alexandria.§

CHAPTER VI.

OF THE DOCTRINE OF PLATO CONCERNING GOD, AND THE GENERAL SYSTEM OF NATURE.

IT will be seen, that what was called *orthodox* Christianity, after the Council of Nice, had received a considerable tinge from the tenets of Gnosticism, of which a view has been given in the last Section. But the proper source of it was the philosophy of Plato.

The doctrine of the *personification* of the *logos*, or the divine intellect, consisting of the attributes of wisdom, power, &c. was certainly introduced by the Platonists, and from them it was adopted by the Christian fathers: but it appears to me, from a pretty careful examination of the writings of Plato, that this was not done by himself, though the confusion of his ideas gave occasion to it in his followers.

According to Plato, the universe was made by the supreme

* Θεὸν παλιγκρατῆρα ἕνα μόνον διουχεν, παρ' ὃν ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστι, καὶ αἰὼν μόνον σέβειν καὶ πιστεύειν, διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν, ἐν τῷ παναγιῷ πνεύματι. Constitut. Apost. l. vi. p. 343. (P.)

† Τὸ ἐγὼ καθ' ἑκάστην εἰς τὸ παναγιὸν πνεῦμα τῆς βαπτισματικῆς, τὴν ἐκτεθεισάν ἐν Νικαίᾳ, πάντα τὰς ἀγιῶν καὶ μακαρίων πατέρων τῆσιν ἐκμαρτυράμεν παρασκευάζομεν καμψαργαγῶδες καὶ ὡς πιστοειχόμενοι, βαπτίζομεν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, ἑνῆς ἑκαστὴν πιστοργαγῶν πιστοφρονῶν. Epist. cxlv. Opera, III. p. 1023. (P.)

‡ Anacratius, Sect. cxxi. Opera, II. p. 123. (P.)

§ Opera, II. p. 600. (P.)

¶ The remainder of this Chapter, except the four last paragraphs, is copied, with some enlargements and corrections, from the author's Essay "Of the Doctrine of Plato concerning God, and the general System of Nature," in the *Theol. Repos.* IV. pp. 77—97. See *supra*, p. 12.

God, whom he often styles *αγαθόν*, or *the good*, without the instrumentality of any subordinate being whatever, only making it according to a pattern previously formed in his own mind. Language to this effect is frequent in his writings; but there is a manifest confusion in his account of the *ideas of the divine mind*, by means of which the plan of the universe was formed; so that he sometimes makes them to be a *second* principle of things, and the world itself, which was produced from those ideas, a *third* principle. But I do not find that he ever proceeded so far as to make the divine mind, *πρῶτος*, or *λογόν*, a *second God*, a distinct intelligent being.

The *Demiurgus*, or immediate maker of the world, according to the following passage, was evidently the supreme Being himself, and not any subordinate agent or principle whatever. “You will say,” says he, “that all animals that are produced, and perishable, and which formerly were not, either have their origin from some god, who made them, or according to the opinion of the vulgar. What opinion? That nature produced them as a self-moving cause, without (*διανοία*) intelligence; or with a divine knowledge, and reason (*λογόν*) which comes from God.”*

I have not met with any passage more favourable to the doctrine of a *second God*, employed in making the world, in all the writings of Plato, than this; and yet it is evident that the *logos* here spoken of, as that by which God made the universe, was, in his idea, synonymous with *διανοία* and *επιστήμη*, or his *understanding*, and by no means any other proper person or agent.

That, in Plato's idea, it was the supreme Being who himself accomplished the work of creation, is evident from his representation of him as rejoicing at the conclusion of it. “When he saw the system in motion, and considered the beautiful image of the eternal gods, the generating Father rejoiced, and was glad, and thought to make it more to resemble the pattern.”† The resemblance between this passage and that of Moses, Gen. i. 31, “And God saw every thing that he had made, and, behold, it was very good,” is very striking; so that it is no wonder that many

* *Ξενόν*. Ζωα δὴ πάντα θνητὰ καὶ φθιτὰ—μὴν ἄλλο τινὸς ἢ Θεοῦ δημιουργοῦντι φησόμεν ἕτερον γιγνεσθαι, πούτερον ἐκ οὐδ' ἢ τῶ των πολλῶν ὁσμῶν καὶ ῥημάτων ἡρώμεν ὁ, Θεοῦντι. Πρωτὸν Ξενόν. Τῶ τῆν φύσιν αὐτὰ γενῶν, ἀπο τινὸς αἰτίας αὐτοματῆς, καὶ ἀνευ διανοῆς φησῆς, ἢ μετὰ λογῶ τε, καὶ ἐπιστήμης θείας, ἀπο Θεοῦ γιγνομενης. *Sophistes*, p. 114. (P.)

† Ὅς τε κινήσεν τε αὐτὸ καὶ ζῶν ἐγενήσῃ, των αἰδίων θεων γενομενον ἀγαθῶν, ὁ γεννησας Πατήρ ἡγασθη τε, καὶ εὐφρανθεις εἰν δε μᾶλλον ὄμειν πρὸς τὸ τελευτεῖνμα ἐπενενοσεν ἀπεργασεσθαι. *Timæus*, p. 480. (P.)

persons should have thought that Plato had seen the writings of Moses, and copied from them. But I think that if Plato had taken *this* from Moses, he would have taken more: and in other respects the theology of Plato is very different indeed from that of Moses, though they both agree in representing the supreme Being himself as having made all things by his own power, and to have pronounced them very good.

That the supreme Being himself is the *Demiurgus* according to Plato, and not any subordinate being, is also evident from this passage: "Nothing can be produced without a cause, for when the *Demiurgus* looks to what is always the same," (meaning the images of things always existing in his mind,) "and making use of this as a pattern, produces into act his idea and power, every thing must necessarily be finished in the most perfect manner."*

Plato never distinguishes the *Demiurgus* from the creator of the world, as his followers and the Christian fathers were careful to do; and with respect to all the *immortal beings*, Plato introduces the supreme Being as solemnly addressing them, and calling himself their *Demiurgus*, "Gods of gods, of whom I am the Maker, and the Father of the works, which are made by myself,"† &c.

Much has been said concerning the *Platonic logos*; but if by this be meant a person distinct from the being whose *logos* it is, we must not look for it in the writings of Plato himself, but in those of his followers. According to Plato, *logos* has only two acceptations, viz. those of *speech*, and of *reason*, such as is found in man. Having spoken of one *logos* as infirm, and standing in need of assistance, he says, "there is *another logos*, the natural brother of this, much better, and more powerful, viz. that which is written with knowledge in the mind of the learner, able to help itself, knowing with whom to speak, and with whom to be silent. *Phad.* You mean the living and animated *logos* of an intelligent person, of which that which is written may be justly called the image."‡ This is evidently a description (though a very poor one) of *reason*, as a faculty of the mind, and by no means that of a person.

* Παν γὰρ τι γενναῖον χάρις αὐτῷ γενέσθω σθένει. Ὅταν μὲν ἢ ὁ Δημιουργὸς, πρὸς τὰ κατὰ ταῦτα ἔχει θέσπαι, αἰετὸν δὲ τῶν προχομένων ἔχει παραδειγματῆα, τὴν ἰδέαν καὶ ἰδὲν αὐτὸν ἀπειραζέσθαι, καὶ αὐτὸν ἑσθλῶς ἀπέθεισθαι πᾶν. Timæus, p. 477. (P.)

† Θεοὶ θεῶν, πατέρες ἔργων, ἐκ τῶν ὧν ἐγὼ γίνομαι. Ibid. p. 481. (P.)

‡ Δὲν. Τὸ βεβαίον ἴσμεν λόγον τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἡμεῶν τῶν τοσούτων γενέσθαι, καὶ ὅσα ἀμεινῶν καὶ ἰσχυροτέρων τῶν φησὶν.—Ὅς μετ' ἐπιστήμης γράφεσθαι ἐν τῇ τῷ μανθανούσῳ ψυχῇ, οὐκ αὐτὸν μὲν αὐτῶν ἰσχυρῶν, ἐπιστήμην τε λέγειν τε καὶ σίγααν πρὸς ἑσθλῶν. Φαιδ. Τὸν τῷ αὐτῷ λόγον μετὰ ζῴον καὶ ἀνεπίστων. Phæd. p. 213. (P.)

Plato makes the same distinction in his *Theætetus*. After defining one *logos* to mean speech, he says of another, "They who think rightly, are said to think *with logos*, and there can be no right opinion without knowledge."* In this passage he is describing a property of the mind of man; but there can be no doubt of his having the same idea of the constitution of the divine mind, as he no where supposes that there is, in this respect, any difference between them, which the Christian fathers very particularly point out. For, according to them, the *divine logos* became a permanent principle or person, which the *human logos* could not be.

The term $\nu\epsilon\varsigma$ is another denomination of the *logos*, signifying the *intelligence* or *wisdom* of God; but I find no personification of this principle, in Plato. One of his definitions of it is the following: " $\Nu\epsilon\varsigma$ is either the same thing with truth, or exceedingly like to it."† This is far from being an accurate definition; but there is by no means any personification in it, and Plato makes no difference between the mind of man and that of God, in this respect.

The things to which there is the greatest appearance of Plato giving a permanent existence, as *original principles of things*, are the *ideas in the divine mind*, from which was formed the *exemplar* or *pattern* of the visible world. But if all that he has advanced on this subject (with respect to which his own ideas were far from being clear) be attended to, it will be perceived, that by *ideas* he meant what we may call the *elements*, or rather the *objects*, of real knowledge, of which the minds of philosophers, as well as the divine mind, were possessed. But by *ideas* he did not mean what we now do by that term, viz. the image left in the mind by the impression of external objects.

"If understanding and right opinion," he says, "be two species of things, there must be things that are not perceived by our senses, but by the understanding only."‡ Then, asserting that understanding and right opinion are two species of things, he says, that "of one of these (meaning *right opinion*) all men are capable; but of the former, viz. $\nu\epsilon\varsigma$, or *understanding*, only the gods and a few men are capable." Admitting this distinction, he says, "it will follow, that there must be a species of things" (meaning, no

* Ὅσοι τι ὀρθῶν δοξαῖζεσι πάντως αὐτῶ φανέντιαι μετὰ λόγῳ ἐχούτες, καὶ ἕταμα ἐπὶ ὀρθῆ ἰδέῃ χάρις ἐπιστήμης γενήσεται. *Theætetus*, p. 94. (P.)

† Νεῖς δὲ ἤτοι ταύτων καὶ ἀληθείαι ἐστίν, ἢ πάντων ὁμοιωταίων καὶ ἀληθευσαίων. *Philebus*, p. 175. (P.)

‡ Εἰ μὲν νεῖς καὶ δοξα ἀληθείης ἐστὶν δύο γενεῖ, πάντα πασι εἶναι κατὰ αὐτὰ ταῦτα ἀνασθηῖα ἢ ἡμῶν, εἶδη, νοκμενα μόνον. *Timæus*, p. 485. (P.)

doubt, his *ideas*) “not subject to generation or destruction, receiving nothing from without, nor ever leaving their seat, to go to any thing that is without, and which the understanding alone can look into.”*

Aristotle, in his animadversions on the ideas of Plato, gives the same account of the origin of this hypothesis, but he explains it more intelligibly. “The doctrine of *ideas*,” he says, “was advanced by those who were convinced by the reasoning of Heraclitus, that all sensible things are always flowing” (or changing), “so that if there be any such thing as real knowledge,” (which was supposed to require a fixed object,) “there must be things of a different nature from those that are the objects of our senses. They must be fixed, for there can be no proper knowledge of things that are flowing.”†

Such were the wretched metaphysics, undeserving of any confutation at this day, on which this sublime doctrine of ideas was founded.

To this system of *ideas*, existing in the divine mind, Plato elsewhere gives the name of the *invisible and intelligible world*; and he is here contrasting it with the visible world, of which it was the *type* or pattern; saying, “there is a second, similar to this, and bearing the same name,” (viz. that of *world*. κόσμος, which means the whole visible system, and not this earth in particular,) “that is perceived by the senses, generated, always in motion, in some place, subject also to destruction, and apprehended by *opinion*”‡ (which he makes to be a different thing from *understanding*) “and the *senses*.” Then, after having spoken of these two principles, the visible and invisible worlds, he speaks of a *third thing*, “which affords place for every thing, is not subject to corruption; a thing that is to be conceived without being felt, and not easily to be understood.”§ By this he can mean nothing but either *space*, or, if his meaning may be explained

* Και τῆ μὲν πάντα ἀνδρα μετεχειν φησιν, τῆ δὲ θεῶν, ἀνθρώπων δὲ γενέσθαι, βραχὺς τι. Τῶν δὲ αὐτὰ ἐχόντων, ὁμολογήσειεν μὲν εἶναι τὸ κατὰ αὐτὰ ἐχόν εἶδος, ἀγεννητὸν καὶ ἀναλλοτῶν ὡς εἰς αὐτὸ εἰς δεχόμενον ἄλλο ἀλλόθεν, ἥτε αὐτὸ εἰς ἀλλοποῖον ἰόν, ἀσάτον τε καὶ ἀκλίσι ἀναίσθητον ἥτε, ὃ δὴ νοήσις εἰληγεῖ ἐπιστατικῶν. Timæus, p. 485. (P.)

† Συνεχὴ δὲ περὶ τῶν εἰδῶν δοξα τοῖς ἐπιστήται, διὰ τὸ πεισθῆναι περὶ τῆς ἀληθείας τοῖς Πλατωνικοῖς λογίσι, ὡς πάντων αἰσθητῶν αἰε ρεῖντων ὡς τε εἴπερ ἐπιστήμη τίνος ἐστὶν καὶ φρονήσις, ἴτερας τινὰς δεῖν φησὶν εἶναι παρὰ τὰς αἰσθήτας, μὲνσας ἢ γὰρ εἶναι τῶν βραχίων ἐπιστήμων. Metaphysica, L. xii. C. iv. Opera, II. p. 749. (P.)

‡ Το δὲ ἰμάντων, ὁμοῖον τε ἐκείνῃ, δευτέρων αἰσθητῶν, γεννητῶν, πεφρασμένοι, αἰε, γιγνομένων ἐν τῶν τόπῳ, καὶ πάλιν ἐκείθεν ἀπολλυμένων, δοξῆ μετ’ αἰσθησεως περιληπίον. Ibid. (P.)

§ Τρίτων δὲ ἀν γενέσθαι, ὅτι τὸ γὰρ χάραξ αἰε φιδόρας ἢ προσδεχόμενον, εδραν δὲ παρέχον ἴσα ἐχει γενεσὶν πασῶν, αὐτὸ δὲ μετ’ ἀναίσθησίας ἀπὸν λογισμῶ τινι νοῦσῳ μοχλὸς πῶτον. Timæus, p. 485. (P.)

by Timæus Locrus, his master, or Proclus, his commentator, *primeval matter*, from which all things were made.

The latter, explaining this passage in the writings of Plato, says, that “ he calls the *το ὄν* the father, and matter, the mother and nurse of the creation.”*

Plato distinguishes these three things more distinctly in the following manner: “ There are three things to be distinguished; the thing produced, that in which it is produced, and that from which it was produced, and from which it took its likeness. To use a comparison, we may call that which receives, the *mother*, that from which it was derived, the *father*, and the offspring between them, is *nature*.” †

If there be a proper *Platonic trinity* (and all the ancients seem to have been fond of the number *three*), the three things or principles above-mentioned seem to be more distinctly marked than any other *ternary* in the writings of Plato, viz. the divine intellect, or system of ideas, here called the father, the visible world the child, and *matter* the mother. But this is far from being a trinity of persons in the Divine Being. Primeval matter he afterwards characterizes in a more diffuse and figurative manner, saying, that “ it is the receptacle of the universe, neither earth, nor fire, nor water, nor any thing made out of them, or of which they are made, but containing all things; which is, in an inexplicable manner, capable of an intelligible nature, not to be comprehended by itself.” ‡

There are two passages in the works of Plato from which Cyril of Alexandria pretends to prove that “ the Greeks extended the divine nature to three hypostases, and that God had a *logos*.” § The first is from the *Epinomis*; but this appears to me to be little to his purpose. For, in that place, Plato having spoken of the heavenly bodies performing their revolutions about this visible world, says, “ which the most divine *logos* has established.” || This is nothing more than if he had said, the divine Power, or the divine Being himself, made the world.

* Και γαρ οὐκί το μεν ὄν πατέρα, τὴν δὲ ἕλην μητέρα, καὶ τιθῆναι ἐκονομαζέι τῆς γενεαυίας. In *Platonem*, L. i. C. xx. p. 69. (P.)

† Ἐν δὲ ἐν ταῖς παρῶντι χρῆ γενῆ διανοηθῆναι τρεῖς, το μεν γιγνομενον, το δε εν φ γιγνεται, τὸ δε ὄθεν ἀφομοιωμενον, φησεται το γιγνομενον. Καὶ δε και προσεικασαι πρεπει, το μεν δεχμενον μητρι, το δε ὄθεν πατρι, τὴν δε μεταξυ τῆτων φυσιν εἰργονα νοησαι τε. Ibid. (P.)

‡ Διο τὴν τε γεγονOTOS ὄρατε, καὶ παντως αἰσθητε μητέρα τι ὑποδοχὴν, μήτε γῆν, μήτε ἕρα, μήτε πῦρ, μήτε ὕδωρ λεγομεν, μήτε ὅσα εκ τῆτων, μήτε ἐξ ὧν ταυτα γεγονειν, ἀλλ' ἀκαρτων εἶδος τι, καὶ αἰμορφον, πανδεχες· μεταλαμβάνων δε ἀπορωτάτα πῆ τε νοητε, καὶ διασταλωτάτων αὐτο λεγοντες, ἢ ψευσομεθα. Timæus, p. 485. (P.)

§ Cou. Jul. L. viii. *Juliani Op.* II, p. 271. (P.)

|| Κόσμιον ὄν εταξε Λογὸς ὁ παντων θειωτατος ὄρατον. Opera, p. 702. (P.)

The other passage is a very obscure one, at the close of the epistle to Hermias, Erastus and Coriscus, in which mention is made of "God the governor of all things," and also of his Father; but as no explanation is added, his meaning is not easily discovered. Writing to the three persons above-mentioned, and expressing his wish that their friendship might remain unalterable, he advises them, among other methods, to take a joint oath, "by God the governor of all things that are, and that are to come, and the Lord the Father of the governor, and of the cause, whom, if we truly philosophize, we shall all know, as far as happy men can attain to."*

If the construction of the Greek be attended to, we shall see that such a distinction is not made between the governor and the Father as we should have expected, if they had been distinct persons. It will be seen that a person being his own father occurs in the writings of the later Platonists, and the conclusion of this passage speaks of no more than one person.

But though Plato himself did not proceed so far as to personify these ideas, or any thing else belonging to the divine mind, it may easily be conceived how this might come to be done by his followers, especially from their calling these ideas, the causes, as well as principles, of things. Diogenes Laertius, in his Life of Plato, says, that he made the terms idea, form, kind, pattern, principle and cause (as I think, his words are most naturally rendered into English) to be synonymous.† "Ideas, he supposed to be causes, and principles, of things being naturally what they are."‡ It also appears from Aristotle, that ideas were usually called the causes of things; and the notion of a cause, and that of a proper author or person, are nearly allied. It being a favourite principle with the ancients, that the divine mind was immoveable, and therefore could not go forth to the work of creation, but that something else must do this; this second principle seems to have been personified for this purpose. But this was not done by Plato; for he made ideas to be as immoveable as the divine mind itself. In the affected mysterious way of expressing himself, which he frequently

* Επαμεινντας—και των παντων θεων ηγεμονα των τε οντων και των μελλουσων, τη τε ηγεμονια και πατρι- Πατερα, Κιριον, επομεινντας, ον, αν οντως φιλοσοφωμεν, ειστοιμεν παντες παφας, εις εναντην αιδροπον εισαμμωναν. (P.)

† Την γε εν ιδεαν, και ειως νοημαζει, και γενος, και παραδειγμα, και αρχην, και αιτιον. Νυν Platonis, p. 225. (P.)

‡ Τις δε ιδεας εφισταται, οτις τις τινας, και αρχαις, τε τωαντ' ειναι τα φησει συνεσωτα ισταται εση αιτα. Ibid. p. 222. (P.)

adopted, he says, that "idea" (for he sometimes used this term in the singular, and sometimes in the plural number) "neither moves nor remains;" meaning, perhaps, that it had no relation to space, and that "it is both one and many."*

The Christian fathers have called the second principle, or *logos*, the Son, and the supreme Being himself the Father; but in the system of Plato, the sun has the appellation of *εργον*†, or the offspring of the Deity; and in one place the whole universe is called his only-begotten Son. "The sun," he says, "he created analogous to himself; for he himself in the intellectual world bears the same relation to the mind, and the things perceived by the mind, that the sun in the visible world bears to the eye, and the objects perceived by the eye."‡

His explanation of this analogy displays much confusion in his ideas on the subject. "As the sun," he says, "gives the eye a power of seeing, and the objects a power of being seen: so that which gives truth to things that are known, and power" (that is, of knowing) "to him that knows, is the idea of the good" (or of God) "being the cause of knowledge and of truth, as perceived by the mind."‡

Plotinus has the same idea, viz. that the good is both the cause of being, and of its appearing to be; just as the sun is both the cause of sensible things, and also of their being perceived by the senses, though itself be neither sight nor sensible things.§

Plato also says, that "as light and vision resemble the sun, but are not the sun, so knowledge and truth resemble the good, but are not the good; the good itself being something more venerable."|| In this and the preceding passage, it is observable, that he makes the good, and the

* Και την ιδεαν, ουτε κινημενον, ουτε μενον' και ταυτο, και εν, και πολλα. Vita Platouis, p. 25. (P.)

† Ταυτον τοιουν, ην δ' εργα, φαναι με λεγειν τον τε αγαθον εκγονον, ον τ' αγαθον εγεννησεν ανηλικον εαυτου, ο, τιπερ αυτο εν τω νοητω τοπω προς τε νην και τα νοημενα, ουτος ουτον εν τω δεσπτη προς τε οφιν και τα δραμμενα. De Rep. L. vi. p. 433. (P.)

‡ Ταυτο ταυτον τη την αληθειαν παρεχειν της γιγνωσκουμενης, και τη γιγνωσκουτη την δυναμιν αποδιδον, την τε αγαθη ιδεαν φασι ειναι, αιτιαν δ' επισημης εσαν και αληθειας, ως γιγνωσκουμενης μεν δια νε. Ibid. (P.)

§ Δια ταυτο η υμνη λεγεται της -σιας αλλα και τε λευτθαι αυτην αιτιος εκεινος ειναι: ασπες δε η ηλια, τε δρασθαι του, αισθητους και τε γινεσθαι αιτιος αν' αιτιος πως και της σφωας εστιν, επον ητε οφης ητε τα γινόμενα: ουτω και η τε αγαθη φυσιος αιτια σσιας και νε. En. vi. L. vii. C. xvi. p. 709. (P.)

|| Ωσπερ εκει φως τε και οφιν ηλιοειδη μεν νομιζειν ορθον, ηλιοινδε δε ηγεισθαι εκ ορθως ην: ουτω και ενταυθα αγαθηειδη μεν νομιζειν ταυτ' αμφωτερα ορθον, αγαθηου δε ηγεισθαι επιτερον αυτων εκ ορθον' αλλ' επι μειζωνως τιμητερον την αγαθη εστιν. De Rep. L. vi. p. 433. (P.)

idea of the good, to be synonymous. This, I hope, may serve as a specimen of the metaphysical acumen of Plato, and indeed of the ancients in general.

This comparison of the Divine Being, and his influence in the moral world, to the sun and his rays in the natural world, which Plato did not pursue to any great length, being taken up and carried on by Philo, and the Christian fathers, contributed greatly to the formation of the doctrine of the Christian trinity. According to the philosophy of the ancients, rays of light were something emitted by the sun, but still belonging to him, and never properly separated from him; but after being emitted in the day, were drawn into their source at night. As by these rays objects become visible, so that they serve as a medium of communication between the eye and the visible object, in like manner Plato must have supposed that the medium by which the mind distinguishes intellectual objects was a divine influence, or something emitted from the Deity, and drawn into him again at pleasure; and by making the mind, or understanding, to be one thing, and the soul itself another, he gave a further handle for the hypothesis of a divine efflux different from the Divine Being himself. This *πας*, therefore, synonymous to *λογος*, was afterwards supposed to be that principle which was occasionally emitted from the Divine Being whenever any thing external to him was to be produced, himself being supposed to be immoveable.

The Christian doctrine of the Trinity was, moreover, brought forward by another maxim, which I do not find in Plato himself, but which was understood to be his doctrine, since it appears in the works of Julian, who was a great admirer of Plato. It is that, with respect to the Deity, there is no difference between powers, or properties, and essence. "Whatever," he says, "has been said concerning the divine essence, must be understood of his powers; for the essence of God is not one thing, and his power another, nor indeed is his energy a third. For whatever he wills, that is, and also has power and energy."* Again, he says,† "When we would explain the essence of God, we must

* Κοινως μεν εη τα προσθεν εν ρηθεντα περι της ησιας αυτε, ταις δυναμεσιν προσηκει πολυηπειλον· η γαρ αλλο μεν εστιν ησια Θεω, δυναμις δε αλλο, και η Δια, τριλον παρα ταυτα ενεργεια· παντα γαρ υπερ βηλειαι, ταυτα εστι, και δυναται, και ενεργει. Juliani Opera, Orat. iv. I. p. 142. (P.)

† Πρωτον ην οσαπερ εφαιμεν, την ησian αυτε παρατησαι βελομενοι, ταυτ' ημιν ειρησθαι, και περι των δυναμεων και ενεργειων νομιζεον, επει δε εν τοις τοιηίοις ο λογος ειπεν αντισπειν· οσα και περι των δυναμεων αυτη και ενεργειων εφεξης σκοπθμεν, ταυτα εκ εσθρων, αλλα και βσιαν νομιζεον. Ibid. p. 143. (P.)

be understood to say the same concerning his power and energy, for they are synonymous. For whatever we say concerning his power and energy, they are not to be considered as works, but as essence."

Plato, therefore, having spoken of $\nu\omicron\varsigma$, or logos, as a thing distinct from the Divine Being himself, as a power or property belonging to him, and all divine powers and properties being *substance*, a substantial person was easily made of this divine power. So miserably have men bewildered themselves for want of proper distinctions, and a true use of words. Such metaphysics as these of the ancients excite a smile of contempt in us, who have been better instructed by the happier sagacity of Locke, and others of the moderns. We think it wretched trifling; but, alas, *hæ nugæ seria ducunt!* Hence arose the doctrine of the Trinity; and from this doctrine infinite confusion in the Christian system.*

As the world, meaning the universe, or the soul of the world, is commonly reckoned the third principle in the Platonic Trinity, I shall consider Plato's own ideas of it; that it may be seen whether it has any correspondence to the Holy Spirit, the third principle in the Christian Trinity. According to Plato, the world was made by God, out of pre-existent matter, and as, according to his general system, every body has a soul, the universe was also provided with one. But as the visible body of the universe was modified by the supreme Being, it should seem that the soul of the universe did likewise receive some modification from him; but with respect to this circumstance he has not been sufficiently explicit. The universe, however, when completed, was by Plato styled a God, and the only-begotten Son of the supreme God.

Having spoken of God as essentially "good, and the parent of nothing but what was good and excellent; and as nothing could be excellent without intelligence, nor intelligent, without a soul; for this reason," he says. "he gave a mind to the soul, and a soul to the body, and so constituted the whole world after these, the most perfect and excellent in nature. So that we may justly say, that the world is, through the providence of God, a living creature, that it has a soul, and reason."† "That this living creature might be

* "And a fatal obstacle to its reception with men of understanding among ourselves, as well as with Jews and Mahometans." *Theol. Renos.*

† Θεμισ δε εστ' ην, εστ' εστι τω αριστω δραν αλλο πλην το καλλιστον, λογισαμενΘη εν ευρισκην, εκ των καλα φησιν ορατων, εθεν ανηλθεν, τα νην εχονθι, ολον ολο καλλιστον εσεσθαι ποτ' εργον, νην δε αυ χωρις ψυχης, αδυνατον παραγενεσθαι τω Δια δε τιν λογισμον τονδε, νην μεν δε ψυχην, ψυχην δε εν σωματι συνιστας, το παν ξυνοπεκταινειο, οπως οτι καλλιστον ειη κατὰ το παραδειγμα αριστον τε εργον απεργασμενος ούτως ην δη καλα λογον τον εικατα δεξ

like the most perfect living creature, he did not make two or more of them; but this one only-begotten heaven," (meaning, probably, the whole system, including the sun, moon and stars,) "which has been, is, and will be."*

Then, speaking of the constituent parts of the world, earth, air, fire and water, he says, "he left nothing out of it, with this view, that it might be a whole and perfect living creature, consisting of perfect parts, and moreover one; there being nothing left, out of which another could be made, and not subject to old age or disease."† He then speaks of it as made in a perfectly spherical form. But his reasons for this are as little to the purpose as those which I have here given relating to its other properties.

From this it should seem that, according to Plato, the matter out of which the world was made was not created by God, but found by him, having been from eternity, co-existent with himself: but, as he elsewhere observes, "in a confused, disorderly state."‡ Justin Martyr says, that he supposed matter to have been uncreated.§

According to Athanasius, Plato supposed matter to be self-existent. For he reproaches him with the weakness of his God, as not being able to produce any thing, unless he had matter to work upon; just as a carpenter is unable to make any thing till he be supplied with wood.||

Theodoret indeed says, that, according to Plato, God made matter, which was co-eternal with him.¶ But in this he must have been mistaken.

The world being made, Plato speaks of a soul being given

λεγειν, τοιςδε τον κοσμον ζων ευφραχον τωνων τε, τη αληθεια, δια την τε Θεο γενεσθαι πρωτων. *Timæus*, p. 477. (P.)

* *Ἰνα εν τοδε κατα την μονωσιν ομοιον η τω παντελει ζωφ, δια ταυτα ητε δυο, ετ' απειρας επιησεν ο ποιων κοσμου; αλλ' εις οδε μονογενης ερανος γεγονωσ, εσι τε και εσειαι.* *Ibid.* (P.)

† *Των δε δη τετταρων εν ολον εκαστον ειληφεν η τε κοσμου συστασις; εκ γαρ πυρος παντοσ, οδαλοσ τε και αερωσ, και γησ συνεσχησεν αιλιον ο ξυνοσασ; μερωσ οδ' εν οθενοσ ηδε δυναμωσ εξαθεσ απολυπωσ; ταδε διανοηθεωσ πρωτον μεν ινα ολον ιτι καλυφα ζων τελευσ εκ τελευσ των μερων ειη; προς δε τουτωσ εν, ατε ουκ υπολελειμμενων εξ αν αλλο τοιετ' αν γενωιλο.* *Ibid.* p. 478. (P.)

‡ *Δικαιοσ, εισ ταξιν αυλο ηγαγεν εκ της αλαξιασ.* *Ibid.* p. 477. (P.)

§ *Δια τοιο γαρ και αγεννητον την υλην εφησεν ειναι.* *Ad Græcos*, p. 19. (P.)

|| *Αλλοι δε, εν οισ εσι και ο μεγρωσ παρ' Ἑλλησι Πλατων, εκ προϋποκειμενησ και αγενητοσ υλησ αποποιηται τον Θεον τα ολιγα υληγενηται; μη αν γαρ δυνασθαι τι ποιησαι τον Θεον, ει μη προϋποκειμενησ η υλη; οσπερ και τω τελευτω προϋποκεισθαι δει το ξυλον, ινα και εργασασθαι δυναθη; ουκ ισασι δε τοιτω λεγοντιεσ, οτι ασθενειαν περιλιθεασι τω Θεω; ει γαρ ουκ εσι της υλησ αυτωσ αιτιωσ, αλλ' εξ υποκειμενησ υλησ ποιει τα ονια, ασθενησ ευρισκειται, μη δυναμενοσ αυε της υλησ εργασασθαι ει των γινωμενων.* *De Incarnatione*, Opera, I. p. 54. (P.)

¶ *Των γαρ αισπατατων, Πλατωνωσ μεν ανεχεσθαι, και αιλιον της υλησ τον Θεον λεγοντιωσ, και ξυνοιδιον τω Θεω την υλην αποκαλυπτοσ, και τασ ιδεασ εκ τω Θεω και ξυν τω Θεω φασκοιωσ ειναι; τον δε τω Θεω λογωσ, και το παναγων πνευμα μη προϋδεσθαι, και εκ τω Θεω φησαι, και ξυν τω Θεω ειναι.* *Græcæ Affectiones*, Disp. ii. Opera, IV. p. 757. Ed. Hala. (P.)

to it. But as his proof of the heavenly bodies having souls is the regularity of their motions, it is possible that he might consider matter, before it was reduced into order, as having been without a soul; and though he speaks of the soul of the world as having existed before the body, it is possible that by body he might not mean mere matter, but matter reduced into order, and formed into a regular universe. "He," (viz. God,) he says, "gave a soul, which, by its origin and power, is prior to, and older than the body, as its governess and directrix."* He then proceeds to give an account of the essential parts and principles of this soul of the universe; but I have no occasion to follow him so far.

One reason, however, why it may be doubted whether the soul of the world was supposed by Plato to be given it by God, is, that in one passage of his writings he supposes that there were more of these souls than one. Having defined soul to be the cause of self-motion, in answer to the question, whether there was only one soul in the universe, he answers, "more than one, two at least, one benevolent, and the other of a contrary disposition."† Now, according to Plato, nothing evil was made by the supreme Being himself; and, therefore, it should seem that this malevolent soul, or principle, in nature, must have had some other origin, and, perhaps, have been co-existent with matter, though subject to the controul of the supreme and good Being.

It was allowed that there was something divine in the souls of men, which Clemens Alexandrinus calls the *υες*, that was in it, which he says the Platonists made to be an emanation from the Deity.‡ It is probable, therefore, that Plato might suppose the proper *ψυχη* in the soul of the world to be essential to matter, and that God imparted the *υες*.

That God is good, and can only be the cause of good, is most expressly asserted by Plato. "For the evils of life," he says, "we must seek for some other cause than God."§ According to Plato, the supreme Being himself is not only not the author of evil, but even not of things that are imperfect, and subject to decay and death. However, since it was proper, in order to complete the whole system, that

* 'Ο δε και γενεσει και αρειη, προτεραν και πρεσβυτεραν ψυχην σωματος, ως δεσποινι και αρξουσαν αρξομενα συνερησαλο. *Timæus*, p. 478. (P.)

† Δουιν μεν γενη, ελατιον μηδεν τιδωμεν, γαρ τε ευεργετιδου, και τε ταναγια δυναμενης εξεργασασθαι. *De Leg. L. x.* p. 608. (P.)

‡ 'Οι μεν αμφι. Πλατανα νην μεν εν ψυχη βειας μοιρας απορροιαν επαρχοντα ψυχην δε εν σωματι κλιναιζουσι. *Strom. v.* p. 590. (P.)

§ Των δε κακων, αλλα τα δει ζηρειν τα αιτια, αλλ' ε τον Θεον. *De Rep. L. ii.* p. 390. (P.)

such things should be formed, having himself made the celestial and immortal beings, that is, the heavenly bodies, (to each of which he assigns a soul,) Plato introduces the Divine Being as solemnly addressing himself to them, and giving them directions for the production of such creatures as he could not make, himself, (since, then, they would necessarily have been immortal,) viz. man and all terrestrial animals. (*Timæus*, p. 481.)

This universe, created as it was, Plato speaks of, as a divinity, and in the highest style; using the following remarkable expressions at the close of his *Timæus*: “This universe, comprehending mortal and immortal beings, and complete, being a visible living creature, containing visible things, the image of the intelligible,” (that is, the invisible world of ideas,) “is the greatest and best visible God, the fairest and the most perfect; this one heaven” (viz. system) “being the only-begotten.”* On this principle it was, that Plato, and the other heathen philosophers, vindicated the system of Polytheism; supposing that one supreme God made a number of subordinate beings, each of them invested with a limited jurisdiction, so as to be considered as gods.

That matter was the source of all evil was the doctrine of all the Platonists, as well as of the oriental philosophers. Plotinus says, that “matter is absolutely evil, having no portion of good in it.”†

Thus I have given the best view that I been able to collect of every thing that can be supposed to constitute the Trinity of Plato, from his own writings, without finding in them any resemblance to the Christian Trinity, or indeed any proper personification of the divine logos, which has been made the second person in it.

I have particularly examined what the learned Dr. Cudworth and others have advanced on this dark subject, without seeing their conclusions properly supported. To shew on how slight foundations such writers as he (who certainly did not mean to deceive) can advance such things as he does, and how far their imagination and hypothesis can impose upon them, I shall lay before my readers two of his assertions on this subject.

He says,‡ “In his second epistle to Dionysius, he” (Plato)

* Ἐπιπέλας γὰρ καὶ ἀθάνατος ἕνα ἅπαν, καὶ ἐμπλήρωθεις ὅτε κόσμος, οὗτω ζῶν ἑραῖον, τα δραῖα περιεχόν, εἰκόν τινος, Θεὸς αἰσθητὸς μεγίστος καὶ ἀριστος, καλλίστος τε καὶ τέλειαιός, εἰς ἡμᾶς ὅτε, μονογενὴς ἄν. *Timæus*, p. 501. (P.)

† Ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἡ ὕλη, τὸ τοῦ οὐλοῦ κακόν, μηδεμίαν ἔχον ἀγαθῶν μίραν. *En. i. L. viii. Sect. v. p. 75. (P.)*

‡ *Intellectual System*, L. i. C. i. p. 407. (P.)

“ does mention a Trinity of divine hypostases all together.” From this, one would expect at least something like the Athanasian doctrine of three persons in one God. But all that I can learn from Plato in this epistle is as follows: Sending his letter to a great distance, and apprehensive of the possibility of its not reaching the person to whom it was addressed, he says, that he had written so obscurely, that only Dionysius himself could understand it. “ All things are about the king of all, and all things are for the sake of him, and he is the author of every thing that is fair and good; but the second about the second, and the third about the third. The mind of man may stretch itself to learn what these things are, looking at those which resemble them, of which none do it sufficiently; but with respect to the king, and the things of which I speak, there is nothing like them.”*

This is Dr. Cudworth's Trinity of divine hypostases, and it is certainly as obscure as any doctrine of the Trinity needs to be. Plato himself, or Dionysius, can alone explain it to us. I imagine, however, that, in this dark manner, he might refer to one or other of the ternaries above-mentioned, viz. the supreme Being, his ideas, and the visible world; or the supreme Being, the visible world, and primeval matter.

Again, the Doctor says, (p. 406,) “ In other places of his” (Plato's) “ writings, he frequently asserts above the self-moving *psyche*, an immoveable and standing *νεϋς*, or intellect, which was properly the *Demiurgus*, or architectonic framer of the whole world.” But it has appeared, that, according to Plato, the supreme Being himself, whom he styles the good, was the *Demiurgus* with respect to every thing that is immortal and perfect, and that not his *νεϋς*, but those other created immortal beings, were the makers of man and all other mortal and imperfect creatures. As to the many passages in the writings of Plato, which, he says, teach the contrary doctrine, I can only say, that I have not found any of them; and that if there be any such, they must be contradicted by what I have already quoted from him.

In a tract that remains, of Timæus Iocrus, from whom it is acknowledged that Plato borrowed the outlines of his system, we perceive no trace of two intelligent beings, but

* Περὶ τοῦ παντὸς βασιλεὺς παντ' ἐστὶ, καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἕνεκα παντῶν, καὶ ἐκεῖνος αὐτῶν ἀπαντῶν τῶν καλῶν, δευτέρου δὲ περὶ τὰ δευτέρου, καὶ τρίτου περὶ τὰ τρίτου ἢ ἐν ἀνθρώπινῃ ψυχῇ, περὶ αὐτῶν οὐρεγείαι, μαθεῖ πᾶσι ἅπαντα ἐστὶ, βλεπέτω εἰς τὰ αὐτῆς συγγενη, ἃν ἦδεν ἰκανῶς εἶχει τὸ δὲ βασιλεὺς περὶ, καὶ ἂν εἶπαν, ἕδεν ἐστὶ ταιῶτο. Epist. ad Dionysium ii. p. 670. (P.)

of one only, which he calls God, a being essentially good, who himself formed the world out of pre-existent matter.* “God,” he says, “being good, and seeing matter capable of receiving ideas,” (meaning, probably, the impressions of ideas,) “and capable of change, but variously and irregularly, was desirous of reducing it into order, and to bring it from uncertain changes to a fixed state, that the differences of bodies might correspond and not vary at random, made the world out of the whole of matter; giving all nature for its boundary, that it might comprehend every thing within itself, and be one, his only-begotten, a perfect, living, rational and spherical body.” †

According to Timæus, ideas and *nous* must have been synonymous, and the same with the divine Being himself, or the proper furniture of his mind. For having begun with saying that “there are two causes of all things, viz. mind. (*nous*.) of those things that are according to reason, and necessity, of those things that are acted upon like body. The former,” he says, “was called God, being the origin of the best things.” ‡ He then says, that “all things are *idea*, *matter* and *sensible* things, their offspring.” The former, viz. *idea*, he defines to be “something unbegotten, immovable and abiding, intelligible, and the pattern of things that are produced and changeable.” §

Afterwards, having said that matter is eternal, he says, “there are two opposite principles, *idea*, which may be compared to the male or the father, and matter, to a female or the mother; and the third,” he adds, “is the offspring of these,” ¶ meaning nature. This is in reality the whole of Plato’s system, and delivered with greater clearness than he has done it himself; and we see that, in effect, it is the

* Πριν ἂν κρανὸν γενεσθῆαι, λόγῳ ἤσθη ἰδέα τε καὶ ὕλα, καὶ ὁ Θεὸς δημιουργὸς τῶ βελτιονος. De Anima Mundi, in Gale’s Opuscula Mythologica, p. 545. (P.)

† Ἀγαθὸς ἂν ὁ Θεὸς, ὄραν τε τῶν ὕλων δεχόμεναι τῶν ἰδεῶν καὶ ἀλλοιούμεναι, παύσιως μὲν, ἀθάλας δὲ, εἰδείτ’ ἐς τάσιν αἰτῶν ἀγεν, καὶ ἐξ ἀριζῶν μετὰβῆλαι, ἐξ ἀρισμένων κατὰ-φασαί· ἢ ὁμιολογῆται ἰσχυραῖσι τῶν σφαιραίων γιγνηνῶν, καὶ μὴ κατ’ αἰθρημάτων τροπῶν δεχρῆναι· ἐπισησεν ἂν τὸν δὲ τὸν κόσμον ἐξ ἀπατας τῆς ὕλας, ὄραν αἰτῶν κατὰσκευαίας τῆς τῶ ὕλης φησῆσαι, ἵνα τὸ πᾶντα τ’ ἀλλὰ ἐν αἰτῇ περιερχεν, ἓνα, μισογενῆ, τέλειον, ἐμφεχῆν τε καὶ λογικῶν (κρυσσῶνα γὰρ τὰ δὲ αἰψυχῶ καὶ ἀλόγῳ εἶναι) καὶ σφαιροειδῆς σφαιρα. Ibid. (P.)

‡ Διὸ αἰτίας εἴμεν τῶν σφαιραίων· νοῦν μὲν, τῶν κατὰ λόγον γιγνημένων· ἀναρχῶν δὲ, τῶν ἐκ ἀκαταστάσεως τῶν σφαιραίων· τῆσιν δὲ, τὸν μὲν, τῆς γ’ ἀγαθῆς φησῆσαι εἰλεῖ, Θεὸν τε σφαιρανοσθῆναι, ἀρχῶν τε τῶν ἀριζῶν. Ibid. p. 544. (P.)

§ Τα δὲ ἐμπειρία, ἰδέαν, ὕλαν, αἰσθητῶν τε, οἷον ἐκγονῶν τῆσιν· καὶ τὸ μὲν, εἴμεν ἀγεν-ναίων τε καὶ ἀκινῶν, καὶ μὲνόν τε, καὶ τῆς, ταυτῆ φησῆσαι νοαίων τε καὶ παραδείγματα τῶν γενόμενων, οὐκ ἔστι ἐν μετὰβῆλαι ἐντὶ. Ibid. (P.)

¶ Ταυτῶν δὲ τῶν ὕλων αἰτῶν μὲν εἶφα.—Διὸ ὧν αἰδὲ ἀρχαὶ ἐναντία ἐντὶ ἂν τὸ μὲν εἶδος λόγον ἔχει ἀρρενὸς τε καὶ παῖρος· αὐτὸ ὕλα, θῆλεος τε καὶ μακρὸς· τρία δὲ εἴμεν τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἐκγονῶν. Ibid. p. 544. (P.)

doctrine of one God, who made all things out of uncreated matter, from patterns of things existing in his own mind.

That Plato borrowed from Timæus we see in his copying his very phraseology. For he says that, “the origin of the world is mixed, being produced from the conjunction of necessity and mind, *nous*.”* He also say, “we must distinguish two causes of things, the one necessary, the other divine.”† Nothing could be more exactly copied.

CHAPTER VII.‡

A VIEW OF THE PRINCIPLES OF THE LATER PLATONISTS.

THOSE who are usually called the *later Platonists*, were those philosophers, chiefly of Alexandria, who, a little before and after the commencement of the Christian æra, adopted the general principles of Plato, but not without incorporating with them those of other philosophers, so that theirs was not an absolutely pure and unmixed Platonism. However, in their notions concerning God, and the general system of things, they aimed at this, pretending only to interpret the meaning of Plato, and to reason from his principles, though their refinements have only served to make the system more mysterious and absurd.

SECTION I.

The Doctrine of the later Platonists concerning God and Nature.

WE see, in the writings of these later Platonists, or may better conjecture from them, what was meant by the *ideal* or *intelligible* world, which makes so great a figure in this system, and which is sometimes confounded with *nous* or *logos*, the seat, receptacle, or place of this ideal world. But, in their writings, the term *logos*, of which so much account is made in the works of Philo, and the philosophizing Christians, does not much occur; though there can be no diffi-

* Μεικτὴ γὰρ ἐν ἧ τῷδε κόσμῳ γενεσις, ἐξ ἀναγκῆς τε καὶ νε συστάσεως ἐγγενῆς. Timæus, Opera, p. 533, Ed. Gen. (P.)

† Διὸ δὴ χρεὶ δύο αἰτίας εἶναι διαρίζεσθαι· τὸ μὲν, ἀναγκαιὸν· τὸ δὲ, θεῖον. Ibid. p. 542. (P.)

‡ Copied, with enlargements, from the author's paper, *Theol. Rep.* IV. p. 381.

culty in admitting that it was synonymous to *nous*, or mind, each of them signifying the principle of reason, or that from which *logos* in its usual acceptation, viz. that of speech, proceeds; every thing that is uttered being first conceived in the mind, and existing there.

Beside the *visible* world, which is perceived by the organs of sight, these philosophers supposed that there was also an *invisible* world, exactly corresponding to it, capable of being perceived and contemplated by the mind only. And the only probable key to their meaning is, to suppose that this invisible world of ideas, which furnished a pattern for the visible world, (always existing in the divine mind, and sometimes confounded with it,) was at other times considered as a thing different from the Divine Being himself, whose mind it was.

When they consider this intelligible world as the source and cause from which the visible world was derived, they sometimes speak of it as a person, the maker or *demiurgus* of the world; but though they supposed that there was another principle higher than this *nous*, or *demiurgus*, they seldom or never speak of that as of a person also, so as to have the idea of two intelligent persons at the same time; or if they do, it may be presumed to be only in a mystical or figurative way of speaking. For as, on some occasions, they speak of their *nous*, as a mere repository of ideas, the place of the intelligible world, or the intelligible world itself, and no proper person; so, on other occasions, they speak of the highest principle of all, what they call the good, not as a person, but a property only, something belonging to every thing that is divine, to the terrestrial as well as the celestial gods, and even to the soul of man itself. There was, however, enough of personification in what the Platonists said of the divine *nous* or *logos*, to give a handle to Philo, and the Christian fathers, to make a little more of it, as it was very convenient to their purpose to do.

That the real conceptions of the Platonists were not favourable to the doctrine of two proper divine persons, may be inferred from its being so generally said, that Plato made no more than *two* principles of things. Thus Diogenes Laertius, in his Life of Plato, says that "he made two principles of all things, God and matter, calling the former mind and cause."* And though Plutarch, in his view of the doc-

* Διὸς δὲ τῶν πάντων ἀπειρήγην ἀρχῆς, Θεοῦ καὶ ἰδέης, ὃν καὶ νῦν προσηγορεύουσι, καὶ αἰδέης.
L. iii. p. 228. (P.)

trines of Socrates and Plato, which he says are the same, says that they held three principles, God, matter and idea, he makes God and *nous* to be the same, and *idea* not to be a person, but an incorporeal substance in the mind of God.*

In the dissertation of Maximus Tyrius, one of the most sensible and pleasing of all the Platonists, the title of which is, "What is God, according to Plato?" there is no account of any distinction between the *good* and the *nous*, but only the doctrine of one God, the king and father of all, and of many other inferior gods, the children of the Supreme, reigning with him. † The divine intellect, or *nous*, he considers as a power of the divine mind, and he compares the quickness of its operations to that of *sight*, while those of the human intellect resemble *speech* only; ‡ or the former, he says, may be compared to the darting of the light of the sun, and the latter to the motion of the sun. "Such," says he, "does the academic angel (i. e. Plato) "exhibit to us the Father, and the author of all things." § Here is no personification of the *nous*, or *logos*, at all; and yet, I doubt not, he delivered the genuine principles of Platonism, divested of mystery and figure.

According to Proclus, the *nous*, or reason, of man, is a principle exactly similar to that of God. "Our *nous*," he says, "is separate from the *good*, and wants something, and therefore desires pleasure, for the perfection of the man; but the divine *nous* always partakes of the *good*, and is united to it, and therefore is divine." ||

As to the term *second God*, it is generally applied to *nature* by the later Platonists, as well as by Plato himself. Thus Plotinus says, "Nature itself is a god, and a second god, shewing himself before the other God is seen." ¶ Yet Numenius called the first of the three principles, or gods,

* Σωκρατης και Πλατων (αι γαρ αυται περι παντος ενωληρη δοξαι) τρεις αρχας, τον Θεον, την υλην, την ιδεαν· εστι δε ο θεος ο νους, υλη δε το υποκειμενον πρωτον γενεσει και φθορα, ιδεα δε εστι ασωμαλως, εν ταις νοημασι και ταις φαντασιαις τη Θεω· οδε Θεος νος εστι τη κοσμη. De Placitis Philosophorum, L. i. C. iii. Opera, II. p. 878. (P.)

† Οτι Θεος εις, παντων βρασιλευς, και παληρ, και θεαι πολλοι, Θεη παιδες, συναρχοντες Θεω. Diss. i. p. 6. (P.)

‡ Τον μεν θειον νην τρι οραν, τον δε ανθρωπιον τρι λεγειν. Ibid. p. 12. (P.)

§ Ο μεν θειος νος κατα την παραβολην τη ηλιω παντα εφορα τον εν τη γη τοπον αιθρωσ, ο δε ανθρωπιος κατα την πορειαν αυτη αλλοτε αλλα τα μερη τη ολη επιπορευομενη. Τετον μεν δη ο εξ ακαδημαϊκας ημιν αγγελος διδασι πατερα και γεννητην τη συμικαντος. Ibid. (P.)

|| Αλλ' ο μεν ημετερος νος τη αγαθη διεζευκται και εστιν ενδεης, και δια τετο δη πω και της ηδονης δευται προς την τελειοτητα την ανθρωπινην· ο δε γε θειος νος αιε τη αγαθη μετεχει, και συνηνωται προς αυτο, και δια τετο θειος εστιν. In Platonem, L. ii. C. iv. p. 92. (P.)

¶ Καθεος αυτη η φυσικη και θεος δευτερος, προφαιρων εαυτον, πριν οραν εκεινον. Eu. v. L. v. C. iii. p. 522. (P.)

the "Father, the second of them the maker, and the third the work, or the thing made."*

In Plato we find that the supreme God, the *good*, styled himself the *Demiurgus* with respect to the celestial and eternal beings, and appointed them to be the makers of all things that were subject to destruction and death. But as the supreme Being must have produced every thing by the exertion of his mind, or *nous*, and as it were from his store-house of his ideas, it was natural enough for the later Platonists to fall into the habit of calling this *nous* the *Demiurgus*, as it is done by Plotinus, who says, "The *nous* is the *Demiurgus*, who makes the soul, and the *nous* being a cause, he (Plato) calls the Father the good, being something above the *nous*, and above *essence*. He also often calls *being* and *nous*, *idea*; so that Plato acknowledged that *nous* or *idea* was from the good, and the soul from the *nous*, and that this account of things is not new, but though formerly given, was not well unfolded; but that the modern accounts are explanatory of them."†

By soul in this place, Plotinus probably understood the soul of the universe, or perhaps soul in general, which he supposed to be, in all cases, of the same nature; and with the Platonists this was always considered as a principle, inferior to *nous*. Thus Jamblichus says, "*Nous* is the governor and king of all, being the demiurgic art of the whole. It is always with the gods, without imperfection, and without defect, consisting of itself in one single operation; whereas the soul partakes of *nous*, but only in part, and multifiform, looking to the director of the whole."‡ In this passage, however, it is pretty evident, that the writer did not consider *nous* as an intelligent person, distinct from the supreme Being, but his own proper wisdom and power, and very different from what the Christian *logos* came to be.

As the Platonists confounded the *nous* with the supreme Being, whose *nous* it was, so they likewise confounded this *nous* with the *ideas* belonging to it. Plotinus, after observ-

* Cudworth, B. i. Ch. iv. p. 552. (P.)

† Δημιουργός γὰρ ὁ θεὸς αὐτῶν τούτων δὲ φησὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ποιεῖν ἐν τῷ κρατῆρι ἐκείνῳ· τῆ αἰτία δὲ νουῦτος ἑστέρα φησὶ τ' ἀγαθόν, καὶ τὸ ἐπέκεινα ἐν καὶ ἐπέκεινα ἤσας· πολλὰ γὰρ δὲ τὸ οὐ καὶ τὴν νου, τὴν ἰδεάν λέγει· ἄγε Πλάτωνά εἶδεναι ἐκ μὲν τ' ἀγαθῶ του νου, τὴν ἰδεάν· ἐκ δὲ τῆ νο, τὴν ψυχὴν· καὶ εἶναι τῆς λογῆς τῶσδε, μὴ καινῆς· μὴδὲ νου· ἀλλὰ παλαιά μὲν εἰρήθη· ἀλλὰ μετέπειτα μὲν τῆς δε νου λογῆς ἐξηγητῆς ἐκείνων γεγονῆναι. Εἰ. v. L. i. C. viii. p. 389. (P.)

‡ Νεὸς ἄνθρωπος ἡγεμῶν καὶ βασιλεὺς των οὐτων, τεχνὴν δημιουργικὴν τῆ παντος, τοῖς μὲν θεοῖς ἑαυτοῖς· αἰετῶσθε, ἑλέως καὶ ἀνευδῶς, κατὰ μιαν ενεργεῖαν ἐπίσταν ἐν ἑαυτῇ καθάρως· ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ τῆ τε μετεχει μερίστω καὶ πολυεῖδος, εἰς τὴν τῆ ὅλα τε πρῶσταν ἀναποθλεπανός. Sect. i. C. viii. p. 12. (P.)

ing that the mind, or *nous*, perceives the ideas that are in it, considers whether these ideas be the *nous* itself, or something different from it; and concludes with saying, that “they may be considered in both lights, distinguishable only in the conception of them; so that the *nous* and the things perceived by it may be the same, as really existing, for it does not perceive altogether in another, but in itself, on account of its having the thing perceived, in itself. Or there is no reason why the thing perceived may not be the *nous*, considered in a state of fixity, unity and quiet.”* In another place, speaking of the mind and its conceptions, he says, “The *nous* is at the same time *all things*, but not altogether: but each has its separate power; for all *nous* comprehends *ideas* as a genus, and as the whole comprehends the parts.”† According to this view of things, it should seem that the *nous* was considered as the same thing with the whole stock of its conceptions or ideas, and had no proper intellectual power belonging to it.

In another place he expresses this more decisively, saying, that *nous* and *idea* are the same thing, and even that *idea* is the whole *nous*, and that *nous* is the same thing with all the ideas, just as knowledge is the same with all the theorems.‡ It must be observed, however, that in the last clause he used the term *εἶδη*, or forms of things, and not *ἰδέα*, as if the latter was that which contained the former; and yet, as Diogenes Laertius observes, they are used promiscuously by the Platonists.

When the Platonists speak of the inferiority of the *nous* to God, they seem to do it as if they were merely fixing a scale of metaphysical *principles*, and not to have had an idea of their being two intelligent *persons*. And though they occasionally personify each of them, yet it is separately, and never, as far as I have observed, both together. This was reserved for the Christian Platonists. To make this more evident, I shall produce a few extracts from Proclus respecting the inferiority of the *nous*.

“The *nous*,” says he, “is God, on account of the intellectual and intelligible light, which is more ancient than

* Ἐπειτα ἔθεν κἀλλει, ὅσαν τῷ λεγομένῳ ἐν εἶναι ἀμφῶ, διαίρησις αὐτῆς δε τῆ νοήσει· ἐπερ μῶνον ὡς οὐ, τὸ μὲν νοήσον, τὸ δὲ νεν· Ὁ γὰρ καθόρα ἡ φησιν ἐν ἑτέρῳ πάντως ἀλλ’ ἐν αὐτῷ, τῷ ἐν αὐτῷ τὸ νοήσον ἔχειν· ἢ τὸ μὲν νοήσον ἔθεν κἀλλει καὶ νοῦν εἶναι ἐν ἑασει, καὶ ἐνοήσι, καὶ ἡσυχία. En. iv. L. ix. C. i. p. 356. (P.)

† Οὕτως οὖν καὶ πολὺ μαλλόν, ὃ νοῦς ἐστὶν ὅλον πάντα· καὶ αὐ οὐχ ὄμιον ὅτι ἕκαστον δυναμὶς ἰδέα· ὃ δὲ πᾶς νοῦς, περιεχει ὡσπερ γένος εἶδη· καὶ ὡσπερ ὄλον μερῆ. En. v. L. ix. C. vi. p. 560. (P.)

‡ Ὅτι ἕτερα τε νε ἕκαστη ἰδέα, ἀλλ’ ἕκαστη νε· καὶ ὅλος μὲν ὁ νε· τα πάντα εἶδη, ἕκαστον δὲ εἶδος νε· ἕκαστος, ὡς ἢ ὄλη ἐπισήμη τα πάντα ἑωρηματα. Ibid. C. viii. p. 561. (P.)

nous.* Here *nous* is personified; but then the *light*, which is represented as superior to it, is not so. In the following passages the first principle is personified, but not the subordinate one. “Whatever is God,” he says, “is above *essence*, and *life* and *nous*.”† “*Nous* is the work and the first production of the gods.”‡ “*Unity* is God of itself, *nous* most godlike, *soul* divine, *body* like God.”§

The passage which looks the most like the personification of both the first and second principles, is the following; but then the whole has the air of figure, so that the literal meaning is by no means clear: “The *Demiurgus*, and Father of the universe, has the third place among the intellectual kings.”||

In this scale of principles, it was usual to consider that which is prior in rank, as the Father, container and nourisher of that which is posterior. Though, therefore, the *nous* be the Son with respect to the God, it is the Father with respect to the soul, and the nourisher of it, as Plotinus expressly says.¶ And yet, the *nous* was only the image of the good.**

When we find such confusion in the ideas of these Platonists about their *nous*, and the *ideas* belonging to it, we cannot be surprised at their likewise confounding the *nous* with the supreme Being, whose *nous* it was; sometimes calling the world the offspring of God, and sometimes the offspring of the idea of God, as in the following passage of Julian: “This universe being the offspring of the idea of the first and the greatest good, being in its stable essence from eternity, received also power among the intellectual gods.”††

* Καὶ νῆς ἀρα Θεός, διὰ τὸ φῶς τὸ νοεῖν, καὶ τὸ νοητὸν, τὸ καὶ αὐτὸ τὴν ἀρεστέτερον. In Platonem, L. ii. C. iv. p. 91.

Both the terms νοεῖν and νοητὸν occur in the writings of the Platonists, and, in some cases, it is not easy to make any difference in translating them, though the former should be rendered *intellectual*, and the latter *intelligible*, or perceived by the mind. However, Proclus says, “they may be considered as the same, on account of the fulness of the light which belongs to the latter.” Καὶ τὸ νοητὸν ἀμὰ καὶ νοεῖν διὰ τὴν εἰς αὐτὸ καθήκασαν τὴν φῶτος ἀποπλήρωσιν. Ibid. C. i. p. 91. (P.)

† Διὸν ἢ ἑστὶ πάντων ἐστὶν ἐπεκεινα τῶν ἐρημένων, ἀπᾶς Θεός, ἑστίας, καὶ ζῆσης, καὶ νῆ. Instit. C. cxv. p. 463. (P.)

‡ Καὶ γὰρ ὁ νῆς δημιουργία, καὶ γεννημα τῶν θεῶν ἐστὶ τὸ πρῶτιστον. In Platonem, L. i. C. xxi. p. 55. (P.)

§ Καὶ ἢ μὲν ἕνας, αὐτοθεν Θεός· ὁ δὲ νῆς, θεοστατον ἢ δὲ ψυχῆ, θεία· τὸ δὲ σῶμα, θεοειδής. Instit. C. cxxix. p. 470. (P.)

¶ Ὁ μὲν τῶν ἀνω βασιλεὺς, καὶ πατὴρ τῆδε τῆς σῆρας, τὴν τρίτην τάξιν ἵαχεν ἐν τοῖς νοεραῖς βασιλευσὶν. Proclus in Platonem, L. vi. C. vi. p. 355. (P.)

‡ Ὅσα [ψυχῆ] αὐτῶν νῆς εἰ, καὶ ἐν λόγισμῶσι ὁ νῆς αὐτῆς· καὶ ἢ τελειώσις ἀπὸ αὐτῶν σῆρων ἰὼν πατὴρ ἀνθρώπων.—Νῆς ἦν ἐπὶ πολλῶν θεοτερον ποιεῖ· καὶ τῶν πατρῶν εἶναι καὶ τῶν παρειναι. En. v. L. i. C. iii. p. 484. (P.)

** Εἰκόνα δὲ ἐκεῖνον λεγόμενον τὸν νῆν. Ibid. C. vii. p. 488. (P.)

†† Αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ συμπᾶς, ἀτε δὴ τὴν πρῶτην καὶ μεγίστην τῆς ἰδέας τὴν ἀγαθὴν γεγονῶς ἐκγονος, ἵποσας αὐτῆς περὶ τὴν μοῖμῶν ἐστὶν ἐξ αἰδῆς, καὶ τὴν ἐν τοῖς νοεραῖς θεοῖς παρεδέξατο ἰνασθεῖαν. Orat. iv. Opera, I. p. 133. (P.)

I consider Julian as a Platonist from the admiration which he expresses of Plato's principles, and his frequent quoting of him; and he is as distinguished a Platonist as the rest by the inextricable confusion of his ideas on these subjects, as may be perceived in the following passage, in which it is not easy to say in what light he considered the *intelligible world*; but he seems to have thought it to be a kind of *magazine of ideas*, or patterns of things. And yet he represents *the good* as producing the world, as well as those ideas, and as making the world an image, not of them, but of himself. Speaking of the visible world, he says, that "it is preserved by nothing immediately but a fifth body, the head of which is the solar ray, but as it were in the second gradation by the intelligible world, and in the highest place by the king of all, about whom all things are; he whom, whether it be lawful to call one that is above *nous*, or the *idea* of things that exist, which I call the *whole intelligible*, or *the one*, because *the one* seems to be oldest of all, or what Plato was used to call *the good*; for this is the simple cause to all things that are, of beauty, perfection, unity and immense power. Remaining in itself according to its primary operative essence, he produced the sun, the greatest god, from himself, out of the middle of intellectual things and *demiurgic* causes, in all respects like to himself."*

As the *visible* world is sometimes considered as *the child of God*, so the *intelligible* world, which supplied a pattern for it, is also sometimes considered in the same light, and called a child of the supreme Being; and the following description of this child, and its properties, by Plotinus, who certainly thought himself well acquainted with it, is mysterious enough: "As a person looking up to the heavens, and seeing the brightness of the stars, inquires who is their maker, so a person who looks into the intelligible world will admire the maker of it, and inquire who established it, who generated such a child. this beautiful child, the *nous*, a child produced from himself. This cannot be the *nous* itself, or the *child*, but before the *nous* and the *child*. The *nous* and the

* Οχι ὑπ' ἄλλη μὲν φηρημεν ἢ ἡ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν μετὰ τὴν πεμπλῆ σωματῶν αὐτῶν τοῦ κεφαλίου ἐστὶν ἀπὸς ἡλίου, βαθμῶν δὲ ὡς πρὸς δευτέρω τῶν νοητῶν κόσμῳ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν δεξιῶν δὲ ἐπὶ δια τῶν πάντων βασιλεία, περὶ ὧν πάντα ἐστὶν. Οὐτῶν τινῶν, εἴτε τοῦ ἐπικειμένου τῶν νοητῶν αὐτῶν καλεῖται αὐτὸν δεξιῶν, εἴτε ἰδέαν τῶν νοητῶν, ὅ δὲ φημι τὸ νοητὸν συμπᾶν, εἴτε ἐν, ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντων τὸ ἐν δοκεῖ ὡς πρὸς ἑαυτὸν, εἴτε ὁ Πλάτων εἰσθεὶν ὀνομάζειν τὸ ἀγαθὸν αὐτῆς δὴ ἢ ἡ μονοειδῆς τῶν ὄλων αἰτία πᾶσι τοῖς ἔσθιν ἐξηγεμένη, καλλῆς τε, καὶ τελειότητῶν, ἐνωσεως τε καὶ δυναμῆς ἀμύχανη: κατὰ τὴν ἐν αὐτῇ μενοσα πρῶτην ἔσθιν, μεσῶν ἐκ μεσῶν τῶν νοητῶν καὶ ὀνομαστικῶν ἀπὸς ἡλίου ἔσθιν μεγίστην ἀνεφάνη ἐξ ἑαυτῶν, πάντα ὁμοίον ἑαυτῶν. Orat. iv. Opera, I. p. 132. (P.)

child must be after him, requiring to be understood and nourished, which is nearest to that which wants nothing, not even to be understood. It has perfect truth and intelligence, for it has them in the first place, being before all, neither wanting any thing, nor having any thing; for otherwise it would not be *the good*.*

The latter part of this description would more naturally lead the mind to the idea of a *principle* or *property*, than to that of a person; but this is still more the case in the following passage from Jamblicus, who, in an account of the principles of Hermes, or those Egyptian doctrines which were probably the source of all the knowledge (or, to speak more properly, of all the mistakes) of Plato, describes the supreme Being, or *the good*; and yet the greater part of the passage gives us the idea of two different gods, one of which was derived from the other. But then the *god* and *king* that he speaks of as the inferior, was, perhaps, no other than the sun, as his Latin translator has supposed, and therefore it gives us no distinct idea of the personification of the divine *nous* or *logos*.

“Before all things,” he says, “that really are, and the principles of all things, there is one God, prior to the first god and king, immoveable, remaining in his own immoveable unity, not mixed with any thing intelligible, or any thing else, but the pattern of that God who is his own father, his own child, and the only father of the essentially good. For it is prior and greater, and the fountain of all, and the source of all the first intellectual ideas. From this one God shone forth the God who is self-sufficient, for he is the principal, and the God of gods, unity from one, before all essence, and the principle of essence, for from him comes essence and entity. He is therefore called the principle of what is intelligible. These are the oldest principles of all things, which Hermes places before the ethereal, the empyreal and celestial gods.”†

* Ὡς δὲ ὁ ἀναβλεψάς εἰς τὸν ἔρανον καὶ τὸ τῶν ἀστῶν φεγγῆς ἰδὼν, τὸν ποιησαῖνα ἐπιθυμῶν καὶ ζῆλει αὐτῶν χρῆσιν καὶ τὸν νοῆσον κόσμον ὡς εὐθεασαῖο καὶ ἐνεῖδε καὶ ἐθαυμάζει τὸν κακειν- ποιήτην. Τίς ἀρα ὁ τοιοῦτον ὑποσησάς ζῆλειν, ἢ πᾶν, ἢ πᾶς, ὁ τοιοῦτον παῖδα γεννησάς, νῦν, κερὸν καλλόν, καὶ παρ’ αὐτῆ γενόμενον κερὸν· παύλας τοιῆτε νῦν ἐκεῖνος ἢ ἐ κορος, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸ νῦ καὶ κορῆ· μετὰ γὰρ αὐτὸν, νος, καὶ κορος, δεσθενία καὶ κεκορεσθαι, καὶ νενοηκεναί, ἃ πλεονάζον μὲν εἰσι τοῦ ἀνευθεούς, καὶ τὸν νοεῖν οὐδὲν δευμένου· πληρωσιν δὲ ἀληθινήν καὶ νοῆσιν ἐχει, ὅτι πρώτως ἐχει· τὸ δὲ πρὸ αὐτῶν, οὐτε δεῖται, οὐτε ἐχει· ἢ, οὐκ’ ἀν τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἦν. En. iii. l. viii. C. x. p. 353. (P.)

† Πρὸ τῶν οὐίας οὐόν, καὶ τῶν ὄλων ἀρχῶν εἰσι Θεὸς εἰς πρῶτος, καὶ τοῦ πρῶτου Θεοῦ καὶ βασιλευσ, ἀκινήτος, ἐν μονοῆτι τοῦ ἐανίου ἐνοῆτος μενῶν· οὐτε γὰρ νοῆσον αὐτῶ ἐπιπλεκεῖται, οὐτε ἀλλοῖσι παραδεδειγμένῳ δεῖται τοῦ αὐτοπαύλατος, αὐτολογίου, καὶ μονοπαύλατος Θεοῦ, τοῦ οὐίας ἀγαθῶν· μέγρον γὰρ τι καὶ πρῶτον, καὶ πῆρη τῶν πᾶσιων, καὶ πύθυμην τῶν νοουμένων πρῶτων ἰδῶν οὐάν. Ἀπὸ οὗ τοῦ ἑνὸς, τοιοῦτο ὁ αὐταρχῆς Θεὸς ἐαυτῶν ἐξέλαμψε δύο καὶ

We shall the less wonder at this confusion of ideas, if we attend to another of the Platonic maxims, viz. That *being* and *energy* are the same things. This was before cited from Julian, and I now find the same in Plotinus, who says expressly, that “*energy* is the same thing with *being*.”* Accordingly, he calls the soul “one simple energy, and as its nature is *to live*, it therefore cannot perish.”† This is evidently making the soul to be nothing more than the principle or property of *life*; but then this is an extraordinary argument for its immortality, as it comes to nothing more than saying that *life* and *death* are opposite things. But it is not my business in this place to attend to the many absurdities of the Platonists about the soul, and therefore I shall return to my proper subject.

In most of the preceding passages *the good* is described as synonymous to the supreme Being, and of course a proper person; but it is generally mentioned in the neuter gender, and is described in such a manner as gives us the idea of a principle, property, or power, capable of being communicated to other beings, and even to the soul. “There is,” says Jamblichus, “a *good* which transcends *essence*, that which is essentially good, I mean the most ancient and valuable essence, and in itself incorporeal, the peculiar property of the gods, which, in all kinds of them, preserves their peculiar distribution and order, which is never separated from them, and is the same in them all.” He also says that “souls which govern bodies have not the essence of the good, nor the first cause of good, which is prior to essence, but a certain portion and acquisition from it.”‡

Proclus generally speaks of *the good* in the neuter gender, as if it was a *principle*, and no *person*; and that they were mere metaphysical considerations which led him to place this *good* at the head of the universe, is evident from his reasoning on the subject. “*The good*,” he says, “is above

αὐτοπαύω, καὶ αὐταρκής· ἀρχὴ γὰρ οὗτος, καὶ Θεὸς ὅρων· μόνος ἐκ τοῦ ἔνος, προῦσι⊙ καὶ ἀρχὴ τῆς οὐσίας· ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ γὰρ οὐσιότης καὶ ἡ οὐσία· διο καὶ νηλεῆς προσαγορευέται. Αἵματα μὲν οὖν εἰσὶν ἀρχαὶ πρεσβυτάται πάντων, δεῖ Ἑρμῆς πρὸς τῶν αἰθερίων καὶ ἐμπυρίων ὅρων πρὸς αἴτι, καὶ τῶν ἐπουρανίων. Sect. viii. C. ii. p. 158. (P.)

* Ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ τὸ οὐ ενεργεῖα. En. v. L. ix. C. viii. p. 561. (P.)

† Ψυχὴ δὲ μία καὶ ἀπλή ενεργεῖα οὐσα, ἐν τῷ ζῆν φυσίς, οὐ ταύτην ταυτὴ φθαρησέται. En. iv. L. vii. C. xii. p. 466. (P.)

‡ Ἐστὶ δὲ ἢ οὐκ ἔστι ἀγαθόν, τὸ τε ἐπεκείνα τῆς οὐσίας, καὶ κατ’ οὐσίαν ὑπαρχόν· ἐκεῖνη λέγω τὴν οὐσίαν τὴν πρεσβυτάτην καὶ τιμιωτάτην, καὶ καθ’ αὐτὴν οὐσίαν ἀσάμαλον· ὅρων ἰδιώμα ἐξαιρετόν, καὶ κατὰ πάντα ταχέην τὰ περὶ αἰῶνος οὐσία, τήρων μὲν οὖν αἰῶν τῆν αἰετὴν διανομήν καὶ ταχέην, καὶ οὐκ ἀπισπόμενον ταυτὴς, τὸ αὐτὸ δ’ ὅμως ἐν ἡλικίᾳ ἀσάμαλος ὑπαρχόν. Ψυχῆς δὲ ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ταυτῶν, — οὐσία μὲν ἀγαθὸν οὐκ εἰς παρῆσιν, οὐδ’ αἴτια τὸ ἀγαθὸν πρῶτερα οὐσα καὶ τῆς οὐσίας, ἐποχὴ δὲ τίς ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐξίς ταυτῶν αἰῶν. Sect. i. C. v. p. 8. (P.)

every thing, because all desire good.”* But from the idea of a metaphysical principle, we easily pass to that of a *cause*, and from a *cause* to a *being* or *person*. “*The good*,” (*αγαθον*,) he says, “is the principle and first cause,”† and the first cause he makes synonymous to God. “God and *the good* (*αγαθον*,) are the same. For that beyond which nothing is, and which all desire, is God.”‡

It was by metaphysical reasoning that the Platonists made *the good* to be synonymous to *the one*, all numbers consisting of unity repeated, and therefore proceeding from it, and being resolvable into it, as they said that all things proceed from, and return to, their respective causes; a maxim which occurs perpetually in Proclus. “*The one* and *the good*,” (*αγαθον*,) he says, “are the same.”§

Though every thing was by the Platonists called *αρχη*, or *principle*, with respect to that which immediately followed it, yet in the strict sense they applied this term to the first and highest principle only. “Nothing,” says Proclus, “is superior to the *αρχη*; for if *essence* was before *the one*, *essence* must be *the one*, but it is not so.”|| He also makes *life* synonymous to the first principle, for he arranges all kinds of beings in the following order, *life*, *nous*, *soul*, and *body*.¶

As the supreme Being, or cause, must, according to these sublime Platonists, be superior to every thing, it is amusing enough to see how they were puzzled in making him superior to *essence*, which also they strangely enough make synonymous to *nous*.** If God must be superior to *essence*, and be the *cause* of *essence*, they were well aware that he must then have made himself, since he must have *essence* as the foundation of his other properties. This, therefore, seems to have been admitted by the Platonists, and their reasoning on this subject is truly not a little curious. Plotinus says, that “*essence* is not a cause with respect to God, but God with respect to *essence*, for he made it for himself, and having made it, placed it without himself, he not wanting *essence*, since he made it: for, considered as *being*, he did

* Ει γαρ πάντα τα ὄντα του αγαθου επιειται, δηλον οτι το πρωτως αγαθον επιεικται ες των ὄντων. Instit. C. viii. p. 418. (P.)

† Παντων των ὄντων αρχη και αιτια πρωτη εστι το αγαθον εστι. Ibid. C. xii. p. 420. (P.)

‡ Και γαρ τ' αγαθον και Θεου ταυτου ου γαρ μηδεν εστιν επιεικται, και ου παντα επιεικται, Θεου ταυτου. Ibid. C. cxiii. p. 462. (P.)

§ Ταυτων γαρ εν και τ' αγαθον. Ibid. C. xx. p. 425. C. xxv. p. 428. (P.)

|| Της γαρ αρχης οθεν ειναι κρειττον εστιν αναγκαιον. ει δε η ουσια πρωται ειναι, ωσπουτος εστιν την ουσιαν το εν, αλλ' ουκ η ουσια το εν. In Platonem, L. ii. C. iv. p. 84. (P.)

¶ Η μεν ουκ προδος των ὄντων, αιθη, δια ζωης, και νου, και ψυχης, εις την σωματικην τελειτητα φησιν. Ibid. L. iii. C. vi. p. 131. (P.)

** Και γαρ ο νους ουσια. Ibid. L. ii. C. iv. p. 93. (P.)

not make *being*. But it will be said he must then have been before he was, if he made himself, being his own maker; but we must say, that he is not to be considered as a thing made, but as a maker.* On this a question is started, whether God could have made himself otherwise than he did. But it is answered, that “God being *will itself*, there could be no will prior to his existence.”† *Proclus* says, that “what subsists of itself, being one, is at the same time the *cause* and the *caused*.”‡

The notion of God having made himself, or being *his own father*, and *his own son*, is well exposed by the author of the *Recognitions*, as implying that he must have existed before he did.§

This doctrine of the superiority of the Divine essence to every thing else, led these *Platonists* to some curious distinctions with respect to *the place* of God; and as they imagined that his being *contained* in any thing would imply some kind of inferiority, they therefore made him the *container*. “The gods,” says *Jamblichus*, “are not subject to any part of the universe, nor is any part free from them; but, being superior, they are not so *in it* as to be contained by it, but they contain all things, and terrestrial things have their essence in the divine fulness.”|| To illustrate this, he says, that “as light contains the things which are enlightened by it, so the power of the gods contains the things which partake of it.”¶

* Ουδε εστιν αυτα αρχη η θσια αυτη· αλλ’ αυτος αρχη της θσιας ων, εχ αυτα εποησε την θσιαν· αλλα ποιησας ταυτη εξω ειατεν εαυτη· ατε εδεν τα ειναι δεσμενος, δε εποησεν αυτο· ου ταινον εδε καθ’ ο εστι ποιει το εστι. Τι εν ου συμβαινει, ειπαι τις αν, πριν η γενεσθαι γεγεννηται· ει γαρ ποιει εαυτον, το μεν εαυτη επω εστι. Το δ’ αυ ποιειν, εστιν ηδη προ εαυτη, τη ποιημενε υτος αυτη· προς ο δη λεκτεον, ως ολος ου τακτεον κατα τον ποιημενον, αλλα κατα τον ποιηντα. En. vi. L. viii. C. xix. xx. p. 754. (P.)

† ΕΔΥΝΑΤΟ εν αλλοις ποιειν εαυτον η ο εποησε—εδε το προ βηλησεως αρα· πρωτον αρα η βηλησις αυτος. Plotinus, En. vi. L. viii. C. xxi. p. 755. (P.)

‡ ‘Εν γαρ ου αμα και αιτιον εστι και αιτιατον. Instit. xlv. p. 436. (P.)

§ “Sine principio ergo dicimus Deum, ineffabili providentia demonstrante: qui non à seipso factus est, nec à seipso genitus: est enim sine principio et ingenuitus: ingenuiti autem appellatio, non quid sit, nobis intelligere dat, sed quod non est factus. Autopatoran verò et Autogeneton, hoc est, ipsum sibi patrem, ipsumque sibi filium, qui vocaverunt illud quod est ingenuitum, contumeliam facere conati sunt, dubiis deservientes rationibus. Indigere enim nativitate illud quod erat prius quam nasceretur, parvulorum more intelligentes, putaverunt; et illud quod fuerat pro eo quod fuerit ponentes, quasi per seipsum factum, dicere, insania insanierunt; et plantationibus comparare illud quod est ingenuitum ut dæmoniosi, ausi sunt.” L. iii. Sect. iii. p. 519. (P.)

|| Ουτε γαρ οι θεοι κρατηνται εν τισι τε κωσμη μερεσιν, ετε τα περι γην αμοιρα αυτων καθεσηκεν· αλλ’ οι μεν κρειττονες εν αυτω ως υπο μηδεν περιεχονται, και περιεχεσι παντα εν αυτοις· τα δ’ επι γης εν τοις πληρωμασι των θεων εχονται το ειναι. Sect. i. C. ix. p. 15. (P.)

¶ ‘Ὅσπερ εν το φως περιεχει τα φωτιζομενα, ούτωςι και των θεων η δυναμις τα μεταλαμβανοντα αυτης εξαθεν περιειληφε. Ibid. p. 17. (P.)

Agreeably to this, *Plotinus* says, that “intelligible place is in God, and not God in it.”*

The soul, likewise, having the same superiority to the body that God has to the intelligible world, it follows, from the same principle, that the soul of the world is not contained in the world, but the world in its soul. Accordingly, *Plotinus* says, “The soul is not in it, but it is in the soul; for the body is not the place for the soul, but the soul is in the *nous*.”† Pursuing the same idea, he would have said that the *nous* was in *the good*.

Again, as the soul of man bears the same relation to the body of man that the soul of the world bears to the world, *Plotinus* says, that “Plato, giving a soul to the body, did well in saying that the body was in the soul.” He illustrates this by saying, in the same connexion, that it is more proper to say that “air is in light, than that light is in air.”‡ From this specimen of the *physics* of Plato, some idea may be formed of his *metaphysics*; for he is just as great in the one as he is in the other. If we may reduce to some general maxim all his observations concerning the *place* of things, we should perhaps say, that when two things, which have mutual action, exist together, that which is the more refined and the more excellent of the two, is to be considered as the *container*, and the other as the *contained*.

The word *Trinity* does not much occur in the writings of the *Platonists*, till we come to *Proclus*, who has a *trinity of trinities*, and pretends to find them all in Plato. I am far from being able to develope the ideas of *Proclus* on this subject, and shall only extract from him so much as may serve to shew, that he did not mean a trinity of *persons*, but only of *principles*. “Unity,” he says, “must precede the trinity.”§ He speaks of a “Demiurgus, as placed before the trinity.”|| “All trinity is *wholeness*.”¶ “In every trinity there is an end, an infinite, and a mixed.”** “Every thing divine is

* Ὁ δε νοητος τοπος εν αυτω, αυτος δε ηκ εν αλλη. *En. vi. L. vii. C. xxxv. p. 727. (P.)*

† Ψυχη δε εκ εν εκεινω, αλλ' εκεινος εν αυτη' ηδε γαρ τοπος το σωμα τη ψυχη, αλλα ψυχη μεν εν νω. *Ibid. v. L. v. C. ix. p. 528. (P.)*

‡ Ὡςτε αρθως εχειν και ενταλθα λεγειν, ως δ αυη εν τω φωτι, ηπερ το φως εν τω κερι. Διο και Πλαταν καλως την ψυχην ενθεις εν τω σωματι επι παντος, αλλα το σωμα εν τη ψυχη. *Ibid. iv. L. iii. C. xxii. p. 388. (P.)*

§ Δει δε αυ προ της τριαδ' ε, και προ παντ' ε πληθους εν ειασω διακοσμω την μοναδα προϋπαρχειν. Πασαι γαρ ταξεις θεων απο μοναδ' ε αρχιναι. In *Platonem, L. v. C. xiv. p. 281. (P.)*

|| Και δ μεν εις ομημεγας προ της τριαδ' ε τεταγμεν. *Ibid. L. vi. C. vi. p. 356. (P.)*

¶ Και οτως η μεν συμπουλα τριας ολοης εσιν. *Ibid. L. iii. C. xx. p. 166. (P.)*

** Εν διαση γαρ εσι πικρας, απειραν, μικρον. *Ibid. L. iii. C. xiii. p. 142. (P.)*

fair, wise, and powerful. This trinity belongs to all the gods”*
 “For the three trinities themselves, declare mystically the
 unknown cause of the first, and altogether incommunicable
 God.”†

With respect to these different trinities, he says, “the
 first trinity is called one being.”‡ He also speaks of the
 first trinity as establishing all things, the second as giving
 them motion, and the third as reducing things to their first
 principles. § But the whole is most obscurely expressed.
 “The second trinity,” he says, “is called *wholeness*, per-
 ceived by the mind.”|| “Its parts,” he says, “are *the one*,
 and *the being*, which are the extreme, and the middle power
 joins them, but does not perfectly unite them, as in the
 former trinity.”¶ “This second trinity,” he says, “is in the
Timæus called *αιων*.”** “After this,” he says, “we see
 the third trinity advanced, in which all intelligible multi-
 tude appears, in which we also see *wholeness*, but con-
 sisting of many parts.”††

When my readers have perfectly understood these few
 passages relating to the *Platonic* trinities, let them proceed
 to what *Proclus* farther says of the *Demiurgic trinity*,‡‡
 and of the *Demiurgic unity* taken “from the trinity of the
 governing fathers,”§§ and then he will be pretty well pre-
 pared for the study of the Christian Trinity. ||||

* Λεγει τινων ὁ Σωκρατῆς ὡς ἀρα παν ἐσι το θειον καλον, σοφον, δυνατον, και την τριαδα
 ταυτην διηκειν επι πασας ενδεικνυλαι τας των θεων προουδεις. In *Platonem*, L. i. c. xxi.
 p. 56. (P.)

† Και γαρ αι τρεις αυται τριαδες μυστικως επαγγελλλοσι την τε πρωτην Θεον, και αμειβεται
 παντελος αγνωστον αιλιαν. Ibid. L. iii. C. xiv. p. 143. (P.)

‡ Καλειται δ' εν η πρωτη τριας, εν ον. Ibid. L. iii. C. xx. p. 164. (P.)

§ Επει και των οντων η μεν πρωτη τριας εδραζειν ελεγελο τα παντα, και προ των αλλων
 την δευτεραν τριαδα μνει γην ὁ αιων εν αυτη σαφτερως η δε μελα ταυτην, προουδε, και κινη-
 σεως, και της κατ' ενεργειαν ζωης τοις ὁλοις χορηγος η δε τριτη, της επι το εν επιστροφης,
 και της τελειοτητος συνελισσωσης τα δευτερα παντα προς τας εαυτων αρχας. Ibid. L. iv.
 C. iii. p. 184. (P.)

|| Καλειται τινων η δευτερα τοιας, ὁλοτης νοητη μεση δε αυτης, το εν, και το ον, ακρα λεγω
 μεση δε η δυναμις οσα κανιαιδα συναπτει, και εχ' ενει (καθ'απερ εν τη προ αυτης) το εν,
 και το ον. Ibid. L. iii. C. xx. p. 165. (P.)

¶ Ibid. (P.)

** Την γε μην δευτεραν μελα ταυτην εν Τιμαιρ μεν, ακονα προτειρηκεν. Ibid. p. 169.
 (P.)

†† Μελα δε ταυτα, την τριαδα νοησωμεν εφεξης αλληλη προουσαν, εν η το νοητον πληθος
 εκφαινεται παν, ην και αυτην, ὁλοτητα μεν, αλλ' εκ μερων πολλων υψιστησιν ὁ Παρμενιδης.
 Ibid. L. iii. C. xx. p. 166. (P.)

‡‡ Και ὁσπερ η τριας η δημιουργικη μετεχει της προς αυτον ενωσεως. Ibid. L. vi. C. vii.
 p. 358. (P.)

§§ Ὅτι μεν εν η δημιουργικη μοναδος, της τριαδος των ηγεμονικων πατερων εξηρημενη. Ibid.
 C. viii. p. 359. (P.)

¶ The whole of this Section is copied, with a few additions, from the Author's
 paper in *Theol. Repos.* 1784, IV. pp. 381—399, 402—404.

SECTION II.

Of the Doctrine of the Platonists concerning the Union of the Soul with God, and general Observations.

HAVING seen this strange confusion of ideas respecting the Divine nature, its operations and influences, we shall the less wonder at the mysticism of these Platonists with respect to the exaltation of the mind of man by a supposed union with the Divine nature, so as to be *supported* and *nourished* by it; for it was a maxim with them, that every thing is perfected and nourished by its proper *cause*, as *Jamblichus* says, “The soul is perfected by the *nous*, and nature by the soul; and in like manner other things are nourished by their causes.”* One would think, however, that, admitting this principle, it might be sufficient to suppose every thing to be perfected by its proper and *immediate cause*; and, therefore, that the mind of man should be perfected by its union to the *celestial gods*, or at farthest to the divine *nous*, without having any communication with the highest principle of all, or the *good*; and, indeed, upon this idea *Plotinus* speaks of “the soul being attached to the *nous*, and the *nous* to the *good*.”† Agreeably to this also, *Jamblichus* speaks of the soul as “raised by *Theurgy*” (or certain magical operations) “above all matter, and united to the eternal *Logos*.”‡

But this was not sufficient for the souls of these philosophers which aspired higher than those of ordinary men. They thought that they might pass through the *intelligible world*, to the highest principle of all, and be united to the *good* itself. Thus *Porphyrus* says concerning *Plotinus*, that “he was wakeful, and had a pure soul, always aspiring to the Deity, whom he entirely loved; that he did his utmost to deliver himself from the bitter waves of this cruel life, and that thus, as this divine person was raising himself in his thoughts to the first and supreme God, in the method described in the *Banquet of Plato*, this God, without form or idea, and placed above the *nous*, and every thing intel-

* Ψυχή μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ νῦ τελειῖται, φύσις δὲ, ἀπὸ ψυχῆς τὰ τε ἀλλὰ ὡσαύτως ἀπὸ τῶν αἰθῶν πρεφείσται. C. x. Sect. v. p. 126. (P.)

† Ἀνηρήμενης δὲ ψυχῆς εἰς νῦν, καὶ νῦ εἰς τὸ ἀγαθόν. En. vi. L. vii. C. xxxiii. p. 734. (P.)

‡ Ἐκείνου πάσης ὕλης αἰθῶν ποιεῖ, μὴ τῷ αἰδίῳ Λογῷ συννωμένην. Sect. x. C. vi. p. 177. (P.)

ligible appeared to him; to which God," he adds, "I Porphyry, once approached, and was united, in the 68th year of my age."*

The means by which this union with the Deity is effected, is explained by *Proclus*, as far as *mere words* can do it; but the meaning is, I own, above my comprehension. "The soul," he says, "entering into its own unity, beholds every thing, and God."† "Again," he says, "it is the faith of the gods that unites, in an unspeakable manner, all the kinds of gods, and demons, and happy souls to *the good*."‡

Plotinus gives us a more particular account of this mysterious ascent of the soul to God in the following terms, from which some persons may possibly imagine, that they may derive some assistance in attaining to raptures of a similar nature. "The knowledge, or contact of the good, he (*Plato*) says is the greatest thing, and the greatest discipline; not meaning that the intuition of the good itself is the discipline, but something to be learned by it. To this we are led by analogies, negations, the knowledge of external things, and certain gradations. For it must be preceded by purgations, prayers," (supposed to be understood,) "virtues and ornaments of the mind, the ascent to the intelligible world, fixing there, and laying hold of the things that are there. Whosoever becomes at the same time a spectator and a spectacle, of himself and other things, and becoming *essence* and *nous*, and the universal living thing, no longer sees any thing from without, but being himself that thing, that is the intelligible world, or part of it, he is near to it, and within one stage of it," (that is, the good itself,) "then shining with every thing that is intelligible. Then laying aside all discipline, as the rudiments of a school, and being fixed in the beautiful, he knows whither he is advanced. And being borne thence by the *nous* itself, as by a wave, and carried aloft by it, as it were swelling, he gains the sudden intuition. Not seeing *how*, but the

* Ειρήται δ' ότι αγρηπνος, και καθαραν την ψυχην εχων, και αιει σπευδων προς το Θεον ου δια πωσης της ψυχης ηρα, ότι τε παντ' εποικη, απάλλαγηται, πικρον κειμ' εξιπαλιξαι, τε αιμοβολη τωδε βιω' οδως δε μαλιστα τω τω δαιμονιω φωτι πολλοακις εναγωντι εαυτον εις τον πρωτον και επεκεινα Θεον ταις εννοιαις, και κατα τας εν τω συμποσιω ειρηγημενας οδωσ τω Πλατωνι, εφανη εκεινος ο μητε μωρηνηκατε τινα ιδεαν εχων, υπερ δε γεν, και παν τον νοητον ιδρυμενος' φ' ου και εγω ο Πορφυριωσ απαξ λεγω πλησιασαι και ενάθηραι, ετοις αγων εξηκοσον τε και ογδωον. Plotini Vita, ad finem. (P.)

† Εις εαυτην εισεσαν την ψυχην, τα τε αλλα παντα καταφροσσαι, και Θεον. In Platonem, L. i. C. iii. p. 7. (P.)

‡ Ωσ μεν το όλον ειπειν, των θεων κρισις εστι η προς το αγαθον αριστης ενιζουσα τα θεων μη τιμπαται, και δαιμονων, και ψυχων τας ενδαιμονιας. Ibid. L. i. C. xxv. p. 61. (P.)

sight filling his eyes with light, he sees nothing but it, the light itself being the vision.”*

As it may be supposed that the learned commentator of *Plotinus*, viz. *Marsilius Ficinus*, well understood this sublime part of *Platonism*, and may explain it better, I shall give his comment upon it. “The ladder by which we ascend to the *principle* has seven steps. The first is, the purgation of the mind; the second, the knowledge of the divine works particularly provided; the third, the contemplation of the order by which the inferior works are gradually brought to the superior; the fourth, a certain proportionable comparison, bringing it from this order to that which is divine; the fifth, is negation, by which you separate all that you conceive from the principle; the sixth, is earnest prayer to God, that the Father of the intellectual world himself may truly make you the intellectual world, being virtually this world from the beginning; the seventh, that when you are become the intellectual world, being carried farther by the love of *the good*, you may be transformed from the intellectual state to *the good*, which is above intellect.”†

Jamblichus follows *Plotinus*, and agrees with him in his account of this mystical union of the soul to God. Considering how far the actions of the soul in these divine ecstasies are voluntary, he says, “This divine irradiation, which comes by prayers, shines and operates voluntarily, and is far from any thing of violence. But, by a divine energy and perfection, as much excels all voluntary motion,

* Εστι μὲν ἀγαθὸν εἴτε γνῶσις εἴτε ἐπιπέφω, μεγίστον, καὶ μεγίστον φησὶ τέλος εἶναι μάθημα, οὐ τὸ πρὸς αὐτὸ ἰδεῖν μάθημα λέγων, ἀλλὰ περὶ αὐτῆ μαθεῖν τι πρῶτοτερον διδάσκεισι μὲν ἐν ἀναλόγησι τε καὶ ἀφαιρέσει, καὶ γνῶσεις τῶν ἐξ αὐτῆ, καὶ ἀναβάσμοι τινες πορευομένης δὲ καθαρσεὶς πρὸς αὐτὸ καὶ ἀρεταὶ καὶ κοσμησεὶς, καὶ τῆ νοητῆ ἐπιβάσεως, καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτῆ ἰδύσεως, καὶ τῶν ἐκεῖ ἐπιπέφωσις ὅς τις γενήσεται ὅμη θεαλῆς τε καὶ θεάμα, αὐτὸς αὐτῆ καὶ τῶν ἀλλῶν, καὶ γενόμενος ὄντια, καὶ νῆς, καὶ ζῶν παντέλες, μηκέτι ἐξώθεν αὐτὸ βλέπει τέλος δὲ γενόμενος, ἐγγύς ἐστι, καὶ τὸ ἐφεξῆς ἐκεῖνο καὶ πᾶσι, αὐτὸ ἤδη ἐπὶ παντὶ τῷ νοητῷ ἐπιπέφωσιν· ἐνθα δὲ εἰσῆσται τις πᾶν μάθημα, καὶ μεχρὶ τῆ παιδαγωγῆσει, καὶ ἐν καλῷ ἰδύσει, ἐν ᾧ μὲν ἐστὶ μεχρὶ τῆ νοεῖ· ἐξενεχθεὶς δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ τῆ νῆ ἰόν κυματι, καὶ ὄψα ὑπ’ αὐτῆ ἰόν αὐσηπᾶνός ἀρτίως εἰσεῖδεν ἐξαιφνης ἕκ ἰδῶν ὅπως, ἀλλ’ ἡ θεὰ πᾶσα φάος τὰ ὀμμάτια, οὐ δ’ αὐτῆ πεποινηκεν ἄλλο ὄραον, ἀλλ’ αὐτὸ τὸ φῶς τὸ ὄραμα ἦν. Plotini En. vi. L. vii. C. xxxvi. p. 727. (P.)

† “Scala per quam ascenditur ad principium, septem gradus habet: primus est purgatio animi: secundus, cognitio operum divinorum singulatim comparata: tertius, contemplatio ordinis quo opera inferiora reducuntur ad superiora gradatim: quartus, comparatio quedam proportionalis ex ordine hujusmodi ad divinum ordinem sese conferens: quintus, negatio per quam cuncta quæ concipis separet à principio: sextus, supplex ad Deum oratio, ut ipse intellectualis mundi pater te reddat mundum intellectualem actu: eius enim potentia mundus hic ab initio: septimus, ut quum ipse intellectualis mundus evaseris, ulterius amore boni concitus, ex statu intellectuali transformeris in bonum superius intellectu.” Plotini En. vi. L. vii. p. 727. (P.)

as the divine will of *the good* excels all animal volition. By such volition the gods, being gracious and merciful, infuse abundant light on those who are engaged in theurgic exercises, calling their souls to them, and giving them an union with themselves; accustoming them, even when they are in the body, to be separate from the body, and to be carried to their eternal and intelligible principle. What I say, appears from facts to be the safety of the soul. For in seeing these happy visions, the soul changes its animal life, and acts with another energy; and seeing things in their true light, he no longer considers himself as a man. For after quitting his proper life, he becomes possessed of the most happy energy of the gods.*

Plato himself is always referred to, as having taught this method of the ascent of the soul to God, or the chief good. But though what he has said on the subject may have led to this mysterious business, it falls far short of it. Treating of *beauty*, in his dialogue entitled *The Banquet*, he says, we may pass from particular beautiful objects in nature to *beauty in the abstract*, and this he describes as the same thing with *good* in the abstract, or the first principle of all things, in the contemplation of which consists the highest happiness of man. Having described this progress at large, he says, in Mr. Sydenham's translation,

“Here is to be found, if any where, the happy life, the ultimate object of desire, to man. It is to live for ever in beholding this consummate beauty, the sight of which, if ever you attain it, will appear not to be in gold, nor in magnificent attire, nor in beautiful youths or damsels. With such, however, at present, many of you are so entirely taken up, and with the sight of them so absolutely charmed, that you would rejoice to spend your whole lives, were it possible, in the presence of those enchanting objects, without any thoughts of eating or drinking, but feasting your eyes only with their beauty, and living always in the bare sight of it. If this be so, what effect think you, would the

* Αυτοφανής γὰρ τις ἐστὶ καὶ αὐτοτελής, ἢ διὰ τῶν κλήσεων ἐλάμβανεις, πορρῶ τε τε κατέλειπτοσθαι ἀφῆρθεκε, διὰ τῆς θείας τε ἐνεργείας καὶ τελειότητος προεῖσιν εἰς τὸ ἐμφανές, καὶ τὸσοῦτο προεχθεῖ τῆς ἐκείνη κινήσεως, ὅσον ἢ τὰ γὰρ δὴ θεία βελήσις τῆς πρᾶξις ἐπιτελεῖται ἐπερὲς ζῶης διακτῆς τοιαύτης ἐν βελήσεως, ἀφῆτοσθαι οἱ θεοὶ τὸ φῶς ἐπιλαμπρῶσιν, ἐμμενεῖς οὐτὲς καὶ ἰλερ τοῖς θεορῶσι, τὰς τε ψυχὰς αὐτῶν εἰς ἑαυτῆς ἀνακαλομένησι, καὶ τὴν ἑνώσιον αὐταῖς τῆς πρὸς ἑαυτῆς χερῶσιν, ἐδιδῶντες τε αὐτὰς καὶ ἐτι ἐν σώματι ἕσας ἀφῆσασθαι τῶν σώματων, ἐπι τε τὴν αἰδίον καὶ νοήτην ἑαυτῶν ἀρχὴν περιελαμπρῶσιν.—Δηλον δὲ καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἐργῶν ἡ νῦν φάμεν εἶναι τῆς ψυχῆς σάτηρον ἐν γὰρ τῷ θεῶσιν τῶν μακαρῶν θεσμάτων, ἢ ψυχῆ ἀλλήν ζῶην ἀλλατῆται, καὶ ἕτεραν ἐνεργείαν ἐνεργεῖ, καὶ ἐδ' ἀνθρώπος εἶναι ἡγεῖται, τὸ τε ὄρῶσιν ἡγεμενῆ πολλῶσιν δὲ καὶ τὴν ἑαυτῆς ἀφῆσασθαι ζῶην, τὴν μακαρῶσιν τῶν θεῶν ἐνεργείαν ἠλλάξασθαι. Jamb. de Myster. Sect. i. C. xii. p. 23. (P.)

sight of *beauty itself* have upon a man, were he to see it pure and genuine, not corrupted and stained all over with the mixture of flesh and colours, and much more of like perishing and fading trash; but were able to view that divine essence, *the beautiful itself*, in its own simplicity of form? Think you that the life of such a man would be contemptible or mean; of the man who always directed his eye towards the right object, who looked always at real beauty, and was conversant with it continually? Perceive you not that, in beholding the beautiful, with that eye with which alone it is possible to behold it, thus and thus only could a man ever attain to generate not the images or semblance of virtue, as not having his intimate commerce with an image or a semblance, but virtue true, real, and substantial, from the converse and embraces of that which is real and true? Thus begetting true virtue, and bringing her up till she is grown mature, he would become a favourite of the gods, and at length would be, if any man ever be, himself one of the immortals.* Those who can admire these things, should not complain of *Jacob Behmen*.

This wild enthusiastic notion of an union to God, to be obtained by contemplation, austerity, and a particular discipline, was eagerly embraced by many speculating Christians, and contributed greatly to that turn for mysticism, which infected such great numbers in former times, and which infects many even to this day. It likewise contributed to that fondness for solitude, and abstraction from the world, which gave rise to the establishment of hermits and monks. The language of many Christians has been much the same with the following of *Jamblichus*, who describes “a two-fold state of man, one in which we are all soul, and being out of the body are raised aloft, and dwell with the universal and immaterial gods; and another state in which we are bound by the shell of the body, so

* Ενταυθα τῷ βίῳ, ὡ φίλε Σωκράτες (εἶφη ἡ Μαντινικὴ Ξενή) εἶπερ πῆ ἀλλοῦσι, βίωλον ἀνδρῶν, ἡραμένω αὐτὸ τὸ καλόν· ὁ εἰν πολεῖ ἰδῆς, οὐ κατὰ χρυσὸν τε καὶ ἐσθῆλα καὶ τῆς καλῆς παιδείας τε καὶ νεανίσκος· ὁξεῖ σοὶ εἶναι· ὅς νυν ὄρων ἐκπεπληξῆαι, καὶ εἶομος εἰ καὶ σὺ, καὶ ἀλλοὶ πολλοὶ ὄρωντες τὰ παιδικὰ, καὶ ζῆνοντες αἰεὶ αὐτοῖς, εἰπὼς ἴοντ' ἦν, μήτε ἐσθῆειν, μήτε πίνειν, ἀλλὰ ἡρασθῆαι μόνον καὶ ζῆνειναι· τί δὴ τὰ (εἶφη) οἰομεῖσα, εἰ τῷ γενούτῳ αὐτὸ τὸ καλόν ἰδεῖν εἰλικρινές, καθάρων, ἀμικτόν, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀναπλεῶν σαρκῶν τε ἀνδρῶν καὶ χρωμάτων, καὶ ἀλλῆς πολλῆς φιλομαρίας Ἰσηγῆς, ἀλλ' αὐτὸ τὸ θεῖον, καλόν ἴναίτο μόνειδης κατῆειν· ἀρ' οἰεῖ (εἶφη) φανῶν βίον γιγνοσθῆαι ἐκείσε βλεπόντος ἀνδρῶν, καὶ ἐκεῖνο ὁ δεῖ ἡραμενῶ, καὶ ζῆνοντος αὐτῶ· ἢ οὐκ ἐνδύμη (εἶφη) ὅτι ἐνταυθα αὐτῷ μοναχῶ γενήσεται, ὄρωντι ἢ ὄρατον τὸ καλόν, τικτεῖν οὐκ εἰδῶλα ἀρετῆς, ἀτε οὐκ εἰδῶλα εφραπτομενῶ, ἀλλ' ἀληθῆ, ἀτε τῆ ἀληθῆς εφραπτομενῶ· τεκοντὶ δὲ ἀρετὴν ἀληθῆ, καὶ ἡραμενῶ, ἐπαρχεῖ ἡραφίλει γενεσθῆαι, καὶ, εἶπερ τῷ ἀλλῶ ἀνδρῶν, ἀθανάτῳ καὶ ἐκείνῳ. *Convivium*, p. 331, Ed. Gen. (P.)

as to be confined by matter, and to be, as it were, wholly corporeal."*

Clemens Alexandrinus says, after *Plato*, that he who contemplates ideas, will live as a god among men; that *nous* is the place of ideas, and is God. †

If this account of the doctrine of the *Platonists*, with respect to God and nature, does not give my readers complete satisfaction, it will not be in my power to do it. The passages which I have selected from *Plotinus*, and others, dark as they may appear, are really some of the clearest in all their writings, the bulk of which may be denominated *darkness that may be felt*. The writings of the schoolmen, which have been so much ridiculed on account of their obscurity and idle distinctions, are day-light compared to those of these *Platonists*. I only desire any man of tolerable sense, who has a competent knowledge of the Greek language, and who may be disposed to think there is too much severity in this censure, to spend a single day upon *Plotinus*, *Jamblichus*, or *Proclus*. If he leave them without having his own mind very much beclouded, (of which there is some danger,) I am confident that he will agree with me in my opinion concerning them.

In passing this censure on the writings of these *Platonists*, I am far from wishing to suggest a low opinion of the understandings of the *men*. I believe, that with respect to their intellectual powers, they were equal to any metaphysicians of the present age, or of any other; and so certainly was *Thomas Aquinas*, ‡ and many of the schoolmen. But mankind had not then attained to the first elements of metaphysical knowledge, which is now indeed in a very imperfect state, much behind many other branches of knowledge; and what poor work would *Newton* himself have made, if he had been set to read before he had learned half his letters! As the mere art of reading is perhaps attained with more difficulty than any thing that we learn subsequent to it, so we may say that it cost the world more pains and thought to acquire the very elements of philosophical and metaphysical knowledge, than it did to

* ΣΚΕΨΟΜΕΘΑ δὴ το μετα τελο συμφανως τοις προειρημενοις, και την ημελεραν διπλην κατασασιν· οτε μεν γαρ ἄλλη ψυχη γινομεθα, και εσμεν εξω τη σωματι, μεταροι τε των μεθ' ἄλων των ἄλων θεων μετεωρολογημεν· οτε δ' αυ δεδεμεθα εν τῳ ὀσφραδει σωματι, και απο της ὕλης κατεχωμεθα, και εσμεν σωματοειδεις. Sect. v. C. xv. p. 130. (P.)

† Εικοτας εν και Πλατων των των ιδεων θεωρητικων θεων εν ανδραποις ζησεσθαι φησι· νες δε χαρα ιδεων· νες δε ὁ Θεος. Strom. L. iv. p. 537. (P.)

‡ See Vol. IX. pp. 387, 466.

make the most shining discoveries afterwards. I am far, therefore, from despising the men who laboured under such great disadvantages; but I own that I do despise those who, neglecting, and affecting to despise, the greater light of the present day, involve themselves, and endeavour to involve others, in the darkness which overspread the world two thousand years ago.

Having thus represented what I apprehend *Platonism* to have been, I shall in the next place endeavour to shew how thick a shade from this mass of darkness was thrown upon the Jewish religion in *Philo*, and the Christian in the writings of the early fathers. In the mean time, this view of that system of philosophy which was most admired at the time of the promulgation of Christianity, a system made use of to support a religion still more absurd than itself, debasing the faculties and corrupting the morals of men, may serve to make us more thankful for the pure light of the gospel, which *the Father of lights* was pleased in the fulness of time to send, in order to disperse that gross and baneful darkness.

A fuller display of *Platonism*, in a translation of the writings of *Plotinus*, *Jamblichus*, and *Proclus*, (if it were possible to exhibit such wretched nonsense in any modern language, *) would contribute still more to make Christianity appear to its proper advantage. And indeed, to do it justice, it ought to be compared with that system of knowledge which human reason had actually produced at the time of its promulgation, and not with that which the reason of man (first put into a right track by itself) has been able to produce in the space of two thousand years since that time.

CHAPTER VIII.*

Of the Platonism of Philo.

IT has been seen that, among the Heathen *Platonists*, we have found no uniform and serious personification of the divine *nous*, or *logos*, so that it could be considered as a distinct intelligent person, but only strong figures, and a

* See "Proclus's Commentaries, with a History of the Restoration of the Platonic Theology, by the later Platonists; and a Translation of Proclus's Theological Elements, by Thomas Taylor, 1792." Also, "The Five Books of Plotinus, translated by Thomas Taylor, 1794."

† Vol. II. 1786.

dark, enigmatical description of the *ideas*, or the supposed place of ideas in the Divine mind, constituting what they called the *intelligible world*, or the world to be perceived by the mind, and not by the senses; and which was an exemplar or pattern of the visible world. Upon the whole, it may be asserted, that the Platonists themselves proceeded no farther than to what may be called a strongly figurative personification of the divine intellect, considered as distinct either from the Divine Being himself, or those more excellent qualities from which he was denominated *the good*; so that it cannot be said that, if the Platonists had been seriously interrogated concerning their real opinion, they would have answered that *the good*, and his *nous*, or *logos*, were two distinct intelligent persons, each having ideas, and being capable of reasoning and acting, though their language, literally interpreted, will occasionally bear that construction.

In *Philo*, a Jew of Alexandria, who was contemporary with the apostles, we find something more nearly approaching to a real personification of the *logos*, a term which is much more frequent with him than with the *Platonists* themselves; and indeed it was observed, that what they called *nous*, the barbarians called *logos*, which is a literal translation of the *Chaldee* מַמְרָא. *Philo* says so much concerning *ideas* and *the intelligible world*, and is withal so eloquent, that it has been justly observed, “either that *Plato* philonized, or that *Philo* platonized;”* but he was far from advancing so far as the platonizing Christians. However, though he did not, like them, make a *permanent* intelligent person of the divine *logos*, he made an *occasional* one of it, making it the visible medium of all the communications of God to man, that by which he both made the world, and also conversed with the patriarchs of the Old Testament.

It will be seen that *Philo's* own ideas were far from being clear or consistent, but he is much less confused than the proper Heathen *Platonists*, and he sometimes exhibits a Platonism of a simple and less figurative kind. Thus, after observing that “an architect constructs a building after an idea which he has previously formed of it in his mind,” he says, “in like manner, we must judge concerning God, who, intending to build a magnificent city, first devised the plan of it, from which he formed the visible world,

* Τὸσαυτὸν δ' αὐτὸν τοῖς Ἑλλησιν παρασχεῖν θαύμα τῆς ἐν τοῖς λόγοις δυναμῆος, ὡς οὐ λέγειν αὐτὸς, ἢ Πλάτων φιλοποιεῖ ἢ Φίλων πλατωνίζει. Phot. Bib. Sect. cv. p. 278. (P.)

using it as a pattern. As the pre-conceived plan of the building in the mind of an architect has no existence externally, but is stamped upon the mind of the artist, in like manner this *world of ideas* has no place but the divine *logos*, which disposes all things. For what other proper place can there be to receive and contain, not only all ideas, but even a single idea. It is a world-creating power, which has its source in the *true good*.* In another passage also, speaking of the different significations of *place*, he says that "one of them is the divine *logos*, the whole of which God himself has filled with incorporeal powers."† In this place the *logos* is evidently nothing more than the Divine mind itself, or the seat of his ideas; and the *true good*, in the former passage, in which the creative power is said to reside, is the platonic term for the Supreme Being.

Like the other Platonists, *Philo* does not, however, content himself with giving these *ideas*, or the *intelligible world* which is composed of them, a place in the Divine mind, or *logos*, but he also confounds them with the *Logos*. "To speak plainly," says he, "the ideal world is no other than the *logos* of God, who makes the world, nor is an ideal city any other than the reasoning of the architect intending to produce it."‡ Agreeable to this use of the term *logos*, as synonymous to the *ideal world*, he says, "The imitation of a perfectly beautiful pattern, must be perfectly beautiful; but the *logos* of God must be more excellent than beauty itself, as it is in nature, without any additional beauty."§

So far this writer is tolerably intelligible, and so also he is in the following passage, in which he speaks of the ideal world as formed by a power inherent in the Divine mind. Speaking of God saying, *Adam will be like one of us*, he says, "Though God be one, he has many powers. By

* Τα παραπλήσια δη και περι Θεου δοξάζουσιν, ὅς αρα την μεγαλοπολιν κτιζειν διανοηθεις, ενωσαντε σπουτερον της τυπης αυτης, εξ ὧν κοσμον νοητον συζησησμενος αποτελει τον αισθητον, παραδειγματι χωρομενον εκείνη. Καθ' ὡς εν τῷ αρχιτεκτονικῷ ποδιδιαιτωδευσεια πολεις, χωρον εκτος εκ ειχεν, ἀλλ' ενεσφραγισο τη τε τεχνιτη ψυχῃ, τον αυτον τροπον, εδ' ὁ εκ των νεων κοσμος ἄλλον αν εχει τοπον, η τον θειον λογον τον παντα διακοσμησαντα. Επει τις αν ειη των δυναμεων αυτα τοπος ἕτερος, ὅς γενουτ' εν ἱκανος, ου λεγω πασας, ἀλλα μιαν ακρατιον ἦτιν αν δεξασθαι τε και χωρησαι' Δυναμις δε και η κοσμοποιητικη, πηρηνη εχρητα το προς ἀληθειαν αγαθον. De Mundi Opificio, p. 4. (P.)

† Κατα δευτερον δε τροπον ὁ θειος λογος, ὃν εκπροληρωκεν ἕλον δι' ὧν ασωματοις δυναμεσιν αυτος ὁ θεος. De Somniis, p. 574. (P.)

‡ Ει δε τις εδελθησει γυμνοτεροις χρησησασθαι τοις ονομασιν, εδεν αν ἕτερον ειποι τον νοητον ειναι κοσμον, η Θεου λογον ηδη κοσμοποιηντ. Ουδε γαρ η νοητη πολεις ἕτερον τι εστιν, η ὁ τη αρχιτεκτονος λογισμος ηδη την νοητην πολιν κτιζειν διανοημενος. De Mundi Opificio, p. 5. (P.)

§ Αναγκη δε παρκαλη παραδειγματι παλκαλον ειναι μιμημα. Θεου δε λογος, και αυτε καλλης, ὅπερ εστιν εν τη φησει καλλος, αμεινων, ου κοσμημενος καλλει' κοσμος ὁ αυτος αν, ει δει τ' ἀληθες ειπειν εκπροπρεπτατος εκεινη. Ibid. p. 32. (P.)

these powers the intelligible and incorporeal world is made, the archetype of that which is visible, consisting of invisible ideas, as this does of visible bodies.”*

In one passage he speaks of these divine powers by which the invisible world is made, as *two*; but he does not explain himself with respect to that particular number. “God,” says he, “being one, has two supreme powers. By these powers the incorporeal and ideal world is made, the archetype of the visible world, consisting of invisible ideas, as this is visible to the eyes.”† He likewise speaks of the divine *logos* as “flowing from the fountain of wisdom like a river.”‡ But in the following passage he makes the *logos* to be the same with *wisdom*, and thereby makes a nearer approach to the ideas of the Christian fathers. Allegorizing the rivers of paradise, he says concerning one of them, that “it is the river which is productive of goodness. It proceeds from the wisdom of God, which is the *logos* of God; for according to this its productive power is made.”§

But in another place he makes the *logos* to be different from this *wisdom*, which he makes to be the mother of the *logos*; and this circumstance may, perhaps, throw some light upon the *two divine powers*, by which, in the passage quoted above, he said that the intelligible world was made. Allegorizing Moses’s description of the high priest, he says, “This high priest does not mean a man, but the *logos* of God, free from all sin, voluntary or involuntary. When Moses forbids him to defile himself on account of his father the *nous*, or his mother the *senses*, I think that he must have parents incorruptible and holy; his father God, who is also the father of all, and his mother, *wisdom*, by which every thing was produced.”|| In this figurative and confused manner

* ‘Εἰς ὧν ὁ Θεὸς ἀμύθητος περὶ αὐτὸν ἔχει δυνάμεις. Διὰ τῶν δυνάμεων ὁ ἀσώματος καὶ νοητὸς ἐπαρχὴ κόσμος, τὸ τῆ φαινόμενα τὰδε ἀρχετυπὸν, ἰδέαις αἰρατοῖς συσταθεῖς, ὡσπερ οὗτος σωμασὶν ορατοῖς. De Confusione Linguarum, p. 345. (P.)

† ‘Εἰς ὧν ὁ Θεὸς δύο τὰς ἀνωτάτω δυνάμεις ἔχει. Διὰ τῶν τῶν δυνάμεων, ὁ ἀσώματος καὶ νοητὸς ἐπαρχὴ κόσμος τὸ τῆ φαινόμενα τὰδε ἀρχετυπὸν, ἰδέαις αἰρατοῖς συσταθεῖς, ὡσπερ οὗτος ὁμοσασὶν ορατοῖς. De Mundo, p. 1150. (P.)

‡ Κατεῖσι δὲ ὡσπερ ἀπὸ πηγῆς τῆς σοφίας ποταμῶ τροπὸν ὁ θεῖος λόγος. De Somniis, p. 1141. (P.)

§ Ποταμὸς ἡ γενικὴ ἐστὶν ἀγαθότης. Αὐτὴ ἐκπορεύεται ἐκ τῆς τῆ Θεοῦ σοφίας. Ἡ δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ Θεοῦ λόγος, κατὰ γὰρ τὴν πεποιθῆται ἡ γενικὴ ἀρετὴ. De Mundi Opificio, p. 52. (P.)

|| Λεγομένη γὰρ τὸν ἀρχιερεῶ ἐκ ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλὰ λόγον θεῖον εἶναι, πάντων ἢ ἐκθεσίων μιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀκεσίων ἀδικημάτων ἀμετοχὸν, ἔτε γὰρ ἐπὶ πατρὶ τῷ νοῦ, ἔτε ἐπὶ μητρὶ τῆ ἀσθητικῆς φησὶν αἰὼν Μαῦτης ὑνασθεῖται μινανεσθεῖται, διότι οἱμαὶ γονεῶν ἀφάρτων καὶ καθαρῶν ἐλάχεν, πατὴρ μὲν Θεοῦ, ὅς καὶ τῶν συμπαντῶν ἐστὶ πατὴρ, μητὸρ δὲ σοφίας, δι’ ἧς τὰ ὅλα ἠλθεν εἰς γενεσὶν. De Profugis, p. 466.

Those who are offended at the allegorical method of interpreting the Scriptures

does *Philo* at length come to what may be called an intermediate principle between God and the creation. This *logos* he also calls “the *image of God*, by which all the world was made.”*

Having got an image of God, he likewise makes an image of this image; but his explanation of this I do not pretend fully to understand. Having called “the invisible and intelligible world the divine *logos*, or the *logos* of God, the image of God, and the image of that intelligible light which was the image of that divine *logos*, which explains its origin, it is,” he says, “that super-celestial star, which is the source of the visible stars, and which may be called the universal splendour, from which the sun, moon, and stars, fixed or wandering, derive their respective splendours.”†

But besides making the *logos* to be the image of God, *Philo* gives it an occasional real personification, and makes it to be the medium of the Divine communications to mankind, the symbol of the Divine presence, and even to assume the form of an angel, or a man. “Though no person,” he says, “is worthy to be called the Son of God, endeavour to be accomplished like his first-begotten *logos*, the most ancient angel, as being the archangel of many names; for it is called the *αρχη*,” (the beginning or principle,) “the name of God, and the *logos*, and the man according to his image, and the seer of Israel. For if we are not worthy to be called the sons of God, let us be so of his eternal image, the most holy *logos*; for this most ancient *logos* is the image of God.”‡

Philo supposed that it was this divine *logos* that had its place between the cherubim in the *Holy of Holies*, but was there invisible. Having described the propitiatory and the

in *Origen*, and the other Christian fathers, should be informed that it is not peculiar to them, nor did it originate with them. *Philo* is as extravagant as any of them in the scope that he gave to his imagination in this way. (P.)

* Λογος θε εστιν εικων θεου, δι’ ου συμπας ο κοσμος εδημιουργηται. De Monarchiâ, p. 828. (P.)

† Τον θε ανωτατον και νοητον θειον λογον, και θεου λογον, εικονα λεγει θεου. Και ταυτης εικονα το νοητον φως εκεινο, ο θεου λογον γεγονεν, εικονα τη διερμηνευσαυτος την γενεσιν αυτου. Και εστιν υπερβαριος αζηρ, πηγη των αισθητων αζηρων. Ήν εκ απο σκοπιη καλεσθην αν τις παναγαθον, αφι’ ης ο ηλιος και η σεληνη και οι αλλοι πλανητες τε και απλανεις αρονται καθ’ οσον εκαστη δυναμις, τα πρεποντα φεγγη. De Mundi Opificio, p. 6. (P.)

‡ Καν μηδεκα μεντοι τυγχανη τις αξιουχρεως αν εως θεου προσαγρευεσθαι, σπριάζε κοσμοεισθαι κατα τον πρωτογονον αυτη λογον, τον αγθελον πρεσβυτιον, ως αρχηγμενον πολυσημον υπαρχοντα, και γαρ αρχη, και ονομα θεου, και λογος, και ο κατ’ εικονα υστρωται, και οραν Ισραηλ προσαγρευεται. Και γαρ ει μωπω ικανοι θεο παυδες ναμιζεσθαι γερουσαμεν, αλλα ται της αυτου εικονας αυτου λογον τη Ιερωτατε. Θεο γαρ εικον, λογος ο πρεσβυτατος. De Confusione Linguarum, p. 341 (P.)

cherubim, he says, that "the divine logos is above these, having no visible form, as not falling under the senses; but is the express image of God, the oldest of all intelligible things, and there is no medium between it and the supreme power." He then compares it to the charioteer, acting by the command of the person who is carried in the car.*

Calling God, the Father, he calls the logos the Son. Having spoken of the high priest as standing before the Holy of Holies with his breast-plate, which represented the logos, he says, it was necessary that he who officiated as priest to the Father of the world, should have his most accomplished Son as an advocate. †

Having represented the Supreme Being in the character of a shepherd and a king, ordering and conducting all the parts of nature, earth, water, fire, plants, animals, the heavenly bodies, &c., he describes the logos as his *first-begotten Son*, superintending all these things, as an officer under him, and likewise as the angel that God told Moses he would send before him. ‡

The *Platonists* having been used to call the world the *child* or *son* of God, *Philo* calls it, with respect to the *logos*, the *younger son*; this being the object of the senses, the other being perceived by the mind only, and as the older son, remaining with the Father. §

We likewise find this *logos* dignified with the appellation of *god*; but to distinguish him from the Supreme God, he says, that the latter is known by the term God with the article prefixed to it, *the God*; whereas the *logos*, like other inferior gods, is only called God, without the article. Speak-

* 'Ο δὲ ὑπερανὸν τῶν λογῶν θεὸς, εἰς ὄρατὴν ἐκ ἡλθεν ἰδεῖν, ἄτε μὴδενί τῶν κατ' αἰσθησὶν ἐμφερῆς ἂν, ἀλλ' αἰὼς εἰκὼν ὑπαρχὼν θεῷ, τῶν νοητῶν ἀπαξαστανίων ὁ πρεσβυτάτος, ὁ ἐγγύτατος, μὴδενος οὐκ ἔστιν ἀποστασίας, τὸ μόνον ὁ ἐστὶν ἀσφύτως ἀφιδρυσμένος λεγέσθαι γὰρ λαλήσω σοι ἀναθεὶν τῆ ἰλαστικῆς ἀνα μέσῳ τῶν ὄντων χερσὶν, ὥστ' ἡνιοχῶν μὲν εἶναι τῶν δυναμῶν τὸν λόγον, ἐποχῶν δὲ τὸν λαλοῦντα ἐπιμελουμένον τῷ ἡνιοχῷ τὰ πρὸς ὀρθὴν τὴ παύλις ἡνιοχῶσιν. De Profugis, p. 465. (P.) See Doddridge on John i. 3, Note (c).

† Τὸς ἐπὶ τῶν ζῴων δώδεκα λιθῆς ἐκ τριῶν κατὰ τεττάρους ζώων, τὸ συνεχῶς καὶ διαικίως λογὸν τὸ συμπᾶν τὸ λογικὸν ἀναγκαῖον γὰρ ἦν τὸν ἱερωμένον τῷ τῷ κόσμῳ πατρὶ, παρακλήσῃ χρηστῶν τελειοτάτῃ τὴν ἀρετὴν ὑψ., πρὸς τὴ ἀμνηστειαν ἀμαρτημάτων, καὶ χορηγίας ἀφύπναστων αγαθῶν. De Vitâ Mosis, L. iii. Opera, p. 673. (P.)

‡ Καθ' ἑαυτὸν γὰρ τίνα ποιῶντι, γῆν, καὶ ὕδωρ, καὶ ἀέρα, καὶ πῦρ, καὶ ὅσα ἐν ταῖσι φυταῖσι τε αἰ καὶ ζῴα, τὰ μὲν ἴσθητα, τὰ δὲ ἴσθητα, ἐτι δὲ ἦσαν φύσιν, καὶ ἡλίη καὶ σελήνης περιόδους, καὶ τῶν ἀλλῶν ἀστέρων τροπὰς τε αὐ καὶ χορείας ἐναρμονίας, ὡς ποιῶντι καὶ βασιλεὺς ὁ θεὸς ἀγεῖ κατὰ ὕψος καὶ νόμον, προσησαμένους τὸν ὀρθὸν αὐτῆ λόγον πρωτογενὸν υἱόν, ἐς τὴν ἐπιμελείαν τῆς ἱεράς ταύτης ἀγγελίας, ὅσα τι μεγάλη βασιλείωσ ὑπαρχὸς διαδεξεταιί καὶ γὰρ εἰρηται πρὸ ἰδὴ ἐγὼ ἀποστῆλω ἀγγελῶν μὲ εἰς πρόσωπον σὲ τὸ φιλαξαι σὲ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ. De Agriculturâ, p. 195. (P.)

§ Ὁ μὲν γὰρ κόσμος οὗτος νεώτερος υἱὸς θεοῦ, ἄτε αἰσθητῶν τῶν γὰρ πρεσβυτέρων τῶν οὐδὲνα εἰπὶ νοητῶν δ' ἐκεῖνος, πρεσβυτέρων δ' ἀξιώσας, παρ' ἑαυτῷ καταμένειν ἰενεῶσῃ. On the Immutability of God. Opera, p. 298 (P.)

ing of the God who appeared to Abraham, he says, "The true God is one, but those who are figuratively so called are many; wherefore the sacred word on this occasion distinguishes the true God by the article, I am *the God*, but he that is so called figuratively without the article; he that appeared to thee in the place, not of *the God*, but only of *God*. For here he gives the name of God to his most ancient logos, not being solicitous about the name, but respecting the end which he proposed."*

Philo, notwithstanding his *Platonism*, was so much a Jew, that he ascribed proper *creation* to God the Father only, and the forming of created matter to the *logos*. "God," says he, "who made all things, not only made them to appear, but produced what was not before, being not only a *former* but a *creator*."† But of the *logos*, (according to the likeness of which man was made,) he says, that "he, being produced, imitating his Father, and regarding his patterns, reduced things into form."‡

It might be imagined that the Divine Being, by the emission of this *logos* in so substantial a form, would be deprived of some of his proper power; but to this, *Philo* would probably have replied, that this *second God* was only like a lamp lighted at the original fountain of light, which did not diminish its substance or splendour. For he does apply this comparison (which is so commonly used by the early Christian fathers) to the case of Moses, whose spirit God is said to take from him, in order to impart it to the seventy-two elders. "This," he says, "is not to be understood as if he suffered any loss thereby, but it was like the lighting of one torch by another, which is not diminished by that means, though ten thousand be lighted by it."§ Or he might have supposed that the loss sustained by the emission of the *logos* was only temporary, because he thought that the emission of the *logos* only resembled the emission of light from the sun, which was afterwards drawn into its source again.

* 'Ο μὲν ἀληθεὶς Θεός, εἷς ἐστίν· οἱ δ' ἐν κατὰ χρόνον γενομένοι, πλείους· διὸ καὶ ὁ ἱερός λόγος ἐν τῇ παλαιῇ τὸν μὲν ἀληθεῖς, διὰ τῆ ἀρετῆς μεμνημένον, εἶπεν. Ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ Θεός· τὸν δὲ κατὰ χρόνον χωρὶς ἀρετῆς φασκόν, ὁ οὐθεὶς σοι ἐν τοσούτῳ, οὐ τὴν Θεὸν, ἀλλὰ αὐτὸ μόνον, ἴδεν. Καλεῖ οὖν τὸν Θεὸν τὸν πρῶτον αὐτῆς καὶ κατὰ λόγον, οἱ οὐσιώτατοι μὲν περὶ τὴν ἴσιν τὰν οὐρανῶν· ἀλλ' ἐν τέλος προσεΐδμενος πραγματολογησεί. De Somniis, p. 599. (P.)

† 'Ο Θεὸς τὰ πάντα γενήσας οὐ μόνον εἰς τ' ἠμφανεῖς ἤγαγεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄ προτερον ἔκην, εἶπεν, οὐ οὐρανῶν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ κτίσεως αὐτοῦ ἂν. Ibid. p. 577. (P.)

‡ 'Ο Θεὸς ἡμῶν μὲν μνησθεὶς τὰς τῆ πατρὸς ὁδὸς πρὸς παραδειγματὰ ἀρχαῖα ἐκείνη βλεπόν, εἶπεν αὐτῷ. De Confusione Linguarum, p. 329. (P.)

§ Λεγέται γὰρ, ὅτι ἀφῆλθε ἀπὸ τῆ πνεύματος τῆ ἐπι σοι, καὶ ἐπίδησα ἐπὶ τῆς ἑβδομηκοντῆς τριῶν ἡμερῶν· ἀλλὰ μὴ, ἡμῶν τῶν τῆ ἀφαιρέσειν κατὰ ἀποκοπήν καὶ διαζέξιν γινεσθῆναι, ἀλλὰ διὰ γενεῆν' ἂν ἀπο τῆς, ὁ κῆν μυρίας ὁδοῦς ἐξῆλθε, μὲν μὴδὲν ἐλάττωσεν ἐν ὁμοίᾳ De Gigantibus, p. 287. (P.)

According to *Philo*, angels are nothing more than this divine *logos*; so that he could not consider them as having a permanent being. Speaking of *Hagar*, he says, "She was met by an angel, which is the *logos* of God, advising her to return to her mistress, and encouraging her."* And treating of the migration of *Abraham*, he says, "He that follows God must of necessity make use of the attending *logoi*, which are commonly called angels."†

Thus it is evident, that *Philo* made a much more substantial personification of the divine *logos* than any of the proper *Platonists* had done; and it is very possible, that by the perusal of his writings, the Christian fathers, to whom they could not be unknown, might be led to their still more enlarged system of personification. As *Philo* had represented the divine *logos* as being the immediate agent in all the communications of God to the patriarchs, they had nothing to do beside making this *logos* to be the same with Christ, and their scheme was very nearly completed. But *Philo* himself was far from imagining that the *logos* had any more relation to the *Messiah* than to any other prophet. According to him, it was the medium of the Divine communications with the prophets, but was never supposed to reside with any of them, and much less to be inseparably attached to them, or to animate them. The *logos* was still a *divine influence* or *efflux*, apprehended to be something belonging to the Divine Being, though occasionally emitted from him, and drawn into him again, when the purpose for which it had been emitted was answered. Where *Philo* ended the doctrine of personification, that of the Christian fathers began. The difference was, that, whereas *Philo* thought the emission of the *logos* to be occasional, and to assume various forms, particularly that of angels, the Christian fathers thought it to be uniform and permanent, and interpreted it of Christ only.

But the first Christians who adopted this opinion of the emission of a divine *logos* or *efflux* went very little farther than *Philo*, saying, as *Justin Martyr* explains their opinion, that this *logos*, which had been that which appeared to *Moses* and the patriarchs, in the form of a luminous cloud,

* Σημειον δε, το υπανταν αυτη αλλελον θειον λογον, α χρη παραινεσοντα, και υφηγησομενον επανοδο της εις τον δεσποινης οικον, ος και θαρσυνων φησιν, Επηκασε κυριος τη ταπεινωσει σε, ην ετε δια φοβον εσχες, ετε δια μισος. De Profugis, p. 451. (P.)

† Ο δε επομενος Θεω, κατα τ' αναγκαιων συνδοκτοιροις χρηται τοις ακοιθετοις αυτε λογοις, ες αναμαζειν εθος αγγελωδ. De Migratione Abrahami, p. 415. (P.)

or *glory*, which had sometimes assumed the form of a *man*, and constituted what are called *angels*, was likewise in Jesus Christ, and enabled him to work miracles, &c. Since, however, according to their opinion, nothing was emitted from God but what he could at pleasure draw into himself again, just as a beam of light was supposed to go out of the sun, and go back to its source, (without indeed being ever separated from it,) they who held it were properly *philosophical Unitarians*; and this is the opinion that is ascribed to *Marcellus of Ancyra*, and other acknowledged Unitarians of early times. *Athenagoras* held this doctrine with respect to the *Holy Spirit*, though he followed Justin Martyr in supposing that, after the emission of the *logos*, before the creation of the world, it always remained *a person*, distinct from the Father, and constituted *the Son* or *Christ*.

With respect to the Jews, it is evident that, in general, they did not use the term *logos* in the *Platonic* sense, but as synonymous to *God*, or the mere token or symbol of the Divine presence. The *Chaldee* paraphrasts often use the term מַמְרָא, *mimra*, which may be translated *logos* or *word*, as, *Gen. i. 27*: "The word of the Lord created man," instead of "God created man."* *Gen. ix. 12*: "This is the token of the covenant which I make between *my word* and you," instead of "between me and you." But that, in the ideas of these writers, the *word* of a person was merely synonymous to *himself*, is evident from their application of the same phraseology to man. Thus the same paraphraser says, (*Numb. xv. 32*), "A certain man said *in his word*, I will go forth and gather sticks on the Sabbath-day;" when he could only mean that he *said to himself*, or purposed in his own mind. *Eccles. i. 2*: "Solomon said *in his word*, Vanity of vanities," &c. *2 Sam. iii. 15, 16*: "Phaltiel put a sword between *his word* and Michal, the daughter of Saul," that is, between himself and Michal.†

* See Bishop Pearson in Lindsey's *Sequel*, 1776, p. 380.

† As is justly observed by Mr. Lindsey, in the *Sequel* to his *Apology*, p. 381. (*P.*) Mr. Lindsey there refers to "Nye on the Trinity, p. 121," and adds,

"In all the examples of the use of this phrase, cited by *Ben Mordecai* and *Allix*, (except *Psalm cx. 1*, and perhaps another exception,) for *word*, or *word of Jehovah*, put *self*, or *himself*, and you will have the true sense of the paraphrase, as well as of the Hebrew text.

"I shall barely mention one objection against the interpretation of this paraphrastic language, *Mimra Jehovah*, the word of Jehovah, signifying Christ, which is this. How is it credible, that these Targumists should use this phrase as descriptive of another being or person, by whom God made all things, and who was at the same time their Messiah; and yet should always maintain that Jehovah, the

Phraseology similar to this is used in the book called the *Wisdom of Solomon*; when the author, describing the plagues of Egypt, says, (*chap. xviii. 15, 16,*) “Thine Almighty word leaped down from heaven, out of thy royal throne, as a fierce man of war, into the midst of destruction, and brought thine unfeigned commandment, as a sharp sword, and, standing up, filled all things with death; and it touched the heavens, but it stood upon the earth.” But that this is only a figurative description of the *power of God*, reaching from heaven to earth, is evident from the language of the whole chapter, where those plagues are ascribed to God, and to no other being whatever: *chap. xix. 9*: “For they went at large, praising thee, O Lord, who hadst delivered them.”

one supreme God, was sole creator of all things; and should never in general look upon their Messiah in any other light but as their future great prophet, whom they expected to be of David's family, and born as other men are?” *Sequel*, pp. 381, 382.



BOOK II.

CONTAINING THE HISTORY OF THE DOCTRINE OF
THE TRINITY.



CHAPTER I.

Of Christian Platonism.

HAVING shewn what were the boasted principles of the *Platonic* school, as held by *Plato* himself, by his followers about the time of the Christian æra, and by *Philo*; let us now see what use was made of them by the philosophizing Christians, many of whom were educated in the Platonic school of *Alexandria*. * Absurd and confused as the system must appear to us at this day, it should be considered that it was the only philosophy that was in vogue at the time of the promulgation of Christianity; so that persons of a liberal education could not well be supposed to adopt any other. In that age, the chief subject of deliberation was the choice of a master in philosophy; and though those who then gave lectures at Alexandria, claimed the privilege of selecting what they thought proper from the systems of all the philosophers, and on that account called themselves *Eclectics*, † the different doctrines were so discordant, that it was not much of any of them that could be adopted into any other.

Accordingly, we find that, with respect to every thing of much consequence, such as the doctrine concerning God, the maker and governor of the world, and the *first principles* of all things, the philosophers of *Alexandria* were, or pretended to be, wholly *Platonists*. And it must be allowed that, compared with other systems, there were many things exceedingly specious in the doctrine of *Plato*, and such as would render it peculiarly captivating to religious and pious persons, who were shocked with the principles of *Aristotle*, as leading to Atheism, and who revolted at the rigour of the

* See *Mosheim*, E. II. Cent. ii. Pt. ii. Ch. i. Sect. iv.—vi. 1758, I. pp. 136, 137.
† See *ibid.* Sect. viii. pp. 139, 140.

Stoics, but were charmed with the *sublimity* of Plato. Also, the air of *mystery* which accompanied his doctrine would not perhaps, upon the whole, lessen the favourable impression which it was calculated to make upon the mind.

The things which most struck the Christians in *Platonism* were the doctrine of one God, a being of perfect goodness, that of his universal providence, that of the soul, and its immortality, and that of the improvement of the mind consisting in its resemblance to God, and a kind of union with him. These things pleased the Christians so much, that they persuaded themselves that *Plato* had actually borrowed them from the writings of *Moses*, with which they said he might have been acquainted during his residence in Egypt, or in his travels in the East. *Justin Martyr*, and others of the fathers, insist much upon this. It was on account of this supposed resemblance between *Platonism* and the doctrine of the Scriptures, that this philosophy was thought to be the best preparation for the study of Christianity; and that it was even imagined that it was given to the world by a particular providence, as introductory to the Christian dispensation. "The Greek philosophy," says *Clemens Alexandrinus*, "cleanses the mind and prepares it for the reception of faith, on which truth builds knowledge."* Other extracts will be given from this writer hereafter, which will more clearly shew what his ideas on this subject were.

That Christians were really struck with the principles of *Platonism* above-mentioned, is not a matter of conjecture only, but appears clearly in their writings. *Minucius Felix* says, that, "according to Plato's *Timæus*, God is the parent of the world, the author of the soul, and the maker of things in heaven and earth. It is nearly," says he, "the same doctrine with our own."† *Tertullian* says, that "Plato's philosophy considers God as caring for all things, as an arbiter and judge."‡ *Irenæus* says, that "Plato was more religious than the heretics, in that he acknowledged the same God to be just and good, omnipotent, and a judge."§

* Φιλοσοφία δε ἡ Ἑλληνική, ἵσον προκαθαίρει καὶ προεπιτίθει τὴν ψυχὴν εἰς παραδοχὴν πίστεως, ἐφ' ἣ τὴν γνῶσιν ἐπικοδομεῖ ἢ ἀληθεῖα. *Strom. L. vii. Opera*, p. 710. (P.)

† "Platonī itaque in *Timæo* Deus est ipso suo nomine mundi parens, artifex animæ, cælestium terrenorumque fabricator. Eadem ferè et ista quæ nostra sunt." *Sect. xix. p. 96. (P.)*

‡ "Platonici quidem, curantem rerum, et arbitrum, et judicem." *Ad Nationes, Sect. ii. Opera*, p. 54. (P.)

§ "Quibus religiosior Plato ostenditur, qui eundem Deum et justum, et bonum, confessus est, habentem potestatem omnium, ipsum facientem judicium." *L. iii C. xlv. p. 269. (P.)*

Clemens Alexandrinus commends Plato as “having made the end of man to be to resemble God, whereas the Stoics said that it was to live according to nature.”* *Origen* also commends Plato as having made happiness to consist in the greatest likeness to God possible.† *Justin Martyr* speaks of Plato as teaching that the world was made by the word of God, out of the things that Moses spake of, meaning probably the chaos,‡ and that the soul of man is immortal.§

The Christian writers, however, are ready enough to acknowledge that they did not adopt the principles of *Plato* indiscriminately. *Origen* says, that “in some things philosophy agrees with the law of God, and in other things is contrary to it; for many of the philosophers say that there is one God, who made all things; and some of them have added, that God made and governs all things by his word.”|| “In saying that all things were made and disposed by God,” *Justin Martyr* says, “we agree with Plato, and in respect to the conflagration, with the Stoics.”¶ And in a later period, when it was perceived that the heretics availed themselves of the principles of Plato, some of the orthodox fathers were sensible of their mischievous tendency. Thus *Jerome* says, “The vain words of the philosophers, which in the doctrines of Plato, kill the infants of the church, are turned into divine vengeance and blood to them.”**

We have the most direct evidence of some of the most distinguished writers among the Christians being charmed with the doctrines of *Plato*, but especially *Justin Martyr*, who seems to have been the first who applied the principles of that philosophy to the advancement of the personal dignity of Christ, and to enlarge his sphere of action in the world.

* ΕΥΤΕΥΘΕΝ ΟΙ ΜΕΝ ΣΤΩΙΚΟΙ, ΤΟ ΤΕΛΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΙΑΣ, ΤΟ ΑΚΟΛΗΘΩΣ ΤΗ ΦΥΣΕΙ ΞΗΝ, ΕΙΡΗΚΑΣΙ. ΠΛΑΤΩΝ ΔΕ, ΟΜΟΙΩΣΙΝ ΘΕΩ, ΩΣ ΕΝ Τῶ ΔΕΥΤΕΡῳ ΠΑΡΕΣΗΣΑΜΕΝ ΣΙΡΩΜΑΛΙ. Strom. L. v. p. 594. (P.)

† Τὴν ΔΕ ΕΥΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΑΝ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΦΗΣΙΝ ΟΜΟΙΩΣΙΝ ΘΕΩ, ΚΑΤΑ ΤΟ ΔΥΝΑΤΟΝ. Philocalia, p. 127. (P.)

‡ ὩΣΤΕ ΛΟΓΩΦ ΘΕΟΝ ΕΚ ΤΩΝ ὑΠΟΚΕΙΜΕΝΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΔΗΛΩΘΕΝΩΝ ΔΙΑ ΜΩΣΕΩΣ ΓΕΓΕΝΗΣΘΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΝΤΑ ΚΟΣΜΟΥ, ΚΑΙ ΠΛΑΤΩΝ, ΚΑΙ ΟΙ ΤΑΥΤΑ ΛΕΓΟΥΝΤΕΣ, ΚΑΙ ἡΜΕΙΣ ΕΜΑΘΩΜΕΝ, ΚΑΙ ἡΜΕΙΣ ΠΕΙΣΘΩΝΑ ΔΥΝΑΣΘΕ. Apol. i. p. 86. (P.)

§ Καί ΜΕΝ ΠΛΑΤΩΝ, ΨΥΧΗ ΠΑΝΤΑ ΑθάΝΑΤΟΝ, ΚΕΚΡΑΓΕ ΛΕΓΩΝ. Ad Græcos, p. 7. (P.)

|| “Philosophia enim neque in omnibus legi Dei contraria est, neque in omnibus consona. Multi enim philosophorum unum esse Deum, qui cuncta creaverit, scribunt. In hoc consentiunt leges Dei. Aliquantum etiam hoc addiderunt, quod Deus cuncta per verbum suum et fecerit, et regat, et verbum Dei sit quo cuncta moderentur.” Opera, I. p. 46. (P.)

¶ Τῷ ΓΑΡ ΛΕΓΕΙΝ ἡΜΑΣ ὑΠΟ ΘΕΟΝ ΠΑΝΤΑ ΚΕΚΟΣΜΕΙΣΘΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΓΕΓΕΝΗΣΘΑΙ, ΠΛΑΤΩΝΟΣ ΔΟΞΟΜΕΝ ΛΕΓΕΙΝ ΔΟΓΜΑ· Τῷ ΔΕ ΕΚΠΥΡΩΣΙΝ ΓΕΝΕΣΘΑΙ, ΣΤΩΙΚΩΝ. Apol. I. p. 31. (P.)

** “Vana philosophorum verba, quæ in doctrinis Platonicis ecclesiæ parvulos interimebant, in ultionem divinam illis conversa est, et in cruorem.” In Ps. lxxvii Opera, VII. p. 97. (P.)

Marks of *Justin's* fondness for this philosophy appear in many parts of his writings; and is not to be wondered at, as he had been addicted to it before he came to be a Christian.* He says, "The notion of incorporeal things, and the doctrine of ideas, charmed me."† What mischief was done to the Christian system by this doctrine of *ideas* will presently appear.

Athenagoras taught the *Platonic* philosophy, in public, at *Alexandria*, and almost all the eminent writers among the Christians, of that and the following age, are well known either to have been educated there, or to have acquired a fondness for the philosophy that was taught both there and at *Athens* at the same time.

Austin, speaking of the principles of *Plato*, says, that "by changing a few words and sentences, the Platonists would become Christians, as many of those of later times have done."‡ He says, that "he learned in some books of the Platonists, translated into Latin, though not in so many words, the doctrine of the Logos, as contained in the introduction to the Gospel of John; that it was with God, and was God, and that the world was made by it, &c. but not the doctrine of the incarnation."§

I am ready enough to join with these Christian writers in their admiration of many things in the philosophy of *Plato*, compared with other systems existing at the same time, and wish that they could be detached from the rest of the system, in which there is so much confusion and absurdity, as I have clearly pointed out. But, unhappily, these admirers of *Plato* carried their admiration much too far; and as we have seen, in the case of *Justin* and *Austin*, were more particularly struck with that very part of this system, namely, that concerning the doctrine of *ideas*, and the Divine

* Και γαρ ἄντος ἐγὼ τοῖς Πλατωνῶν χαίρων διδασκασι. *Apol.* II. p. 127. (P.)

† Και με ἤρει σφόδρα ἡ τῶν ἀσωμάτων νοησις, καὶ ἡ θεωρία τῶν ἰδεῶν ἀνεπτερε μοι τὴν φρονησιν. *Dial.* p. 141. (P.)

‡ "Et paucis mutatis verbis atque sententiis Christiani fierent, sicut plerique recentiorum nostrorumque temporum Platonici fecerunt." *De Verâ Religione*, C. iv. *Opera*, I. p. 704. (P.)

§ "Procurasti mihi per quendam hominem immanissimo typho turgidum, quosdam Platoniorum libros ex Græca lingua in Latinam versos: et ibi legi: non quidem his verbis, sed hoc idem omnino multis et multiplicibus suaderi rationibus, quod in principio erat verbum, et verbum erat apud Deum, et Deus erat verbum: hoc erat in principio apud Deum, omnia per ipsum facta sunt, et sine ipso factum est nihil quod factum est: in eo, vita est, et vita erat lux hominum, et lux in tenebris lucet, et tenebræ eam non comprehenderunt." *Confess. Opera*, I. p. 128.

"Item ibi legi quia Deus verbum non ex carne, non ex sanguine, non ex voluntate viri, non ex voluntate carnis, sed ex Deo natus est. Sed quia verbum caro factum est, et habitavit in nobis non ibi legi." *Ibid.* (P.)

intellect, *nous* or *logos*, in which the greatest darkness and absurdity belonging to it is found. The reason was, that this part of the system, having been previously adopted by *Philo*, furnished them with a pretence for representing their Master in a more reputable light than that of a *mere man*, who had no higher origin than being born in Judea. In what manner they availed themselves of the doctrine of Plato for this purpose, will be seen after I have represented what they imagined the principles of Plato, with respect to the *logos* and other things connected with it, to have been.

I shall begin with observing, that even the Christian fathers do not uniformly represent the principles of *Platonism* as very favourable to their doctrine of the personification of the *logos*. For sometimes they describe those principles as admitting of no more than one proper *mind*, and that belonging to the Supreme Being, or the first cause; the *second principle* being nothing more than his ideas. “Plato’s three principles,” says *Justin Martyr*, “are God, and matter, and idea: God, the maker of all things; matter, which was prior to all production, and which furnished materials for it; and idea, the pattern of every thing that was made.”* *Clemens Alexandrinus* also says, that “Plato considered idea as the mind of God, the same that barbarians call the *logos* of God;”† and observing that *Plato* speaks of one lawgiver, and one master of music, he says, that by this he taught that there is but one *logos* and one God.‡ *Tertullian* says, that “according to Plato, ideas are invisible substances, incorporeal, supermundane, divine and eternal, the forms, patterns and causes of visible things, which are subject to the senses.”§ *Origen*, if the *Philosophumena* be his, expresses this sentiment still more plainly: “The pattern,” says he, “is the mind of God, which he also calls *idea*, by attending to which in his mind, God made all

* Τῷ γὰρ Πλάτωνος τρεῖς ἀρχαὶ τῆ παντὸς εἶναι λεγόντος, Θεοῦ καὶ ὕλην καὶ εἶδον· Θεοῦ μὲν, τὸν πάντων ποιητὴν· ὕλην δέ, τὴν ὑποκειμένην τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν γενομένων γενεσεί, καὶ τὴν κρηβασίαν αὐτῆς δημιουργίας παρεχούσαν· εἶδον δέ, τὸ ἕκαστῃ τῶν γενομένων παραδειγμα. *Ad Græcos*, p. 7. (P.)

† Ἡ δὲ ἰδέα, ἐννοήματα τῶ Θεοῦ, ὅπερ οἱ βάρβαροι λόγον εἰρηκασί τῶ Θεοῦ. *Strom. L. i. p. 558.* (P.)

‡ Ὡς καὶ Πλάτων, ἐν τῷ πολιτικῷ, ἕνα τὸν νομοθετῆν φησὶν· ἐν δὲ τοῖς νομοῖς ἕνα τὸν συνθεσόντα τῶν μουσικῶν· δια τετῶν διδασκῶν τὸν λόγον εἶναι ἕνα, καὶ τὸν Θεοῦ ἕνα. *Ibid. L. i. p. 356.* (P.)

§ “Vult enim Plato esse quasdam substantias invisibiles, incorporeales, supermundiales, divinas, et æternas; quas appellat ideas, id est formas, exempla, et causas naturalium istorum manifestorum, et subjacentium corporalibus sensibus: et illas quidem esse veritates, hæc autem imagines earum.” *De Anima* (Sect. xviii.), p. 276. (P.)

things.* He also says, "Plato's three principles are God, matter, and the pattern." †

These appear to me to have been the genuine principles of *Platonism*, stripped of all figure; and thus understood, no harm could have resulted from them. But this plain state of things would not content the Christian philosophers; as nothing could be made of it to favour their great purpose, namely to make something more of Christ than a mere man, whose existence commenced with his birth. They soon began to dwell more on the personification of the divine *nous* or *logos* (which was originally conceived to be nothing more than a storehouse of ideas) than the *Platonists* themselves had ever done; and they took an evident pleasure in giving this turn to the principles of *Platonism*. Indeed, *Plato's* doctrines had always been variously interpreted, as *Origen* has observed. "How can he," says he, "pretend to know every thing of *Plato*, when his interpreters differ so much among themselves?" ‡ *Platonism*, therefore, being capable of various constructions, it was natural for the Christian fathers to give it that dress which best suited their purpose.

Justin Martyr, the first of the platonizing Christians, did not content himself with that plain and just account of the principles of *Platonism*, which has been described above, though he does not seem to ascribe so much to *Plato* as others did. He says, that "Plato learned from *Moses* what he called a third — principle, viz. the spirit, (which, *Moses* said, moved upon the face of the waters,) for he gives the second place to the *logos*, which was with God, and the third to the spirit, which is said to have moved upon the waters." §

There is more of personification in the following account of the principles of *Plato* by *Tertullian*: "We have said that God formed the world by his word, reason, and power. According to your philosophers, also, the *logos*, that is, the *sermo* and *ratio*, was the maker of the universe. *Zeno* calls

* Το δε παραδειγμα την διουσιαν τῶ Θεῷ εἶναι, ὃ και ἰδεαν καλεῖ, διον εἰκονισματι προσεχεν εν τῇ ψυχῇ ὁ Θεός τα πάντα ἐδημιουργεῖ. *Philosophumena*, p. 110. (P.)

† Πλατων αρχας εἶναι τε παντος Θεου και ἕλην και παραδειγμα. *Ibid.* p. 108. (P.)

‡ Η Ἰακώβησι, ὅτι παντα οἶδε τα Πλατωνος' τοσων ἂσων διαφωνιων και παρα τοις διηγημενοις αὐτα; In *Celsum*, L. i. p. 11. (P.)

§ Και το εἶπειν αὐτον τριτον, επειδη, ὡς προειπομεν, επανω των ὕδατων ανεγνω ὑπο Μωσους εἰρημενον επιφερεσθαι το τε Θεε πνευμα' δευτεραν μεν γαρ χωραν τῷ παρα Θεε λογῷ, ἰν κρημασθαι εν τῷ παντι εφη, διδασι τῆν και τριτην, τῷ λεχθεντι επιφερεσθαι τῷ ὕδατι πνευματι, εἰπων. *Apol.* i. p. 87. (P.)

him the person that formed all things. The same which is called *fate* and *God*, and the *mind of Jupiter*, and the *necessity of all things.*" * *Origen* says, the *Brachmans* acknowledged the *logos* for a *God*. †

Constantine, commending the doctrine of *Plato*, says, that "besides the principal *God*, he made a *second God*, subservient to him, being two in number, but both one in perfection; the substance of the second god being derived from that of the principal one, and being the immediate maker and governor of all things, ‡ subject to the order of the first, and referring the origin of all things to him. The *logos* himself being *God*, is likewise the *Son of God*. For what other appellation besides that of *Son* can be given him without great impiety? For he who is the *Father of all*, is justly called the *Father of his own logos*. So far *Plato* thought justly." §

Thus it should seem, that as *Christians* advanced in their doctrine of the personification of the *Logos*, they ascribed it to *Plato* with more confidence than those who had gone before them. "You speak," says *Austin*, "of a *Father* and his *Son*, whom you call the *Divine intellect* or *mind*, and the middle principle between these, by whom we suppose you mean the *Holy Spirit*; and, after your manner, you call

* "Jam ediximus Deum universitatem hanc mundi verbo et ratione et virtute molitum. Apud vestros quoque sapientes, ΛΟΓΟΝ, id est, sermonem atque rationem constat artificem videri universitatis. Hunc enim Zeno determinat factitorem, qui cuncta in dispositione formaverit. Eundem et fatum vocari, et Deum, et animum Jovis, et necessitatem omnium rerum." *Apol. Sect. xxi. p. 19. (P.)* See *Reeves*, I. p. 256.

† Αλλ' εστιν αυτοις Θεὸς λογὸς. *Philosophumena*, p. 159.

‡ Ἐπὶ τοῦ τοῦ λογῶν, ὃν Θεὸν ὀνομαζέσθω. *Ibid.* p. 164. (P.)

§ "The Doctor's version refers these characters to him whom *Plato* calls the *second God*, and whose substance, he says, "is derived from the principal one." I am inclined to think that, according to the Greek of this quotation, they ought rather to be referred to the principal one, whom *Plato* styles ὁ πρῶτος, ἐξ ὃν ὁ δευτερός Θεὸς ἔχει τὴν ὑπαρξιν τῆς οὐσίας. Ὁ δημιουργὸς καὶ διοικητὴς τῶν ὅλων is here marked out by a character which must in strict propriety belong to the principal one, ἔβηλοντι ὑπερανὰβεβήκως, that is, as I understand it, and so I find *Valesius* translates it, *being transcendent in dignity*; and it seems to be expressly distinguished from ὁ μετ' ἐκείνων, ταῖς ἐκείνων (τῆ πρῶτη) πρῶταξέσθω ὑπερῶσας. When the *ves* is spoken of as the immediate creator, πρῶτεχης is often added to express this idea. See quotation from *Cypril*, and the quotation from the same page." *Anon.* See *supra*, pp. 101, 102, *Note*.

§ Ὑπεράξει ἢ πρῶτον καὶ δευτερον' καὶ δύο οὐσίας τῆ ἀριθμῶ διείλει, μίας οὐσίας τῆς ἀρριφῶτερων τελειότητος, τῆς τε οὐσίας τῆ δευτερῆ Θεῶν τὴν ὑπαρξιν ἐχούσης ἐκ τῆ πρῶτη' αὐτος γὰρ ἐστιν ὁ δημιουργός, καὶ διοικητὴς τῶν ὅλων, δηλονότι ὑπερανὰβεβήκως' ὁ δὲ μετ' ἐκείνων ταῖς ἐκείνων πρῶταξέσθω ὑπερῶσας, τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς τῶν πάντων συστάσεως εἰς ἐκείνων ἀναπεμπτεῖ.

Ὁ δὲ λόγος αὐτός Θεὸς ἂν, αὐτός τυγχάνει καὶ Θεὸς πατὴρ' ποῖον γὰρ ἂν τῆς ὀνομα αὐτῶ περιμίθεισά σαρά τὴν πρῶταξέσθω τῆ παιδός, καὶ ἂν τα μετῶτα ἐξαμαρτάνοι; ὁ γὰρ τοῖ τῶν πάντων πατὴρ, καὶ τῆ ἰδῆ λογῶν δικαίως ἂν πατὴρ νομιζοίτο. Μεχρὶ μὲν ἔν τῶν Πλάτων σωφρων ἦν. *Oratio*, C. ix. p. 684. (P.)

them three Gods.”* But it has been seen that what the *Platonists* generally meant by the *son*, or the *child*, was the visible world.

However, the later Christian writers had no more doubt about the principles of *Plato* than about their own, and it is remarkable, how very nearly they make them approach to each other. *Cyril of Alexandria* asserts, that “*Plato* says, it is plain that the first God is immoveable, but the second, on the contrary, is in motion. The first is employed about intelligible things, the second about things intelligible and sensible.”† Again he says, “*Plato* calls the supreme God *the good*, and says that *nous*, the immediate maker of the world, sprung from him, the first God being immoveable. He also introduces a third, viz. the soul, by which he says every thing was moved and animated.”‡

Lastly, in his account of the principles of *Plato*, after speaking of *the good*, he says, “From him is generated *nous*, (which is perfected by the contemplation of him,) whom they call a second God, and the maker of the world. Him they make subordinate, and place in the second rank. The third they make the soul of the world, which had nothing from itself, but is made more divine by its relation to the *nous*, and stronger with respect to its quickening power.”§ He says that “*Porphyrus*, explaining the doctrine of *Plato*, extends the Divine essence to three hypostases; the first being the Supreme Being, or *the good*; the second, the demiurgus; and the third, the soul of the world, extending the divinity even to this principle.”||

As the Christians were admirers of *Platonism*, so we find

* “*Prædicas patrem et ejus filium, quem vocas paternum intellectum seu mentem: et horum medium, quem putamus te dicere spiritum sanctum, et more vestro appellas tres Deos.*” *De Civitate Dei*, L. x. C. xxix. *Opera*, V. p. 589. (P.)

† Εἰσι δὲ ἔτσι δι βίβλι, ὁ μὲν πρῶτος, ὁ δὲ δευτέρη Θεοῦ· ἡ γὰρ δὲ ἴτι ὁ μὲν πρῶτος Θεοῦ εἶναι εἶναι, ὁ δὲ δευτέρη εἰσακτὴν ἐστὶ κινηθῆναι· ὁ μὲν ἐν πρῶτος, περὶ τὰ νοητὰ· ὁ δὲ δευτέρη περὶ τὰ νοητὰ καὶ αἰσθητὰ. *Contra Julianum*, L. iii. *Juliani Opera*, II. p. 98. (P.)

‡ Ὁ γὰρ Πλάτων Θεοῦ μὲν τῶν ἀνωτάτων φησὶ τ' ἀγαθόν, ἐξ αὐτοῦ γὰρ μὴ ἀναλαμψαὶ γενεῶν, καὶ τῶν εἶναι τὸν προσεχὴ τῶν κόσμων δημιουργόν, οὗτος καὶ ἐν ἀκίνησι τὰ πρῶτα· καὶ τρίτην εἰσφέρει ψυχὴν, ὅφ' ἤσ' τὰ πάντα κινεῖσθαι τε καὶ ἐψυχῶσθαι φησὶ. *Ibid.* L. iv. II. p. 147. (P.)

§ Τῶν δὲ εἶναι φησὶ τ' ἀγαθόν· ἐξ αὐτοῦ γὰρ μὴ γενεῖσθαι γενεῶν, τῆν πρὸς αὐτὸν θεωρίαν τελεῖσθαι, ὅν ἡ καὶ δευτέρη ονομαζέσθαι Θεοῦ, καὶ προσεχὴ τῶν κόσμων δημιουργόν· καὶ τῶν ἐπιβιβάζεσθαι, καὶ ἐν δευτέρᾳ τάξει τὰ πρῶτα κατὰλογίζεσθαι· καὶ μὴ καὶ τρίτην λογισθῆναι, τὰ κόσμους ψυχὴν, οὐκ ἔστι μὲν τὸ ἀσπίως σκεῖν λαχέσθαι ἑδαμῶς, σχεσεὶ γὰρ μὴ τῆν πρὸς τὸν κρείττονα τὸν δεύτερον ἀποτέλεσθαι, καὶ πρὸς γὰρ τὸ δυνασθῆναι ζωοποιεῖν ἐρῶμενεστέραν. *Ibid.* L. viii. II. p. 270. (P.)

|| Πορφύριος γὰρ φησὶ, Πλάτων Θεοῦ ἐκτελεσθῆναι ὄψαν, ἀπὸ τριῶν ὑπόστασεων, τὴν τῆν Θεοῦ προελεῖσθαι ἔστιν· εἶναι δὲ τὸν μὲν ἀνατῶν Θεοῦ τ' ἀγαθόν· μετ' αὐτὸν δὲ καὶ δευτέρη τὸν δημιουργόν· τῶν δὲ καὶ τὴν τῆν κόσμους ψυχὴν· ἀπὸ γὰρ ψυχῆς, τὴν θεωρίαν προελεῖσθαι. *Ibid.* L. i. II. p. 34. He repeats the same, p. 271. (P.)

that some of the Platonists were admirers of that part of the Christian system which was formed after the model of *Plato*; and that they were particularly struck with the introduction to the Gospel of *John*, as interpreted by the *Platonic* Christians. *Basil*, speaking of the first verses of *John's* Gospel, says, that he knew many Heathen philosophers who admired them, and copied them into their own writings.* *Austin* says, that a "Platonic philosopher said that the introduction to *John's* Gospel ought to be written in letters of gold, and hung up in all churches."† *Theodoret* says that *Plutarch*, *Numenius*, and others, after the appearance of our Saviour, inserted in their own discourses many things from the Christian theology.‡

Upon the whole, it must appear that, in representing the principles of *Platonism*, the Christian fathers leaned too much to the object which they had in view, and made more of the personification of the divine *nous* or *logos* than the Platonists themselves had ever done. The latter probably meant nothing more than a mere figure of speech, when they spake of the *nous* or *logos* as a person; but in the hands of the Christian fathers, it became a substantial *second God*, at first derived from the Supreme Being, dependent upon his will, and subject to his orders, but afterwards in all respects equal to himself.

CHAPTER II.

OF THE GENERATION OF THE SON FROM THE FATHER.

SECTION I.

The Doctrine of the Platonizing Fathers concerning the Generation of the Son, as the second Person in the Trinity, stated.

We have seen what notions the Christian fathers entertained of the *second principle*, in what has been called the

* Ταῦτα εἶδα πολλοὺς καὶ τῶν ἐξω τῆ λογῆ τῆς ἀληθείας μεγά φρονούντων ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ κοσμικῇ, καὶ ἑσπασσανίας, καὶ τοῖς ἐαυτῶν συντάγμασιν ἐγκαταλέξαι τὸ μνησάντας. *Hom. xvi. Opera*, I. p. 432. (P.)

† "Quod initium sancti evangelii, cui nomen est secundum Joannem, quidam Platonius,—Aureis literis conscribendum, et per omnes ecclesias in locis eminentissimis proponendum esse dicebat." *De Civitate Dei*, L. x. C. xxix. *Opera*, V. p. 592. (P.)

‡ Καὶ ἕτερα δὲ πλεῖστα εἰρηλαί καὶ τείφ, καὶ Πληθαρχῶ, καὶ Νημηριῶ, καὶ τοῖς ἀλλοῖς ἕτοι τῆς τείαν συμμορίας; μετὰ γὰρ δὴ τῆν τὸ Σωτήρος ἡμῶν ἐπιφανείαν ἕτοι γενομένοι τῆς ἡμετέρας ἰδεολογίας πολλὰ τοῖς οἰκταῖς ἀνεμίξαν λόγους. *De Græcis Affectibus*, Disp. ii. p. 750, Ed. *Lipsia*. (P.)

Platonic Trinity, viz. the divine *nous*, or *logos*, which properly signifies the Divine *mind*, *reason*, or *wisdom*; that power by means of which God produced the visible world. This they considered as a real person, a *second God*, the son of the first God. There is much indistinctness and confusion in the doctrine of the *Platonists* themselves on this subject; but all this confusion presently vanished in the eyes of the Christian fathers; who, seeing how excellently that hypothesis was calculated to answer their purpose of exalting the personal dignity of their Master, did not hesitate to maintain that this second principle, the attribute, and the only effective and operative attribute of the Divine Being, was that which actuated Jesus Christ, and might be said to be Christ.

To complete this scheme, it was necessary that this operative principle in the Deity, should assume proper *substantial personality*, because Jesus Christ always remained a proper *person*, as much as any other intelligent being, and is always to continue so. And they were much assisted in doing this, by the principles of *Philo*, which have been explained above, [187—193,] viz. that the divine *logos* could assume *occasional personality*, to answer particular purposes, and then be resorbed into the Divine Being again. For the thing itself being admitted to be *possible for a time*, there was no great difficulty in supposing farther, that what had been temporary, might be perpetual; and therefore, that the *logos*, having been occasionally emitted from the Divine mind, and having had a proper power, and a proper sphere of action to itself, might for ever remain possessed of them, and be for ever attached to a real man, as it had been supposed to have been attached to what had the appearance of a man, and even to have eaten and drank like a man, in the intercourse with Abraham and the patriarchs.

But the doctrine of the *occasional emission* of this divine principle preceded that of the permanent personality among Christians, and continued to be held by many persons after the latter came to be the received opinion. The first mention of this idea occurs in the writings of *Justin Martyr*, who is likewise the first that can be proved to have adopted the doctrine of the permanent personality of the *logos*. He mentions it as an opinion which he did not approve; but it is remarkable, that he mentions it without any particular censure, so that it could not have been considered as an heretical doctrine.

The opinion that is described by *Justin Martyr*, was the

same that was held by *Marcellus of Ancyra*, and other learned Christians, who were properly enough ranked among Unitarians. For, according to them, the *logos* was nothing more than a *divine power*, voluntarily emitted by the Supreme Being; and though in some sense detached from himself, was entirely dependent upon him, and taken into himself again at pleasure, when the purpose of its emission had been answered. On this scheme, the *logos*, it might have been said, would have been a person at the creation of the world, and again when it was employed in the Divine intercourse with the patriarchs, in the intervals of which it was deprived of its personality, and that it recovered it again at the baptism of Christ; then, after assisting him to perform those things to which human power was unequal, was resorbed into the Divine Being again; just as a ray of light was, in those days, supposed to be drawn back into the sun, as the fountain of light, from which it had been emitted. This doctrine, therefore, may be called *Philosophical Unitarianism*, of which a farther account will be given hereafter. At present I shall only consider it as a step towards the doctrine of *permanent personality*, which probably commenced with *Justin Martyr*, and what might contribute to render it more plausible.

This doctrine would certainly appear less alarming to men of plain understanding; for it could not be said, that, upon this principle, any *new being* was introduced. For a mere *power*, occasionally emitted, and then taken back again into its source, could not come under that description. Accordingly, it appears that *Marcellus*, who held that opinion, was considered as an *Unitarian*, and was popular among the lower people, who continued to be Unitarians; whereas they took the greatest alarm at the doctrine of the permanent personality of the *logos*, considering it as the introduction of *another God*, and therefore as an infringement of the first and greatest commandment.

It was to avoid this great difficulty that the Christian fathers held so obstinately as they did to the doctrine of Christ being nothing more than the *logos*, or the proper *reason, wisdom, or power* of the Father, though it contributed exceedingly to embarrass their scheme. The *Platonists* had no difficulty at all on this account, as they had no measures to keep with *Unitarians*, but rather wished to stand well with those who held a multiplicity of gods. They, therefore, never pretended that their *three principles* were *one*, or resolvable into one. This is observed by *Austin* and others.

But the Christian fathers were not so much at liberty. They were under a necessity of maintaining the *Unity of God*, in some sense or other, at all events; that being the fundamental principle of their religion, and a principle that was most strictly adhered to by the common people.

On this account we find them particularly careful, on all occasions, to assert, that, though they considered Christ as God, it was not as *another God*, distinct from the Father, but only the *logos* or *reason* of the Father himself; and, therefore, strictly speaking, one with him, as much as the reason of any man was the same thing with the man himself. On this account, also, those who called themselves *orthodox*, were so ready to charge the *Arians* with holding the doctrine of *two Gods*; because the *logos* of the Arians was a being created out of nothing, and had a different origin from the God that made him; whereas their *logos* had always existed as *the reason of the eternal Father*, and therefore they thought themselves well secured against any retort of the same accusation from others.

Being thus obliged to keep clear of the doctrine of *two Gods*, they were under a necessity of maintaining that the *logos* was nothing more than the reason, or *operative faculty* of the Father; at the same time that they maintained that it was a distinct person from him, which is a doctrine so manifestly absurd, that at this day it requires the plainest evidence of its having been entertained at all. However, the dread of introducing *two Gods*, and the accusations of their adversaries, especially of the common people, for whom they could not but have great respect, gave them such abundant occasion to explain their real principles, and so much of their writings on this subject are still extant, that we cannot misunderstand their meaning.

It is not possible either by the use of plain words, or of figurative language, to express this most absurd notion, viz. that the *logos*, or the *son*, which was afterwards a *real person*, was originally nothing more than a mere *attribute of the Father*, more clearly than they do. For, according to the most definite language that men can use, the *logos*, as existing in the Father, and prior to the creation, was in the opinion of those Christian fathers, (who, in their own age, and even till long after the Council of *Nice*, were considered as orthodox,) the same thing in him as reason is in man, which is certainly no proper *person*, distinguishable from the man himself. Will common sense permit us to say, that the *man* is one person or thing, and his *reason* another, not com-

prehended in the *man*? In like manner, it is impossible not to infer from the uniform language of the early Christian writers that, according to their ideas, there was originally nothing in or belonging to the *Son* but what was necessarily contained in the *Father*.

Passages without end may also be selected from the most approved of the fathers to shew, in the clearest manner, that as the divinity which they then ascribed to Christ was the very same principle which had constituted the *wisdom*, and other *operative powers*, of God the Father, so what they called the *generation of the Son*, was the commencement of a state of actual personality in the *logos*; whether in time, as was thought by some, or from all eternity, as was held by others; an opinion which was afterwards received as the established doctrine on the subject.

I shall not produce a tenth part of the authorities that might easily have been selected to prove these propositions; nor one half of those which I have actually collected for the purpose; but they will be abundantly sufficient to put an end to all the doubts that can have been entertained on the subject, especially as they will be extracted from writers of the most unquestioned orthodoxy, from *Justin Martyr*, to those of a very late period in the Christian history.

SECTION II.

Authorities for this Opinion from Justin Martyr to Origen.

FROM a careful perusal of the writings of *Justin*, I cannot help thinking that he was the first, or one of the first, who advanced the doctrine of the permanent personality of the *logos*. He seems to write as if this was the case; and it is also certain, that he was the oldest of the authorities for the pre-existence of Christ quoted by the anonymous author in *Eusebius*, as will be shewn hereafter. *Justin* says, “Jesus Christ is the only proper son of God, being his *logos*, first-born, and powerful.”* Had he meant any other principle than the very *logos* which was an attribute of the Father, he would have said *a logos*, or *the logos*, and not *his logos*. But I quote this passage not as the most explicit, but as the first in the writings of *Justin* in which this sentiment appears. He likewise says, “Moses informs us that the spirit, and a

* Και Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς μόνος υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ γεννητῆς, ἰσχυρὸς αὐτῆ ὑπαρχῶν, καὶ πρωτότοκος, καὶ δυναμὶς. Apol. I. p. 35. (P.)

power which was from God, is no other than the *logos* who was the first-begotten of God.* Some other characters which *Justin* imagined the *logos* to assume are mentioned in the following passage: "The *logos* of God is also called his Son. He is likewise called an angel, and an apostle, or one sent by another," quoting the words of our Saviour. "He that heareth me, heareth him that sent me." †

But the following larger extract from *Justin* shews most distinctly that, in his idea, the *logos* of God bore the same relation to God, that the *logos* or reason of man bears to man, and that this principle was, in his opinion, the medium of all the divine communications from God to man from the beginning of the world: "I will shew you from the Scriptures, that in the beginning, before all creatures, God produced from himself a rational power, which is called by the holy spirit, the glory of God, sometimes the Son, sometimes wisdom, sometimes an angel, sometimes god, sometimes lord, and *logos*. Sometimes he calls himself *commander in chief*, having appeared in the form of a man to Joshua. He has these names from his being subservient to his Father's will, and from being produced at his Father's pleasure, such as we experience in ourselves. For, on our uttering any word, (that is, *logos*,) we generate a *logos*; not that any thing is cut off from us so that we are diminished by that means, but as we see one fire lighted by another, that not being diminished from which it was lighted, but continuing the same. In proof of this, I can produce the word of wisdom, shewing that he is a God produced from the Father of all, being the *logos*, the wisdom, the power, and the glory of him that generated him; and Solomon says, if I tell you what happens to-day, I will recount things from the beginning. The Lord created me the *αρχη*," the beginning, "the way to his works. Before the angels he established me, in the beginning, before he made the earth." ‡

* Το πνευμα εν και την δυναμιν την παρα τη Θεω ηδεν αλλο νοησαι θεμις, η τον λογον, ως και προείρησθη τῷ Θεῷ ἐς, Μωϋσῆς ὁ προδοξολωμενῶσ προφητῆς ἐκήρυσε. Apol. i. p. 54. (P.)

† Ὁ λογῶσ δε τη Θεῷ ἐσιν ὁ υἱὸς αὐτῆσ, ὡσ προσεφημεν' και ἀγγέλῶσ δε καλεῖται, και ἀποστόλῶσ' αὐτῶσ γαρ ἀπαγγέλλει ὅσα δεῖ γνωσθῆναι, και ἀποστέλλεται μῆρσαν ὅσῳ ἀγγέλλεται, ὡσ και αὐτῶσ ὁ κυριὸς ἡμῶσ εἶπεν, ὁ ἐμε ἀκρω ἀκρῆσ τη ἀποστείλαντίῶσ με. Ibid. p. 93. (P.)

‡ Μαρτυριὸν δε και αλλο ἡμῶσ, ὡ φίλοι, εἶπην, ἀπο των γραφων δῶσ, ὅτι ἀρχὴν προ παντων των κτισματων ὁ Θεὸσ γεγεννηκε δυναμιν τινα ἐξ ἑαυτῆσ λογικῆσ, ἣτις και ὅσα κυριε ὑπο τη πνευματιῶσ, τη ἀγίῃ καλεῖται, ποτε δε υἱὸσ, ποτε δε σοφία, ποτε δε ἀγγέλῶσ, ποτε δε Θεὸσ, ποτε δε κυρίῶσ, και λογῶσ. Ποτε δε ἀρχιζαλιγγον ἑαυτῶσ λεγει, ἐν ἀνθρωπῶσ μέρφῃ φανερα τῷ τη Ναυῆ Ἰησοῦ' εχειν γαρ παντα προσωνομάζεσθαι ἐκ τε τη ὑπηρετεῖν

Here is the whole system of *Justin*, and of the fathers before the Council of *Nice*, and also the chief foundation on which it was built. This, however, I shall not stop to examine, but proceed to state the opinions of other Christian writers who followed *Justin*. *Irenæus* expresses the same thought more concisely, when he says, "God is wholly mind, and existing *logos*; what he thinks, that he speaks. His thought is the *logos*, and *logos* is *mind*; and the mind comprehending every thing, is the Father himself."*

In the following passage of *Theophilus* we see more clearly than in the preceding of *Irenæus*, that the *logos* was considered as being the same thing with the proper wisdom of the Father. "When he said, *let us make man*, he spake to nothing but his own *logos*, and his own wisdom."† If the opinion of *Theophilus* had not been certainly known, it might even have been questioned whether, in writing the above passage, he really considered the *logos* as a person; and indeed it is very possible, that, without attending to it, he might revert to the original meaning of the word *logos*, expressing himself as an Unitarian would have done. But the following passage puts it out of all doubt that this writer considered the *logos* as a real person, but originally nothing more than an attribute of the Father. Speaking of the voice which Adam heard in Paradise, he says, "What is it but the *logos* of God, which is also his Son, but not as the poets and mythologists think of sons of God produced by copulation, but really considering the *logos* as being at all times in the heart of God; for before any thing was made he had him for his counsellor, being his own mind and understanding. Wherefore when God chose to make what he had devised, he generated his

τη πατρικῆ βοληματι, και εκ τε απο τε πατρὸς βελησει γεγεννησθαι, [ἀλλ' οὐ,] ταῖτων ὅποιον και ἐφ' ἡμῶν γεννημενον ἔραμεν. Λογον γαρ τινα προβαλλοντες, λογον γεννωμεν, ου κατα αποτομην ὡς ελατλωθηναι τον εν ἡμῖν λογον προβαλλομενοι. Και ὅποιον ἐπι πυροσ ἔραμεν ἀλλο γινωμενον, ουκ ελατλωμενη εκεινη ἐξ ὅ ἡ ἀναφῆς γεγονεν, ἀλλα τε αὐτη μενουσ. Και το ἐξ αὐτη ἀναφῆθεν και αὐτο ου φαινεται, ουκ ελατλωσαν εκεινο ἐξ ὅ ἀνεφῆθη· μαρτυρησει δε μοι ὁ λογὸς τῆς σοφιας, αὐτος ἀν' ἑαυτοσ ὁ Θεοσ ἀπο τε πατρὸσ των ὄλων γεννηθεις, και λογοσ, και σοφια, και δυναμισ, και δοξα τε γεννησαντοσ ὑπαρχων, και δια Σολομανοσ φησανσ ταῖτα, εαν ἀναλγείλω ὑμῖν τα καθ' ἡμεραν γινωμενα, μνημονουσω τα ἐξ αἰωνσ ἀριθμησαι. Κυριοσ ἐκλισε με ἀρχην, ὄδων αὐτη εἰσ τα ἐργα αὐτη. Πρὸ τε αἰωνσ εθεμελιωσε με. Ἐν ἀρχῃ πρὸ τε την γην ποιησαι. Dial. p. 266.

N.B. Ἀλλ' οὐ, line 6, as Thirlby observes, must be a corruption, or interpolation. (P.)

* "Deus autem totus existens mens, et totus existens logos, quod cogitat, hoc et loquitur; et quod loquitur, hoc et cogitat. Cogitatio enim ejus logos, et logos mens, et omnia concludens mens, ipse est Pater. L. ii. C. xlviii. p. 176. (P.)

† Οὐκ ἀλλῶ δε τινη εἰρηκε, ποιησαμεν, ἀλλ' ἡ τε ἑαυτη λογοσ, και τη ἑαυτη σοφια. L. ii. p. 114. (P.)

logos, then put forth the first-begotten of all creation, not depriving himself of logos, but generating logos, and always conversing with his own logos.”*

Athenagoras is not less explicit than *Theophilus*. He says, “If I were asked what the Son of God is, I should say that he is the first production of the Father, not as *made*, for God being an eternal mind, has logos always in himself, being from eternity a rational being, but as going forth, to be the *idea* and *energy* to material things of all kinds, which are naturally subject to controul; the heavy and the light being mixed together;” that is, being in a state of chaos. Here is the precise language of *Platonism*, in which, *idea* was synonymous to *nous*, which the Christians called *logos*. He adds, that “the prophetic spirit confirms this, when he said, The Lord created me the *αρχη* (the *principle*) with respect to his works;”† meaning, that the Son, when produced, was the source from which other things were made.

In this passage, as the writer explains what he meant by *God having always had the logos in himself*, by saying, that he was always λογικῶς, that is, a *rational, intelligent being*, he certainly meant to intimate, that before the generation of the *logos*, it was the very same principle in God, that *reason* is in man, being his proper *wisdom* or *intelligence*, one of his attributes; and it was never imagined, that there were proper distinct persons in the mind of man, merely because man is λογικῶς, *rational*. The very expression excludes the idea, and must have been intended to exclude it.

Clemens Alexandrinus has been thought by some to favour the *Arian* principle, of the *logos* being a *creature, made out of nothing*; but it will appear by the following passages, that nothing could be farther from his real ideas than that opinion, though the language in which he sometimes expresses the generation of the Son from the Father may be capable of that construction. Speaking of the *logos*, he says, “He is the wisdom in which the Almighty delighted: for

* Φανη δε τι αλλο εστιν, αλλ' η ο λογῶς ο τε Θεος, ος εστι και υιος αυτου ουχ ος ηι ποιηται και μητογραφοι λεγουσι υιους Ψεων εκ συνουσιας γεννωμενης, αλλα ος αληθεια διηγηται τον λογον, τον οντα διαπαντος ενδιαιτετον εν καρδιη Θεου· προ γαρ τι γινεσθαι τουτον ειχε συμβουλον εαυτου νουν, και φρονησιον αυτου· οποτε δε ηδελησεν ο Θεος ποιησαι οσα εβουλεισατο, τουτον τον λογον εγεννησε προφορικον, προαιτιον πασης κτισεως, ου κενωθεισ αυτος του λογου, αλλα λογον γεννησας, και τω λογω αυτου διαπαντος ομιλων. L. ii. p. 129. (P.)

† Ο παεις τι βουλειται, ερω δια βραχεων· πρωτον γεννημα ειναι τω πατρι, ουχ ος γενομενον (εξ αρχης γαρ ο Θεος, νους αιδιος αν, ειχεν αυτος εν εαυτω τον λογον, αιδιως λογικος αν) αλλ' ος των υλικων ξυμπαντων οποιου φυσεως και γης, οχρειας υποκειμενων δικην, μειμιγμενων των παχυμερεσερων προς τα κοιφωτερα επ' αυτους, ιεα και ενεργεια ειναι προελθων· συναδει δε τω λογω και το προφητικον πνευμα, Κυριῶ γαρ, φησιν, εκτισε με, αρχην εδωκ αυτου εις εργα αυτου. Apol. p. 82. (P.)

the Son is the power of God, as he is the most ancient *logos* of the Father, before all things that were made, and his wisdom, and especially the chosen teacher of those who were made by him.*—“God cannot be shewn, nor can he teach; but the Son is wisdom, and knowledge, and truth, and every thing of this kind.”†

Of all the Christian writers of antiquity, none exceeded *Tertullian* in the confidence which he had in his own principles. He seems to have imagined that there was no difficulty whatever in comprehending them; and therefore he did not fear to enter into all the minutiae of them, in order to answer every possible objection or cavil. By this means we are in full possession of his thoughts, as much as if we could now interrogate him on the subject; and as his orthodoxy with respect to the doctrine of the Trinity was never questioned in his own age, we see very clearly what that orthodoxy was. Among a number of passages that I might have selected from him for my present purpose, the following, I imagine, will be quite sufficient.

“Before all things, God was alone. He was a world and place, and all things to himself. He was alone, because there was nothing foreign to himself. But then he was not absolutely alone, for he had with him, and in him, his own *reason*; for God is a rational being. This the Greeks called *logos*, which word we translate *sermo* (speech), and therefore, we, through simplicity, are accustomed to say that *sermo* was from the beginning with God, when we ought to have preferred the word *ratio* (reason), because God was from the beginning *rationalis* (a being endued with reason), not *sermonalis* (endued with speech), and because speech, consisting with reason, has it as its substance. This, however, makes no difference. For though God had not yet emitted his word, he had it within himself, together with his reason, and in his reason, silently thinking and contriving within himself what he was about to pronounce by his speech. For thinking, and disposing with his reason, he made that *speech* which he treated with speech. That you may the more easily understand this from yourself, consider, as you are made in the image and after the likeness of God, the reason which you have in yourself, who are a rational creature, not

* Ἀγνοία γὰρ οὐκ ἀπτεται τοῦ Θεοῦ, τοῦ πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου συμβόλου γενομένου τοῦ πατρὸς· μήτε γὰρ ἢν τιμὴν ἢ προτεχαιρεν ὁ παντοκράτωρ Θεός· δύναμις γὰρ τοῦ Θεοῦ ὁ υἱὸς ἐστὶ πρὸ πάντων τῶν γενομένων ἀρχικωτάτος λόγος τοῦ πατρὸς, καὶ σοφία αὐτοῦ κυρίως ἀν καὶ ἡγεμονικῶς λεχθήσεται τῶν ἐκ αὐτοῦ πλάσθεντων. Strom. L. vii. p. 708. (P.)

† Ὁ μὲν οὖν Θεός, ἀναπόδεικτος ἄν, οὐκ ἐστὶν ἐπισημονικός, ὁ δὲ υἱὸς, σοφία τε ἐστὶ καὶ λόγος αὐτοῦ, ἀληθὴς, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τούτῳ συγγενή. Ibid. L. iv. p. 537. (P.)

only made by a rational artificer, but animated by his substance. Consider that when you silently muse with yourself, reason is acting within you, that principle concurring with speech to every thought and sensation. Whatever you think is *sermo* (speech), and whatever you perceive is *ratio* (reason) ——. How much more doth this take place in the mind of God, of whom you are the image and likeness, that he has in himself when he is silent, *reason*, and in reason, *speech!* I may, therefore, venture to assert, that God, before the constitution of the universe, was not alone; as he had then reason within himself, and in reason, speech, which he could make a second principle from himself, by acting within himself.”*

This passage needs no comment. At least what I have observed with respect to the quotation from *Athenagoras* will be quite sufficient for it, the *λογικος* of the *Greek* writer being the same thing with the *rationalis* of the *Latin* author. I shall only give two other extracts from this writer, which clearly shew what, in his idea, was the true origin of what is called the *second principle* in the Trinity. “Christ,” he says, “is the power of God, and the spirit of God, the speech, the wisdom, the reason, and the Son of God.”†

That, in the opinion of *Tertullian*, it was Christ who was the immediate maker of the world, cannot be questioned;

* “Ante omnia enim Deus erat solus, ipse sibi et mundus, et locus, et omnia. Solus autem, quia nihil aliud extrinsecus præter illum. Ceterum, ne tunc quidem solus; habebat enim secum, quam habebat in semetipso, rationem suam scilicet. Rationalis etiam Deus, et ratio in ipso prius; et ita ab ipso omnia. Quæ ratio sensus ipsius est. Hanc Græci *λογος* dicunt, quo vocabulo etiam sermonem appellamus. Ideoque jam in usu est nostrorum, per simplicitatem interpretationis, sermonem dicere in primordio, apud Deum fuisse; cum magis rationem competat antiquiorem haberi; quia non sermonalis à principio, sed rationalis Deus etiam ante principium; et quia ipse quoque sermo ratione consistens, priorem eam, ut substantiam suam ostendat. Tamen et sic nihil interest. Nam etsi Deus nondum sermonem suum miserat, proinde eum cum ipsa et in ipsa ratione intra semetipsum habebat, tacite cogitando et disponendo secum, quæ per sermonem mox erat dicturus. Cum ratione enim sua cogitans atque disponens, sermonem eam efficiebat, quam sermone tractabat. Idque quo facilius intelligas ex te ipso, ante recognosce ut ex imagine et similitudine Dei, quam habeas et tu in temet ipso rationem, qui es animal rationale, à rationali scilicet artifice non tantum factus, sed etiam ex substantia ipsius animatus. Vide quum tacitus tecum ipse congrederis, ratione hoc ipsum agi intra te, occurrante ea tibi cum sermone ad omnem cogitatus tui motum, et ad omnem sensus tui pulsum. Quodcumque cogitaveris, sermo est; quodcumque senseris, ratio est.—Quanto ergo plenius hoc agitur in Deo, cujus tu quoque imago et similitudo censeris, quod habeas in se etiam tacendo rationem, et in rationem sermonem? Possunt itaque non temerè præstruxisse, et tunc Deum ante universitatis constitutionem solum non fuisse, habentem in semetipso proinde rationem, et in ratione sermonem, quem secundum à se faceret, agitando intra se.” *Ad Praxeam*, Sect. v. *Opera*, p. 503. (P.)

“Ut Dei virtus, et Dei spiritus, et sermo, et sapientia, et ratio, et Dei filius.” *Apol.* Sect. xxiii. *Opera*, p. 23. (P.)

and yet in the following passage the power by which it was made, is described as the proper inherent power of God the Father. "You see how by the operation of God all things consist, in the power of making the earth, the wisdom of preparing the world, and the understanding of extending the heavens; not appearing only, nor approaching, but exerting such force of his mind, wisdom, might, understanding, word, spirit, power."*

Cyprian, who usually called *Tertullian* his master, follows him in expressing exactly the same ideas. "Christ," he says, "is the power of God, his reason, his wisdom and glory. He, descending into the virgin's womb, put on flesh by the aid of the Holy Spirit. He is God mixed with man. He is our God and Christ, who being the mediator of the two, put on man to bring him to the Father."†

SECTION III.

Authorities from Origen, and other Writers subsequent to him; with an Account of other Attributes of the Father, besides that of Wisdom, which Christ is said to have been.

ORIGEN, as well as *Clemens Alexandrinus*, has been thought to favour the *Arian* principle; but he did it only in words, and not in ideas, as will be evident from the following passages; and many more to the same purpose might have been extracted from his writings. "Though we speak," he says, "of a *second God*, we mean nothing more than a virtue comprehending all virtues, and a reason comprehending all reason, for the good of the whole, which we say is united to the soul of Jesus; which we say was alone capable of partaking of this perfect reason, perfect wisdom, and perfect virtue."‡ "God, according to us, can do nothing without his

* "Vides ergo quemadmodum operatione Dei universa consistunt, valentiâ facientis terram, intelligentiâ parantis orbem, et sensu extendentis cælum: non adparentis solummodo, nec adpropinquantis, sed adhibentis tantos animi sui nisus, sophiam, valentiam, sensum, sermonem, spiritum, virtutem." *Ad Hermogenem*, Sect. lxxv. *Opera*, p. 249. (P.)

† "Hujus igitur indulgentiæ, gratiæ disciplinæque arbiter et magister, sermo et filius Dei mittitur, qui per prophetas omnes retro, illuminator et doctor humani generis prædicabatur. Hic est virtus Dei, hic ratio, hic sapientia ejus, et gloria. Hic in virginem illabitur; carnem, spiritu sancto co-operante, induitur. Deus cum homine miscetur. Hic Deus noster, hic Christus est, qui mediator duorum, hominem induit, quem perducatur ad Patrem." *De Idolorum Vanitate*, *Opera*, p. 15. (P.)

‡ Κἄν δευτέρου οὐν λεγόμεν Θεοῦ ἰσῶσαν ὅτι τὸν δευτέρου Θεοῦ οὐκ ἄλλο τι λεγόμεν, ἢ τὴν πρῶτικὴν πᾶσαν ἀρεῖαν ἀρεῖαν, καὶ τὸν περιεχτικὸν πάντος ἕλικοσιν λογῆ τῶν κατὰ φύσιν καὶ πρῶτην γεγεννημένων καὶ εἰς χρῆσιν τε πάντος, λογῶν ὄντων τῇ Ἰησοῦ μαλίστα.

logos, or without himself.”* “All that are God’s are in Christ. He is the power of God, he is the righteousness of God, he is sanctification, he is redemption, he is the mind of God.” † “He is *εμψυχος σοφια*” ‡ (*living wisdom*). An expression similar to this is used in the Creed ascribed to *Gregory Thaumaturgus*, who was a disciple of *Origen*. The Creed, however, by the credulous superstition of the age, was said to come from the apostle *John*. There the Son of God is called *σοφια υφεσίωσα*, substantial wisdom. §

Eusebius the historian is another of the ancients who has been thought to favour Arianism, and yet I would engage to produce more than a hundred passages from his writings, as well as from those of *Origen*, in which he clearly expresses his opinion of the *logos* having been the proper reason or wisdom of God the Father. I shall content myself only with quoting two passages from his treatise on the praises of *Constantine*, and another from his Commentary on the Psalms: “Christ is the living logos.” || “Christ is the living and powerful logos of the God who is over all, having a personal subsistence, as the power and the wisdom of God.” ¶ In his Commentary on the Psalms, he says, “The Son is the partaker of the Deity and kingdom of the Father, as being the only-begotten Son, and logos, and wisdom of God.” ** He also approves of *Constantine’s* saying, that “before he was actually generated, he was virtually in the Father ungenerated.” ††

Athanasius, whose orthodoxy will hardly be called in question, held exactly the same language with *Athenagoras* and *Tertullian*; and yet he does not express the opinion of the *logos* having been the proper reason of the Father more definitely than *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Origen* or *Eusebius*.

παισι πασαν ψυχην ψυχη κκειωσθαι και ηνωσθαι φαμεν, μινου τελειως χωρησαι δεδυνη-
μενοι την ακραν μετοχην του αυτολογου, και της αυτοσοφιας, και της αυτοδικαιοσυνης. Ad
Celsum, L. v. p. 258. (P.)

* Αλλα, και καθ’ ημας, ουδεν εδισε παραλογον, ουτε παρ’ εαυτον, εργασασθαι εσιν
ο Θεου. Ibid. p. 247. (P.)

† Παντα γαρ οσα του Θεου τοιαυτα, εν αυτω εσιν Χριστος εσι σοφια του Θεου, αυτος
δυναμις Θεου, αυτος δικαιοσυνη Θεου, αυτος αγιασμος, αυτος απολυτρωσις, αυτος φρονησις εσι
Θεου. In Jer. Hom. viii. Comment. l. p. 96. (P.)

‡ In Johan. Comment. II. p. 10. (P.)

§ Gr. Thaum. Opera, p. 11. (P.)

|| ‘Ον δη ζωντα λογον, και νομον, και σοφιαν. P. 722. (P.)

¶ Θεου δε του επι πανταν ζων και ενεργητος υπαρχων λογος, κατ’ ουσιαν τε υφεσως, οια
Θεου δυναμις και Θεου σοφια. Ibid. p. 750. (P.)

** Επει δε της του πατριος Θεοδηλος κοινανος υπαρχει ο υιος, της αυτης μετοχος αν βασιλειας,
ατι μονογενης υιος αν, και Θεου λογος, και Θεου σοφια. Collectio Patrum per Mont-
faucou, l. p. 534. (P.)

†† Επει και πριν ενεργεια γεννηθηναι, δυναμει ην εν τω πατρι αγεννητως. Theodoriti
Hist. L. i. C. xii. p. 40. (P.) See Remarks at the close of the Section.

“The Father of Christ,” he says, “as the best governor, by his own wisdom, and his own logos, our Lord Jesus Christ, governs every where happily, and orders as he thinks proper.”* He says of Christ, that “he is the proper wisdom, the proper logos, and the proper power of the Father.”†

Again, speaking of the logos of God, he says, “It is not like the logos of a rational creature, composed of syllables, and uttered in air, but the living and efficacious God, of the good God of all, I mean reason itself, which is different from all things which are made (γεννητων), and from the whole creation. It is the peculiar and only logos of the good Father, which arranged the whole system, and illuminates it by his providence.”‡

The same language continued to be held by the most distinguished champions of orthodoxy after the time of *Athanasius*. *Gregory Nyssen* says, “The Father does nothing without the Son, nor the Son without the Father, of which we have an example in ourselves, for the soul does nothing without reason, nor reason without the soul.”§

“If the Son, as the scripture says, be the power of God, wisdom, and truth, and light, and sanctification, and peace, and life, and the like, according to the doctrine of the heretics,” (meaning the *Arians*,) “these things were not before the Son; and these having no existence, the Father himself must have been divested of all these advantages.”|| With the same idea, *Ambrose* says, “Could the Father ever be without life, without wisdom, without power, without reason, which Christ is?”¶ “He is, therefore,” he says, “called the wisdom of God, as the Father can never be

* Ὁ τῆ Χριστῆ πατήρ, ὅστις καθάπερ αριστος κυβερνήτης τῆ ἰδία σοφία, καὶ τῷ ἰδίῳ λόγῳ, τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, τὰ πανταχῶς κυβερνᾷ σοφίῃσι καὶ διακοσμῶσι, καὶ ποιεῖ ὡς ἀν αὐτῷ καλῶς ἐχειν δοκῆ. *Contra Gentes, Opera, I. p. 44. (P.)*

† Ἀλλ' αὐτοσοφία, αὐτολογος, αὐτοδυναμὶς ἰδία τῆ πατρὸς ἐστίν. *Ibid. p. 51. (P.)*

‡ Οὐδὲ ἕν ἔχει τὸ λογικὸν γένος λόγον, τὸν ἐκ συλλαβῶν συγκείμενον, καὶ ἐν ἀερὶ σημαινομένον, ἀλλὰ τὸν τῆ ἀγαθῆ καὶ Θεοῦ τῶν ὅλων ζῶντα καὶ ἐνεργῆ Θεοῦ, αὐτολογὸν λέγω, ὅς αἰῶνος μὲν ἐστὶ τῶν γεννητῶν καὶ πάσης τῆς κτίσεως ἰδιὸς δὲ καὶ μόνος τῆ ἀγαθῆ πατρὸς ὑπαρχει λόγος, ὅς τὸδε τὸ πᾶν διέκοσμησε καὶ φαίλιζεν τε τῆ ἑαυτοῦ προνοίᾳ. *Contra Gentes, Opera, I. p. 44. (P.)*

§ Οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁ υἱὸς διχα πατὴρ, ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ καθ' ἑαυτὸν, ποιεῖ τι, οὐδὲ ὁ πατήρ παντὶς χωρὶς τῆ υἱῆ καὶ τῆ πνευματοῦ—Καὶ οὐκ ἓν καὶ ὅμοιον τὴν ἐνεργεσίαν ἐν ἡμῖν. Οὐτε γὰρ ἡ ψυχὴ διχα λόγῳ ἐπιτελεῖ τι, ἔτε ὁ λόγος διχα ψυχῆς, ἔτε μὴν ὁ νῆς παλιν καθ' ἑαυτὸν, χωρὶς τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τῆ λόγῳ κατεργάζεται τι. *In Gen. i. 26, Opera, I. p. 865. (P.)*

|| Εἰ γὰρ ὁ υἱὸς, καθὼς ἡ γραφὴ λέγει, δυναμὶς ἐστὶ Θεοῦ, καὶ σοφία, καὶ ἀληθείνα, καὶ φῶς, καὶ ἀγιασμός, καὶ εἰρήνη, καὶ ζωὴ, καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα πρὸ τῆ τῶν υἱῶν εἶναι, καθὼς τοῖς ἀγγελίοις δοκεῖ, ἔτε ταῦτα ἢ παντὶ τῶν δὲ μὴ ὄντων, κενὸν παντὶς τῶν τοιούτων ἀγαθῶν τῶν πατρῶν ἐνοσησῆσι κολπον. *Contra Eunomium, Opera, II. p. 4. (P.)*

¶ “Num quidnam potuit esse tempus quando pater sine vita, sine sapientia, sine virtute, sine verbo, quod Christus est, fuerit?” *In Symbol. Opera, IV. p. 88. (P.)*

thought to be without wisdom, that is, without his Son. This is that ineffable wisdom which is described by Solomon as the *beginning of the ways of God*, whether it be founded, or generated, or created; which, however, is so founded, as that it is always with God.*

This continued to be the language of the orthodox divines till a very late period. *Damascenus* says, “God has no other *logos*, wisdom, power, or will but the Son.” † *Theophylact* also says, “God could not be without reason, wisdom, or power; wherefore we believe, that since the Son is the reason, the wisdom, and the power of the Father, he is always (*παρος*) with God, instead of *συν*, or *μετα*.” ‡

If these passages do not give my readers perfect satisfaction with respect to the real origin of the *logos* of the orthodox fathers, and convince them, that by the *logos* they understood a proper *attribute of the Father*, and that this attribute became the person of the Son, and was afterwards united to Jesus Christ, most absurd as the notion certainly is, I shall despair of being able to prove any thing.

Origen was so fully persuaded of the *logos* that was in Christ being the true *logos*, or power, of the Father, that he represents it as omnipresent, and not confined to the person of Christ. “The evangelists,” says he, “do not represent the *logos* as circumscribed within the body and soul of Jesus, as is evident from many considerations. Thus, John the Baptist, prophesying that the Son of God would soon make his appearance, says, not that he would be in that body, and in that soul, but every where; for, he says, he standeth in the midst of you, whom you know not.” §

He even considers this *logos* as imparted to other men in certain degrees, as if all *reason* was a portion of the same

* “Et ideo sapientia Dei appellatur, ut nunquam pater sine sapientia, hoc est sine filio suo fuisse credatur. Hæc est illa sapientia ineffabilis, quæ initium viarum Dei apud Solomonem, vel condita, vel genita, vel creata describitur, quam tamen sic conditam dicit, ut semper eam cum Deo fuisse constat.” *De Filii Divinitate, Opera*, IV. p. 278. (P.)

† Και γαρ φησιν ὁ Δαμασκηνος ἐν τοῖς θεολογικοῖς αὐτῆ κεφαλαίαις. Ἴνα μὴ πολλὰ λέγω, ἢ ἐστὶ τῆ πατρὸς λόγος, σοφία, δύναμις, θελήσις, εἰ μὴ ὁ υἱός. Manuel Caleca, in *Combesis*, II. p. 222. (P.)

‡ Οὐκ ἐνδεχεται γὰρ τὸν Θεὸν ἀλογὸν ἢ ἀσοφὸν εἶναι ποτε, ἢ ἀδιαιτὸν διὰ τῆς πιστειομένης, ὅτι ἐπεὶ λόγος, καὶ σοφία, καὶ δύναμις τῆ πατρὸς ἐστὶν ὁ υἱός, αἰετὴν ἢ ἄνωγος Θεοῦ, ἀντὶ τῆ, συν τῆ πατρὶ, καὶ μετὰ τῆ πατρὸς. In *John, Opera*, I. p. 556. (P.)

§ Οὐδε τὰ εὐαγγέλια οἶδε περιγεγραμμένον τινα γεγονέναι, ὡς ἔδραμε ἐξω τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τῆ σωματικῆ τῆ Ἰησοῦ τυλχανοῦσα. Δῆλον μὲν καὶ ἀπο πολλῶν, καὶ ἐξ ὀλίγων ἔτι, ἀν παραθήσομεθα, ἕως ἐχθρῶν ὁ βαπτίσης Ἰωάννης προφητεῖαν ὅσον ἔδραμε ἐκτῆσεσθαι τὸν υἱὸν τῆ Θεοῦ, ἢ ἐκ ἐκείνῃ τῆ σωματικῆ καὶ τῆ ψυχῆ τυλχανοῦσα, ἀλλὰ γὰρ φθάνοντα πάντα τὰ, λέγει περὶ αὐτῆ: Μετὸς ὑμῶν ἔστηκεν ἢ ὑμεῖς ἢ οὐδαμῶς, ὁ ὅπισθ' ἢ ἐξομῶν. *Ad Celsum*, L. iii. p. 63. (P.)

eternal *logos*. Descanting on *John* i. 9, he “enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world,” he says, “Whoever is endued with reason (*λογικῶς*) partakes of the true light. But every man is endued with reason; all men, therefore, have the *logos*. In some the power of the *logos* is great, but in some it is little. If you see a soul given to passion, and sinful, you see the power of the *logos* failing; but if you see a soul holy and righteous, you see the power of the *logos* bringing forth fruit daily.”* This very much resembles the language of the Quakers, who speak of Christ being in all men. *Origen* likewise seems to have supposed that the ancient prophets might have had the *logos* so imparted to them, as that they themselves might have been called *logoi*, as well as Christ. “If Elias,” says he, “be a *logos*, he must be a *logos* inferior to him that was in the beginning with God.”†

It will be seen in the preceding passages that the *logos* was considered as being more properly the *wisdom* or *reason* of God; though, in some of them, mention is made of his being the same with other attributes of God, and especially his *power*. In the following passages this is more particularly expressed: “God, by his own omnipotence, that is, by his Son, (for all things were made by him, and without him nothing was made,) before all things created the heavens and the earth.”‡ “The energy of the Lord has respect to the Almighty; for the Son may be said to be the Father’s energy.”§

At other times the *logos*, or the Son, is represented as being the *will* of the Father. *Clemens Alexandrinus* calls the *logos* the will of the Father; and, under the idea of an attribute of God, as giving him to men, he represents him as addressing them in the following manner: “I give you the *logos*, the knowledge of God; I give my whole self. This I am, this is what God wills, this is symphony, this is the harmony of the Father, this is the Son, this the

* Καὶ ὅς ἐστι λογικός, μετεχει τὴ ἀληθινὴ φῶς· λογικός δὲ ἐστὶ πᾶς ἀνθρώπος· τῶν ἡμιτεχνῶν λόγῳ πάντων ἀνθρώπων, ἐν τισὶ μὲν ἡ ἰσχύς τῆ λογῆ ἠδύσησεν, ἐν τισὶ δὲ ἐκλείπει· ἐὰν δὲ ἰδῆς ψυχὴν ἐμπαθῆ, καὶ ἀμαρτωλὸν, οὔφει ἐκεῖ τὴν ἰσχύν τῆ λογῆ ἐκλείπεισθαι· ἐὰν δὲ ἰδῆς ψυχὴν ἀμίαν καὶ δικαίαν, οὔφει τὴν ἰσχύν τῆ λογῆ ὁσημερὰ καρποφορησθαι. In *Jer. Comment.* I. p. 138. (P.)

† Ἐὶ δὲ καὶ λόγῳ τις ἐστὶν ὁ Ἠλίας, ὑποδέεσθρος λόγῳ τῆ ἐν ἀρχῇ πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν Θεὸν λόγῳ. In *Matt. Comment.* I. p. 307. (P.)

‡ “Ergo Deus omnium creator optimus, per summam suam potentiam, id est, filium suum, (omnia enim per ipsum facta sunt, et sine ipso factum est nihil,) cœlum terramque ante omnia creavit.” *Cyrl. Alex. Opera*, I. p. 17. (P.)

§ Πᾶσα δὲ ἡ τῆ Κυρίου ἐνεργεῖα, ἐπὶ τὸν παντοκράτορα τὴν ἀναφοράν ἔχει, καὶ ἐστὶν, ὅς ἐπει, πατρικῆ τις ἐνεργεῖα ὁ ὕψος. *Clemen. Alex. Strom.* I. vii. *Ἐργεῖα*, p. 708. (P.)

Christ, this the *logos* of God, the arm of the Lord, almighty power, the will of the Father.*

Cyril of Alexandria expresses the same idea with greater precision. "How," says he, "was he" (Christ) "made by the will of the Father, if the will of the Father be in him? For you must either suppose another wisdom by which he deliberated and made the Son, as you say," (speaking to the *Arians*,) "or if there be no other, but the Son alone is the wisdom of the Father, he is also his will; for the will of God consists in his wisdom."† *Gregory Nyssen* also says, "The Son, who is in the Father, knows the will of the Father; but rather he is the will of the Father."‡ "What," says *Victorinus*, "is the will of the Father, but his silent word?"§

As these writers said, that though the Father emitted the *logos*, he did not deprive himself of *logos*, so some of them likewise supposed, that though the Son was the *will* of the Father, the latter had another will like that of man. This is particularly allowed by *Manuel Caleca*, because, "volitions," as he says, "have a beginning and an end; whereas neither the essence of God, nor the image of God, can begin or end."||

Instances occur in which Christ is considered as being the very *soul* of God. Indeed, this idea may have been perceived in some of the former quotations. *Eusebius* says, there is "one *logos* in God, ¶ which is almighty, and which

* Και λογον χαρίζομαι υμιν, την γνωσιν τε Θεου, τελειον εμαυτων χαρίζομαι. Τησο εμω εγω, τεισο βηλειαι ο Θεου, τεισο συμφωνια εστι, τεισο ορμονια πατρου, τεισο υιου, τεισο Χριστου, τεισο ο λογος τε Θεου, βραχιων Κυριου, δυναμις των ολων, το Ψελημα τε πατρος. *Ad Gentes, Opera*, p. 75. (P.)

† "Quomodo igitur per voluntatem patris factus est, si in eo patris voluntas est? Nam aut alteram sapientiam fingere necesse est, in qua deliberavit et fecit filium, ut vos dicitis: aut si altera non est, sed solus filius sapientia patris est, ipse quoque voluntas ejus est: in sapientia enim Dei velle ipsius est." *Theaurus*, L. i. C. viii. *Opera*, II. p. 230. (P.)

‡ Πηδελγησε τι ο πατηρ, και ο εν τω πατρι ων υιου, ειδη το Ψελημα τε πατρος, μαλλον δε αυτου τη πατρου εγενετο Ψελημα. *Contra Eunomium, Or.* xii. *Opera*, II. p. 345. (P.)

§ "Quid etiam est voluntas patris, nisi silens verbum?" *Ad Arrium*, L. iii. *Bib. Pat.* V. p. 332. (P.)

|| Λεγεται δε και αλλη βεληγησι εξω της οσιας τη Θεω κατ' ανθρωπινην επιβολην νοημενη — "Η μιν οσια τε Θεου ετε ηρξατο εδε πανελαι' ετε γαρ ηρξατο η εικων ετε επαυσατο' η δε βεληγησι και αρχηλαι και πανελαι. *Manuel Caleca De Principiis. Auctuarium Combefis*, II. p. 222. (P.)

¶ "More exactly the *one word of God*, or *one the word of God*, εις ο του Θεου λογος. I have some doubt about the sufficiency of this passage from *Eusebius* to prove the Doctor's point. *Eusebius* is here shewing, that, as there is but one *Father*, so there ought to be but one *logos*, and animadverting upon the unreasonableness of those who might complain that there were not *more*: and to shew this, he remarks that they might as well complain that there were not more *suns*, more *moons*, and more *worlds*, or *systems*, created. To expose the weakness of such objections as these, he says, that as one sun, in visible things, enlightened the whole

enlightens all things, as there is one soul, and one rational power in man."*

Origen, after speaking of the soul as a middle principle between the body and the *spirit*, says, "What then is the soul of God?" and he replies, that "as every thing that is ascribed to God, as hands, fingers, eyes, feet, &c., means his attributes or powers, perhaps by the soul of God we are to understand his only-begotten Son; for, as the soul, being diffused through the whole body, animates every thing, and does every thing, so the only-begotten Son of God, which is his word, and his wisdom, extends to all the attributes of God, and is diffused through him." † *M. Victorinus* represents Christ as "the very being and action of the Father," and says in his answer to the *Arians*, that "God cannot be without action." ‡ In another passage of the same work, he calls Christ *the form of the Father*, defining *form*, if I understand him right, to be that which explains the being of a thing; or, as he elsewhere says, *that by which God is seen.* §

At length the absurdity of making Christ to be the proper reason, power, or will of God, seems to have struck some of the orthodox Christians; and then, having no other resource, they made the doctrine of the divinity of Christ to be a *mystery*, thinking, by that means, to cut off all inquiry and

sensible world, so, in intelligible things, the one logos of God enlighteneth all things τα συμπαντα. And, as an illustration of this, he adds, that one soul, and one rational power in man, was the performer of many different works at the same time. From this view of *Eusebius's* subject and reasoning, it does not seem to have been at all necessary to his subject, or indeed at all his business, directly to draw a parallel between the relation of the soul to man, and of the logos to God; but to shew the relation of each to the several objects under their direction, and to evince by the sufficiency of one soul to preside over various employments, the ample sufficiency of one logos to direct and controul all things in the universe; and to explain and confirm his argument by this comparison, appears to me to be the sole intent of this passage. But the quotation from *Origen*, which follows this, contains in it all for which the Doctor produces it." (X.)

* 'Εἰς ὃ του Θεου λογος παντοδυναμος τα συμπαντα καταναζει' επει και εν ανθρωπω μια ψυχη και μια λογικη δυναμις. *De Laudibus Const.* C. xii. p. 753. (P.)

† "Et si fas est audere nos in tali re amplius aliquid dicere, potest fortasse anima Dei intelligi unigenitus filius ejus. Sicut enim anima, per omne corpus inserta, movet omnia, et agit at que operatur universa: ita et unigenitus filius Dei, qui et verbum et sapientia ejus, pertingit et pervenit ad omnem virtutem Dei, et insertus est ei." *De Principiis, Opera*, l. p. 703. (P.)

‡ "Hoc enim quod λογος est: ipse enim λογος Deus est, unum ergo et ὁμοιον, non enim sine actione Deus, sed intus operatur Deus, sicuti dictum. Substantia autem Dei imago est, actio, filiusque est, per quam intelligitur, et quod sit declaratur." *Ad Arium*, l. i. *Bib. Pat.* V. p. 298. (P.)

§ "Quoniam filius forma est patris: non autem nunc forma esse foris extra substantiam intelligitur, neque ut in nobis adjacens substantiæ facies, sed substantia quædam subsistens, in qua apparet et demonstratur quod occultatum et velatum est in alio. Deus autem ut velatum quiddam est: nemo enim videt Deum; forma igitur filius, in quo videtur Deus." *Ibid.* pp. 311, 320. (P.)

objection. *Ruffinus* says, “It is to be *believed*, that God is the Father of his own Son our Lord, and not to be *discussed*. For slaves must not dispute about the birth of their masters.”*

Theophylact says, that “Christ is the *logos* of God, but neither the inward *logos*,” (meaning reason,) “nor the external *logos*,” (meaning speech,) “nor any thing that can be explained by any property of man, being something peculiar to God.” † In this state the doctrine of the generation of the Son now rests, equally incapable of being understood or defended.

We shall the less wonder at the extreme absurdity of the above quotations from the fathers, when we consider what wretched metaphysicians both they and the *Platonists* before them, and indeed all the philosophers of antiquity, were; and that the idea of a proper personification was not difficult, after it had been agreed that *essence* and *power* were the same thing, which I have shewn to be the language of the *Platonists*; and the same occurs in some of the Christian fathers. Thus *Cyril of Alexandria* says, that “the Father is a simple act of energy.” ‡ *Maxentius* also says, that “with respect to God, who is of an impassible and incorruptible nature, *nature* and *will* are the same thing.” § *M. Victorinus* says, that “power and substance are the same things in God.” ||

The difference, however, between these things was perceived by *Eunomius*; for *M. Caleca* says, that he made the Divine essence and operation to be different things, and that he blamed the orthodox for confounding them.” ¶ *Palamas*

* “Credendus est ergo Deus esse pater uicici filii sui domini nostri, non discutendus. Neque enim fas est servo de natalibus domini disputare.” *In Symbol.* p. 172. (P.)

† Λογος εστιν, εκ εργου, ηδε κτισμα· διττη δε οντος τε λογη, ο μεν γαρ εστιν ενδιαθετος, ον και μη λεγοντες εχομεν, φημι δε την τε λεγειν δυναμιν· και κοιμωμενος γαρ τις και μη λεγων, ομως εχει τον λογον εν αυτω κειμενον, και την δυναμιν ηκ απεβαλεν· ο μεν εν εστιν ενδιαθετος, ο δε προφορικος, ον και δια των χειλεων προσφερομεν, την τε λεγειν δυναμιν τε ενδιαθετην, και ενως κειμενην, εις ενεργειαν προσαγοντες· οτιτη τοιουν ουτος τε λογη, ηδετερος τε των αφομιζει επι τη υιη τε Θεω, ητε γαρ προφορικος, ητε ενδιαθετος εστιν ο λογος τε Θεου· κειντοι μεν γαρ των φυσικων και καθ’ ημας, ο δε τε πατριος λογος υπερ φυσικων, ηχ υποβαλλεται τοις κατω τεχνολογημασιν. *In Johan. C. i. Opera*, I. p. 557. (P.)

‡ “Aetus vel efficacia Pater.” *De Trinitate*, L. ii. *Opera*, II. p. 386. (P.)

§ “Hæc quæ dicis compositæ et passibili naturæ sunt propria, impassibili autem et incompositæ non est aliud naturaliter aliud voluntariè quidpiam facere, sed prorsus unum atque idipsum est, quia ibi non aliud est natura, aliud voluntas, sed natura voluntas est, et voluntas natura.” *Bib. Pat. V.* p. 527. (P.)

¶ “Simul enim et filius, et in patre, et pater in filio: una ergo potentia, hoc est, una substantia existit, ibi enim potentia, substantia: non enim aliud potentia, aliud substantia. Idem ergo ipsum est et patri et filio.” *Ad Arium*, I. i. *Bib. Pat. V.* p. 300. (P.)

¶ Επισημαι εν ενιαυθα χρη, πως Ευνομιος διηρει μεν απο της εσιαις την ενεργειαν, ως γκαλιμα δε, την ταυτοτητα τοις ορθοδοξοις προσεφερε. *Combesis*, II. p. 34. (P.)

also asserted, that the Divine essence and operation were different things; but on this account his antagonist, *M. Caleca*, calls him a polytheist.*

REMARKS on Eusebius.

(See *supra*, p. 215.)

[“Whether *Eusebius* was properly an *Arian* or not, is a question which has long been debated, and appears to me not very easy to be absolutely decided; and while it remains undetermined, it may perhaps be doubtful what construction † is to be put upon several of those passages of *Eusebius*, in which he seems to coincide with the sentiments of the antenicene orthodox. However, that he often speaks the same language with them, or approaches very nearly to it, is certain. Two of the passages here quoted are evident instances of this. But I am not quite certain whether the last passage which *Dr. Priestley* produces as an example of this, I mean that from *Eusebius’s* Epistle *Ad Cæsarienses*, (*Theodoriti Hist. Eccles.*,) is the most full to the Doctor’s purpose; for, immediately after the words here quoted, it follows not only οὐλος πάρος αει πάρος, but ὡς και βασιλευς αει, και σωτηρος δυναμει παντα οντος, αει τε κατα τα αυτα και ὡσαυτως εχοντος. In the same sense in which the Father, according

* Εκ τῶτων ὀηλον, ὅτι την ενεργειαν, ἣν διακρινεσθαι της θειας λεγῃσι, ταυτην και θεο-
ἰηλα και ακλισον ὁμολογησι. *Combesis*, II. p. 3.

† Ὡς ει τις πολλας θεοτητας παραδεξαιτο, τῶτων αναγκη και πολλας θεας ὁμολογειν.
Ibid. p. 40. (P.)

† “What construction, &c. To explain my meaning by an instance: *Eusebius*, (*Dem. Evang. L. iv. C. ii.*,) styles the Son την προτοτοκον σοφιαν, ὀλην δε ὀλη νοεραν και λογικην, και πανσοφον, μαλλον δε αυτουον, και αυτολογον, και αυτοσοφιαν. But then he adds, with the appearance at least of a qualification of the application he had just been making of these terms to the Son, και ειτι δε αυτοκαλον και αυταγαθον επιουειν εν ταις γενηταις θεμεις, which may leave some room to question whether he understood these epithets in the same sense with the uncontrovertibly orthodox. In the oration on the dedication of the churches, (*Euseb. Hist. Eccles. L. x. C. iv.* addressed to *Paulinus*, Bishop of Tyre, and ascribed by many to *Eusebius* himself,) p. 384 of the *Mentz* edition, the speaker, mentioning the soul of man, calls it αυτουεραν ησταν, produced by the Son ὁ θεοταις εκ τῆ μη οντ, certainly not meaning that the intelligence was underived, or the intelligence of the Son who formed it; but rather that intelligence is its essential quality, its proper characteristic, inseparable from its being; or, to come nearer, if possible, to the force of the Greek word, that pure intelligence is its definition, that which constitutes it what it is. And, in like manner, I have sometimes been ready to think *Eusebius* might intend no more by several of these expressions than to give his very high sense of the person to whom he applies them. The Son is αυτουος, αυτολογ, αυτοσοφια, that is, intelligence, reason, and wisdom itself, according to the same figure of speech, (though in a much more exalted meaning,) by which some persons, intending to display the excellence of a wise and good man, would say, he is wisdom and goodness itself. But all this is to be considered merely as a query.” (X.)

to *Constantine*, was always Father, he was always King and Saviour. But as it could never be *Constantine's* intention to say, that the subjects of God's government and salvation were *always*, any otherwise than all his works may be said to be always, with him, as comprehended in his foreknowledge and purposes; so neither does it follow from this reason alone, that the Son had any existence in the Father prior to his being begotten, in any other sense, that is, as the Doctor has very properly rendered the word *δυναμει*. (See *Le Clerc's Ars Critica*, III. p. 49, edit. 1700.) See also quotation* *infra*, Chapter iii. Sect. iv. *Note*, where the same manner of conceiving and reasoning seems to occur in the following words: 'Ὁ γὰρ δεσποτῆς τῶν ὅλων αὐτὸς ὑπαρχὼν τῷ πάντος ἢ ὑποστάσις, κατὰ μὲν τὴν μηδέπω γεγεννημένην ποιήσιν Μόνος ἦν, καθὼς δὲ πᾶσα δύναμις ὄρατων τε καὶ ἀορατῶν αὐτὸς ὑποστάσις ἦν συν αὐτῷ πάντα. In the next words, *Tatian* may be thought to carry the matter farther with respect to the *logos*. But what I have here transcribed may be sufficient to throw some light on *Constantine's* notion. Indeed his whole argument is little better than a quibble, and though it might suit *Eusebius's* purpose to avail himself of it, could never satisfy him, nor, I should think, any other person in the Council." (X.)]*

* In addition to *Note* §, *supra*, p. 157, the same learned correspondent of the Author has the following remarks:

"I know not whether the following passage in *Casaubon's Exercitationes in Baronium* has ever fallen in *Dr. Priestley's* way. If not, it may not be disagreeable to him to see it. 'Adfert *Cyrillus*, libro septimo contra impium *Julianum*, ἐν ᾧ διεξεργεῖται τὸν αὐτὴ πόλιν ξυναποτελῶν κόσμον, ἐν ἑταξῆ λογῶν, ὁ πάντων θεοῦ ὄρατων. Ecce hic habes λόγον per quem, ait *Plato*, factum esse mundum aspectabilem. Videtur dicere idem cum *Johanne*, et hoc est quod *Cyrillus* ait. Ceterum si rem penites spectemus, λογῶν *Platonis*, id est ratio illa quam ait à Deo summo adhibitam in conditura mundi, longe est aliud quam verbum *Christus* apud *Johannem*, et ille λογῶν εννοσματος, solis notus iis quibus sacra scriptura innotuit. Talia multa habentur apud patres, in quibus homonymia possit parem cautis imponere.'

"And a little before these words, having quoted an observation from *Basil* relating to the same subject, he says, "Hæc viri summi admonitio in legendis veterum patrum scriptis apprime est necessaria. Multa enim in illorum monumentis occurrant, ad hujus vocis illustrationem eleganter, ingeniose, addam et utiliter, pro tempore, excogitata, quæ tamen doctrinam parum solidam contineant. Sic accipienda sunt quæcunque ab illis proferuntur ex antiquis philosophis, ut probent etiam sapientibus inter gentes verbum fuisse notum quod celebrat *Johannes*." P. 3, col. 2, edit. *Genevæ*, 1663." (X.)

CHAPTER III.

The Defence of the preceding Doctrine by the Fathers.

IT is no wonder that this strange doctrine of the generation of the Son from the attributes of the Father should bring the orthodox Christians into some difficulties, and expose their scheme to objections; or that, in order to defend it, they should have recourse to a variety of expedients. Accordingly, it appears, by the labour which they bestowed upon this subject, that the doctrine was, in fact, much objected to, and that, in their own opinion, it required to be well explained and defended.

The first thing which they had to guard against was the *diminution* of the substance of the Father by the production of a Son from himself; and the next thing was to prevent the entire *separation* of the Son from the Father; for then there would have been *two Gods*, which the *Gnostics*, who held the doctrine of the emanation of all super-angelic beings from the Divine essence, readily acknowledged. But this having been so long decried, as a doctrine of the *Gnostics*, and being exceedingly offensive to the great body of common people among Christians, it could not be adopted.

It was hardly possible to find any *comparison* in nature by which they could remove both these objections to their doctrine at the same time, viz. the loss of substance in the Father by the generation of the Son, and the entire separation of the Son from him. All their explications, therefore, we find entirely fail in one respect or the other. The earliest of all the explanations of this doctrine is that of the issuing of words from men. The philosophizing Christians compared the emission of the *logos* from the Father to the emission of *logos* or *reason* from man, in speech or discourse: and, miserably lame as this explanation obviously is, many of them could find no better, and therefore they took much pains to answer the objections that were made to it. Another famous comparison to which they had recourse in the earliest period, was the lighting of one torch at another. But though this did not take any thing from the light of the former torch, it made two distinct torches. Still, however, much use was made of this comparison, as being thought remarkably happy

in answering one of the objections. But I must proceed to explain their manner of reasoning by extracts from their own writings.

SECTION I.

The Generation of the Son from the Father, illustrated by the uttering of Words.

TATIAN says concerning the generation of the *logos* from the Father, that “it is by division, not by avulsion, because that which is cut off from its origin is entirely removed from it; but that which is divided” (or imparted) “taking a portion of the œconomy,* does not leave that from which it was taken, destitute. For as many fires are lighted by one torch, without any diminution of its light; thus the *logos* emitted from the power of the Father does not leave him void of *logos*.” To explain this, he adds, “I speak, and you hear, but by discoursing with you I do not become void of *logos*, by the transmission of my *logos* to you; but I propose, by the emission of my voice, to arrange some unformed matter in you.”† This he, no doubt, meant to be a complete illustration of the emission of the *logos* from the Father, in order to arrange the matter of the chaos out of which the world was made.

To this explication it was obvious to object, that the emission of a word in speech is no *generation* of any thing, words being empty sounds, and nothing permanent. But the reply to this was, that words are empty things, and leave nothing permanent when uttered only by *man*; but that this is not the case with the words of *God*; the difference in the beings from whom they proceed making a corresponding difference in the things which proceed from them. In the following passages *Tertullian* states this hypothesis,

* This, as part of a *general proposition*, is a very obscure expression. Had he been describing the emission of the Son from the Father in particular, it would have meant his assuming *proper personality*, in order to his taking part in the plan that was formed for the redemption of man, which is often called *the œconomy*. This phrase is, therefore, generally synonymous to *the incarnation* with the fathers. (P.)

† Γεγονε δε κατα μερισμον, ου κατα αποκοπην' το γαρ απολημθεν τε πρωτε κεχωρισται, το δε μερισθεν οικονομιας την αιρεσιν προσλαβων, ουκ ενδεα τον οθεν ειληληται πεποιηκειν' ασπερ γαρ απο μιας οδου αναπτελει μεν πυρα πολλη, της δε πρωτης οδος δια την εξαφιν των πολλων οδων ουκ ελαττειται το φως, ετω και ο λογος προελθων εκ της τε πατρως δυναμεις, ουκ αλογον πεποιηκε τον γεγεννηκοτα και γαρ αυτος εγω λαλω, και υμεις ακεθε, και ου οσην δια της μεταβασεως τε λογου, κενος ο πρωτομιλων λογε γινωμαι' περιβαλλομενος δε την εμαυτη φωνην, διακοσμειν την εν υμιν ακοσμητον υλην προσηρημαι. Ad Græcos, Sect. viii. Opera, p. 22. (P.)

with the proof of it from the Scriptures, before he replies to the objection which I have mentioned.

“Then therefore did the word (*sermo*) assume its form and dress, its sound and voice, when God said, *Let there be light*. This is the perfect nativity of the word, when it proceeded from God, being first formed by him under the name of wisdom. *The Lord formed me the beginning of his ways*. Then it was effectually generated. *When he prepared the heavens, I was present with him*. By proceeding from whom, he became his Son, his first-born, as being begotten before all things, and *only-begotten*, as being alone generated out of God, from the womb of his heart; as the Father himself testifies, when he says, *My heart is throwing out a good word*, to whom rejoicing, the Father also rejoicing says, *Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee. Before Lucifer have I begotten thee*. So the Son also, under the name of *wisdom*, confesses the Father. *The Lord formed me the beginning of his ways; before the hills has he begotten me*. For if here *wisdom* seems to say that she was made for his works and ways, in another place it is shewn that all things are made by his word, and without it was nothing made. And again, *by his word were the heavens made, and all their hosts by his spirit*, viz. the spirit which is in the word. So that it is the same power which is sometimes called *wisdom*, and sometimes *the word*.”*

His stating of the objection and his answer to it are as follows: “You suppose this *sermo* to be a substance, &c. —What, say you, is speech, but the voice and sound of the mouth, with a kind of vacuity, empty, and incorporeal? But I say that nothing empty and having vacuity can proceed from God, as it does not proceed from what is empty and vacuity; nor can that want substance which proceeds

* “Tunc igitur etiam ipse sermo speciem et ornatum suum sumit, sonum et vocem, cum dicit Deus, Fiat lux. Hæc est nativitas perfecta sermonis, dum ex Deo procedit: conditus ab eo primum ad cogitatum in nomine sophiæ, Dominus condidit me initium viarum. Dehinc generatus ad effectum: Cum pararet cælum, aderam illi simul. Exinde eum parem sibi faciens, de quo procedendo filius factus est, primogenitus, ut ante omnia genitus; et unigenitus, ut solus ex Deo genitus: proprie de vulva cordis ipsius, secundum quod et Pater ipse testatur, Eructavit cor meum sermonem optimum. Ad quem deinceps gaudens proinde gaudentem in persona illius, Filius meus es tu, ego hodie genui te. Et ante Luciferum genui te. Sic et filius ex sua persona profitetur patrem in nomine sophiæ, Dominus condidit me initium viarum in opera sua. Ante omnes autem colles generavit me. Nam si hic quidem sophia videtur dicere conditam se à domino in opera et vias ejus: alibi autem per sermonem ostenditur omnia facta esse, et sine illo nihil factum: sicut et rursum, sermone ejus cæli confirmati sunt, et spiritu ejus omnes vires eorum; utique eo spiritu qui sermoni inerat: apparet unam eandemque vim esse nunc in nomine sophiæ, nunc in appellatione sermonis.” *Ad Præeam*, Sect. v.—vii. *Opera*, p. 503. (P.)

from so great a substance, and which has made so many substances.”*

Lactantius answered the same objection in the same manner. “Our breathings are dissoluble, because we are mortal; but the breathings of God live, remain, and have essence, because he is immortal, the giver of essence and life.”† The same answer is given by *Origen*, *Athanasius*, *Epiphanius*, *Austin*, and, I believe, many others. “The logos of God,” says *Origen*, “is not like that of all other persons. No other logos is living; no other logos is God, no other logos was in the beginning with him whose logos it was.”‡ “The word of man,” says *Epiphanius*, “vanishes, but the word of God abideth,” alluding to *Psalm* cxviii. 89. §

Athanasius having spoken of the Father as the only God, because he only is unbegotten (αγεννητος) and the fountain of Deity; and of the Son as only *God of God*, says, in answer to the question how this logos can become a person in God, when it is not so in man, “The word conceived in the mind of man does not become *man of man*, since it does not live or subsist, but is only the motion of a living and subsisting heart. When it is pronounced, it has no continuance, and being often uttered does not remain: whereas the Psalmist says, *the word of the Lord remaineth for ever*, and the Evangelist agrees with him,” &c. ||

Ruffinus makes the same comparison between the emis-

* “Ergo; inquis, das aliquam substantiam esse sermonem, spiritu et sophie traditione constructam planè. Non vis enim eum substantivum habere in re per substantie proprietatem, ut res et persona quædam videri possit, et ita capiat secundus à Deo constitutus duos efficere, patrem et filium, Deum et Sermonem. Quid est enim, dices, sermo, nisi vox et sonus oris et (sicut grammatici tradunt) àër offensus, intelligibilis auditu; ceterum, vacuum nescio quid, et inane, et incorporale? At ego nihil dico de Deo inane et vacuum prodire potuisse, ut non de inani et vacuo prolatum; nec carere substantiâ, quod de tanta substantia processit, et tantas substantias fecit.” *Ad Praxeam*, Sect. v. C. vii. *Opera*, p. 503. (P.)

† “Nostri spiritus dissolubiles sunt, quia mortales sumus. Dei autem spiritus et vivunt, et manent, et sentiunt; quia ipse immortalis est, et sensus et vitæ dator.” *Instit.* L. iv. Sect. viii. p. 371. (P.)

‡ Ουτε γαρ ὁ λογος αὐτου τοιελος εσιν, ὅποιος ὁ πάντων λογος· ἔθεν γαρ ὁ λογος ζων, ἔθεν ὁ λογος Θεος· ἔθεν γαρ ὁ λογος ἐν ἀρχῇ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἦν, ὅς ὁ λογος ἦν. *In Jer. Hom.* xix. *Comment.* I. p. 184. (P.)

§ Ου γαρ ὁ του ἀνθρώπου λογος, ἀνθρώπος πρὸς τον ἀνθρώπον· ἔτε γαρ ζῆ, ουτε ὑπεση· καρδίας δὲ ζωσης και ὑφέσωσης κίνημα εστι μόνον, και ουχ ὑπόστασις· λεγεται γαρ ἄμα, και παραχρημα αὐκετι εσιν, ἀλλὰ καλούμενοι διαμενεῖ του δε Θεου ὁ λογος, ὡς φησι το ἅγιον πνευμα ἐν σμαλι του Πριφήτου· ὁ λογος σου εἰς τον αἰωνα διαμενει. *Hær.* ix. *Opera*, I. p. 609. (P.)

|| Ου γαρ ὁ λογος του ἀνθρώπου ἀνθρώπος εσιν πρὸς ἀνθρώπον· ἐπει μητε ζων εστι, μητε ἔφθεως, ἀλλὰ ζωσης καρδίας και ὑφέσωσης κίνημα μόνον· και λεγεται παραχρημα, και οὐκ εστι και πολλὰς καλούμενοι, ουδεποτε διαμενει· τον δε του Θεου λογον ἀναΐεν, ὁ Ψαλμωδος κεντραγει λεγων, εἰς τον αἰωνα ὁ λογος σου διαμενει ἐν τῷ ουρανῷ· και συμφωνως αὐτῷ ὁ Θεος εἶναι του λογου ἡμῶν ὁ Ευαγγέλισης, &c. *De æterna Substantia Filii*, &c. *Contra Sabellii Gregales*, *Opera*, I. p. 651. (P.)

sion of the *logos* in God and man, but hints that they are both equally mysterious. Treating of this subject, he says, "Explain first, if you can, how the mind which is within you generates a word, and how the spirit of memory is in it; and though these are different in things and acts, yet they are one in substance and nature; and though they proceed from the mind, they are never separated from it."*

Lactantius proposes and speaks to another difficulty on this subject. For the *angels* being likewise called *spirits* or *breathings* of God, there was some danger lest they should be considered as beings of the same rank with the *logos* in Christ. But this writer observes, that there is a difference between a *word* which is emitted with a *sound*, and a mere *breathing* which is emitted without that circumstance; and this, according to him, sufficiently accounts for the difference between Christ and the angels.

"How," says this writer, "did he" (the Father) "procreate him" (the word)? "In the first place the works of God cannot be known, nor told by any person. But we learn in the holy Scriptures, that the Son of God is the word of God, or reason; also, that the other angels of God are spirits, that is, *breathings*. For a word is a breathing emitted with a sound, expressive of something. But because *breathings* and a *word* are emitted from different parts, (for *breathings* proceed from the nostrils, and a word from the mouth,) there is a great difference between the Son of God and the other angels. For they are *silent breathings*, emitted from God, because they were created for *service*, and not for the delivering the doctrine of God. But though he is also a spirit, yet since he issues from the mouth of God, with a voice, and a sound, like a word, for this reason he was to make use of his voice to the people, because he was to teach with authority the doctrine of God, and communicate heavenly secrets to men." †

* "Expedi primo si potes, quomodo mens, quæ intra te est, generet verbum, et qui sit in ea memoria: spiritus: quomodo hæc cum diversa sint rebus et actibus, unum tamen sint vel substantia vel natura, et cum è mente procedant, nunquam tamen ab ipsa separantur." *In Symbol. Opera*, p. 172. (P.)

† "Quomodo igitur procreavit? Primum nec sciri à quoquam possunt, nec narrari opera divina; sed tamen sanctæ literæ docent; in quibus tantum est illum Dei filium, Dei esse sermonem; sive etiam rationem; itemque cæteros angelos Dei spiritus esse. Nam sermo est spiritus cum voce aliquid significante prolatus. Sed tamen quoniam spiritus, et sermo diversis partibus proferuntur; si quidem spiritus variis, ore sermo procedit; magna inter hunc Dei filium, et cæteros angelos differentia est. Illi enim ex Deo taciti spiritus exierunt; quia non ad doctrinam Dei tradendam, sed ad ministeriam creabantur. Ille vero cum sit et ipse spiritus: tamen cum voce, ac sono ex Dei ore processit, sicut verbum, eas scilicet

Absurd as is this notion of the generation of the Son by merely uttering a word, we find the same or similar explanations of this doctrine after the Council of Nice. *Austin* says, "The Father shews every thing to the Son, and in shewing, generates the Son."* But in another passage he makes a difference between the uttering of a word in man and in God. "We do not," he says, *generate* sounding words, but we *make* them."† But *Cyril of Alexandria*, quoting *Psalm* xlv. 1, *My heart is throwing out a good matter*, says, "The Father produces the Son without passion, as a wise man, out of his own wisdom, produces any work that he has thought of, as of geometry, or music," &c.‡

This comparison of the word of God to that of man, we find so late as *Fulgentius*, who also infers the dignity of the word from the dignity of the mind that produces it.§

SECTION II.

The Generation of the Son from the Father, illustrated by the Prolation of a Branch of a Tree from the Root, &c.

HAVING, I imagine, pursued this phantom far enough, I shall proceed to consider the generation of the Son from the Father in a more substantial manner, viz. as that of a *branch from a root*, or a *river from a spring*, &c., which was likewise very common with the early fathers. This, however, came so near to the system of the Gnostic *emanation* of celestial beings from the Supreme Mind, that it could not but give some alarm. This objection, therefore, those who have recourse to this explanation of the generation of the Son endeavour to guard against.

ratione, quia voce ejus ad populum fuerat usus; id est, quod ille magister futurus esset doctrinæ Dei, et cœlestis arcani ad homines perferendi." *Instit.* L. iv. Sect. viii. p. 371. (P.)

* "Pater ostendit filio quod facit, et ostendendo filium gignit." *In Johan. Tr.* xxiii. C. v. *Opera*, IX. p. 204. (P.)

† "Nos quippe non gignimus sonantia verba, sed facimus." *De Symbol.* C. i. *Opera*, III. p. 141. (P.)

‡ "Præterea, sic ex seipso, absque passione, filium genuit pater, sicut si sapiens ex sapientia sua quicquam excogitaverit atque pepererit, veluti geometriam, musicam aut aliquid hujusmodi." *Thesaurus*, L. i. C. vii. *Opera*, II. p. 229. (P.)

§ "Sed sic est verbum apud Deum, sicut est in mente verbum, sicut in corde consilium: cum enim mens apud se verbum habet, utique cogitando habet, quia nihil aliud est apud se dicere, quam apud se cogitare. Cum ergo mens cogitat, et cogitando verbum intra se generat, de sua substantia generat verbum, et sic illud verbum generat de se, ut genitum habeat apud se. Nec minus aliquid habet verbum, quod ex mente nascitur quam est mens de qua nascitur, quia quanta est mens que generat verbum, tantum est etiam ipsum verbum." *Ad Monimum*, L. iii. C. vii. p. 439. (P.)

We see, in *Athenagoras*, what great stress was laid on the idea of a *perfect union* between the Father and the Son. He says, that “as all things are subject to the emperor and his son, so all things are subject to the one God, and him who is by him considered as his Son, but undivided from him.”*

Tertullian, in his answer to the objections that were made to the generation of the Son from the Father, seems to have aimed at nothing besides making out a scheme different from that of the *Gnostics*, which, in his time, was a doctrine peculiarly offensive. All his object, therefore, is to shew that the Son, though deriving his being from the Father, still remained united to him. “If any one,” says he, “thinks that I am introducing some *probote*, that is, the production of one thing from another, as Valentinus makes, by producing one of his æons from another.—Valentinus separates his *probotes* from their author, and so far, that the æon does not know his father.—But with us the Son only knows the Father.—For God produced his word—as a root produces a branch, a fountain a river, and the sun a beam of light. For these things are the *probotes* of their respective substances.—Neither is the branch separated from the root, the river from the fountain, or the beam from the sun. So neither is the *word* from God. So that, according to this example, I profess that I make God and his word two, the Father and his Son. For the root and branch are two, but joined; the fountain and the river are two, but undivided; and the sun and the beam are two, but cohering.” †

This writer’s fear of making a separation between the Son and the Father appears very strongly in the following passage, which has a view to the *Unitarians*, to whom he thought it necessary to make frequent apologies: “He that is unlearned or perverse takes this in a wrong sense, as if I favoured a

* Ὡς γὰρ ἕμιν πατρὶ καὶ υἱῷ πάντα κεχειρωταί, ἀνώθεν τὴν βασιλείαν εἰληψότες, ἕτως ἐν τῷ Θεῷ καὶ τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ λόγῳ υἱῷ νοημένῳ ἀμεριστῶ πάντα ὑποτετακται. Apol. p. 140. (P.)

† “Hoc si qui putaverit me *προβολὴν* aliquam introducere, id est, prolationem àlii alterius ex altera, quod fecit Valentinus, alium atque alium æonem de æone producentem.—Valentinus probolas suas discernit et separat ab autore: et ita longe eo ponit, ut æon patrem nesciat.—Apud nos autem solus filius patrem novit, et sinum patris ipse exposuit, et omnia apud patrem audivit et vidit; et que mandatus est à patre, ea et loquitur.—Protulit enim Deus sermonem, quamadmodum etiam *paracletus* docet, sicut radix fruticem, et fons fluvium, et sol radium. Nam et iste species *probote* sunt earum substantiarum, ex quibus procedunt.—Nec frutex tamen à radice, nec fluvius à fonte, nec radius à sole discernitur, sicut nec à Deo sermo. Igitur secundum horum exemplorum formam, profiteor me duos dicere, Deum et sermonem ejus, patrem et filium ipsius. Nam et radix et frutex duæ res sunt, sed conjunctæ; et fons et flumen duæ species sunt, sed dividuæ; et sol et radius duæ formæ sunt, sed coherentes.” *Adv. Praxeum*, Sect. viii. *Opera*, p. 204. (P.)

diversity, and as if this diversity implied a *separation* of the Father and the Son. This I urge from necessity, when they contend that the Father, Son and Spirit must be *the same*, flattering the monarchy against the œconomy; when I say that making the Son another from the Father, I do not make him *different* from him, but only maintain a distribution. I do not make a division but a distinction. For the Father and Son are not the same, nor yet another, from another model. For the Father is all substance; but the Son a part of this substance, and a portion, as he himself professes: The Father is greater than I.*

We see the same care to guard against a division of the Father and Son in *Hippolytus*. “By speaking of *another*,” he says. “I do not make *two Gods*, but as light from light, water from the spring, or a beam of light from the sun. For the power of the whole is one; the Father is the whole, and the *logos* is his power.”†

On another occasion *Tertullian* says, that the term *προβολη* (*probole*), which has been much used by the *Gnostics*, was not the worse on that account, and therefore he should not scruple to make use of it in his own sense, or the corresponding Latin term *prolatio*. Speaking of the Son, “He was,” he says, “prolated out of God, and generated by prolation, and therefore the Son of God, and called God from an unity of substance.” He then compares this prolation of the Son from the Father, to one light produced from another, without any loss of the original light.—“This ray of God,” he says, “going into a certain virgin, became flesh in her womb, and was born a man, mixed with God. The flesh animated by the spirit is nourished, grows up, speaks, teaches, operates, and is Christ.”‡ In after times the *Arians*

* “Male accipit idiotæ quisque aut perversus hoc dictum, quasi diversitatem sonet, et ex diversitate separationem protendat, patris et filii et spiritûs. Necessitate autem hoc dico cum eundem patrem et filium et spiritum contendunt, adversus œconomiam monarchiæ adulantes, non tamen diversitate alium filium à patre, sed distributione; nec divisione alium, sed distinctione; quia non sit idem pater et filius, vel modulo alius ab alio. Pater enim tota substantia est: filius vero derivatio totius et portio sicut ipse profitetur, quia pater major me est.” *Ad Praxeam*, Sect. ix. *Opera*, p. 504. (P.)

† Καὶ ὅτως παριστάτο αὐτῷ ἕτερος. Ἐτερον λεγων οὐ διὸ θεοὺς λεγω, ἀλλ’ ὡς φῶς ἐκ φωτός, ἢ ὡς ὕδωρ ἐκ πηγῆς, ἢ ὡς ἀκτῖνα ἀπὸ ἡλίου. Δυναμὶς γὰρ μία ἢ ἐκ τοῦ πάντος, τὰ ὅτι παν Πατρὸς, ἐξ οὗ δυναμὶς λόγος. *Contra Noetum*, Sect. xi. *Opera*, p. 13. (P.)

‡ “Hunc ex Deo prolatum dicimus, et prolatione generatum, et idcirco filium Dei, et Deum dictum ex unitate substantiæ, nam et Deus spiritus, et cum radius ex sole porrigitur, portio ex summa; sed sol erit in radio, quia solis est radius, nec separatur substantia, sed extenditur. Ita de spiritu spiritus, et de Deo Deus, ut Jumen de lumine accensus, manet integra et indefecta materie matrix, etsi plures inde traheres qualitatem mutueris. Ita et quod de Deo profectum est, Deus est, et Dei filius et unus ambo. Ita et de spiritu spiritus, et de Deo Deus. Modulo alterum,

charged the orthodox with this doctrine of *prolation*, as not differing from that of the *Gnostics*. *

Tertullian was so far carried away with this idea of *generation*, that, always delivering himself without reserve, and as clearly as he possibly could, he appears not to have been very solicitous about maintaining the proper *unity* of the Father and Son, attending only to this one circumstance, that they were of *the same substance* and strictly *connected*. "The persons in the Trinity," says he, "are three, not in state, but degree; not in substance, but in form; not in power, but appearance; but of one substance, and one state, and one power, because there is one God, from whom those degrees, forms, and species, in the name of Father, Son, and Spirit are deputed." † He therefore observes, that when our Saviour says, [*John* x. 30,] "I and my Father are one," he used the neuter gender. "He says *unum*, in the neuter gender, which does not imply *one person*, but unity, likeness, conjunction, the love of the Father to the Son, and the obedience of the Son to the will of the Father." ‡ This respected the *Sabellians*, who laid great stress on Christ's saying that he and the Father were one. These were the philosophical Unitarians, who adhered strictly to the doctrine of one God.

With a view to the *Unitarians*, who were the majority of the common Christians in the time of *Tertullian*, as he particularly acknowledges, he is obliged to use a good deal of management, and though he contends for the propriety of calling the Son *God*, as a *branch* from God the Father, yet so great was the superiority of the Father to the Son, that he says he does not choose to call the Son God, when the Father

non numero; gradu non statu fecit. Et à matrice non recessit, sed excessit. Iste igitur Dei radius, ut retro semper prædicabatur, delapsus in virginem quandam, et in utero ejus caro figuratus, nascitur homo Deo mistus, caro spiritu instructa nutritur, adolescit, affatur, docet, operatur, et Christus est." *Apol. Sect. xxi. Opera*, p. 19. (P.)

* "Volentes igitur hæretici, Dei filium non ex Deo esse, neque de natura, et in natura Dei ex Deo Deum natum, cum jam superius commemorassent unum Deum solum verum, neque adjecissent, et patrem, ut unius veritatis esse patrem, et filium exclusa proprietate nativitatibus negarent dixerunt. Nec ut Valentinus prolatione natum patris commentatus est: ut sub specie hæreseos Valentinianæ, nomine prolationis improbatò, nativitatem Dei ex Deo improbarent." *Hilary*, L. vi. *Opera*, p. 102. (P.)

† "Tres autem non statu, sed gradu; nec substantia, sed forma; nec potestate, sed specie; unius autem substantiæ, et unius status, et unius potestatis; quia unus Deus, ex quo et gradus isti et formæ et species, in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti deputantur." *Ad Praxeam*, Sect. ii. p. 501. (P.)

‡ "Unum dicit, neutrali verbo, quod non pertinet ad singularitatem, sed ad unitatem, ad similitudinem, ad conjunctionem, ad dilectionem patris, qui filium diligit, et ad obsequium filii, qui voluntati patris obsequitur." *Ibid.* Sect. xxii. *Opera*, p. 513. (P.)

had been mentioned immediately before. "I do not absolutely say that there are Gods and Lords, but I follow the apostle; and if the Father and the Son are to be named together, I call the Father, God, and Jesus Christ, Lord; though I can call Christ, God, as the apostle, when he says, *of whom is Christ, who is God over all, blessed for ever*. For, separately taken, I call a beam of light the sun; but speaking of the sun, whose beam it is, I do not immediately call the beam the sun. For though I do not make two suns, yet I say that the sun and his beam are two things, and two species of one undivided substance; like God and his word, the Father and the Son."*

The ideas of *Lactantius* on this subject seem to have been very much the same with those of *Tertullian*, as has been seen in former instances; and, like him, he is chiefly careful to guard against the *separation* of the Son from the substance of the Father, lest he should make different Gods. "When we say that the Father is God, and the Son, God, we do not mean a different God, nor do we separate them. For neither can the Father be without a Son, nor the Son without a Father. Nor can the Son be separated from the Father; as the Father cannot have his name without the Son, nor the Son be generated without a Father. Since, therefore, the Father produces a Son, and the Son becomes one, there is one mind, one spirit, one substance, common to them both. But the Father is like an exuberant fountain, and the Son a river flowing from it. The Father is as the sun, the Son as a beam stretched from the sun; who, because he is faithful, and dear to the Father, is not separated from him, as the river is not separated from the spring, nor the beam of light from the sun; because the water of the spring is in the river, and the light of the sun in the beam. In like manner, neither is the voice separated from the mouth, nor the power or the hand separated from the body. When the same person is called by the prophets the *hand of God*, and the *power*, and the *word of God*, there is no separation between them. For

* "Itaque deos omnino non dicam, nec dominos; sed apostolum sequar, ut si pariter nominandi fuerint pater et filius, Deum patrem appellem, et Jesum Christum Dominum nominem. Solum autem Christum potero, Deum dicere, sicut idem apostolus. Ex quibus Christus, qui est, inquit, Deus super omnia, benedictus in ævum omne. Nam et radium solis seorsum solem vocabo; solum autem nominans ejus est radium, non statim et radium solem appellabo. Nam etsi soles duos non faciam, tamen et solem et radium ejus tam duas res, et duas species unius indivisæ substantiæ numerabo, quam Deum et sermonem ejus, quam patrem et filium." *Ad Praxeam*, Sect. xiii. *Opera*, p. 507. (P.)

the tongue subservient to the speech, and the hand, in which is power, are inseparable parts of the body.”*

Tertullian appears, however, not a little embarrassed with the question how the Father can be called *the one God*, if the Son, though connected with him, can, in any proper sense, even where the Father is not mentioned, be called *God*; but he seems to satisfy himself with saying, that as the proper style of the Father before he had a Son was that of *the one God*, he could not lose it in consequence of having a Son, especially as that Son derives his divinity from his inseparable connexion with the Father. “Without injuring the rights of the Son, the Father,” he says, “may be called *the only God*, which was his original title, whenever he is named without the Son. But he is named without the Son when he is spoken of as the *first person*, which is to be named before that of the Son; because the Father is first known, and the Son after the Father. Wherefore there is one God the Father, and no other besides him; when he says which, he does not deny the Son, but some other God; for the Son is not *another* from the Father—as if the sun had said, I am the sun, and besides me there is no other except my beam.” †

One of *Austin's* explanations of the generation of the Son bears some resemblance to those of a branch from the root, and of a river from a spring; but a much greater to the *Gnostic* prolations. “As the Son,” says he, “is from the Father, so the woman is from the man,” ‡ meaning Eve

* “Cum dicimus Deum patrem, et Deum filium, non diversum dicimus, nec utrumque secernimus, quia nec pater sine filio potest; nec filius à patre secerni, siquidem nec pater sine filio nuncupari, nec filius potest sine patre generari. Cum igitur et pater filium faciat, et filius fiat; una utrique mens, unus spiritus, una substantia est; sed ille quasi exuberans fons est, hic tanquam defluens ex eo rivus; ille tanquam sol, hic quasi radius à sole porrectus, qui quoniam summo patri et fidelis, et carus est, non separatur, sicut nec rivus à fonte, nec radius à sole; quia et aqua fontis in rivo est, et solis lumen in radio. Aequè neque vox ab ore sejungi, nec virtus, aut manus à corpore divelli potest. Cum igitur à prophetis idem manus Dei, et virtus, et sermo dicatur, utique nulla discretio est; quia et lingua sermonis ministra est, et manus, in qua est virtus, individuae sunt corporis portiones.” L. IV. Sect. xxix. p. 446. (P.)

† “Salvo enim filio, recte unicum Deum potest determinasse, cujus est filius. Non enim desinit esse qui habet filium ipse unicus, suo scilicet nomine, quotiens sine filio nominatur. Sine filio autem nominatur, cum principaliter determinatur ut prima persona, quae ante filii nomen erat proponenda; quia pater ante cognoscitur, et post patrem filius nominatur. Igitur unus Deus pater, et alius absque eo non est. Quod ipse inferens, non filium negat, sed alium Deum, ceterum, alius à patre filius non est.—Alium enim etiam filium fecisset, quem de aliis excepisset. Puta solem dicere: Ego sol, et alius præter me non est, nisi radius meus.” *Ad Praxeam*, Sect. xviii. *Opera*, p. 510. (P.)

‡ “Ut quemadmodum de patre est filius, sic et de viro mulier.” *Questiones in V. T. xxi. Opera*, IV. p. 713. (P.)

from Adam. For here unhappily the woman was entirely detached from the man.

In the oration of *Constantine*, the union of the Son with the Father is preserved on a more metaphysical principle, viz. that of the Divine nature having no relation to place. "For he that came from him is united to him again; for the separation and union, being not *topically* but *intellectually* that which is produced, was attended with no loss of any thing within the Father, as in the case of seeds."*

Justin Martyr, and others, thought that the comparison of lighting one lamp at another happily illustrated the production of the Son from the Father. But it was afterwards perceived that, according to this, there must be an entire *separation* between them. On this idea *Hilary* objects to it as having been used by *Hierax*. †

SECTION III.

Why only one Son was generated; the Objection of Generation implying Passion considered, and why the Son and Holy Spirit did not generate, &c.

ANOTHER difficulty that remained with the orthodox was to account for the Father having no more than *one Son*; and for this different reasons are given, but all of them, as will be imagined, very lame ones. "If," says *Athanasius*, "they suppose the Father to generate at all, it is better and more pious to say that God is the Father of only one logos, who is the fulness of his Godhead, and in whom are all the treasures of knowledge." ‡

Another reason, given by *Ruffinus*, is more curious, but not more satisfactory. "We believe," says he, "in one only Son of God, our Lord; for one is generated from one, as the splendour of one light, and there is one word of the heart. Neither does incorporeal generation proceed to the plural number, nor does it fall into division; where that which is generated is never separated from that which generates it. It is one, as sense to the mind, as a word to the

* 'Ο δε εξ εκεινη εχων την αναφοραν, εις εκεινον ενουται παλιν' εκεινη τη διαστασει συγκρισει τε, ου τοπικως, αλλα νερας γινομενης' ου γαρ ζημια τινι των πατρων σπλαγγχων συνεση το γεννηθεν, ωσπερ αμελει τα εκ σπερματων. C. iii. p. 676. (P.)

† "Sed nec sicut Hierachas lucernam de lucerna, vel lampadem in duas partes." *De Trinitate*, L. vi. p. 105. (P.)

‡ Ει γαρ ὁλος γεννησιν αὐτον ἰσονοσων, βελτιον εστι και ευσεβεσερον λεγειν ενος ειναι λογον γεννητορα του Θεου, ὡς εστι το πληρωμα της θεοτητος αυτου, εν ᾧ και ὁ Ἰησους πασης της ζωσσεως εστι. *Oratio Brevis, Opera*, II. p. 25. (P.)

heart, as courage to the brave, and wisdom to the wise."* He owns, however, that these examples are imperfect.

The following answer of *Eusebius* tends rather to satisfy us, that it is *better* that there should be but one Son of God than more of them; but, for the reason that he alleges, it would have been better still that there had been no Son at all. "There can be only one Son of God, because in more there would be diversity, and difference, and an introduction of evil."† He also compares this case to the emission of light, and not darkness, from the sun; but then it is obvious to remark that there might have been many beams of light from the same sun.

A much more formidable objection still to this doctrine of paternal generation was, that it implies *passion*, from which it was an incontrovertible maxim, that the Divine nature is exempt. It was particularly a maxim with the *Platonists*, and is expressed by *Plato* himself,‡ that generation is always accompanied with passion. "Had it been said," says *Basil*, "in the beginning was the Son, and not the logos, it would have given us an idea of passion."§ But the answer to this was, that this mysterious generation of an incorporeal being was a very different thing from that which is so called in corporeal ones. In answer to those who said that God would be diminished if he produced a Son from himself, *Origen* thought it sufficient to say, "You consider God as corporeal."|| And the same answer was thought to suffice for this objection. *Gregory Nazianzen*, in answer to the question, "How generation can be without passion," says, "because God is incorporeal."¶ Again he says, "The Deity is without passion, though he generates."**

* "Unicum hunc esse filium Dei dominum nostrum. Unus enim de uno nascitur: quia et splendor unius est lucis, et unum est verbum cordis: nec in numerum pluralem defluit incorporea generatio, nec in divisionem cadit, ubi qui nascitur nequaquam à generante separatur. Unicus est ut menti sensus, ut cordi verbum, ut forti virtus, ut sapientia sapienti." *In Symbol.* p. 174. (P.)

† Εν γὰρ πλείοσιν ἑτέροτης εἶναι καὶ διαφορὰ καὶ τὸ χειρόνος εἰσαγωγή. *Demonstratio*, L. iv. C. iii. p. 147. (P.)

‡ Γίνεται οὐ πατρῶν γενεσίς, ἥνικ' ἀν τι πατρὸς ἢ ὄντων ὡς ὅπου ἀρχὴ λαβῆται αὐτῶν, εἰς τὴν δευτέραν εἰθὴ μεταβάσιν. *Plato De Legibus*, l. x. p. 668. Ed. *Genevæ*. (P.)

§ Εἰ δὲ εἶπεν ἐν ἀρχῇ ἡν ὁ υἱός, τῇ προσήγορῃ του υἱὸς συνεισηλθῶν ἀν σοὶ ἢ περὶ του πατρὸς ἐνοεῖται. *Hom. xvi. Opera*, l. p. 436. (P.)

|| Αὐτοὶ οὐδὲ ὅτε αὐτοὶ καὶ σῶμα λέγουσιν τον πατέρα καὶ τον υἱόν, καὶ ἀνηρῶσαι τον πατέρα, ἵπερ εἰσὶ ὄνματα ἀνθρώπων, μὴ ὄντος φησὶν αἰρατόν καὶ ἀσώματον πείραντασμεν, οὐσαν κυρίως οἰσταν οὗτοι δὲ ὄντων ὅτι ἐν σωματικῶ τοπῶ δασουσι τον πατέρα, καὶ τον υἱόν τοπον ἐκ τοπον ἀμειψαντα σωματικῶς ἐπιδεδῆμηκεναι τῷ βίῳ, καὶ οὐκ κατασασιν ἐκ κατασασίω, ὡσπερ ἡμεῖς ἐξείληφμεν. *Comment. II.* p. 306. (P.)

¶ Πᾶς ἀν οὐκ ἐμπαθῆς ἢ γεννητὴς; ὅτι ἀσώματος. *Or. xxxv.* p. 563. (P.)

** Ἀπάθης γὰρ τὸ ζῆλον, καὶ εἰ γογγυῖται. *Ibid. xxiii.* p. 422. (P.)

It should seem from the pains that were taken to answer this objection to the doctrine of generation by the eternal Father, that it was much ridiculed by the profane and heretical wits of that age. They said that “to the act of generation there must be the concurrence of two persons.” To this *Ruffinus* gravely answers, “Do not think that God needs any marriage, to generate a Son.” “My heart,” he says, “throws out a good logos, (that is,) I have from eternity generated a Son from myself; and know, O man, thy heart generates counsel without a wife.”*

“God and man,” says *Damascenus*, “do not generate in the same manner; for God being exempt from time, origin, passion, fluxion, or body, and alone without end, generates without regard to time, origin, passion, or fluxion; so that this incomprehensible generation has neither beginning nor end.”† This passage is curiously enlarged upon by *Billius*,‡ his commentator.§ The doctrine of the generation of the Son, says *Hilary*, is much ridiculed, as they say it implies the necessity of a wife to God, &c.||

Another equally troublesome objection to this doctrine of Divine generation, was, that there might be no bounds to it. If the Father, they said, can generate a son, the Son also, having the same powers, might generate also, and the Spirit likewise, if he was properly God, and had all the energy of God. “If,” says *Photius*, “the Son be generated from the Father, and the Spirit proceed from the Father and the Son, why should it be peculiar to the Spirit, that another should

* “Ne putares aliquo conjugio indignisse Deum, unde filium generaret: Eructavit inquit) cor meum verbum bonum, id est, ex me ipso æternaliter genui filium. Hodie cor tuum, homo, generat consilium: nec quæris uxorem.” In *Ps.* xlv. *Opera*, II. p. 101. (P.)

† “Nec eodem modo, Deus et homo gignunt. Deus enim, ut qui temporis, et principii passionisque, et fluxionis, ac corporis, expers est, solusque sine careat, ita citra tempus quoque, ac principium, et passionem, atque fluxionem, et sine ullo venereo congressu, gignit; ac nec principium nec finem habet incomprehensibilis ipsius generatio.” *Orthod. Fid.* L. i. C. viii. p. 260. (P.)

‡ “Jacques de Billi—mourut à Paris, en 1581.—Peu de Savans ont mieux possédé la langue Grecque.” *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* I. p. 411.

§ “Gignit igitur assidue pater filium perfectissimum, ut ab æterno genuit, neque ab hujusmodi gignendi officio desiturus est unquam.—Et in hoc manifestum est discrimen generationis hujus divinæ ad humanam quæ finem habet, et tandem ex impotentia cessat, cum ingravescente ætate sterilescent prius sæcundi parentes: sicut in aliis plerisque sigillatim et certa quadam serie in littera digestis, hæc duæ generationes ab invicem discrepare dignoscuntur.” *Orthod. Fid.* L. i. C. viii. p. 261. (P.)

|| “Nam si filius necesse est ut et femina sit, et colloquium sermonis, et conjunctio conjugalis verbi et blandimentum, et postremum ad generandum naturalis machinula.” *Contra Constantium, Opera*, p. 328. (P.)

not proceed from him?"* To this he suggests no satisfactory answer.

The *Macedonian*, in *Athanasius*, does assign a reason, supposing it not to be in itself impossible, but only improper. "Both the Macedonians and the orthodox," says he, "suppose that the Spirit could have generated a son as well as the Father; but that he did not choose to do it, lest there should be a multiplicity of Gods."†

Notwithstanding all these objections, the importance of this doctrine of the generation of the Son from the Father was thought to be so great, that it was represented as if the very being of the Father himself depended upon it. "If there had been no Son," says *Gregory Nyssen*, "there could have been no Father; if no beam, no sun; if no image, no substance."‡ *Athanasius* represents this generation as a necessary consequence from the nature of Deity. "If God," he says, "is a fountain, and light, and a Father, it cannot be that a fountain should be dry, that light should be without beams, or God without logos; lest he should be without wisdom, without reason, and without light."§

Cyril of Alexandria also compares the relation of the Son to the Father to that of splendour to the sun, and heat to the fire, both being inseparable, and also coeval. "And though the sun," he says, "emits splendour, and the fire heat, yet the sun cannot be without its splendour, nor the fire without its heat."|| But this did not apply to the Son or the Spirit, for the Father only was considered as *the fountain of Deity*.

* Ἐτι δε, εἰ ἐκ τῆ πατρὸς ὁ υἱὸς γεγεννημένος, τὸ δε πνεῦμα ἐκ τῆ πατρὸς καὶ τῆ υἱὸς ἐκπορεύεται: τίς ἢ καινότημα τῆ πνευματικῆς, μὴ καὶ ἕτερον τι αὐτῆ ἐκπεπορευεῖσθαι. Ep. ii. p. 59. (P.)

† ΟΡΘ· Ἐὰν ἢν βελήσῃ ὁ υἱὸς, τῆς αὐτῆς ὠν φύσεως τῷ πατρὶ, δυνατὰ γεννησάι υἱὸν ΜΑΚ. Καὶ ἴκαναται· ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ θεογονίαν διδάχθωμεν, τῆς οὐ ποιεῖ. Cou. Mac. Dial. i. Opera, II. p. 273. (P.)

‡ Ἐἰ ἢν ἢκ ἢν ὁ υἱὸς, παντὶως ἢδε ὁ πατὴρ ἢν· εἰ ἐκ ἢν τὸ ἀπαναγασμα, ἢδε τὸ ἀπαναγᾶζον ἢν· εἰ ἢκ ἢν ὁ χαρακτὴρ, παντὶως ἢδε ἢ ὑποστάσις ἢν. Opera, II. p. 900. (P.)

§ Ἐἰ πῆγῃ καὶ φῶς καὶ πατὴρ ἐστὶν ὁ Θεὸς, οὐ βῆμις εἰπεῖν ἢτε τὴν πῆγῃν ἕξῃραν, ἢτε τὸ φῶς χωρὶς ἀκτινῶν, ἢτε τὸν Θεὸν χωρὶς λογῆ, ἵνα μὴ ἀσῶφος καὶ ἀλογὸς καὶ ἀφεγῆς ἢ ὁ Θεὸς. Epist. ad Serapionem, Opera, I. p. 167. (P.)

"Nihil enim aliud nomen fontis nobis significat, quam ut ex quo; filius vero in patre et ex patre est non profluens foras, sed aut quasi à sole splendor, aut quasi ab igne insita sibi caliditas. In his enim exemplis unum ab uno produci, et ambo consequenter sic esse conspicimus, ut aliud absque alio nec esse possit, nec naturæ suæ rationem retinere. Quomodo enim erit sol, splendore privatus; vel quomodo erit splendor, nisi sol sit à quo defluit? Ignis vero quomodo erit calore carens; vel calor unde manabit, nisi ab igne, aut ab alio forsau non procul à substantiali qualitate ignis disiecto? Sicut igitur quæ ab istis profluunt, simul cum illis sunt unde profluunt, ac semper unde fluunt ostendunt: sic in unigenito intelligendum est." In Johan. L. i. C. i. Opera, I. p. 600. (P.)

It was a question even among the *Arians*, whether God could be called a Father before the creation of Christ.*

Farther, it was considered as reproachful to the Father, not to be able to generate a son. “The heretics,” says *Novatian*, “reproach the Father, when they say he could not generate a son, who should be God.”† *Epiphanius* thought it reproachful to the Unitarians, that they should say that the Father was *αγονος*, that is, unable to generate a son.‡

The orthodox, it must be allowed, took pains enough to do away this reproach; but it was at the risk of exposing their scheme to ridicule, as must have been perceived already. They themselves even proceeded so far as to speak of the *labours* of the Father in generating the Son. For mention is actually made of this circumstance in a serious hymn of *Synesius* on this subject; the Son being called *κραδιαιον τι λοχευμα*, a great birth.§

Ambrose speaks of the womb of the Father.|| What could the heretics, alluded to in the following passage of *Cyril of Alexandria*, have said more? “Those who do not approve of the doctrine, when they hear of the Father generating from his womb, understand a real womb, and a real child-birth.”¶

At length the orthodox learned to be less confident, and more modest on this subject; representing it as a *mysterious* thing, and incapable of any explanation. Indeed, *Irenæus* expressed his sense of the difficulty of this subject at an early period; but it was in opposition to the *Gnostics*, who made no difficulty at all of the *prolation* of one incorporeal being from another. “If any person,” says he, “ask how

* Γηγνονται δε και εν Αρειαναις διαιρεσεις, δι' αιτιαν τοιαυτην.—Επει γαρ εν τη εκκλησια πεπεισται ο Θεος Πατηρ ειναι υις τε λογεσ, ζησημα ενεπεσεν εις αυτης, ει δυναται και προ τε υποσθηναι τον υιον, ο Θεος καλεισθαι Πατηρ. *Socrat. Hist. L. v. C. xxiii. p. 300.* (P.)

† “Hæc enim contumelia hæreticorum ad ipsum quoque Deum patrem redundabit, si Deus Pater filium Deum generare non potuit.” *C. iv. p. 32.* (P.)

‡ “Ουτ' ο δε ου λεγει μονον Θεον, δια το πηγην ειναι τον πατερα, αλλα μονον Θεον, αναρραν οσον το κατ' αυτον την τε υις Ψευδηα και υποσασιν, και τε αγιη πνευματ' εχων δε αυτον τον πατερα ινα Θεον, αγονον υις, ας ειναι τα δυο αδελφ πατερα και υιον τον μεν πατερα αγονον υις, και ακαρπον τον λογον Θεου ζωης και σοφιας, αληθινης. *Hær. lxx. Opera, I. p. 609.* (P.)

§ *Hymn ii. Opera, p. 317,* and in *Hymn iv. p. 336,* there occurs the phrase *ωδινα πατρ'.* (P.)

|| “Sicut enim sinus patris spiritalis intelligitur intimum quoddam paternæ charitatis naturæque secretum, in quo semper est filius, ita etiam patris spiritalis et vulva interioris arcanum, de quo tanquam ex generali alio processit filius. Denique diversè legimus nunc vulvam patris, nunc cor ejus, quo verbum eructavit.” *De Benedictionibus Patriarcharum, Opera, I. p. 412.* (P.)

¶ “Hæc qui recte dici negant, quum generare patrem ex utero audiant, uterum, et dolores partus intelligunt.” *In Johan. C. iv. Opera, I. p. 608.* (P.)

is the Son produced from the Father? we say, that this production, whether it be called generation, or nuncupation, or adaption, or by whatever other name this ineffable generation be called, no one knows; neither Valentinus, nor Marcion, nor Saturninus, nor Basilides, nor angels, nor archangels, nor principalities, nor powers: but the Father only who generated, and the Son who was generated.*

However, in general, those who followed him complained of no difficulty in this business, as we have seen. *Constantine* intimates, that "the generation of the Son may be understood by those who are beloved of God." †

Considering the time in which *Novatian* wrote, it is rather extraordinary that he should express himself with so much modesty as he does. "The Son," says he, "is not a mere sound or voice, but the substance of the power of God prolated; with which sacred and divine nativity, neither the apostles, nor prophets, nor the angels, were acquainted: but the Father and the Son only." ‡

We do not wonder at this modesty in later times, when the orthodox had been long teased with objections, to which they had not been able to make any satisfactory answer. *Phœbadius* says, "the Father generated the Son, but no one knows from whence;" § meaning, probably, from what part of himself; for that the Son was generated from the substance of the Father was never doubted by those who were reckoned orthodox. At present this generation is esteemed to be as great a mystery as any other circumstance relating to the Trinity. But this only cuts off all defence of it, and is by no means any answer to the objections made to it.

* "Quandoquidem et Dominus, ipse filius Dei, ipsum judicii diem et horam concessit scire solum patrem, manifeste dicens: De die autem illa, et hora nemo scit, neque filius, nisi pater solus. Si igitur scientiam dici illius filius non erubuit referre ad patrem, sed dixit quod verum est; neque nos erubescimus, quæ sunt in questionibus majora secundum nos, reservare Deo. Nemo enim super magistrum est. Si quis itaque nobis dixerit: Quomodo ergo filius prolatus à patre est? dicimus ei, quia prolationem istam, sive generationem, sive nuncupationem, sive adaptionem, aut quolibet quis nomine vocaverit generationem ejus inenarrabilem existentem, nemo novit; non Valentinus, non Marcion, neque Saturninus, neque Basilides, neque angeli, neque archangeli, neque principatus, neque potestates, nisi solus qui generavit pater, et qui natus est filius." L. ii. C. xlviii. p. 176. (P.)

† Ἄλλα τὴν γενέσιν διπλὴν τίνα νοεῖσθαι χρὴ, τὴν μὲν ἐξ ἀποκησεως, τὴν συνεγνωσμένην ταυτῆν. Ἐτέραν δὲ τὴν ἐξ αἰδίου αἰτίας, ἧς τὸν λόγον Θεοῦ προῆγα θεαταί, καὶ ἀνδρῶν ὡς ἐκεῖν φιλὸς ὑπαρχεῖ. Oratio, C. xi. p. 688. (P.)

‡ "Qui non in sono percussi æris, aut tono coacta: de visceribus vocis accipitur; sed in substantia prolata à Deo virtutis agnoscitur; ejus sacrae et divinæ nativitatæ arcana nec apostolus didicit, nec prophetes comperit, nec angelus scivit, nec creatura cognovit, filio soli nota sunt, qui patris secreta cognovit." C. xxxi. p. 120. (P.)

§ "Genuit quidem filium Pater, sed nemo scit unde." *Bib. Pat. V.* p. 266.

SECTION IV.

Whether the Generation of the Son was in Time, and also whether it was a voluntary or involuntary Act of the Father.

ADMITTING this mysterious generation, and supposing all objections removed, there still remain two questions to be considered, viz. at what *time* did this event take place; and was this generation on the part of the Father *voluntary* or *involuntary*.

With respect to these questions, all the early fathers, indeed all before the Council of *Nice*, say that the Son was generated *in time*, that there was a time when God was without a Son; and that this generation took place immediately before the creation, in order to the Son's being instrumental in it. Of course, they either expressly said, or must have supposed, that the generation of the Son was *voluntary*, so that the Father might have chosen to be without a Son. But in a more advanced state of orthodoxy, after the Council of *Nice*, these opinions were considered as very exceptionable and heretical. The language then was, that God was *always a Father*, in the proper sense of the word, as there had always been a Son; and though they did not choose to say that God did any thing *necessarily*, yet they scrupled not to intimate, in less offensive expressions, that it was so in fact. I shall produce a variety of passages from the fathers in proof of these assertions, and shall dispose them nearly in the order of time, that the above-mentioned change in their language and sentiments may be more easily perceived.

Tatian represents the Father as "having been alone before the creation of the world, that every thing was in him, by the power of the *logos*, and the *logos* itself; that at his will the *logos* came out of him, who was a simple being, and became the first production of his Spirit. This *logos*," he says, "was the *αρχη* to the external world," or the source from which it proceeded.*

* Ὁ γὰρ δεσποτὴς τῶν ὅλων αὐτὸς ὑπαρχὼν τῇ παντὸς ἢ ὑπόστασις, κατὰ μὲν τὴν μηδεπὼ γεγεννημένην ποιησὶν μόνος ἢ καθὼς δε πᾶσα δύναμις, ὁραίων τε καὶ ἀσραίων αὐτοῦ ὑπόστασις ἦν, σὺν αὐτῷ πάντα· σὺν αὐτῷ γὰρ διὰ λογικῆς δυναμείως, αὐτὸς καὶ ὁ λόγος, ὃς ἦν ἐν αὐτῷ, ἐπέστησε· Ἑβραϊκῶς δὲ τῆς ἀπλοῦς αὐτῆ προσηγορίας λόγος· ὃ δὲ λόγος οὐ κατὰ κενὴν ἡμετέρας, ἔργον ποιούσῃον τῇ πνεύματος γινεῖσθαι τῆν ἴσμεν τῇ κόσμῳ τὴν ἀρχὴν. Ad Græcos, Sect. vii. p. 20. (P.)

Theophilus says, "John says, In the beginning was the word, and the word was with God, shewing that at first God was alone, and the *logos* in him."*

Clemens Alexandrinus evidently supposed that there was a time before either the world or the Son existed; for, he says, "He shewed that he was righteous by the *logos* from of old, from the time that he became a father; for he was God before he was a creator, and he was good; and on this account he chose to be a creator and a father."† In another passage, speaking of the *logos* as equal to God, calling him "the divine *logos*, God most manifest, made equal to the Lord of all, and before the sun, as being his Son, and the *logos* that was in God," he speaks of him as "deriving his origin from the will of the Father."‡ He says, that "the *logos* was before Lucifer."§ "Do you inquire about the generation of the *logos*?" says *Hippolitus*, "God the Father generated whom he pleased, and as he pleased."|| "We believe," says *Athanasius*, "that God generated him spontaneously and voluntarily."¶

Tertullian expressly says, that "God was not always a father or a judge; since he could not be a father before he had a son, nor a judge before there was sin; and there was a time when both sin and the Son, which made God to be a judge and a father, were not."** The same is also implied in the following passage: "At first, before the Son made his appearance, God said, Let there be light, and there was light: the word itself was immediately the true light; for from that time Christ the word assisted and administered. God would that things should be, and God made

* Εξ ἂν Ἰωάννης λέγει· ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος, καὶ ὁ λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν Θεόν· δεικνύς ὅτι ἐν πρώτοις μόνος ἦν ὁ Θεός, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ὁ λόγος. L. iii. p. 30. (P.)

† Τὸ δίκαιον δὲ ἡμῖν διὰ τῆς λόγου ἐνδείκνυται τῆς ἐαυτοῦ ἐκεῖθεν ἀνωθεν, ὅθεν γεγενῆσθαι πατρὸς· πρὶν γὰρ κλίσθην γενεσθῆναι, Θεὸς ἦν, ἀγαθὸς ἦν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἡμιουργὸς εἶναι καὶ πατὴρ ἠδὲλθσεν. Ped. L. i. C. ix. p. 127. (P.)

‡ Ὁ Ξεῖνος λόγος, ὁ φανερωτάτος οὐλὸς Θεός, ὁ τῷ θεσποτῆ τῶν ὅλων ἐξισώθει· ὅτι ἦν υἱὸς αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὁ λόγος ἦν ἐν τῷ Θεῷ.—Ταχίστα δὲ εἰς πᾶντας ἀνθρώπων διαδόχους, Ἰσπίον ἤλθιν ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἀναδείξας τῆς πατρικῆς βολήσεως, ἔβρισα ἡμῖν ἐπελαμψε τὸν Θεὸν. Ad Gentes, p. 68. (P.)

§ Πρὸ Ἐασφῆρα γὰρ ἦν, καὶ ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος, καὶ ὁ λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν Θεόν, καὶ Θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος. Ibid. p. 5. (P.)

|| Περὶ τοῦ λόγου γενεσθῆναι ζῆλεις; ὅπερ βέλθεις ὁ Θεὸς Πατὴρ ἐγεννήσεν ὡς ἠδὲλθσει. In Noetum, Sect. xvi. Opera, p. 18. (P.)

¶ Ἀποκράτορα γὰρ ἡμεῖς τὸν Θεὸν καὶ Κυρίον αὐτὸν ἐαυτοῦ εἰδότες, ἐκθῆσις αὐτὸν καὶ ἐδελονῆν υἱὸν γεγεννηθέναι εὐσεβῶς ὑπελήφραμεν. De Syn. Arin, Opera, l. p. 898. (P.)

** "Quia et Pater Deus est, et judex Deus est, non tamen ideo pater et judex semper. Nam nec pater potuit esse ante filium, nec judex ante delictum. Fuit autem tempus cum et delictum et filius non fuit quod judicem et qui Patrem Dominum fecerit." Ad Hermogenem, C. iii. Opera, p. 234. (P.)

them.”* But the following passage is perhaps still more express. “If that,” says he, “which was in God, and came out of God, was not without a beginning, viz. *wisdom*, which was produced from the time that God determined to make the world, much more must things that are *without God* have a beginning.”†

“Christ,” says *Novatian*, “is always in the Father, lest he should not always be a Father; but the Father must in some sense precede him: for he is prior, as Father. For in some way it is necessary that he who has no origin precede him who has an origin. He, therefore, when the Father would, proceeded out of the Father, and he who was in the Father, came out of him.”‡ Again, he says, “Nothing was before Christ but the Father;”§ and in another place, he says, “From whom,” (viz. God,) “and when he chose, the Son, the word, was generated.”||

“God,” says *Lactantius*, “the framer and ordainer of all things, before he undertook the construction of this world, generated an incorruptible spirit, which he called his Son.”¶

Eusebius, speaking of God intending to form the material world, as well as angels, and the souls of men, says, “He thought of making one to govern and direct the whole;” and then he proceeds to describe the generation of the Son, as being “the proper wisdom of the Father.”** In the

* “Primum quidem, nondum Filio apparente, et dixit Deus, Fiat lux, et facta est: ipse statim sermo lux vera, quæ illuminat hominem venientem in hunc mundum, et per illum mundialis quoque lux. Exinde autem in sermone Christo assistente, et administrante, Deus voluerit fieri, et Deus fecit.” *Ad Praxeam*, Sect. xii. *Opera*, p. 506. (P.)

† “Si enim intra Dominum quod ex ipso, et in ipso fuit, sine initio non fuit, sophia scilicet ipsius, exinde nata et condita, ex quo in se suo Dei ad opera mundi disponentia cæpit agitari, multo magis, non capit sine initio quicquam fuisse quod extra Dominum fuerit.” *Ad Hermogenem*, Sect. xviii. p. 239. (P.)

‡ “Semper enim in Patre; ne Pater non semper sit Pater: quin et Pater illum etiam quadam ratione præcedit, quod necesse est quodammodo prior sit qua Pater sit. Quoniam aliquo pacto antecedit necesse est eum, qui habet originem, ille qui originem nescit. Hic ergo, quando Pater voluit, processit ex Patre: et qui in Patre fuit, processit ex Patre.” C. xxxi. p. 121. (P.)

§ “Ante quem nihil præter Patrem.” C. xi. p. 82. (P.)

|| “Est ergo Deo Pater omnium institutor et creator solus originem nesciens, invisibilis, immensus, immortalis, æternus, unus Deus, cujus neque magnitudini, neque majestati neque virtuti quicquam non dixerim præferri, sed nec comparari potest. Ex quo, quando ipse voluit, sermo, Filius natus est.” C. xxxi. p. 120. (P.)

¶ “Deus igitur machinator constitutorque rerum, ante quam præclarum hoc opus mundi adoriretur, sanctum, incorruptibilem spiritum genuit, quem Filium nuncuparet.” *Instit.* L. iv. Sect. vi. p. 364. (P.)

** Προλαβων το μελλον, δια Θεος, τη προγνωσει, συνιδων τε, τελων επαλιων περι γενεσεως εν μεγαλη σαματι κεφαλης δεησομενος.—Βεληθεις γαρ ο Θεος, ατε μικρος, ως αγαθος,

same work he says, "Light is emitted necessarily from the sun; but the Son became the image of the Father from his knowledge and intention, and when he pleased, he became the father of a son."*

It was thought by some of the ancients, as *Beausobre* says, † that angels were made before the visible world, and that Satan was their prince. The Son, therefore, being generated immediately before the visible world, must have been posterior to Satan; and upon this idea, *Athanasius*, in the dialogue which he is supposed to have had with *Arius*, observes, that if he worshipped *the first of creatures*, he must worship Satan. That Satan was the first of creatures, was inferred from *Job* xl. 19, where it is said of Behemoth, (which was thought to represent Satan,) that he is "the chief of the ways of God," in the Septuagint, *αρχη*, the beginning. ‡

We are now advanced as far as the Council of *Nice*, without finding any other opinion than that of the Father generating the Son *voluntarily* and *in time*; but now we come to a stricter kind of orthodoxy, and between them we find some little inconsistency in what *Hilary* has advanced on this subject.

In some passages he seems to be clearly of the opinion of those who went before him. Thus he says, "God the Father is the cause of all, being absolutely without beginning and alone. The Son was produced by the Father before all time, being created and founded before the ages. He was not before he was generated; but being generated before time, and before all things, he alone subsisted from the Father alone. He is neither eternal nor co-eternal—for God is before the Son, as we learned of thee, O Pope," to whom his work is addressed, "preaching in full congregation." Again, he says, "He is his chief, as his God, since he is

αρχη τε παντ[Ⓞ] αρχη και πηγη, των αυτη θησαντων πλειεις αποφηναι κοινωνες' αρτι τε μελλεν την λογικην πιστιν προβαλλεσθαι κτισιν, ασωματες τινας νοερας και θειας δυναμεις, αγγελους τε και αρχαγγελους, αυλα τε και παντη καθαρα πνευματα, προσετι δε ψυχας ανθρωπων.—Ενα των της δημιουργειας απωστης οικονομων ηγεμονα τε και βασιλεια των όλων προταξασθαι φερεο δειν. *Demonstratio*, L. iv. C. i. p. 145. (P.)

* Η μεν αυγη ου κατα προαιρεσιν του φωτος ειλαιμπει, κατα τι δε της ησιας συμβεηκος αχωρισον. Ο δε υιος κατα γνωμην και προαιρεσιν εικων υπεση τε πατρος' βαληθεις γαρ ο Θεος γενεσεν υια πατρ[Ⓞ]. *Ibid.* C. iii. p. 148. (P.)

† *Histoire de Manichéisme*, l. p. 264. (P.)

‡ Ο Θεος τ[Ⓞ] Ιαβ χρηματιζων, ετως εφη περι τη σαλαν, τωτεςιν αρχη πλάσματος ουκω πεποιημενη εμπαιζεσθαι υπο των αγγελων μη' συ εν το πρωτον ποιημα προσκυνων, τον σαταναν προσκυνεις, καθως παρησηεν ο λογος' ιαν δε σοφισασθαι θελησειας, οτι τη υια προτιρον ποιημα εστιν ο σατανας, αρχη προεβιειρον αυτου ποιης εδ' αγιε πνευματος. *Opera*, II. p. 120. (P.)

before him.”* “I do not know,” says he, “when the Son was generated; but it would be wickedness in me to be ignorant that he was generated.”†

That *Hilary* did express this opinion is evident from *Austin's* censuring him for ascribing eternity to the Father only; ‡ and yet in other passages of this work *Hilary* holds a different language. “Where there is always a father,” he says, “there is always a son.” § “You think it, O heretic, pious and religious to say that God always was, but that the Father was not always.” || Again, he says, “To deny the eternity of Christ is a sin against the Holy Spirit.” ¶

This inconsistency in *Hilary* may perhaps be explained by the following maxim of his, viz. “That is eternal which is before time.”** By thus making that to be eternal which preceded the creation, when time was supposed to commence, he might say that the generation of Christ was from eternity, and yet mean that he had not always been generated.

After this time the opinion of the Catholic Christians was invariably in favour of a proper *eternal generation*; and in this they were assisted by the genuine principles of *Platonism*; according to which, the creation, and consequently the *nous* or *logos*, its immediate author, was from eternity. Till this time the *Platonizing* Christians had only held so much of *Platonism* as they had been able to retain consistently with the universally-received doctrines of revelation, one of which was supposed to be, that there was a time before God made the world, or had a Son. They were

* “Et quidem Deus Pater causa est omnium, omnino sine initio solitarius: Filius autem sine tempore editus est à Patre, et ante secula creatus et fundatus. Non erat antequam nasceretur: sed sine tempore ante omnia natus, solus à solo Patre subsistit. Nec enim est æternus, aut co-æternus, aut simul non factus cum Patre, nec simul cum Patre habet esse, sicuti quidam dicunt, aut aliqui duo non nata principia introducentes, sed sicut unio est principium omnium, sic et Deus ante omnia est. Propter quod et ante Filium est, sicut et à te didicimus, Papa, media in ecclesia prædicante. Principatur autem ei, utpote Deus ejus, cum sit ante ipsum.” L. iv. pp. 60, 101. (P.)

† “Nescio enim quando natus sit Filius, et nefas est mihi nescire quod natus sit.” L. ii. pp. 27. (P.)

‡ “Et quia non mediocris auctoritatis in tractatione scripturarum, et assertione fidei vir extitit, Hilarius enim hoc in libris suis posuit, horum verborum, id est, Patris et imaginis et muneris; æternitatis et speciei et usus, adbitam scrutatus intelligentiam quantum valeo non eum secutum arbitror in æternitatis vocabulo, nisi quod Pater non habet Patrem de quo sit, Filius autem de Patre est ut sit, atque ut illi co-æternus sit.” *De Trinitate*, L. vi. C. ix. *Opera*, III. p. 332. (P.)

§ “Ubi autem semper pater est, semper et filius est.” L. xii. p. 305. (P.)

|| “Pium tibi ac religiosum, hæretice, existimas, Deum semper quidem, sed non semper Patrem confiteri.” *Ibid.* p. 309. (P.)

¶ “Peccatum autem in Spiritum est, Deo virtutis potestatem negare, et Christo substantiam adimere æternitatis.” *In Matt. Opera*, p. 519. (P.)

** “Æternum autem est, quicquid tempus excedit.” L. xii. p. 307. (P.)

therefore, obliged to hold that there was a time when the Father was *alone*, the Son having no existence, but as the reason of the Father. But as, in the course of this controversy, the personal dignity of Christ advanced, which it uniformly did, they came to think with the *Platonists*, that the *logos* might have been from eternity, though the *creation* had not. They then argued as the *Platonists* had done, that the *effect*, (and such they never scrupled to call Christ,) might always have co-existed with its *cause*. When it was objected that, “if the Son and Spirit be eternal, they must be without cause, like the Father;” *Gregory Nazianzen* replies, “that effects are sometimes contemporary with their causes, as is the case with the sun and his light.”*

The difficulty about *involuntary generation* was not got over so well as that relating to its taking place before all time.

“The Father,” say *Austin*, “generated the Son neither necessarily nor voluntarily, because there is no necessity in God. The will cannot be before wisdom, which is the Son.” He then asks, “Do you, O heretic, say whether the Father existed necessarily or voluntarily?” † *Chrysostom*, after representing eructation as an involuntary thing, descants upon God’s eructating a good *logos*. “It was not the stomach,” he says, “but the heart; and what did he eructate? Not meat or drink, but the good *logos*, his only-begotten.” ‡ *Cyril of Alexandria* seems to say, that Christ, being the will of the Father, it is absurd to ask whether he was generated voluntarily or involuntarily. §

In a creed drawn up by the bishops in the east, and sent to those in the west, (in which the *Arian* doctrines of the creation of the Son out of nothing, and of there ever having been a time when he was not, are condemned,) the opinion that the Father did not generate the Son of his free-will and choice, is likewise condemned. || The same doctrine is

* Δηλον δε το αιτιον ως ου παντος—πρῶτον τερον των ὄν εστιν αιτιον, ἕδε γαρ τε φωτος ἡλιου. *Op. xxxv. Opera*, p. 563. (P.)

† “Voluntate genuit Pater Filium, an necessitate? Nec voluntate, nec necessitate: quia necessitas in Deo non est: præire autem voluntas sapientiam non potest, quod est Filius: igitur prius est rationabiliter sapere, quam rationabiliter velle. Dic, inquit, et tu hæretice, Deus Pater necessitate est Deus, an voluntate:” *Quest. lxx. Opera*, IV. p. 678. (P.)

‡ Ουχ ὁ σπασμαχος ἐ τα σιτια ὑεχθμενος, ἀλλ’ ἡ καρδια: ἐξηρηξαστο γαρ φησιν, ἡ καρδια μη και τε ερευγεται; ου σιτον ἕδε ποτον, ἀλλα τα συγγενη τη τραπέζη, λογον αγαθου, του περι τη μονογενεως. In Psalm xlv. *Opera*, III. p. 207. (P.)

§ *De Trinitate*, II. L. iii. p. 384. (P.)

|| Της δε λεγοντας ἐξ ηκ ουτων του υιου, η ἐξ ἑτερας ὑποσασεως, και μη εκ του Θεου, και ἑτι ην ποτε χρονος η αιων ὅτε μη ην, ἀλλοτριως εἶδεν ἡ ἀγία καθολικη ἐκκλησια: ὁμοιως και τῆς λεγοντας πρῶτον εἶναι Θεου, η του Χριστου μη εἶναι Θεου πρῶτα των αιωνων, ἠὲ Χριστου

asserted in another of those oriental creeds, in which it is said, "If any one shall say that the Son was not generated at the will of the Father, let him be anathema."*

I must not conclude this subject without mentioning the opinion of *Origen*, viz. that there is no time with respect to God; and, therefore, that it must be impossible to determine when the Son was generated. He says, that "there is no evening or morning with God, but time of the same extent with his eternal life. This is the day in which the Son is generated, the beginning of his birth, and the day of his being founded."† But it does not appear that any person in his time, or for many years after, supposed that the Son had existed always, except as the reason of the eternal Father, an attribute belonging to him, and not separated from him. Austin also supposes that there was no time before the creation.‡

According to *Plato* himself, time cannot be predicated of what is eternal; so that it cannot be said of God that *he was*, or that *he will be*, but only that *he is*. § He also says that time was made with the heavens. ||

CHAPTER IV.

The Inferiority of the Son to the Father, shewn to have been the Doctrine of all the Antenicene Fathers.

It is remarkable that, though all the antenicene fathers were of opinion that the Son derived his being from the *substance of the Father*, and before his generation was even his own proper *wisdom, power*, and all his other essential attributes, they uniformly asserted, that he was *inferior to*

μητε υιον Θεου ειναι αυτον, η τον αυτον ειναι Πατερα και Υιον και αγιον Πνευμα, και αγεννητον τον υιον, η οτι ου βελησει ηδε δελησει εγεννησεν ο πατηρ τον υιον, αναθεματιζει η αγια και καθολικη εκκλησια. Socratis Hist. L. ii. C. xix. p. 99. (P.)

* Ει τις μη δελησωνται τω πατρος γεγεννησθαι τον υιον λεγει, αναθεμα εστω. Ibid. L. ii. C. xxx. p. 126. (P.)

† Ωι αι εσι το σημερον, εκ εσι γαρ εσπερα Θεου, εγω δε ηγημαι οτι ηδε πρωια, αλλ' ο συμπαρακειμενων τη αγεννητω, και αιδιω αυτη ζωη, εν' ηνω ειπω, χρονος, ημερα εσιν αυτω σημερον, εν η γεγεννηται ο υιος. Αρχης γενεσεως αυτω ελωσ εκ ευρισκομενης, ως ηδε της ημερας. Comment. II. p. 31. (P.)

‡ "Quæ tempora fuissent quæ abs te non condita essent." Confess. (Quest. xi.) I. p. 190. (P.)

§ Ταυτα δε παντα μερος χρονη, και το, τ' ην, το τ' εσαι, χρονη γεγενωτος ειδη, φερυλεις λανθανομεν επι την αιδιον εσταν, εκ ορθως λεγομεν γαρ δη ως ην, εσι τε και εσαι' τη δε το εσι μονον, κατα τον αληθη λογον, προσηκει' το δε ην, το, τ' εσαι, περι την εν χρονωγενεσιν ιησαν ωρεπει λεγασθαι. Timæus, p. 711. Ed. Geneva. (P.)

|| Χρονος δ' ην μετ' αραην γεγονεν, ινα αμα γεννηθεντες, αμα και ληθωσιν, αν ποτε λυστις τις αυτων γενηται. Ibid. p. 529. (P.)

the Father, and subject to him. This was certainly unnatural, and a real inconsistency; for, admitting the Son to have been what they represented him, he was, to say the least, fully equal to every thing that could constitute the Father. Indeed, taking from the Father all that they say had constituted the Son, there was nothing of any value left to belong to himself.

Admitting their absurd notion, that, after the generation of such a Son, (to constitute whom, all his own essential attributes, in their fullest extent, contributed,) the Father was not really diminished, but left in all respects the same as if no such communication of his powers had been made; yet as he could not be greater, or more excellent than he had been, and the Son had all the perfections that the Father had ever been possessed of, these writers would naturally have been led to maintain the perfect equality of the Son to the Father, as they actually did some time afterwards. Their not doing this, therefore, for some centuries, clearly discovers that these philosophizing Christians were in very different situations at the two different times, with respect to their fellow-christians, and the opinions that were generally entertained by them.

This remarkable fact cannot, I think, be accounted for, but upon the supposition, that, while they hesitated to pursue their principle to its proper extent, they were restrained by the fear of *popular prejudices*, which would not have borne the doctrine of the equality of the Son to the Father; or, notwithstanding the tendency of the new doctrine, the force of habit was such, that they could not bring themselves at once to change the language, and the ideas to which they and their ancestors had been long accustomed. Now the circumstance which so long restrained the natural operation of this new doctrine of the generation of the Son from the substance of the Father, and of his very *being* consisting of the essential attributes of the Father, could be nothing else but the established doctrine of *one God*, of unrivalled majesty and power, whose servant Christ, as well as all the preceding prophets, had always been considered. It is evident, from numberless passages in their writings, that they were afraid lest the new doctrines of the pre-existence and divinity of Christ should give offence to the common people, who were for a long time, generally *Unitarians*. This hypothesis only can well account for these writers so fully and so frequently expressing their belief of the inferiority of the Son to the Father.

As, in this view, the language they hold on this subject is an article of considerable importance, shewing us their real situation and feelings, I shall produce a considerable number of passages from the *ante-nicene* fathers, in which their opinion of the inferiority of the Son to the Father is clearly expressed, and it would have been very easy to have doubled the number.

I lay but little stress on any passage in the writings of those who are called *apostolical fathers*, or the epistles of *Ignatius*, for reasons that have been given in my *Introduction*; but as the composition of them, or the interpolations in them, were made in a pretty early age, I shall select a few of them. They shew that the idea of the inferiority of the Son to the Father was not given up when those works were composed.

Hermas, speaking of a vineyard let out by its owner, who had many servants, to his son, when he took a journey, says, "The owner of the estate represents the Father, the creator of all things; his servant, the son of God; and the vineyard which he keeps, the people." And, giving a reason why the son is placed in a servile condition, he says, "It is not a service, but a place of great power; for that he is the Lord of the people, having received all power from the Father."* This is not the manner in which an orthodox Christian would have expressed himself on the subject.

Ignatius commends the Ephesians for their harmony; saying, that "they were so joined, as the church to Christ, and as Christ to the Father; that every thing might be in perfect harmony."† "Be subject to the bishop, and to one another, as Jesus Christ was to the Father (according to the flesh), and the apostles to Christ, the Father, and the Spirit."‡ "Be ye imitators of Christ, as he is of the Father."§ "As our Lord did nothing without the Father, being united to him: neither by himself, nor by his apostles,

* "Dominus autem fundi demonstratur esse is qui creavit cuncta et consummavit, et virtutem illis dedit, servus vero illi filius Dei est. Vineam autem populus est, quem servat ipse. — In servili conditione non ponitur filius Dei, sed in magna potestate et imperio. — Vides igitur esse dominum populi, accepta à Patre suo omni potestate." L. iii. C. v. vi. p. 105. (P.)

† Ποσὴ μᾶλλον ὑμᾶς μακαρίζω τῆς ἐγκραταμένης ἑως, ὡς ἐκκλησία Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ ὁ Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς τῷ πατρὶ, ἵνα πάντα ἐν ἐνόησιν. Ad Eph. Sect. v. p. 13. (P.)

‡ Ὑποτάγητε τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ ἀλλήλοις, ὡς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς τῷ πατρὶ κατὰ σάρκα, καὶ οἱ ἀποστόλοι τῷ Χριστῷ καὶ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ πνεύματι, ἵνα ἑνωσῶσιν ἡ σαρκικὴ τε καὶ πνευματικὴ. Ad Mag. Sect. xiii. p. 21. (P.)

§ Μιμηταὶ γίνεσθε Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ. Ad Philad. Sect. vii. p. 32. (P.)

so do you nothing without the bishop and the elders." * This language savours of primitive antiquity, and makes me inclined to think that the epistles are not altogether forged, but rather interpolated. At least they must have been forged in an early age.

Justin Martyr, who insists so much on the pre-existence and divinity of Christ, speaking of the *logos*, says, "Than whom we know no prince more kingly, and more righteous, after the God who generated him." † Speaking of the God in heaven, and the God upon earth, who conversed with Abraham, he says, "The former is the Lord of that Lord who was upon earth, as his Father and God, the cause of his existence, and of his being powerful, and Lord and God." ‡ "Neither Abraham, Isaac, nor Jacob," he says, "nor any man, ever saw the Father and ineffable Lord of all, and of Christ himself; but he who by his will was God, his Son, and an angel, from his being subservient to his will, who at his pleasure was made a man from the virgin, who also in the form of fire appeared to Moses in the bush." §

"I will endeavour to convince you who know the Scriptures, that there is another who is called God and Lord, besides him that made all things, who is also called an angel, on account of his delivering to man whatever he who is the maker of all things, and above whom there is no other God, wills that he should deliver." ||

Though Christ was supposed by this writer to have made all things, yet there was a sense in which the phrase *maker of all things* (ὁ ποιητής των παντων), was thought to be applicable to the Father only. "I will endeavour," says he, "to shew that he who appeared to Abraham, Jacob and Moses, and who is called God, is different from the God that made all things, &c.—I say that he never did any thing

* Ὅσπερ εν ὁ κερως ανευ τη παλτρος ηδεν εποησε, ηγαμενος αν, ητε δι αυτη, ητε δια των απιστων ἑλας μηδε ἑμεις ανευ τη επισκοπη, και των πρεσβυτερων μηδεν πρασσειε. Ad Mag Sect. vii. p. 19. (P.)

† Ὅι βασιλικαλαιον και δικαιολαιον αρχοντα, μετα τον γεννησαντα Θεον, ηδενα οιδαμεν αυτα. Apol. i. p. 17. (P.)

‡ Ὅς και τη επι γης κυρη κυριος εσιν, ὡς πατηρ και Θεος, αιτιος τε αντρ τη ειναι, και αναντρ, και κυριος, και Θεος. Dial. p. 413. (P.)

§ Ουτε εν Ἰσραηλ, ητε Ἰσαακ, ητε Ἰακωβ, ητε αλλος ανθρωπων ειδη τον πατερα και αρητην κεινον των παντων απλωσ, και αυτη του Χοιση, αλλ' εκεινον τον κατα βελην την γεννησ και Θεον αυτα, ἑσαν αυτη, και α. ἄγγελον εκ τη ὑπηρετειν τη γνωμη αυτη, ὃν και ανθρωπον γεννησεναι δια της παρθεν βεβουληται, ὃς και πωρ ποτε γεγρονε τη προς Μωσσει ομιλιη τη απο της βατων. Ibid. p. 411. (P.)

|| Ἄ λεγοι περισημη κ. ἑμας σπειται, νησαντας τας γραφιας, ὃτι εστι και λεγεται Θεος και Κερ. ἔπειθε ἔπειθε τον ποιητην των ὄλων, ὃς και α. ἄγγελος καλεεται, δια το αγγελειν τους ανθρωποις ὅσαπρε β. ἔλατ α. αιτιος α. ἄγγελος ὁ των ὄλων ποιητης, ἔπειθε ὃν αλλ. Θεος οικ. It is acknowledged that this ἔπειθε should be παρα, or ὑπο. Ibid. i. p. 249. (P.)

but what that God who made all things, and above whom there is no God, willed that he should do or say.”* With a view to this, *Origen* calls Christ the *immediate maker* of the world. †

Athenagoras did not consider Christ as *the one God*, but one who was employed by the one God. “Our doctrine,” he says, “teaches us, that there is one God, the maker of all things—who made all things by his own *logos*.” ‡

Clemens Alexandrinus calls the *logos* “the image of God, the legitimate son of his mind; a light, the copy of the light, and man the image of the *logos*.” § He calls the Father the only true God. Alluding to the Heathen mysteries, he says, “Be thou initiated, and join the chorus with the angels about him who is the unbegotten and immortal, the only true God, God the *logos* joining with us, he being always the one Jesus, the great high-priest of the one God, and his Father; he prays for men, and gives laws to men.” ¶ He speaks of Christ as “subservient to his Father’s will, and only called God by way of figure.” ¶¶ “The mediator,” he says, “performs the will of the Father. The *logos* is the mediator, being common to both, the Son of God and the Saviour of men. Of the one he is the servant, but our instructor.”** “There is one unbegotten almighty Father, and one first-begotten, by whom all things were, and without whom nothing was made. For one is truly God, who made the *αρχη* (the origin) of all things, meaning his first-begotten Son.” †† And yet this writer had represented the *logos* as equal to God. †††

* Πειρασμομαι πεισαι υμας οτι ετος ο τε τω Αβρααμ και τω Ιακωβ και τω Μωσει ωφθη ει λεγουμεν Θεο και γεγραμμενος Θεος, ετερος εστι του τα παντα ποιησαντος Θεου· αριθμηθη δε και αλλ’ ου τη γραμμη. Ουδεν γαρ φημι αυτον απεπραχεναι ποτε η αμπερ αυτος ο τον κοσμον ποιησας, υπερ ον αλλος ουκ εστι Θεος, βεβουληται, και πραξαι και ομιλησαι. Dial. i. p. 252. (P.)

† Τον προσεχως δημιουργον. Contra Celsum, I. vi. p. 317. (P.)

‡ Επει δε ο λογος ημων ενα Θεον αγει τον ταυτε του παντος ποιητην, αυτον μεν οι γεννημενον (ετι το ον η γινεται, αλλα το μη ον) παντα δε δια του παρ’ αυτου λογου πεποιηκτα. Apol. p. 40. (P.)

§ Η μεν γαρ του Θεου εικαν, ο λογος αυτου. Και υιος του νου γημισθη, ο θεος λογος, φητας αρχετικου φως. Εικαν δε του λογου, ο ανδραπος. Ad Gentes, p. 62. (P.)

¶ Ει βουλει, και συ μου, και χρευσεις μετ’ αγγελων αμφι τον αγεννητον και ανυπεδρον και μονον οντως Θεον, συνιμαντω Θεοι ημων του Θεου λογου. Αιδιος ετος, Ιησους εως, ο μεγας αρχιερεως Θεου τε ενος του αυτου και πατρος, υπερ ανδραπων ευχεται, και ανδραπος ερχελεεται. Ibid. p. 74. (P.)

¶¶ Θεος εν ανθρωπου σχηματι, αχραντος, πατριως θεληματι διακονος, λογος, Θεος, ο εν τω πατρι, ο εκ δεξιων του πατρος, συν και τω σχηματι Θεου. Ibid. p. 80. (P.)

** Και το θελημα του πατρος ο μεσους εκτελει, μεσους γαρ ο λογος, ο κοινος κληρον, Θεου μεν υιος, πατηρ δε ανδραπων. Και του μεν διακονος, ημων δε, παιδαγωγος. Pedagog. L. iii. C. i. p. 215. (P.)

†† Επει δε εν μεν το αγεννητον, παντοκρατωρ Θεος· εν δε και τω περιγεννηθει, ο ον του παντα εγενετο, και χωρις αυτου εγενετο ουδε εν· εις γαρ τω οντι εστι ο Θεος, ος αρχη των απαντων εποησεν, μηντων τον προτογονον υιον. Strom. I. vi. p. 644. (P.)

†† See *supra*, p. 242.

Tertullian considers “the monarchy of God, as not infringed by being committed to the Son, especially as it is not infringed by being committed to innumerable angels, who are said to be subservient to the commands of God.”* “How,” says he, “do I destroy the monarchy, who suppose the Son derived from the substance of the Father, who receives all power from the Father, and does nothing without the Father’s will; he being a servant to his Father?” † He says, that “Paul is speaking of the Father only, when he speaks of *him whom no man has seen, or can see, and as the king eternal, immortal, and invisible, the only God.*” ‡ “According to the œconomy of the gospel, the Father chose that the Son should be on earth, and himself in heaven; wherefore the Son himself, looking upwards, prayed to the Father, and teaches us to pray, saying, *Our Father, who art in heaven.*” §

Origen says, that “God is the ἀρχή (the origin) to Christ, as Christ is the ἀρχή, to those things which were made in the image of God.” || “Both the Father and the Son,” he says, “are fountains: the Father, of divinity; the Son, of logos.” ¶ “The Father only is the good, and the Saviour, as he is the image of the invisible God, so he is the image of his goodness.”** “The logos did whatever the Father ordered.” †† “The Saviour, and the Holy Spirit,” he says,

* “Atqui nullam dico dominationem ita unius sui esse, ita singularem, ita monarchiam, ut non etiam per alias proximas personas administretur, quas ipsa prospexerit officiales sibi. Si vero et Filius fuerit ei, cujus monarchia sit, non statim dividit eam, et monarchiam esse desinere, si particeps ejus adsumatur et Filius; sed proinde illius esse principaliter à quo communicatur in Filium; et dum illius est, proinde monarchiam esse, que à duobus tam micis continetur. Igitur si et monarchia divina per tot legiones et exercitus angelorum administratur, sicut scriptum est, milies millia adstebant ei, et milies centena millia apparebant ei: nec ideo minus esse desit, ut desinat monarchia esse, quia per tanta millia virtutum procuratur.” *Ad Præcæm*, Sect. iii. p. 502. (P.)

† “Ceterum, qui Filium non aliunde deduco, sed de substantia Patris, nihil facientem sine Patris voluntate, omnem à Patre consecutum potestatem, quomodo possum de fide destruere monarchiam, quam à Patre filio traditam in filio servo.” *Ibid.* (P.)

‡ “De Patre autem ad Timotheum, quem nemo vidit hominum, sed nec videre potest. Exaggerans amplius, qui solus habet immortalitatem; et lucem habitat inaccessibilem. De quo et supra dixerat, regi autem seculorum, immortalis, invisibili, soli Deo.” *Ibid.* Sect. xv. p. 509. (P.)

§ “Tamen in ipsa œconomia, Pater voluit Filium in terris haberi, se vero in caelis, quo et ipse Filius suspiciens, et orabat et postulabat à Patre, quo et nos erectos docebat orare: Pater noster, qui es in caelis.” *Ibid.* Sect. xxiii. p. 514. (P.)

|| Ἀρχὴ αὐτοῦ ἡ Πατὴρ ἐστὶν ἡμῶν ὡς καὶ Χριστὸς ἀρχὴ τῶν κατὰ εἰκόνα γενομένων θεῶν. *Comment. II.* p. 18. (P.)

¶ Ἀφροστέρα γὰρ πηγῆς εἶναι χάραν, ὁ μὲν πατὴρ, θεότητι θεῶν, ὁ δὲ υἱὸς, λόγῳ. *Ibid.* p. 17. (P.)

** Καὶ ὁ πατὴρ θεῶν, ὡς ἐστὶν εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἀσώτου, ὅτι καὶ τῆς ἀγαθοτήτιος αὐτοῦ εἰκὼν. *I.* p. 377. (P.)

†† Πῶς ἀρχήντα ὡς τοῦ λόγου πεποιημένοι πάντα ἴσα ἡ πατὴρ αὐτῆ ἐπιτάλατο. *Ad Celsum*, L. ii. p. 63. (P.)

are more excelled by the Father, than he and the Holy Spirit excel other things, &c., and he, though excelling such and such great things (viz. thrones, principalities, and powers) in essence and office, and power and godhead, (for he is λογος εμβυχος and wisdom,) is by no means to be compared with the Father.* Speaking of the difference between the prepositions δια and ὑπο, the former denoting instrumentality, and the latter proper causality, he says, “If all things were made (δια) by the logos, (that is, as the instrument,) they were not made by (ὑπο) the logos, (that is, as the cause,) but by one who is better and greater than the logos; and who can that be but the Father?” †

Alluding to the Unitarians, with whom, it is plain, he wished to stand on good terms, he says, “We may by this means solve the doubts which terrify many men, who pretend to great piety, and who are afraid of making two Gods, and through this, fall into vain and impious opinions; denying that the nature of the Son is different from that of the Father, and who acknowledge that he is God in name only; or denying the divinity of the Son, and then maintaining that his nature and essence is different from that of the Father. For we must tell them, that he who is God of himself, is God with the article; but that all who are not God of themselves, who are divine by becoming partakers of his divinity, are God without the article, and severally, among whom especially is the first-born of all the creatures.” ‡

The article, he says, is added when the word God signifies

* Ου συγκρισει, ἀλλ' ὑπερβάλλησθι ὑπεροχῇ φαιμεν τον σωτηρα, και το πνευμα το ἄγιον, ὑπερχημενον τοσωνη η και πλεον απο τε πατρος, ὅση ὑπερεχει αυτος και το ἄγιον πνευμα των λοιπων, ου των τυχηνών. Αλλ' ὁμως των τοσαυτων και τηλικων ὑπερεχων σοφια, και πρεσβεια, και δυναμει, και θεοτητι, (εμφυχος γαρ εσι λογος και σοφια,) ου συγκρινειται κατ' ἑδεν τῷ πατρι. Comment. II. p. 218. (P.)

† Ὅτω ταινη και ενταδε ει παντα δια τε λογη εγενετο, εχ ὑπο τη λογη εγενετο, ἀλλ' ὑπο κρειττονος και μειζον ὁ παρα τον λογον τις ὄ αν ἀλλ' ἔτ' τυχηνη η ὁ πατηρ; In Johan. Comment. II. p. 56. (P.)

‡ Και το πολλες φιλοθεος ειναι ευχομενες ταρασσον, ελαβημενες δυο αναγορευσαι θεος, και παρα τελο περιπιπλυτας ψευδеси και ασεβеси δογμασιν, ητοι αρνημενες ιδιοτητα ὑν ἑτεραν παρα την τε πατρος, ὁμολογοντας θεον ειναι τον μεχρι ονοματος παρ' αυτους ὑν προσαγορευομενον η αρνημενες την θεοτητα τε ὑνε, τιθεντας δε αυτε την ιδιοτητα, και την ηταν κατα περιγραφην τυχηνησαν ἑτεραν τη πατρος, εντευθεν ηλεισθαι δυναται λεκτεον γαρ αυτοις ὅτι τοτε μεν αυτοθεος ὁ Θεος εσι, διουπερ και ὁ σωτηρ φησιν εν τη προς τον πατερα ευχη' ἵνα γνωσῶσκι σε τον μονον αληθινον θεον παν δε το παρα το αυλο Θεος μειοχη της εκεινη θεοτητος θεοποιημενον, εχ ὁ Θεος, ἀλλα Θεος κυριωτερον αν λεγοιτο, ὡν παντως ὁ πρωτοτοκος πασης κτισεως, ἄτε πρωτος τῷ προς τον θεον ειναι. Comment. II. p. 47.

It is evident from this passage that the ancient Unitarians would say, that if Christ be God it is only in name, and that his divinity is the same with that of the Father; or else that he has no divinity at all, and is of a nature entirely different from the Father. (P.)

the unbegotten cause of all things.* This observation of *Origen* will be seen to have been borrowed from *Philo*, and it is void of all foundation. †

The writer of a book ascribed to *Origen*, expresses his opinion of the inferiority of the Son to the Father in a peculiarly strong manner, when he speaks of the propriety of praying to the Father only. For he represents it as the custom of Christians not to pray to any other than “the principal God; not to his servants the prophets, or to Christ, or to the apostles. ‡

Origen speaks of “no Christian praying to any other than the God who is over all, by our Saviour, the Son of God, who is the logos, the wisdom, and the truth.” § “If we know,” says he, “what prayer is, we must not pray to any

* Τιθησι μεν γαρ το αρθρον, οτε η Θεος ονομασια επι τη αγεννητη τασεται των όλων αιτιν. *Orig.* in *Johan.* II. p. 46. (P.)

† “If it be supposed that the meaning of the observation referred to is, that Θεῶ without the article never signifies the one true God, it is indeed without all foundation, and is contradicted by such a multitude of instances, both in the Old and New Testament, that for this very reason I should be almost ready to conclude, that neither *Philo*, who must have been well acquainted with the language of one Testament, or *Origen*, or *Eusebius*, (for he makes the same remark,) who must have known the style of both Testaments, could ever intend to assert it. But if the design of the observation was only this, (though I allow that if no more was meant, it is very inaccurately expressed,) that though ὁ Θεῶ denotes the one true God, Θεῶ without the article *may*, not *must*, have a different signification, I should think it is not wholly without ground.

“The case appears to me to be this: ‘Ὁ Θεῶ, especially when made the subject of a proposition, denotes some particular person, who is pointed out by that title; and when it is used absolutely, and without restriction, denotes him to whom the appellation super-eminently, or in that high sense, exclusively belongs. Θεῶ without the article, on the other hand, *may*, I repeat the distinction, not *must*, denote not so directly a person as a general description, and represent properly only dignity, power, and pre-eminence. Deut. xxxii. 21: Ἀυτοὶ παρέζηλωσαν με ἐπ’ οὐ θεῶ, κήγω παραζήλωσω αὐτοὺς ἐπ’ ἐκ εἰδνεῖ. 2 Kings xix. 18: Ὅτι οὐ θεοὶ εἰσιν, ἀλλ’ ἡ ἐργα χειρῶν ἀνθρώπων. Acts xix. 26: Λεγῶν ὅτι ἐκ εἰσι θεοὶ οἱ δια χειρῶν γινόμενοι, in which, and in other really parallel places, the addition of the article would, I conceive, be either disagreeable to the genius of the Greek language, or else vary the sense considerably; and this, I am apt to think, is the real use which some comparatively modern writers in this controversy designed to make of this distinction; not that when it is said καὶ Θεῶ ἦν ὁ λογῶ, the word cannot, merely on account of the omission of the article, mean the same with ὁ Θεῶ just before mentioned; but that there is no *necessity* that it should be thus understood, and consequently that it is no conclusive proof against their system. If any have carried this observation farther, they have done it without sufficient reason, and *Philo*’s application of it in the passage cited from him, (*supra*, pp. 191, 192,) has nothing of real support to it in the words that gave occasion to his remark.” (N.)

‡ Ἰν’ ὡς πᾶσι προσεκληθη θεός· ὁ περ τῶ καθ’ ἡμᾶς θεραπευοῦντι καὶ τοῖς ποιηταῖσι καὶ τῶ πλήρωματι νομῆ Χριστῶ· καὶ τοῖς ἀποστόλοις αὐτῆ, ἐκ ἐσι παλριον. *Contra Marcionitas*, p. 212. (P.)

§ Οὐκ εἰσι ἀλλῶ παρεῖν εἰρησῶν, ἡ τῶ προς παντα διαρκει ἐπι πασι θεῶ, δια τῆ σατηρος ἡμῶν ἐν ἑα τῶ Θεῶ ὡς ἐσιν λογος, καὶ σοφια, καὶ ἀληθεια, καὶ ὅσα ἀλλα λεγῶσι τερὶ αὐτῶ ἂν τῶν ποιητῶν τῶ Θεῶ καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων τῆ Ἰησῶ γραφῶν. *Ad Celsum*, J. v. p. 233. (P.)

created being, not to Christ himself, but only to God the Father of all, to whom our Saviour himself prayed.* “We are not to pray to a brother, who has the same common Father with ourselves; Jesus himself saying, that we must pray to the Father through him.—In this we are all agreed, and are not divided about the method of prayer; but should we not be divided, if some prayed to the Father, and some to the Son? Common people,” he says, “through a great mistake, and want of distinguishing, prayed to the Son either with the Father, or without the Father.” †

Here I cannot help repeating what I observed before, that, if Christ had been conceived to be what *Origen*, among others, supposed him to have been, viz. *the operative faculties of the Father*, and the very being who made the world, and who governed it, he could not but have been considered as the proper object of prayer, even in preference to the Father himself; because, on that principle, we should have had more to do with the Son than with the Father, being more immediately dependent upon him; so that it could not have given any umbrage to the Father, if all our addresses had been made to the Son. The same reason, whatever it was, that made it proper for Christ to make and govern the world, in preference to the Father, would make it equally proper that he should be the object of prayer in preference to the Father; since, therefore, it is acknowledged that, in early times, Christ was not the object of prayer, even to those who believed him to be their creator and governor, we may be assured that he was not generally considered in that light; and especially that he had not been so considered from the beginning; for then a different practice would necessarily have been established.

In the next place, I shall produce some passages from *Novatian*, whose orthodoxy, with respect to the doctrine of the Trinity, was never questioned. He says, “The Father only is the only good God.” ‡ “The rule of truth teaches

* Εάν δε ακεραμεν ότι ποτε εστι προσευχη, μηποτε εδενι των γεννητων προσευκτεων εστιν εδε αυτω τω Χριστω' αλλα μονη τω Θεω των όλων και πατρι, ο και αυτος ο σωτηρ ημων προσηχητο ως προπαρεδμεθα. De Oratione, p. 48. (P.)

† Δοξολογία δε προσευχεσθαι τις κληθισιαμενες ενος αυτε πατρος εκ εστιν ειλογον' μονη γαρ τω πατρι μετ' εμε και οι' εμε αναπεριπτεον εστιν ημιν προσευχην' ταυτ' ουν λεγοντι ακουσιες Ιηση, τω Θεω δι' αυτε ευχαμεθα, το αυτο λεγοντις παντες, μηδε περι τε τροπε της ευχης σχιζομενοι η εκχι σχιζομεθα, εαν δι' εν τω πατρι, δι' δε τω υιω ευχαμεθα; ιδιωτων αμαρτιαν κατα πολλην ακερανηγια δια το αβασανισον και ανεξειλασον αμαρτανουτων των προσευχομενων τω υιω, ειτε μελα τε πατρος, ειτε χωρις τε πατρος. Ibid. p. 51. (P.)

‡ “Quem solum merito bonum pronunciat Dominus.” C. iv. p. 11. (P.)

us to believe, after the Father, in the Son of God, Christ Jesus, our Lord God, but the Son of God, of that God who is one and alone, the maker of all things.* “Though he was in the form of God, he did not attempt the robbery of being equal with God. For, though he knew that he was God of God the Father, he never compared himself with God the Father; remembering that he was of the Father, and that he had what the Father gave him.”† “The Son is less than the Father, because he is sanctified by him.”‡ “God the Father is the maker and creator of all, who alone has no origin, invisible, immense, immortal, eternal, the one God, to whose greatness, majesty, and power, nothing can be preferred or compared.”§ “If Christ had been uncreated, and likewise unbegotten, there would have been two unbegotten, and therefore two gods.”|| “The Son does nothing of his own pleasure, nor does he come of himself; but in all things obeys his Father’s commands.”¶ Alluding to the *Sabellians*, he says, that “very many of the heretics, being moved with the greatness and truth of his divinity, extending his honours too far, have dared to advance that he is not the Son, but God the Father himself.”** This, he says, afterwards is to acknowledge the divinity of Christ in too boundless and unrestrained a manner.††

Arnobius says, that “the omnipotent, and only God,

* “Eadem regula veritatis docet nos credere post patrem etiam in filium Dei, Christum Jesum dominum Deum nostrum, sed Dei filium, hujus Dei qui et unus et solus est, conditor scilicet rerum omnium.” C. ix. p. 26. (P.)

† “Hic ergo quamvis esset in forma Dei, non est rapinam arbitratus æqualem se Deo esse. Quamvis enim se ex Deo patre Deum esse meminisset; nunquam se Deo patri aut comparavit aut contulit, memor se esse ex suo patre, et hoc ipsum quod est habere se, quia pater dedisset. C. xxii. p. 84. (P.)

‡ “Dum ergo accipit sanctificationem à Patre, minor Patre est.” C. xxvii. p. 102. (P.)

§ “Est ergo Deus pater omnium institutor et creator, solus originem nesciens, invisibilis, immensus, immortalis, æternus, unus Deus, cujus neque magnitudini neque majestati neque virtuti quicquam non dixerim præferri, sed nec comparari potest.” C. xxxi. p. 119. (P.)

|| “Si enim natus non fuisset; innatus comparatus cum eo qui esset innatus, æquatione in utroque ostensa, duos faceret innatos, et ideo duos faceret deos: si non genitus esset; collatus cum eo qui genitus non esset, et æquales inventi, duos deos merito reddidissent non geniti: atque ideo duos Christus reddidisset deos.” *Ibid.* p. 122. (P.)

¶ “Filius autem nihil ex arbitrio suo gerit, nec ex consilio suo facit, nec à se venit, sed imperiis paternis omnibus et præceptis obedit.” *Ibid.* p. 123. (P.)

** “Usque adeo hunc manifestum est in scripturis esse Deum tradi, ut plerique hæreticorum, divinitatis ipsius magnitudine et veritate commoti, ultra modum extendentes honores ejus, ausissent non Filium, sed ipsum Deum patrem promovere vel putare.” C. xxiii. p. 87. (P.)

†† “Effrenatius et effusius in Christo divinitatem confiteri.” *Ibid.* (P.)

sent Christ.* And again, “Christ, a God, spake by the order of the principal God.” †

“The Son,” says *Lactantius*, “patiently obeys the will of the Father, and does nothing but what the Father wills or orders.” ‡ “He approved his fidelity to God; for he taught that there is one God, and that he only ought to be worshipped; nor did he ever say that he was God. For he would not have preserved his allegiance, if, being sent to take away a multiplicity of gods, and to preach *one God*, he had brought in another, besides that one. This would not have been to be the herald of one God, or him who sent him, but have been doing his own business, and separating himself from him whom he came to honour. Wherefore, because he was so faithful, because he assumed nothing to himself, that he might fulfil the commands of him who sent him, he received the dignity of perpetual priest, the honour of supreme king, the power of a judge, and the title of God.” §

The same language was held by *Eusebius*, who wrote about the time of the Council of *Nice*. “Christ,” he says, “the only-begotten Son of God, and the first-born of every creature, teaches us to call his Father the only true God, and commands us to worship him only.” || “There is one God, and the only-begotten comes out of him.” ¶ “Christ being neither the supreme God, nor an angel, is of a middle nature between them; and being neither the supreme God, nor a man, but the mediator, is in the middle between them, the only-begotten Son of God.” ** He has the same senti-

* “Tum demum emisit Christum, Deus omnipotens, Deus solus.” L. ii. p. 57. (P.)

† “Deus inquam Christus (hoc enim sæpe dicendum est ut infidelium dissiliat et dirumpatur auditus) Dei principis jussione loquens.” *Ibid.* p. 50. (P.)

‡ “Quia voluntati Patris fideliter paret, nec unquam faciat aut fecerit, nisi quod Pater aut voluit, aut jussit.” L. iv. Sect. xxxix. p. 447. (P.)

§ “Ille vero exhibuit Deo fidem. Docuit enim quod unus Deus sit, eumque solum coli oportere: nec unquam se ipse Deum dixit: quia non servasset fidem; si missus, ut deos tolleret, et unum assereret; induceret alium, præter unum. Hoc erat, non de uno facere præconium; nec ejus, qui miserat, sed suum proprium negotium gerere; ac se ab eo, quem illustratum venerat, separare. Propterea quia tam fidelis extitit, quia sibi nihil prorsus assumpsit, ut mandata mittentis impleret; et sacerdotis perpetui dignitatem, et regis summi honorem, et judicis potestatem, et Dei nomen accepit.” L. iv. Sect. xiv. p. 395. (P.)

|| ‘Ὅτι και αυτος ὁ μονογενης του Θεου και πρωτοτοκος των ὄλων ἢ παντων αρχη, τον αυτη πατερα μονον ἡγεισθαι Θεον αληθη, και μονον σεβειν ἡμιν παρακελευεσθαι. *Preparatio*, L. vii. C. xv. p. 327. (P.)

¶ Διο δη και μονος Θεος αυτος μονογενης δ' ἐξ αυτου προεσις. *De Laudibus Const.* p. 752. (P.)

** ‘Ὡστε μητε αλιον ειναι τον επι παντων Θεου ἡγεισθαι, μητε των αρχηλων ἑνα τῶν δε μεσων και μεσιτην' ὅτι τῷ πατρι και αρχηλοις μεσιτενει, ὡς αν παλιν, ἐτε μεσιτης γινεσθαι Θεου και ανθρωπων, μεσος αν ἑκατερω ταγματος αδιτερος εστιν, μεσιτης ὑπαρχαν' ατ' αυτους

ment in his books on the praises of *Constantine*. "Christ was of a middle nature between things created, and him that had no origin."*

We are now approaching to the time when we shall hear no more of this language from those who were reputed *orthodox*. We do, however, hear the same sentiment occasionally, when the writers were off their guard, and expressed themselves according to the ideas of their predecessors, especially writers near to those times. Thus *Athanasius* says, that "Christ does every thing according to the will and knowledge of the Father." †

Theodoret, having mentioned the great distance between the unbegotten Father and rational and irrational beings, who were by him (ὕπ' αὐτοῦ) produced out of nothing, says, that "his only-begotten Son, by whom (δι' ἧς) all things were made out of nothing, is of a middle nature between them." ‡

At the close of this Section, I shall observe, in general, that whenever the *ante-nicene* fathers used the term *God* absolutely, they always meant the Father only. But if, in their idea, the Father had been no more entitled to the appellation of *God* than the Son or the Spirit, they would certainly have confined the use of the word *God* to express *divinity in general*, and have used the word *Father* and not *God*, when they really meant the Father only, exclusively of the two other persons. Had there been no proper correlative to the word son as a person, nothing could have been inferred from this; but since the term *father* is perfectly correlative to the term *son*, and as familiar, it would certainly have been used by them to denote the Father, as well as the term *son* to denote the Son. It is natural, therefore, to conclude, that their custom of using the term *God* to denote the Father only was derived to them from earlier times, in which no other than the Father was deemed to be God, in any proper sense of the word. This language was continued long after, from a change of ideas, it ceased to be proper.

ων ὁ εἷς και μονος Θεος· οὐδ' ὁμοίως τοις λοιποῖς ἀνθρώποις, ἀνθρώπος· τι δε, εἰ μηδεν τῶν, ἡ Θεου μονογενῆς υἱος, νυν μιν ἀνθρώπων και Θεου μεσίτης γεγονως. *Contra Marcellum*, L. i. p. 8. (P.)

* Μεσίτερον τε και ὕπερτατον της των γεννητων οὐσιας, την ἀναρχον και ἀγεννητον ιδεαν. *De Laudibus Const.* pp. 719, 757. (P.)

† Τα παντα πῶς ὤξαν και γνωσιν του ἑαυτου πατρος εργαζεται. *Contra Gentes*, *Opera*, I. p. 48. (P.)

‡ Ἀγνωστος οἱ ἀνασκησι, ὡς μακρον ἀν εἰη μελαξυ πατρος ἀγεννητου, και των κτισθῶντων ὑπ' αὐτου ἐξ οὐκ οὐτιαν, λογικων τε και ἀλογων· ὧν μεσίτευσα φύσις μονογενῆς, δι' ἧς τα ὅλα ἐξ οὐκ οὐτων ἐποιησεν ὁ πατηρ του Θεου λογου. *Opera*, III. p. 18. (P.)

Very happily, the word *God* is still, in common use, appropriated to the *Father*, so that none but professed theologians are habitual Trinitarians, and probably not even these at all times; and while the Scriptures are read without the comments of men, the Father alone will be considered as God, and the sole object of worship, exclusively of the *Son* or the *Spirit*.

CHAPTER V.

Of the Power and Dignity of Christ, as the pre-existing Logos of the Father.

THE great obstacle to the reception of Christianity, especially with persons distinguished for their learning, or their rank in life, was the meanness of the person and condition of Christ; and especially the circumstance of his having been crucified as a common malefactor. Those who had disciples, called by their names, in Greece, if they had not been distinguished for their wealth and rank in life, which was the case with some of them, had, at least, been men whose time had, in a great measure, been devoted to study, and none of them had been reckoned *infamous*. The death of *Socrates* bore some resemblance to that of *Christ*; but besides that the circumstances of the deaths themselves were considerably different, he had lived in intimacy with the first men of the state, and though not rich himself, had always been respected by the rich; and his life had been devoted to speculation and instruction. Whereas Christ had had no advantage of liberal education, or leisure for study and speculation. He was born of obscure parents, and had lived in a very obscure town of the most despised part of his country; and, till he was thirty years of age, when he commenced public teacher, had been nothing more than a common carpenter.

These circumstances might not have been much attended to beyond the limits of his own country. But his public execution as a common malefactor, was known wherever the name and religion of Jesus was heard of; and though he might not be thought guilty of any crime, (as it was no uncommon thing in any country for persons to be condemned and suffer unjustly,) yet the manner of his death sufficiently shewed the low estimation in which he had been held in his life, and marked him for one of the meanest of mankind.

To be hanged at Tyburn in this country, or to be broke upon the wheel in France, gives us but a faint idea of the ignominy of *crucifixion* in the Roman empire.

This was one of the greatest difficulties that the first preachers of Christianity had to struggle with, in their attempts to propagate Christianity; and the weight of it was much greater than we, who are brought up with a high idea of the great personal dignity of Christ, notwithstanding the mean circumstances of his life, can be duly sensible of, or make sufficient allowance for. The apostles and first preachers of Christianity in general, being themselves illiterate men, had no means of removing this great obstacle, but by their accounts of the miracles wrought by Jesus Christ, and his resurrection from the dead; which were sufficient proofs of his divine mission. Also the miracles which the apostles themselves wrought, and the gifts of the Holy Spirit, communicated to all the early converts, were standing proofs, during the age of the apostles, of the power of God accompanying their preaching. These plain arguments were all that the apostles, as we may see by their writings, ever opposed to the pride of the Jews, or the cavils and contempt of the Greeks. For a long time, Christianity seems to have spread chiefly among the illiterate, though it was by no means confined to persons of low circumstances, especially out of *Judea*; and though we may easily perceive that, to use the apostle's language, *not many rich men were called*, yet there were more of the rich than of the wise.

At length, however, some of the Greek philosophers embraced Christianity; and, as was natural, they were desirous of making converts of others, and therefore would wish to recommend it to them, by exhibiting it in such a light as they imagined would make it appear to the most advantage; and in order to this, they would endeavour to make it seem to be as little different from the philosophy to which they had been addicted as possible. Besides, all men are willing to combine into one system all the doctrines which they espouse; and they never reject any thing that they have been long attached to, without an evident necessity. These philosophers, therefore, even without any view to making converts, would not abandon their former tenets, unless they perceived that it was absolutely impossible to retain them and their profession of Christianity together; and certainly they would not themselves be so ready to see the inconsistency there might be between them as other persons less interested might have been. As to those plain

men from whom these philosophers had first heard the Christian doctrines, they might admit their historical evidence to matters of fact, and thus be convinced of the truth of Christianity; but, considering them as ignorant and unlearned persons, might not choose to be dictated to by them in matters of *deep speculation*; and, wretched as the state of science was in those ages, the *pride of philosophy* and the *contempt of the vulgar*, were much greater than they are now.

It happened that the philosophy which was most in vogue in that age, was *Platonism*, the principles of which have been seen to be more conformable to those of revealed religion in general, than those of any other system that was taught in the *Grecian* schools; as it contained the doctrines of the unity of God, the reality of a providence, and the immortality of the soul. But, unhappily, making a difference between the Supreme Being himself, and his *mind* or *ideas*; and giving an obscure notion of its being by means of a *divine efflux* that all truth is perceived by the mind, as common objects are seen by the beams of the sun; they imagined that a ray of this wisdom, or the great *second divine principle* in their system, might illuminate Jesus Christ, and even have permanently attached itself to him. And with respect to this divine principle, which qualified him to be a public teacher, they might easily imagine that he had had an existence from the time that any divine operation took place; so that they no longer looked upon themselves as the disciples of an obscure person, who had lately started up, and made himself conspicuous by new doctrines, but of that great Being who was instrumental in making the world, and who was the source of all truth.

This idea was highly flattering, and the philosophers lately become Christians, seeing that *Philo* had availed himself of the same Platonic notions, to explain the history of the divine dispensations in the *Old Testament*, followed him in this progress, and extended the same to the *New*; supposing that the same divine *logos*, which *Philo* had represented as the medium of all the visible appearances of God to the patriarchs, was the same that was manifested in Jesus Christ.

This system gave a dignity to the person and character of Christ, which effectually covered *the offence of the cross*. It made the profession of Christianity sit much easier upon the minds of these philosophers themselves, and furnished them with arguments by which to recommend it to others who entertained the same philosophical principles. In this

specious manner were the doctrines of the *pre-existence* and *divinity of Christ* introduced into the Christian system.

That it was the meanness of Christ's person, and the circumstances of his death, at which the Heathen philosophers revolted, we have abundant evidence. "The Heathens," says *Arnobius*, "reproach Christians with worshipping a man."* "The Gods are offended at you," say they, "not because you worship the God that is omnipotent, but because you daily pray to a man who was born, and (which is infamous even to the vilest person) put to death by crucifixion, and because you maintain that he is a God, and is now alive."† "What is the reason," says *Austin*, "that you will not be Christians, but because Christ came in humility, and you are proud?"‡

But when Christians had found *two natures* in Christ, a *divine* as well as a *human* nature, they could easily answer this reproach of the Heathens. "Who was it," says *Arnobius*, "that was seen hanging on the cross? The man whom he put on, and whom he carried with him. The death you speak of was that of the man he had assumed, that of the burthen, not of the bearer."§ This was an answer that we do not find to have occurred to the apostles. "Cavilling at the cross," *Athanasius* says, "they do not see that his power fills the whole world, and that actions shewing him to be God are performed by him."||

It was also a great objection to Christianity that the system was *new*, and the author of it a person of yesterday. But this sublime doctrine, of Christ being the *divine logos*, and the medium of all the divine communications of God to mankind, enabled them to repel this accusation with great advantage. *Eusebius* gives an account of the appearances of Christ under the *Old Testament*; "Lest any person," as he says, "should object to him as a new person."¶

* "Natum hominem colimus." L. i. p. 12. (P.)

† "Sed non (inquit) ideo dii vobis infesti sunt, quod omnipotentem colatis Deum: sed quod hominem natum, et (quod personis infame est vilibus) crucis supplicio interemptum, et Deum fuisse contenditis, et superes adhuc creditis, et quotidianis supplicationibus adoratis." *Ibid. Supra.* (P.)

‡ "Quid cause est cur propter opiniones vestras, quas vos ipsi oppugnatis, Christiani esse nolitis, nisi quia Christus humiliter venit, et vos superbi estis?" *De Civitate Dei*, L. x. C. xxix.; *Opera*, V. p. 591. (P.)

§ "Quis est ergo visus in patibulo pendere, quis mortuus est? Homo, quem induerat, et secum ipse portabat. Mors illa, quam dicitis, assumpti hominis fuit, non ipsius: gestaminis, non gestantis." L. i. p. 22. (P.)

|| 'Οτι τον ζανραν διαβαλλοντες, εχ ορωσι την τειη δυναμιν πασαν την οικουμενην πεπληρωκυιαν και δι δι αυτη τα της θεογνωσιας εργα πασι πεφανερωται. *Contra Gentes*, *Opera*, I. p. 2. (P.)

¶ Ταυτα μεν αν αναγκαιως προ της ισοσιας ειπαθα μοι κειστω, ως αν μη νεωτερον τις

In this view, he says, "The patriarchs may, in one sense, be called Christians."* *Cassian* says, that "Mary produced one who was older than herself, even her own Maker, so that she was the parent of her parent."†

Christians were even ready to go farther than this, in order to recommend their religion to Heathens. They did not even scruple to point out some resemblances between it and the grossest Polytheism. *Justin Martyr*, speaking of Jesus as styled the *Son of God*, says, "If, in the usual style, and as a man only, he be worthy to be called the Son of God, on account of his wisdom, all writers call Jupiter the father of gods and men. But if in a peculiar manner, out of the way of common generation, we say that Christ is the *logos* of God; this agrees with those who hold Mercury to be the wisdom of God, which explains his will. If we say that he was born of a virgin, this is only what is said of Perseus."‡

With the same view (not so much to be condemned if we consider its circumstances and the mere morality of the thing) *Justin Martyr*, as far as appears, invented the doctrine of Christ being the *logos* of God; but it was only the same that *Philo* had before represented as the medium of all the communications of God to the patriarchs. He also extended this principle as a compliment to the philosophy of the Greeks; supposing this also to have been inspired by the same *logos*; and in this he was followed by several others, though in a later period Christians were ashamed of having conceded to the Heathens, so far as to suppose that the *Grecian* philosophy had the same divine origin with Christianity. "All that the philosophers and legislators said and taught," says *Justin Martyr*, "was effected and discovered according to a portion of the *logos*; but because they did not discover every thing of the *logos*, they often differed among themselves.—Christ was in part known to Socrates;

είναι νομισθεῖ τον σωτήρα και κυριον ἡμων Ἰησεν τον Χριστον, δια της της ενσαρκω πολιλειας αυτη χρονος. *Hist. L. i. C. iv. p. 14. (P.)*

* Παντας ὁ ἐκείνης δικαιοσύνης μεμαρτυρημένης, ἐξ αὐτῆ τῆς Ἀβρααμ ἐπὶ τον πρώτων ανιθισιν ανδραπον, εργω Χριστιανος, εἰ και μη ονοματι προσειπων τις, ουκ αν ἐκλος βαλοι της αληθειας. *Ibid. p. 15. (P.)*

† "Vides ergo quod non solum inquam antiquiorem se Maria peperit: non solum inquam antiquiorem se, sed autorem sui, et procreans procreatorem suum, facta est parentis parens." *De Incarnatione Domini, L. iv. p. 1004. (P.)*

‡ Ὑἱος και Θεου ὁ Ἰησους λεγομενος, εἰ και κοινως μονον ανθρωπος, δια σοφιαν αξιουσιος Θεου λεγεσθαι, πατερα γαρ ανδραν τε θεων τε παντες συγγραφεις τον Θεον καλησιν· εἰ δε και ιδιος παρα την κοινην γενεσιν γεγενησθαι αυτον εκ Θεου λεγομενον λογον Θεου, ὡς προσεφημεν, κοινον τῆσ εσω ἡμιν τοῖς τον Ἑρμην λογον τον παρα Θεου, αγγελικον λεγησιν. Εἰ δε δια παρθενη γεγενησθαι φερομεν, κοινον και ταῖσ προς τον Περσεα εσω ἡμιν. *Apol. i. pp. 33, 34. (P.)*

for the *logos* was in him, and in every person, by the prophets foretelling things to come, and by himself when made like us, and teaching us these things.”*

Clemens Alexandrinus followed *Justin Martyr* in this doctrine; supposing the *logos* that was united to Christ to have been the same principle which the Divine Being had in all ages made use of, as an instrument to instruct mankind, whether by means of the Greek philosophy, or any other system. He calls the *logos* “the instrument of God, by which he made man,” giving him the title of (σοφία ὑπερκοσμιῶ) “*supra-mundane wisdom*.”† He says, that “our Saviour is called the *logos* on account of his inventing rational methods for the instruction of men.”‡ “Let us,” says he, “glorify the blessed œconomy, by which man is instructed and sanctified, as a child of God.”—“The *logos* both makes all things, and teaches all things. As the horse is led by the bridle, and the bull by the yoke, so man by the *logos*.”§ “God, as the author of all good, was the author of the Greek philosophy; and this was the school-master to the Greeks, as the law was to the Jews, preparing the way for Christianity.”|| He elsewhere says, “God gave the Greek philosophy by the inferior angels.”¶ So that he seems to have adopted the doctrine of *Philo*, in making angels not to be permanent beings, but only temporary appearances of the *logos*.

This idea of the source of the *Greek* philosophy was exactly that of *Justin Martyr*, who says, “The doctrine of Plato is not foreign from that of Christ, though not in all

* Ὅσα γὰρ καλῶς αἰετὴ ἐφῆδεξαντο καὶ ἤνρον διὰ φιλοσοφησαντῆς ἢ νομοθετησαντῆς, κατὰ λογὴν μετὰ εὐρεσεως καὶ θεωρίας ἐστὶ πονηθέντα αὐτοῖς· ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὐ πάντα τὰ τε λογὴ ἐγνωρίσαν, ὡς ἐστὶ Χριστὸς, καὶ ἐναντία ἑαυτοῖς πολλακῶς εἶπον. Χριστῷ δὲ, τῷ καὶ ὑπο Σωκράτους ἀπο μέρους ἠγνωσθέντι (λογῷ γὰρ ἦν καὶ ἐστὶν ὁ ἐν παντὶ ὢν, καὶ διὰ τῶν προφητῶν πῶσιπεν τὰ μελλόντα γινεσθῆναι, καὶ δι’ ἑαυτὴ ὁμοιωπαθεὶς γενόμενῃ καὶ διδάξαντῃ ταῦτα). *Apol. ii. pp. 124, 125. (P.)*

† *Ad Gentes, p. 4. (P.)*

‡ Ταῦτῃ οὖν καὶ σωτῆρ ὁ λογὸς κεκλήθηται, ὁ τὰ λογικὰ ταῦτα ἐξουῶν ἀνθρώποις εἰς ἐναντιώθησιν καὶ σωτηρίαν φάρμακα. *Pæd. L. i. C. xii. p. 134. (P.)*

§ Τὴν μακαρίαν δοξάζομεν οἰκονομίαν δι’ ἣν παιδαγωγεῖται μὲν ὁ ἀνθρώπος, ἀγιάζεται δὲ ὡς θεῖα παιδίον· καὶ πολὺνεύεται μὲν ἐν θρανίοις ἀπο γῆς παιδαγωγημένος· πάλαι δὲ ἐκεῖ λαμβάνει, ὅν ἐπι γῆς μανθάνει· πάντα ὁ λογὸς καὶ ποιεῖ, καὶ διδάσκει, καὶ παιδαγωγεῖ· ἴππος, ἀγεται χάλινῳ· καὶ ταιρὸς ἀγεται ζυγῷ· θῆριον βροχῶν ἀλίσκεται· ὁ δὲ ἀνθρώπος, μετὰ πλάσσεια λογῶν. *Ibid. p. 265. (P.)*

|| Παντῶν μὲν γὰρ αἰῶν τῶν καλῶν ὁ θεὸς· ἀλλὰ τῶν μὲν κατὰ προσηγμένον, ὡς τῆς τε διαθήκης τῆς παλαιᾶς καὶ τῆς νεᾶς· τῶν δὲ, κατ’ ἐπακολούθημα, ὡς τῆς φιλοσοφίας· ταχὰ δὲ καὶ προσηγμένως τοῖς Ἑλλῆσιν ἐδόθη τὴν, πρὶν ἢ τὸν κυρίον καλεῖσθαι καὶ τῆς Ἑλλήνας· ἐπαιδαγωγεῖ γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, ὡς ὁ νόμος τῆς Ἑβραίων, εἰς Χριστὸν προπαρασκευάζει τοῖσιν ἢ φιλοσοφία, προδιδασκίσα τὸν ὑπο Χριστῆν τελειωμένον.—Καταφαίνεται τοῖσιν ἀρεταῖα ἢ Ἑλληνικῆ, σὺν καὶ αὐτῇ φιλοσοφίᾳ θεοῦ ἐν ἡκείνῃ εἰς ἀνθρώπων. *Strom. L. i. pp. 282, 287. See also L. vi. pp. 636, 648. (P.)*

¶ Ὅτιος ἐστὶν ὁ δίδως καὶ τῆς Ἑλλῆσι τὴν φιλοσοφίαν διὰ τῶν ὑποδεδειγμένων ἀγγέλων. *Ibid. L. vii. p. 702. (P.)*

respects like it; as neither is that of the Stoics, the poets, and historians; for each of them, from a portion of the divine *logos* implanted in them, perceiving something similar," viz. to the Christian doctrine, "very justly delivered it."*

On this principle, these writers could talk very magnificently concerning the dignity of Christ, but in a manner which would have been very little understood or relished by the apostles. *Clemens Alexandrinus* gives the following sublime description of Christ as the *logos* of God, representing him as "most holy and perfect in his nature, supreme in authority and beneficence, nearest to the only Omnipotent Nature, which disposes of all things according to the will of the Father—not separated, or divided, or removing from place to place, not circumscribed; all mind, all paternal light, all eye, seeing every thing, hearing every thing, knowing every thing; by his power searching all power. To him the whole host of heaven and of gods is subject."† Who could be ashamed of such a Master as this? But this was not the crucified Jesus.

That it was *Christ* who taught the *Greeks* their philosophy, was a doctrine afterwards abandoned by the Christians; but that he was the medium of divine communication to the patriarchs was firmly retained, though it is an opinion directly contrary to that of the author of the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, who begins with saying, "God, who, at sundry times, and in divers manners, spake in time past unto the fathers by the prophets, hath in these last days spoken unto us by his Son." According to this, it is evident that God had not spoken to mankind by his Son before the dispensation of the gospel. ‡

As it was *Justin Martyr* who probably first advanced this doctrine, I shall give from his writings a passage or two in which it is expressed. They occur in his dialogue

* Οχι ότι αλλοτρια εστι τα Πλαιων διδαγματα τε Χρισθ, αλλ' ότι ουκ εστι πανη μοια, ωσπερ εδε τα των αλλων, Στωικων τε, και ποιητων, και συγγραφεων' εκασθ γαρ τις απο μερεθ τε σπερματικθ θειθ λογθ το συγκενεθ οραν, καλωθ εφθρηξατο. *Apol. ii. p. 182. (P.)*

† Τελευταιαη δη και αγιαταη, και κυριαταη και ηγεμονικωταη, και βασιλικωταη, και ειεργεικαταη η εις φησι, η τθ μονθ παντοκρατορι προσεχεσαη, αυη η μεγαθη επεροχη, η τα παντα διαλασσειαι κατα το θελημα τε πατροθ, και το παν αριστα οικιζει, ακαμαθη, και αταυθ δυναμει παντα εργαζομενη, δι αν ενεργηται αποκροφθ εννοιαθ επιβλεπσα' ου γαρ εξισταει ποτε τηθ αυθ περιωπηθ ο υιοθ του Θεου ου μειζομενοθ, ουκ απολεμνομενοθ, ου μεταβαινωθ εκ τοπθ εις τοπον, πανη δε παντοει, και μηδαμη περιεχομενοθ, ολοθ νεοθ, ολοθ φωθ πατρων, ολοθ οφθαλμοθ, παντα οραν, παντα ακων, ειδωθ παντα, δυναμει τασ δυναμειθ κρεινων' τελη πασα υπολεισθαι θραθα αγγελων τε και θεων. *Strom. L. vii. p. 702. (P.)*

‡ See Vol. XIV. p. 347; "Tracts, by Thomas Morgan, M.D." 1726, pp. xxii.—xxv.

with *Trypho*, and were evidently intended to reconcile the Jews to the Christian religion. But it was not the method which had been taken by the apostles. They were content to shew from the Scriptures that Jesus was the Christ, who *was to come* into the world, and not one that had ever been in it, or acted any part in it, before he was born. “Bear with me,” says *Justin*, “and I will shew you from the book of Exodus, that this is the same who is called an angel, and God, and Lord, and a man, and the man who appeared to Abraham, and to Isaac, and, appearing in the form of a flame of fire, discoursed with Moses from the bush.”* “Who is he that is sometimes called the angel of the great council, a man by Ezekiel, the son of man by Daniel, a child by Isaiah, and Christ, and God to be worshipped, and David, and Christ, and a stone by many, and wisdom by Solomon, and Joseph, and Judas, and a star by Moses, and ανατολη (a branch) by Zechariah, and one who was to suffer, and Jacob, and Israel again by Isaiah, and a rod, and a flower, and a chief corner-stone, and the Son of God?”† “As he is called the Son of God in the writings of the apostles, we understand him to be before all creatures, coming from the Father by his power, and at his pleasure, who is also called wisdom, and day, and a day-star, and a sword, and a stone, and a staff, and Jacob, and Israel, and in various ways in the writings of the prophets.”‡ “Our Christ,” he says, “in the form of fire, spake to Moses from the bush, and said, Put off thy shoes,” &c. §

According to *Philo*, and the Christian philosophers, the *logos* was not only a teacher, but also the creator of all things; and when this *logos* was represented as the same with Christ, nothing could give men a higher idea of their crucified Master. “How,” says *Chrysostom*, “can any dare to call

* Ανασχεσθε με, ελεγον, και απο της βιβλη της Εξοδη, αποδεικνυνουσι υμιν πως ο αυλος εϊτος και αγγελος, και Θεος, και κυριος, και ανηρ, και ανθρωπος Αβρααμ και Ισαακ φανεϊς, εν πτωι φιλογος εκ βαϊη πεφανηται και ωμιλησε τω Μωυσει. Dial. p. 263. (P.)

† Τις ο εστιν υϊος ος και αγγελος μεγαλης βελης ποτε, και ανηρ δια Ιεζεκιηλ, και ως υϊος ανθρωπι δια Δανιηλ, και παιδιον δια Ησαις, και Χριστος, και Θεος προσκυνητος, και Δαβιδ, και Χριστος, και λιθος δια πολλων, και σοφια δια Σολομωνος, και Ιωσηφ, και Ιησας, και αστρον δια Μωυσεως, και ανατολη δια Ζαχαριη, και παθης, και Ιακωβ, και Ισραηλ παλιν δια Ησαις, και βαθος, και ανθος, και λιθος, ακρογωνιας κεκληται και υϊος Θεου; Ibid. p. 407. (P.)

‡ Και υϊον Θεη γεγραμμενον αυτον εν τοις απομνημονευμασι των αποστολων αυη εχουτες, και υϊον αυτων λεγοντες, γεννηκαμεν οια και προ παντων ποιηματα, απο τη πατρους δυναμει αυη και βελη προελθουσα, ος και σοφια, και ημερα, και ανατολη, και μαχαϊρα, και λιθος, και βαθος, και Ιακωβ, και Ισραηλ, κατ' αλλον και αλλον τροπον εν τοις των προφητων λογοις προσηγορευται. Ibid. p. 353. (P.)

§ Εν ιδεισ πυρος εκ βαϊη προσωμιλησεν αυτω ο ημετερος Χριστος, και ειπεν, υπολυσαι τα υποδηματα σου, και προσελθων ακουσον. Apol. i. p. 92. (P.)

Christ a servant, who did not put forth all his strength when he made the world?"* *Tatian* says, that "the logos before the creation of man, was the maker of angels." †

Methodius very distinctly mentions a middle scheme, supposing, after *Philo*, that the Father created matter out of nothing, by an act of his will, and that afterwards the Son formed it into worlds. "There are," he says, "two creative powers, he that by his mere will creates whatever he pleases out of nothing, which is the Father; the other, which adorns and perfects what was first produced by the former, and in imitation of him. This is the Son, the powerful right-hand of the Father, by which, after he had created matter out of nothing, he adorns it." ‡

If we admit the distinction between ποιητης and δημιουργος given by *Justin Martyr*, it may be supposed that all the more early fathers, who called Christ the *demiurgus*, believed that the matter out of which the world was made was provided by the Father. §

Afterwards it was supposed that the Son was employed in the original creation of matter out of nothing. Thus *Tertullian* says, "The rule of faith requires us to believe that there is one God, who produced all things out of nothing, by his Son, first emitted from him." ||

To be born of a woman was certainly degrading to this great personage; but the disgrace was in a great measure wiped away, when it was considered that he made the very woman of whom he was born. "If all things were made by him," says *Austin*, "Mary, of whom he was born, was made by him." ¶ His body was also a disgraceful circum-

* Πως εν τολμησει τινες υπερρον λεγειν τον υιον, ο γαρ μηδε ολην αυτη την ενεργειαν κινήσας, οτε τον θρανον εδει ποιησαι; In *Psalm* viii., *Opera*, III. p. 121. (P.)

† Ο μιν αυ λογος προ της των ανδρων κατασκευης, αγγελων δημιουργος γινεται. Ad *Græcos*, Sect. x. p. 26. (P.)

‡ Δυο δε δυναμεις εν τοις προσωπολογημενοις εφραμεν ειναι ποιητικας, την εξ ουκ ολτων γυμνη τω βεληματι χωρις μελισμε, αμα τω θελησαι αυτεργησαν ο βηλεται ποιειν ο τυγχανει δε ο παληρ δαυτεραν δε κατακοσμησαν και ποιηθησαν κατα μιμησιν της προτερας τα ηδη γεγονοτα: εστι δε ο υιος, η πανιδυναμια και κραταια χειρ τω πατρος, εν η μετα το ποιησαι την ολην εξ ουκ οντων κατακοσμη. Photii, Bib. p. 997. (P.)

§ Αναγκαιον δε οιμαι και τω προσεχειν τον νου, οτι εδε ποιητην αυτον ο Πλατων, αλλα δημιουργον ονομαζει Θεον: καιτοι πολλης διαφορας εν τησδε εσχς κατα την αυτη Πλατων δδωσαν: ο μιν γαρ ποιητης, εθενος ετερη προσδεμεν, εκ της εαυτω δυναμειας και εξουτιας ποιει το ποιημενον: ο δε δημιουργος, την της δημιουργιας δυναμιν εκ της ολης ειληφως, κατασκευαζει το γενομενον. Ad *Græcos*, p. 21. (P.)

|| "Regula est autem fidei—qua creditur unum omnino Deum esse—qui universa de nihilo produxerit per verbum suum primo omnium demissum." *De Præscriptione*, Sect. xiii. p. 206. (P.)

¶ "Si enim omnia per ipsum facta sunt, et ipsa Maria de qua natus est, per ipsum facta est." In *Psalm* lxxv., *Opera*, VIII. p. 827. (P.)

stance; but not so much so when it was considered that he made that very body. *Clemens Alexandrinus*, speaking of the Son, says, "he forms himself."* "The logos, going forth, was the author of creation, and produced itself, when it was made flesh, that it might be seen."† "Having formed to himself a body out of the Virgin," *Athanasius* says, "he gave no small proof of his divinity, for he who made that, did also make all things."‡

As Christ made his own body, so he likewise made his own human soul. "The logos of God," says *Anastadius Sinaita*,§ "when he came to renew Adam, made for himself such a soul as he first imparted from himself to Adam, by breathing into him."||

According to the same system, which made Christ the creator of his own body, he likewise raised that body from the grave. "If," says *Athanasius*, "when he hung upon the cross, he raised the bodies of the saints, when they were dissolved, much more could he raise his own body, which he carried about him, being the logos of the ever-living God."¶ "He who quickeneth all the dead, quickened the man Christ Jesus, whom he had assumed."** *Eusebius* says, that Christ raised his own body, being the right-hand aid and power of the Father.†† This *Paulinus* supposed to have been foretold by Jacob, when he compared Judah to a lion. "The same Lord is the lion who conquered, and the lion's whelp, who went to sleep of his own accord, and raised himself up, of whom it is written, Who shall raise him up?"‡‡

But, according to *Origen*, he was raised to life by God

* Και μην εαυτον κτιζει και δημιουργει. *Strom.* L. vii. p. 706. (P.)

† Προεδων δε ο λογος, δημιουργιας αιτιος, επειτα και εαυτον γεννη, οταν ο λογος σαρε γεννηται, ινα και θεαδη. *Ibid.* L. v. p. 558. (P.)

‡ Εκ παρθεν πλαθει εαυτη το σωμα, ινα μη μικρον της θεοτητος αυτη γνωρισμα πασι παρασχη, οτι ο τωτο πλασας, αυτος εσι και των αλλων ποιητης. *De Incarnatione, Opera*, I. p. 71. (P.)

§ A Monk of Mount-Sinai. See *Now. Dict. Hist.* I. p. 181.

|| Επισημασας εν ο τη θεη λογος επι το ανακαινισαι τον Αδαμ' τω αυτην εαυτη ψυχην εστημι-ρησεν, διαν απαρχης εξ εαυτη δια τη επισημασματος τη Αδαμ μετεδωκεν. *De Hominis Creatione, Bandini Collectio*, II. p. 64. (P.)

¶ Ει γαρ επι σαρη ων τα προδιαλυθεντα νεκρα των αγιων ηγειρε σματα' πολλη μαλλον εγειρει θαναται ο εφορησε σωμα, ο αει ζων θεος λογος. *Opera*, II. p. 542. (P.)

** Ο γαρ παντας της νεκρης ζωοποιων, και τον εν Μαρίας ανδρωπον Χριστον Ιησυν εξωσπειρησεν, εν ανεληφεν. *Sermo Major de Fide*, in *Montfaucon's Collectio*, II. p. 6. (P.)

†† Και αυτος το εαυτη ανεσησε σωμα, δεξια και δυναμις ων το πατρος. In *Ps. ibid.* I. p. 701. (P.)

‡‡ "Idem enim Dominus et leo ille, qui vicit et catulus est leonis, sua sponte sopitus, et à semetipso resuscitatus, de quo scriptum est: Quis suscitabit eum?" *Ad Severum*, Ep. iv., *Opera*, p. 58. (P.)

the Father: "The same," he says, "whom Christ honoured as the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and whom he called not the God of the dead, but of the living."*

The *logos* of the Father having now assumed a proper personal character, and being inseparably united with the man Jesus, a new and immense field of speculation is opened unto us; and great scope was given to the ingenuity of those who maintained so complex and so extraordinary a system. Christ was now a three-fold being, consisting of the divine *logos*, a human *soul*, † and a human *body*; and the combination of all the powers peculiar to each of these component parts was certainly in great danger of considerably affecting them all, some being lowered and others raised.

Considering Christ as one compound being, it was generally agreed that he held a middle rank between the supreme God and the creatures. *Alexander*, bishop of Alexandria, says, that "Christ, by whom God made all things, is called a middle nature between the Father who is unbegotten, and the creatures." ‡

Theophilus following *Philo*, says, that "the Father is not confined to place, but that the *logos*, by which he made all things, being his power and wisdom, assuming the character of the Father, and Lord of all, was present in paradise, in the character of God." §

Bishop Bull acknowledges that *Justin Martyr*, *Tertullian*, and *Novatian* thought that the Father could not be confined to place, but that the Son might. ||

Methodius calls Christ the oldest of the æons, and the chief of the archangels. ¶

* Ου γαρ ὑπ' ἀλλῃ ἰσασιν εκ νεκρων εγγηγημενον Ἰησεν Θεο, η τετων πατερων ὄν και ἔ Χριστος δοξαζων Θεον τη Αβρααμ, και Ισαακ, και Ιακωβ φησιν ειναι, ουκ υντων νεκρων, αλλα ζωντων. In *Johan. Comment.* II. p. 183. (P.)

† According to *Watts*, in his "Christian Doctrine of the Trinity," 1722, it is "a matter of opinion, not to be rashly rejected," that this *human soul* "had a being, and was personally united to the Divine Nature—from the foundation of the world." Again, in "The Arian invited to Orthodox Faith," 1725, it is conjectured to be "that *Logos* of *Philo*—the glorious God—Angel who appeared to the Patriarchs—a sublime spirit, superior to all angels and every created being." See *Watts's Works*, V. pp. 58, 174, 175, 182.

‡ Αγνωσται οι ανασκητοι, ως μακρον αν ειη μελαξυ παίρος αγεννητου και των κτισθεντων ὑπ' αυτου εξ ουκ οντων, λογικων τε και αλογων, ὡν μεσιλευουσα φυσικς μονογενης, δι' ἧς τα ὅλα εξ ουκ οντων επαινησεν ὁ παίρρ του Θεου λογου. *Theodoriti Hist.* L. i. C. iv. p. 17. (P.)

§ Ακευ ὁ φημι ὁ μεν Θεος και παίρρ των ὄλων αχωρηλος εστι, και εν τοπω ουχ ἔνρισκται ου γαρ εστι τοπος της καταπαυσεως αυτε' ὁ δε λογος αυτη δι' ὅυ τα παντα επαινηκε, δυναμις ὡν και σοφια αυτη, αναλαμβανων το προσωπον τη παίρος και κυριη των ὄλων, ούτος παρεγενετο εις τον παραδεισον εν προσωπω τη Θεου. L. ii. p. 129. (P.)

|| *Defensio*, Sect. iv. C. iii. p. 236. (P.)

¶ Ην γαρ πρεσβυτατον, τον πρεσβυτατον των αιωνων, και πρωτον των αρχαγγελων, ανθρωποις μελλων συνομιλειν, εις τον πρεσβυτατον και πρωτον των ανδρων εισοικισθηναι. *De Convivio Virginum*, p. 79. (P.)

CHAPTER VI.

Christ, besides being the Logos of the Father, was thought to have a proper Human Soul.

As Christ reasoned and conversed like other men, it might have been thought that he had only one reasoning intelligent principle within him, whatever that had been. But it is remarkable, that all the fathers till the time of *Arius* held that Christ had a proper human soul as well as a human body; which, of itself, affords a strong presumption, that the ancient opinion was that of Christ being a mere man, without any pre-existent soul at all. Had the generally-received opinion been, that the soul of Christ was a great pre-existent spirit, they who aimed at nothing more than advancing the rank and power of that spirit, would not have thought it necessary to give Christ another soul, (one being sufficient for all the purposes of intelligence,) and whatever this soul had been capable of before, it might have done afterwards.

Since, therefore, the philosophizing Christians did not proceed in this manner, it is plain that they had a different foundation to build upon. They found the popular opinion to be, that Christ was *a man*; and the received opinion of that age was, that a man consisted of two parts, viz. soul and body. What they said, therefore, at first, was, as I have shewn, little more than all Christians had supposed, and what might be considered as only a different way of expressing the same thing. The common people believed that the man Jesus was under the direction and influence of the spirit and power of God, and the philosophers among them supposed that the divine spirit, which they called the *logos*, was attached and inseparably united to the man Jesus. They would say, that this was only the same *principle* or *power* by which God made the world, and inspired the ancient prophets; and the common people would not know how to object to this.

Accordingly, it does not appear that the common people were alarmed at this new doctrine, till those who had advanced it proceeded one step farther, and maintained, that in consequence of this intimate and permanent union of the divine *logos* to the man Jesus, he might be called *God*. Still, however, they were particularly careful to represent this *new God* as greatly inferior to the Supreme Being, and

as having no divinity but what he derived from him ; and, therefore, might still be called *his*. In this manner we have seen they endeavoured to turn off the force of the popular objections.

When, afterwards, the *Arians* supposed the *logos* that was in Christ to be a *created being*, and not the proper *logos* or *reason of the Father*, they naturally dropped the notion of Christ having a human soul ; and at this, as being quite a *novel* opinion, the orthodox made loud exclamations. Had the ancient doctrine, therefore, been, that the *logos* was a creature, the notion of Christ having a human soul would never have been adopted.

It is evident, that the Christian writers never speak of more than *one logos*, and this was the *logos* or wisdom of the Father, and *uncreated*. Whether, therefore, they thought that this *logos* could be so far united to a man, as to partake of his sufferings (which some of them probably did), or they did not, it is evident that it could not be a human soul. Besides, had there been any such difference of opinion among the fathers, as that some of them should have held that the *logos* in Christ was uncreated, while others held that it was created ; if some of them should have maintained that it was the proper wisdom and power of the Father, and others that it was a spirit so far similar to a human soul, as to be capable of a proper union with a human body, and of all the functions of other souls, there would certainly have been a discussion of the question. Considering how attentive Christians actually were to every opinion concerning the person of Christ, from the time of the apostles to that of the Council of *Nice*, as well as afterwards, a difference of opinion of this magnitude would certainly have excited as much controversy before the time of Arius as it did after his time.

Since, therefore, it is evident from their writings, that all the fathers before the Council of *Nice*, who mention the *logos* at all, had the same idea of it, and there was no controversy among them on the subject, (though they were highly offended at the notion of the *Gnostics*, whose *Christ* very much resembled the *Arian logos*,) it may be presumed, *à priori*, that they did not differ with respect to the other constituent parts of Christ, but that whatever opinion was clearly held by some of them, was held by them all. And there is this farther probability in favour of it, that there was no more controversy among them about the *soul of Christ*, than there was about the *logos*.

That Christ had a human soul, was clearly, as I shall now proceed to shew, the opinion of all the orthodox fathers before the Council of *Nice*. *Clemens Romanus* says, “Christ gave his own blood for us by the will of God, his flesh for our flesh, his soul for our souls.”* *Justin Martyr* says, “Our doctrine is more sublime than any thing that was ever taught by man, as the whole of the rational being, Christ, who appeared for us, consisted of a *body*, the *logos*, and a *soul*.”†

Irenæus unquestionably had the idea of Christ having a human *soul*, as well as a *body*. In describing the whole person of Christ, he represents it as the union of *God and man*, and not of the *logos* and the *body* of a man only. “The prophets,” he says, “preached his coming according to the flesh, by which he was made a mixture and union of God and man.”‡ He always supposes man to consist of two parts, *soul* and *body*, and expressly speaks of Christ as having both. “If Christ,” he says, “was not what we are, it is of little consequence that he suffered. We consist of a *body* which is from the earth, and a *soul* from the breath of God. The word of God therefore took this, his own work, upon himself, and on this account confesses himself to be the Son of man.”§

He speaks of Christ as being three days in the place where the dead are, preaching to the souls there;|| and he could not think that such a *logos* as he describes could have been particularly in that place; for he considered the *logos* not as any thing that was *created*, but what had always existed with God. “Thou, O man,” says he, “art not uncreated, nor didst thou co-exist with God, like his own word.”¶

* Εν αγαπη προσελαβετο ημας ο δεσποτης δια την αγαπην ην ειχεν προς ημας, το αιμα αυτε εδωκεν υπερ ημων ο Χριστος ο κυριος ημων, εν θεληματι Θεου, και την σαρκα υπερ της σαρκος ημων, και την ψυχην υπερ των ψυχων ημων. Sect. xlix. p. 175. (P.)

† Μεγαλειωτερα μεν αν πασης ανθρωπειν διδασκαλιας, φαινεται τα ημετερα δια τουτο λογικον το ελον (δια το λογικον ελον) τον φανεντα δι’ ημας Χριστον γεγεννηαι και σωμα και λογον και ψυχην. Apol. ii. p. 128. (P.)

‡ “Prophetae — predicaverunt ejus secundum carnem adventum, per quem commixtio et communio Dei et hominis—facta est.” L. iv. C. xxxvii. p. 331. (P.)

§ “Si hoc non factus est quod nos eramus, non magnum faciebat quod passus est et sustinuit. Nos autem, quoniam corpus sumus de terra acceptum, et anima accipiens adeo spiritum, omnis quicunque confitebitur. Hoc itaque factum est verbum Dei, suum plasma in semetipsum recapitulans, et propter hoc Filium hominis se confitetur.” L. iii. C. xxxiii. p. 260. (P.)

|| “Tribus diebus conversatus est ubi erant mortui. — Et propter hoc Dominum in ea quæ sunt sub terra descendisse, evangelizantem et illis adventum suum remissam peccatorum existentem his qui credunt in eum.” L. v. C. xxxv. p. 451, L. iv. C. lxx. p. 346. (P.)

¶ “Non enim infectus es, O homo, nec semper co-existebas Deo, sicut proprium ejus verbum.” L. ii. C. xliii. p. 169. (P.)

In answer to the *Gnostics*, who said that it was *Jesus* only, and not *the Christ* that suffered, he says, indeed, that in the account of our Saviour's sufferings in the Scriptures, the word *Christ* is made use of.* But when he explains himself more fully, he says, it was *the man* only that suffered, the *logos* being quiescent at that time. "As he was man, that he might be tempted, so he was the *logos*. that he might be glorified; the *logos* being quiescent in his temptation, crucifixion, and death, but being present with the man, in his victory, patience, kindness, resurrection, and ascension."†

It is sufficiently evident that *Novatian* believed Christ to have a soul as well as the *logos*, this being God, a principle properly *divine*, which could not suffer or die. "If the immortal soul in other persons," he says, "could not be killed, how much less could the word of God, and God in Christ, be killed!—From this," he says, "may be inferred, that it was only the man in Christ that was killed, and that the word could not become mortal." As he had just before observed that in man the body only can die, he would naturally have used the term *body* with respect to Christ, and not that of *man in him*, if he had not believed that besides the *logos*, Christ consisted of a complete man, soul and body. ‡

Tertullian always supposes the same. Speaking of Christ's saying, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" "This voice," says he, "was from the flesh, and the soul, that is, the man, and not of the word or the spirit, that is, not of the God; and was uttered to shew that God was impassible, who thus left the Son, and gave up his man to death. § In Christ" he says, writing against the *Gnostics*, "we find a soul and flesh, in plain and express terms; that is, the soul is a soul, and the flesh, flesh.

* Πανταχρῆ ἐπὶ τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ κερὶ ἡμῶν καὶ τῆς ἀνδραπότητος αὐτοῦ τῶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ κεχρηται ὀνοματι. L. iii. C. xx. p. 246. (P.)

† Ὅσπερ γὰρ ἦν ἀνδραπότης ἵνα πειρασθῆ, ὕτω καὶ λόγος ἵνα δοξασθῆ; ἡσυχάζοντος μὲν τοῦ λόγου ἐν τῷ πειρασθῆ, καὶ σαλευθῆ, καὶ ἀποθνήσκειν συγγινόμενος δὲ ἐν τῷ νικᾶν, καὶ ὑπομένειν, καὶ χηρστεινεσθῆ, καὶ ἀνίστασθαι, καὶ ἀναλαμβάνεσθαι. L. iii. C. xxi. p. 250. (P.)

‡ "Quod si anima immortalis occidi aut interfici non potest in quovis alio, licet (cum scilicet) corpus et caro sola possit interfici, quanto magis utique verbum Dei, et Deus in Christo, interfici omnino non potuit; cum caro sola et corpus occisum sit.—Per hæc colligitur non nisi hominem in Christo interfectum appareat, ad mortalitatem sermonem in loco (in illo) non esse deductum." C. xxv. p. 194. Ed. Jackson. (P.)

§ "Sed hæc vox carnis et animæ, id est hominis: non sermonis; nec spiritus, id est non Dei, propterea emissa est, ut impassibilem Deum ostenderit, qui sic Filium dereliquit, dum hominem ejus tradidit in mortem." *Ad Praxeam*, Sect. xxx. p. 518. (P.)

Had the soul been flesh, or the flesh a soul, they ought to have been so called.”*

Origen, who has been supposed to be a favourer of *Arianism*, exactly follows these writers in this doctrine. † I shall select a few passages from him. “He whom we are persuaded to have been from the beginning God, and with God, he is the very *logos*, the very wisdom, and the very truth. He took a mortal body and a human soul, and by uniting and mixing them with himself, made them partake of his divinity.” ‡ “Christ not only preached in the body, but his soul, freed from the body, preached to other souls, likewise freed from the body, that would be converted to himself.” § In answer to *Celsus*, who had said, that “if God, the immortal *logos*, took the mortal body and the soul of man, he would be subject to change,” *Origen* says, “Let him learn, that the *logos*, remaining essentially the *logos*, suffers nothing of what the body or the soul feels.” ¶ In his Commentaries on *Matthew*, he says, that Christ increased in wisdom with respect to his human soul.” ¶¶

Socrates the historian, giving an account of a synod held at Alexandria, at which *Athanasius* attended, says, “It was there agreed, that when Christ became incarnate, he took not only flesh, but also the soul of man, which was the opinion of all the ancient divines. For they did not think that they were introducing a new doctrine into the church, but what was agreeable to ecclesiastical tradition among Christian philosophers. This was the doctrine of all the ancient writers, who have mentioned the subject. For certainly *Irenaeus*, *Clemens*, *Apollinarius* of Hierapolis, and *Serapion* bishop of Antioch, shew by their writings, that they considered it as a thing universally acknowledged, that when

* “In Christo vero invenimus animam et carnem, simplicibus et nudis vocabulis editas: id est, animam animam, et carnem carnem; nusquam animam carnem, aut carnem animam: quando ita nominari debuissent.” *De Carne Christi*, Sect. xv. p. 318. (P.)

† See his Treatise against *Celsus*, pp. 62—64, 128, and many other places. (P.)

‡ “Ὅπως ἂν ἴσῃσαν οἱ ἐβραῖοι-ἡεῖς, ὅτι ἂν μὲν νηριζόμεν καὶ πεπεισμεθα ἀρχηθέν εἶναι Θεὸν καὶ ἓν Θεὸν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἀλόγος ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ αὐτοσύμφα καὶ ἡ αὐτοαληθεία. Τοῦ δὲ βουλομένου αὐτὸ σῶμα, καὶ τὴν αὐτοσώφην ἐν αὐτῷ ψυχῆν, τὴ πρὸς ἐκεῖνοι οὐ μόνον κοινανίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἕνωσιν καὶ ἀναμείξασιν, τὰ μέγιστα φραγμὴν πρὸς ἀληθίαν, καὶ τῆς ἐκείνου βουλομένης κοινανω-νῆσαι, εἰς Θεὸν μετατέθηκέναι. I. iii. p. 136. (P.)

§ Καὶ γὰρ, ἡμεῖς ἡμεῖς γενόμεν ψυχῆ, ταῖς γυναικῶν σωμαίων ἀμίξει ψυχῆς, ἐπιστρέφον κήκερον τῆς βουλομένης πρὸς αὐτὸν. I. ii. p. 85. (P.)

¶ “Ὅπως ἂν ἴσῃσαν οἱ ἐβραῖοι καὶ ψυχῆν ἀβραῖοι ἀναλατὸν ὁ αὐτοσύνθετος Θεὸς λογιζόμενος τὴν Κεῖται ἀλλοτινίσθαι καὶ μεταπλάττεσθαι μανθανεῖται ὅτι ὁ λογιστὴν, τὴν ἡσυχίαν μὲν καὶ ψυχῆν, ὡς ἐν μὲν πᾶσι ἐν πᾶσι τοῦ σώματος ἢ ψυχῆ. I. iv. p. 170. (P.)

¶ Καὶ ἄρα γε ἀναμείξασιν τὰ σαρκῶν ἀναλατὸν αὐτοσώφην ψυχῆν τοῦ ὁ ἴσῃσι πρὸς αὐτὸν. I. p. 850. (P.)

Christ became incarnate he had a soul. The council which was assembled on the account of Beryllus, of Alexandria in Arabia, in their letters to Beryllus, shew the same thing; and Origen frequently in his writings acknowledged Christ to have a soul.*

Indeed, as I have observed, had some of the fathers had one opinion on this subject, and some another, it could not have failed to occasion a discussion of the point, and warm controversy, before the time of *Arius*. It is to this day, also, the received opinion of all those who are called orthodox, that Christ has a proper human soul, and the *Arians* still are the only Christians who deny this.

As this doctrine of Christ having a proper human soul, together with that of the real origin and nature of the *logos*, is of so much consequence to the system of *Arianism*, I have carefully attended to every thing that I could find to have been advanced by any *Arians* on the subject. But to my great surprise, I have hardly found that it has been so much as noticed by them, except by Mr. Whiston, who, in his "Collection of ancient Monuments relating to the Trinity,"† without mentioning any other authority whatever, infers from there being no express mention of a human soul in Christ in two particular treatises of *Athanasius*, viz. that *against the Gentiles*, and that *on the Incarnation*, that "this father seems as if he had never heard of such a notion among Christians at all."‡ He adds, "I solemnly appeal to the unbiassed reader, after he has carefully perused the whole discourse, whether he can believe that Athanasius owned a human, rational soul, as assumed by the word at the incarnation, when he wrote that treatise." He then concludes with asserting, that "the acknowledgment of a human and rational soul in Christ, distinguished from his divine nature, was one of the last branches of the Athanasian heresy."

That this writer was aware of the importance of this fact,

* Και τον ενανθρωπησαντα, ου μονον ενσαρκον, αλλα και επιημερωμενον απεφηραντο, ο και παλαι τῶν εκκλησιαστικῶν ανδρων εδκει· οι γαρ νεωρον τινα Ίουδαϊκων επισησαντες εις την εκκλησιαν εισηγαγον, αλλα αστερ εξ αρχης και η εκκλησιαστικη παραδοσις ελεγε, και αποδεικτικως παρα τῶν Χριστιανῶν σοφῶν επιλοσηφειτο· ἦτοι γαρ παντες οἱ παλαιωτεροι πει τετελομενον γενομενοι, εγγραφον ἡμῖν κατελειπον· και γαρ Ειρηναῖος τε και Κλημης, Απολλωνιαριος τε ο Ιουδαπολιτης, και Σαραπιων ο της εν Αντιοχεια προεσως εκκλησιας, επιημερον τον ενανθρωπησαντα εν τοις ποιηθεισιν αυτοις λογοις ὡς ἐμολογημενον αυτοις φασκεσιν· ου μην αλλα και η δια Βηρῆλλον τον Φιλαδελφιας της εν Λαβδία επισκοπον γενομενη συνδος γραφεσα Βηρῆλλον τα αὐτα παραδεξακεν. Ομιλητης δε πανταυ· μεν εν τῶν φερομενῶν αυτω βιβλῶις, επιημερον τον ενανθρωπησαντα οιδεν. I. iii. C. vii. p. 178. (P.)

† "And Incarnation, and to the History of the IVth Century of the Church," one of *Three Essays*, published in 1718. See his *Memoirs*, Ed. 2, p. 192.

‡ *Essays*, p. 74. (P.)

is very evident. "It is indisputable," he says, "and is agreed on by all, that in case our Saviour did not assume a human, rational soul at his incarnation, the common orthodoxy cannot possibly be defended." But if he did, the *Arian* hypothesis must fall to the ground.

Now, certainly, it cannot follow that because express mention is not made of the human soul of Christ, in two particular treatises, that the author did not allow, and had not even heard of such a thing. Indeed, I do not see that *Athanasius* had any particular occasion to mention it in these treatises. For it was the *body of Christ*, and the infirmities of such a body, that was the great objection to Christianity, which he was endeavouring to answer; and therefore he dwells upon the necessity of Christ taking such a body. But in several parts of these very treatises, and even some of those that are marked by Mr. Whiston himself, as most favourable to his own conclusion, the human soul of Christ seems to be hinted at; as when the *logos* is said to have assumed, or to have been united to *the man* or *human nature* in general, and not the body in particular. "When human nature was gone astray," he says, "the Word took possession of it, and appeared as a man, that he might save it from its dangerous state, by his governing power and goodness."*

But what is sufficiently decisive in favour of *Athanasius*, as well as all his predecessors, believing that Christ had a proper human soul, is, that the *logos*, according to his and their description of it, could not supply the place of one, because it was the proper *wisdom of the Father*, and consequently incapable of suffering, which was always supposed to be one end of the incarnation. The following are descriptions of the *logos*, in these very treatises, and in Mr. Whiston's own translation.

"But God the word was not of this nature in man; for he was not bound fast to the body, but did himself rather hold it together, when he was therein; and also was at the same time present to all things, and was without the beings that exist, and rested alone in his Father." †

"He is the good product of a good being, and the true Son, and is therefore the power, wisdom, and word of the Father; and is not such by participation. Nor are those

* Τὸ ἄπειρον λόγος καὶ ἄνθρωπος, εἰ, πῶς ἀνομιᾶς τῆς ἀνθρώπινης, ἐκαθίσεν ὁ λόγος ἐπὶ τὸ ἄνθρωπον, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἑστέρωσιν, ἵνα χημίζουσαν αὐτὴν περισσῶς διὰ τῆς κυβερνήσεως αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἴδω. P. 97. (P.)

† Οὐ γὰρ συνέστηκεν ἡ σὺν αὐτῷ ἄλλα μάλιστ' αὐτὸς ἐκρατεῖ τῆς, ὅτε καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἦν ἐπὶ τῶν πάντων ἐπιτοχῆς, καὶ ἐξέ τῶν οὐρανῶν, καὶ ἐκ κοῦρῆ τῆ πατρὸς ἀειπαίετο. Sect. λνι. ρ. 10. P.

qualities external or adventitious to him, as is the case of those that are partakers of them, and are instructed by him and become powerful and rational through him. But he is peculiarly the real wisdom, the real word, the real power of the Father," &c.*

Athanasius, moreover, in the treatise on the incarnation, expressly says, that the *logos* was incapable of suffering, as indeed being of a divine nature it could never be supposed to be. "He himself was not hurt at all, as being impassible and the real word of God."†

It is acknowledged that *Justin Martyr* and *Irenæus* (but I do not know that it is true of any others) speak of the *logos* suffering. The former says, that "the *logos* was preached as suffering."‡ And the latter says, "the *logos* of God became flesh, and suffered."§ But as both these writers supposed that Christ had a human soul, proper for suffering, it is most probable that they only used the term *logos* in these places, as synonymous to *Christ*, (that being in their opinion the most honourable part of him,) whose soul and body only really suffered. This may be concluded with certainty to have been the case with respect to *Irenæus*, who expressly says that the *logos* was *quiescent* in the sufferings of Christ; and therefore we can hardly doubt, but that *Justin* also, if he had had any occasion to explain himself on the subject, would have said the same.

It is possible, however, though not probable, that some persons might imagine, that the *logos*, being intimately united to the soul and body of a man, might, in some sense, partake in their sufferings. But as both these writers held that Christ had a human soul, it is evident that they did not consider the *sufferings of the logos*, in whatever sense they might use that expression, as implying that a human soul was not necessary to Christ; and, therefore, I do not see how *Arians* can derive any advantage from it, as used by them.

Also, to make *Irenæus* consistent with himself, we must suppose that when, in opposition to the *Gnostics*, he said that it was *Christ* and not *Jesus* only that suffered, he only meant to say, that there was no such super-angelic being as

* Και ὅτι ἀγαθὸν ἐξ ἀγαθῆ γεννημα, καὶ ἀληθινὸς υἱὸς ὑπαρχῶν, δυναμὶς ἐστὶ τῆ πατρὸς, καὶ σοφία, καὶ λόγος, οὐ κατὰ μετοχὴν ταῦτα ὧν, ἀδὲ ἐξῶθεν ἐπιγνωμένων τῆτων αὐτῶ κατὰ τὴς αὐτῆ μετεχρίστας καὶ σοφίζομενὸς δι' αὐτῆ, καὶ δυνατῆς καὶ λογικῆς ἐν αὐτῶ γινόμενης, ἀλλ' αὐτοσοφία, αὐτολόγος, αὐτοδυναμὶς ἴδια τῆ πατρὸς ἐστίν. Ad Gentes, p. 51. (P.)

† Ἐβλαπτετο μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸς ἡδεν, ἀπαθῆς καὶ ἀφθάρτος, καὶ αὐτολόγος ὧν, καὶ Θεός. Sect. liv. p. 108. (P.)

‡ Κραυζθέντα δι' αὐτῶν παθόντα λόγῳ. Dial. in Jackson on Novatian, p. 357. (P.)

§ Διὰ τὸ ὁ λόγῳ σαφῆς ἐγενετο καὶ ἐπαθῆν. L. i. C. iv. p. 47. (P.)

they held, which flew away from Jesus when he was upon the cross; but that the *logos*, which had been united to him before, continued still united to him, even in his sufferings, though he did not properly partake of them. This agrees with his saying that the *logos* was *quiescent* in his sufferings, meaning perhaps that he did not interpose to prevent or alleviate them.

Mr. Jackson considers these casual expressions of *Justin Martyr* and *Irenæus* as circumstances by which we may discover the true doctrine of the apostolic age.* But this is a conjecture unsupported by any other fact or circumstance whatever; and it is highly improbable, on several accounts, that Christians of the apostolic age should have supposed that Christ had no other than a created soul, and that this soul was the *logos*; and that all the writers from that time till the Council of *Nice* should invariably hold that the *logos* was *uncreated*, and that Christ had a human soul besides the *logos*, without any discussion of the subject, without any controversy; when it is known that, from the first appearance of the *Gnostics*, all the Christian world were so attentive to every opinion concerning the person of Christ.

Origen, *Tertullian*, and others, who wrote not long after *Irenæus*, expressly say that the *logos* could not suffer, as *Irenæus* himself says in effect; and they write in such a manner on the subject, as if they considered it to be the universal opinion. It may be presumed, therefore, that these writers did not imagine that *Justin Martyr*, or any other Christian writer, held any other opinion on the subject.

Mr. Jackson might have found much stronger language than what he has quoted from *Justin Martyr* or *Irenæus* concerning the suffering of Christ as God, in *Cassian*, and others who wrote in the *Nestorian* controversy, (as will be seen when I consider that subject,) and yet when they were charged with asserting that the *logos* itself really suffered, they strongly disclaim having had any such meaning. *Cybil of Alexandria* says, "They were charged with asserting that the *logos* suffered, but that no one was ever so mad as to suppose it." † What *Cybil* here says of himself and his friends, was, I doubt not, true of *Justin Martyr*, who speaks as highly of the *logos* as *Cybil* or any Christian writer

* *Adnotationes in Noratianum*, p. 356. (P.)

† "Præmuni vero in maledicta ab hæreticis tanquam acerbe facta invehitur, et velut ostendere conatur, corpus esse quod passum est, non Deus verbum, quasi sint qui dicant verbum Dei, quod nulli est passioni obnoxium, passioni esse subiectum. Sed nemo usque adeo insanit, ut hoc dicat." *Epist. vi. Opera*, II, p. 17. (P.)

whatever, making it to have been an attribute of the Father ; and therefore he must have thought it to be as incapable of proper suffering as the Father himself.

It will likewise appear highly improbable, that any persons near the apostolic age should have considered Christ as having a *created* *logos* in the place of a human soul, if it be considered, that the opinion of all the Jews at the time of the promulgation of the gospel was, that the *Messiah* was a *mere man*, and that the apostles did not, for some time at least, preach any other doctrine, as will be abundantly proved in its proper place. How, then, was there time, in the nature of things, for the Christian world in general to have passed from this opinion, first to that of Christ having had a pre-existent soul, capable of creating all things ; then, before the time of *Justin Martyr*, have imagined that soul to have been *uncreated*, the proper *logos* or wisdom of the Father, and again to have superadded a proper human soul, such as they first began with, to this *logos* ? The very mention of such an hypothesis as this, is, I should think, sufficient to expose it.

Upon the whole, I cannot help thinking that there is the strongest evidence that the *anti-nicene* fathers believed that Christ had a proper human soul, as well as a human body ; their *logos* being such as could not supply the place of it, being that *power* which, at the very time that it was incarnate, supported all things, and was even then as much in the Father as ever it had been. Consequently, those fathers could not have been *Arians*.

That the soul which the fathers ascribed to Christ, besides the *logos*, was a proper soul, and not merely the *sensitive soul* of some philosophers, is evident from *the man* being said by them to consist of this *soul* and a *body* ; a kind of definition in which the term *soul* always expressed every thing belonging to a man that was not body. This will have been observed to have been the case with respect to *Irenæus*. *

Those philosophers who, following the principles of *Plato*, maintained that man has *two souls*, gave Christ two souls also, and disposed of them according to their respective natures. “ Christ,” said *Theophylact*, “ was in paradise not only as God, but also in his rational and intellectual soul ; and the animal soul only was in hell.” †

* “ With respect to *Irenæus*, *Origen's* words, quoted *supra*, p. 274, are also decisive as to this point ; since he there says, that the soul of Christ, divested of the body, preached to souls divested of bodies ; which can never be understood of the merely sensitive soul.” (X.)

† Καὶ γὰρ ἡ μὲν καθὼς Θεοῦ, ἡ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ καθὼς ἀνθρώπου ἐψέχη

To the soul of Christ, *Origen* gave the peculiar power of quitting its body, and returning to it again, whenever it pleased; meaning, that the *logos* dismissed the soul and re-united it to the body. "Christ," says he, "did not die according to the common course of nature, but by the exertion of a power given him by God for that purpose."* He says, that his "soul both left the body, and returned to it again at his own pleasure."† The same sentiment is also advanced by *Cyprian*, who says, "that Christ being crucified, preventing the office of the executioner, of his own accord dismissed his spirit, and on the third day he, of his own accord, rose from the dead."‡ This doctrine is still held by many modern *Arians*, though it is highly derogatory from the character of Christ, and destroys the force of his example in suffering; as it supposes that he had a power of putting an end to his torments, and consequently of lessening the agony of them, which his followers had not.§

Anastasius Sinaita says, that Christ gave his soul a peculiar privilege, above that which was given to Adam, which was only "the breath of God. For the soul of Immanuel had its essence in God, with God, and like God."||

προσελαβετο λογικην και νοεραν, και εν τῷ παραδεισῷ γενεσθε μετα του νοου· και εις αἰδα κατηλθε μετα ψυχης. In Luc. C. xxiii. Opera, I. p. 535. (P.)

* Ελεγε δε ο εμοσ Ιησους περι της εαυτε ψυχης (ου κατα το ανθρωπινον χρεων χωριζομενης τε σωματος, αλλα κατα την δοθεισαν αυτω και περι τελου παραδοξου εξησιαν) το, εδεις αρει την ψυχην μη απο εμη, αλλα εγω τιδηναι αυτην απ' εμαυτου. Ad Celsum, L. ii. p. 130. (P.)

† Και περι την εαυτε τελευτην ειχε τι πλειον· ινα εκουσα μεν το σωμα καταλιπη η ψυχη, οικονομησαμενη δε τινα εξω αυτου, παλιν επανελθη οτε βηλεται· ταιριον δ' αναγεγραπται παρα τῷ Ιωαννη ειρηκεναι ο Ιησους λογον, εν τῷ, εδεις αρει την ψυχην μη απ' εμη, αλλ' εγω τιδηναι αυτην απ' εμαυτου. Εξησιαν εχω ψηναι αυτην, και παλιν εξησιαν εχω λαβειν αυτην. Ibid. L. ii. p. 70. (P.)

‡ "Nam et crucifixus, praevento carnificis officio spiritum sponte dimisit, et die tertio rursus à mortuis surrexit." *De Idolorum Vanitate*, p. 16. (P.)

§ "Matt. xxvii. 50: Αφηκε το πνευμα. Some critics translate these words, *He dismissed his spirit*. They frame an hypothesis that Christ was in full vigour when he died, that his strength was not exhausted by pain and suffering, and that this expiration of life was owing to his own voluntary dismission of it. See *Macknight* in loc., and *Dr. Benson's Life of Christ*, p. 514. [*Doddridge*, Sect. 191, Note 1.] But the phrase here employed by the sacred writer is never used in this sense. It signifies simply to die, to expire, to breathe our last. See *Josephus de Bello Jud.* pp. 164, 390, *Havercamp*; *Eusebii Hist. Eccles.* (speaking of *Maximin*, the persecutor of the Christians), L. ix. C. viii., *Cantab.* 1720; *Euripidis Hecuba*, (representing the death of *Polyxena*), ver. 571. See also his *Helena*, ver. 1447, edit. *Hudoborn*, 1797." *Harwood's Introduction*, II. pp. 351, 352. See, on *Matt. xxvii. 50*, Vol. XIII. p. 361.

|| 'Η μεν γαρ το Αδαμ ψυχη εκ Θεου την υπαρξιν δια το εμψυσματος εσχεν· η δε το Εμμανηλ ψυχη ενδου, και σινδου, και ομοθεν ενισιαισιν εσχεν. *De Hominis Creatione*, *Bandini Collectio*, II. p. 66. (P.) See *supra*. p. 268, Note 5.

CHAPTER VII.

OF THE UNION BETWEEN THE LOGOS AND THE SOUL AND BODY OF CHRIST, AND THEIR RESPECTIVE PROPERTIES.

SECTION I.

Of this Union in general.

SEVERAL curious questions may be started with respect to the union between the divine *logos* and the soul and body of Christ; for this union was always represented as being equally strict with that which subsists between the soul and body of man; the maxim being, that as the soul and body make one man, so God and man make one Christ. *Austin* says, "God mixed with man makes Christ, as the soul and body make a man."* On this system, a considerable difficulty occurred. It was a maxim that the properties of divinity could not be impaired by any circumstance whatever, the divine nature being absolutely unchangeable. It was therefore, contrary to all reason, supposed that the human nature was a gainer by the union, and the divine nature no loser. "Christ," says *Eusebius*, "imparted of his divine nature to man, but did not receive the properties of mortal nature."† This he compares to the sun, the light of which is not contaminated by shining on dirty objects. In this, indeed, he had not a view to the body of Christ in particular, but to *human nature* in general which was benefited by the union of *divinity*, while this was no loser; but there can be no doubt but he had the same idea with respect to the union of the *logos* to a single man. They did not, however, suppose that the human nature of Christ was materially changed by its union with the divine nature. "As the introduction of fire," says *Basil*, "does not alter the property of iron, so the divinity is not changed by the body of Christ."‡

* "Sicut in unitate personæ anima unitur corpori ut homo sit, ita in unitate personæ Deus unitur homini, ut Christus sit. Quomodo est enim unus homo anima et corpus, sic unus Christus verbum et homo." *In Johan. Tr.* xlviii. *Opera*, IX. p. 249. (P.)

† Ἄλλα τα μεν εξ αυτη παραδιδωξ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, τα δ' εκ τῶ ζῶντι μη ἀντιλαμβάνων. *De Laudibus Const.* p. 761. (P.)

‡ Πῶς εν, φησι της σωματικης ἀσθενειας ὁ Θεος λογος, εκ ἐνεπληρωσῆς φαμεν, ὡς ἔθε το

When the doctrine was more advanced it was maintained that "the whole of the divinity of Christ was united to the whole of the humanity, and not part to part," as we read in *Damascenus*.* This was agreeable to the established maxim with respect to the union between the soul and body of man.

So very different were the divine and human natures of Christ conceived to be, and yet so necessary was it, for the purpose of the orthodox Christian fathers, to make an *union* between them, that no embarrassment or discordance of opinion among them can surprise us. *Epiphanius* must have considered the soul of Christ as having had but little proper union with his divinity, when he supposed that while he was on the cross the former prayed to the latter. † *Fulgentius* says, that "when the human nature of Christ suffered, the divine nature did not even feel compassion, any more than the soul of Christ died when the body did." ‡ The same writer, however supposes that, though the soul of Christ did not know the Father, it had a perfect knowledge of the divinity of the Son, with which it made one person. §

As a man consists of two parts, it was necessary, in order to complete this system, that the *logos* should be united to the body, as well as to the soul of Christ. Accordingly we read, in the account of the embassy to the *Armenians*, that "the divinity of Christ was never separated from his body, or his soul." ¶ Even the death of the body was not supposed to break this union. "The divinity of Christ," says *Damascenus*, "was not separated from the body of Christ even in death. Even in that state, all the three made but one hypostasis. Neither the soul nor the body had any pecu-

πας ταν τε σιδηρο διακμαται μεταλαμβάνει· μέλας δ σιδηρος και ψυχρος· αλλ' όμως πικρα-
ταύτης την τε περιος μερίην επίδειεται, αυτος λαμπρυνόμενος ηχι μέλαινον το πιν, και αυτος
καψίλο-μενος ανα αποψίχων την φίλοισα. Hom. xxv. Opera, l. p. 507. (P.)

* "In incarnatione unius ex sanctæ trinitatis personis Dei verbi, totam ac perfectam divinitatis naturam cum tota humana natura copulatam fuisse dicimus, ac non partem cum parte." *Orthod. Fid.* l. iii. C. v. *Opera*, p. 375. (P.)

† "Ὡς εν ή κλητας ήτας εχρηστος, απο προσωπη της ενανθρωπησιας, ή φωνη ελεγεν αυτη
τη μοι· θεε μου, θεε μου, ουατι με εγκατελιπες; Her. lxix. p. 789. (P.)

‡ "Et in homine toto patiens, non est divina natura compassa, sicut moriente carne, non solum deitas, sed nec anima Christi potest ostendi commortua." *Ad Trasmondum*, l. iii. C. xviii. p. 471. (P.)

§ "Et quia unigenitus Deus a qualis est patri, nec potest totum nosse filium, qui totum non noverit patrem, caveamus, ne cum anima Christi totum patrem nosse non creditur, ipse uni Christo ex aliqua parte, non solum patris, sed etiam sui, et spiritus sancti cognitio denegetur. Quam vero perdurum est, et à sanitate fidei penitus alienum, ut dicamus animam Christi non plenam suæ deitatis habere notitiam, cum qua naturaliter unum creditur habere personam." *Ad Ferrandum*, Qu. iii. p. 627. (P.)

¶ "Quum ergo divinitas ejus nunquam nec à corpore, nec ab anima dirempta fuit" *Bib. Pat. App.* p. 1530. (P.)

har hypostasis of its own. It was only the hypostasis of Christ.”*

“What God has joined,” says *Fulgentius*, “let not man put asunder. Wherefore,” he says, “not that the body of Jesus, but that *Jesus* was laid in the sepulchre; for he knew that the God who assumed the whole man was wholly with his flesh in the sepulchre, wholly with his soul in hell,” &c. †

This, however, was a refinement of later ages, for originally it was supposed that the *logos*, as well as the soul, quitted the body at its death. This is expressly said by *Eusebius*. ‡

As the soul and the body of Christ retained their separate properties, the divine *logos* was also supposed to retain all its peculiar and extraordinary powers, and its former functions, so as to lose nothing of its omnipresence, and its active power in supporting the world. “Let us not,” says *Origen*, “say in our hearts that Christ is contained in any place, and is not every where, and diffused through all things; for when he was on earth, he said that he was in heaven.” § “At the very time,” says *Eusebius*, “that Christ was conversing on earth, he filled all things, and was with the Father, and administered the affairs of the universe, things in heaven and things on earth.” || “He is a crying infant,” says *Hilary*, “and yet in heaven; he increases in wisdom, and is the God of fulness.” ¶

* “Quamvis igitur Christus, ut homo, mortem obierit, sanctaque ipsius anima ab immaculato corpore distracta sit: divinitas tamen à neutro, hoc est nec ab anima, nec à corpore, quoquo modo sejuncta est: neque propterea persona una in duas personas divisa est. Si quidem et corpus, et anima, ab initio in verbi persona eodem momento extiterant: ac licet in morte divulsa fuerint, utrumque tamen eorum unam verbi hypostasim perpetuo habuit. Quamobrem una eademque verbi hypostasis tum verbi, tum animæ, tum corporis hypostasis erat. Neque enim unquam, aut anima, aut corpus, peculiarem atque à verbi hypostasi diversam hypostasim habuit: verum una semper fuit verbi hypostasis, ac nunquam duæ. Ac proinde una quoque semper Christi hypostasis fuit.” *Orthod. Fid.* L. iii. C. xxvii. *Opera*, p. 480. (P.)

† “Et quia quod Deus conjunxit, homo non separat, propterea non corpus Jesu, sed Jesum dicit in monumento positum: sciebat enim quod ille susceptor pleni hominis Deus, totus esset cum carne sua in sepulchro, totus cum anima sua in inferno, totus in mundo, totus in cælo, totus in unitatennature in patre, de quo exivit, totus per omnipotentiam divinitatis suæ in tota creatura quam fecit.” *Ad Trasi-mundum*, L. iii. C. xxv. p. 474. (P.)

‡ ‘Ο των όλων ζώσας τε Θεος λόγος—το μεν σωμα προς βραχυ καταλιπων. *De Laudibus Const. Sect.* xv. p. 764. (P.)

§ “Ne scilicet dicamus in corde nostro et putemus quod Christus in aliquo continetur, et non ubique est, ac per omnia ipse diffunditur; quippe qui, cum esset in terris, dicebat quia esset et in cælo.” *In Rom. Opera*, II. p. 585. (P.)

|| Άλλα γαρ και εν τῷ τόλῃ καθ’ όν εν ανθρωποις επολιτευετο, τα παντα επληρη, και τῷ πατρι συνην’ και εν αυτω γε ην, και των παντων αθροως εν τῷ τόλῃ, των τε κατ’ ορανον και των επι γης επεμελετο. *De Laudibus Const.* p. 761. (P.)

¶ “Vagit infans, sed in cælo est; puer crescit, sed plenitudinis Deus permanet.” *De Trinitate*, L. x. p. 260. (P.)

“He was not,” says *Athanasius*, “circumscribed by the body, nor was he so in the body, as not to be every where. Nor did he so actuate the body, as that other things were deprived of his providential care. But what is wonderful, being the *logos*, he was not contained by any thing, but rather himself contained every thing.”*

Fulgentius represents Christ as “wholly in the Father, as well as wholly out of him. He was wholly,” he says, “in the virgin’s womb when he was building himself a house, as we read *Prov.* viii. He was wholly in heaven, wholly in the world, and wholly even in hell.”†

Here I would observe, that the opinion of Christ retaining all his divine powers while he was on earth, held by *Origen*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and all the ancients, is a proof, that in their opinion, the *logos* was no created spirit, or any principle that could be confined in its operations, by any circumstances in which it could be placed. Otherwise, as they found that, when Christ was upon earth, he applied to his Father upon all occasions, they would have more naturally thought that his own proper powers were suspended; and that the function which he had before discharged was for a time discontinued, or transferred to some other, which seems to be the opinion of all the modern *Arians*, and certainly best agrees with their principles. For what occasion had Christ to apply to his Father, to enable him to do nothing more than his own natural powers could have performed, if those powers had been at liberty, and if he had continued to have the full use of them? We never think of praying to God for power to move our hands or feet, whenever we have occasion to make use of them, though we daily thank God for having given us that power. We know and feel that it is a power at the command of our own will, and therefore we look no farther than to ourselves for the immediate exercise of it. The same would necessarily have been the case with Christ, if he had cured diseases, and raised the dead, by a power as properly his own, and as much at his command, as that by which we move our

* Οὐ γὰρ περιεκλεισμένος ἦν ἐν τῷ σώματι· ἢ ἐν σώματι μὲν ἦν, ἀλλάχριστε δὲ οὐκ ἦν, καὶ ἐκείνους μὲν ἐκίνηεν· ἀλλὰ δὲ τῆς αὐτῆς προνοίας ἐφερέτω· ἀλλὰ τὸ παραδοξολογῆσαι, λόγος αὐτῶν, ὃ σκευάζει μὲν ὑπὸ τινός, σκευάζει δὲ τὰ πάντα μᾶλλον αὐτός. De Incarnatione, Opera, I. p. 69. (P.)

† “Neque enim pars ejus remansit in patre, et pars ejus descendit in virginem, cum totus in patre maneret quod erat, et totus in virgine fieret, quod non erat; totus cum patre totum implens et continens mundum, totus sibi in utero virginis edificans domum; scriptum est enim, sapientia edificavit sibi domum; totus in patre sempiterno, totus in homine suscepto, totus in cælo, totus in mundo, totus etiam in inferno.” *Ad Trasimundum*, L. iii. C. viii. p. 468. (P.)

limbs. His praying to the Father, therefore, and the miracles that he wrought being ascribed to the Father, who only, as he said, did these works, is a proof that, while he was on earth, he had not the power of doing them himself. Yet, contrary to the plainest evidence, all the ancient fathers supposed that Christ then had that power, and they made his exertion of it a proof of his divinity.

SECTION II.

Of the Ignorance of Christ concerning the Day of Judgment.

A PECULIARLY difficult question occurs with respect to the union of the divine nature of Christ to his human soul; for as both were capable of knowledge, it might be supposed that whatever was known to the one must also have been known to the other, if there was any proper *union* between them. This consequence was so natural, that it would, I doubt not, have been maintained, if it had not been said, (*Luke* ii. 52,) that “Jesus increased in wisdom,” and our Lord had not so expressly said, that he did not know the time of the day of judgment.

With respect to the former, it seems to have been allowed, that the human soul of Christ acquired knowledge gradually, as other human souls do. But sometimes the fathers shew a confusion of ideas on the subject. *Origen*, who believed the pre-existence of all souls, but that they had lost all their attainments in their prior state, seems to have thought the same of the soul of Christ. “Jesus,” he says, “not yet a man, because he had emptied himself, advanced (in wisdom). For no one who is perfect can make advances, but we who stand in need of improvement.”* In this *Origen* could not mean the *logos*, because he supposed that to be omniscient, and even omnipresent, while it was connected with Christ on earth.

Afterwards, it was generally thought that even the soul of Christ knew every thing, in consequence of its union to the *logos*, and that Christ’s knowledge shewing itself more and more was all that was meant by his increasing in wisdom. This is expressed by *Nicephorus*.†

* Ἰησους οὐκ ἀνήρ γενομενος, ἀλλ’ ἐτι παιδιῶν ὢν, ἐπει ἐκενώσεν ἑαυτον, προεκοπτεν’ ἕδειξ προκοπτεν τελειωμενος, ἀλλὰ προκοπτεν ὀσμειν’ προκοπης. In *Jerom. Hom i Comment.* l. p. 57. (P.)

† Ἰησους δε προκοπτε σοφια και χαριλι, τῷ κατα μικρον αὐτα παραδεικνυσθαι, ου τῷ λαμβανειν επιδυσιν. *Hist. L. i. C. xiv. l. p. 79.* (P.)

As Christ expressly says, that he did not know the day of judgment,* he certainly either was, or pretended to be, ignorant of something which, at least in his divine nature, he must have known. Here, then, is a question worthy of an *Apollo* to answer; and it may be amusing to observe what different solutions have been given of this difficulty.

Irenæus evidently supposed, that the time of the day of judgment was altogether unknown to the Son, and he advises us to acquiesce in our ignorance of many things, after his example.† “If any one,” says he, “asks his reason why the Father, who communicates every thing to the Son, is alone said to know the day and the hour of the future judgment, no better reason can be given but that we may learn of our Lord himself, that the Father is above all; for he said, The Father is greater than I.”‡

This being the earliest account that we have of any interpretation of this text, is a most unfavourable circumstance to the orthodox. It looks as if, at that time, whatever might be pretended concerning the super-human nature of Christ, the general opinion was, that he was wholly ignorant of the time of the future judgment. The fact must have been, that the doctrine of the divine *logos* in Christ was not received by the generality of Christians, and though adopted by the philosophers among them, had not been pursued to its proper consequences. Otherwise, it could not but have been applied to this case, as well as to many others, which in due time it was.

The next interpretation of this passage that I have met with, is that of *Origen*; and he did not hesitate to pronounce that Christ certainly did know what he professed not to know. “Christ,” says he, “being the truth, cannot be ignorant of any thing that is true.”§ “Have ye understood all these things?” He did not ask this question because he was ignorant, but having assumed human nature, he did

* *Mark* xiii. 32. See Vol. XIII. p. 298.

† “Irrationabiliter autem inflati, audaciter inenarrabilia Dei mysteria scire vos dicitis: quandoquidem et dominus, ipse filius Dei, ipsum judicii diem et horam concessit scire solum patrem, manifeste dicens: De die autem illa, et hora nemo scit neque filius, nisi pater solus. Si igitur scientiam diei illius filius non erubuit referre ad patrem, sed dixit quod verum est; neque nos erubescimus, quæ sunt in questionibus majora secundum nos, reservare Deo.” L. i. C. xlviii. p. 176. (P.)

‡ “Et enim si quis exquirat causam, propter quam in omnibus pater communicans filio, solus scire horam et diem à domino manifestatus est; quod aptabili magis neque decentiorem, nec sine periculo alteram quam hanc inveniat in presenti (quoniam enim solus verax magister est dominus) ut discamus per ipsum, super omnia esse patrem. Et enim Pater, ait, major me est.” L. ii. C. xlix. p. 178. (P.)

§ *Ἐπιστάμενον αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆ ἀληθείαν εἶναι τὸν σῶτήρα, καὶ προσέειπεν ὅτι εἰ βλοκάρως εἰσὶν ἡ ἀρεταὶ αὐτῶν ἀληθεῖς ἀρεταί.* Comment. II. p. 28. (P.)

every thing that belongs to man, one of which is to ask questions." * This implies that even the human soul of Christ was acquainted with every thing, but that he feigned ignorance; and this we find to have been a pretty common interpretation. According to *Hilary*, "Christ knew the time of the future judgment, but pretended ignorance, because it was not time to discover it." † In another place, he says, "The Son is said not to know the day of judgment, because he does not speak of it, and that the Father only knows it, because he only speaks of it to him." ‡

Didymus of Alexandria says, that "ignorance of the day of judgment is ascribed to Christ, as forgetfulness, repentance, &c., are ascribed to God, viz. for the sake of the hearers." § "If God," says *Cyril of Alexandria*, "affected ignorance of where Adam was, and of what Cain had done, why should we wonder that the Son of God affected ignorance concerning the day of judgment?" Adding, that "Christ also affected ignorance, when he asked how many loaves his disciples had." || *Theophylact* says, that "Christ pretended not to know the day of judgment, to put an end to his disciples' teasing him; as fathers, when they see their children crying for a thing which they do not choose to give them, will hide it, and then shew their hands empty, as if they had it not." ¶

* "Non ignarus interrogat, sed quoniam semel assumpserat hominem, utitur omnibus quæ sunt hominis; quorum unum illud est interrogare." *Opera*, II. p. 11. (P.)

† "In omnibus enim quæ ignorare se Deus loquitur, ignorantiam quidem profiteretur, sed ignorance tamen non detinetur; dum id quod nescit, non nesciendi infirmitas est, sed aut tempus est non loquendi, aut dispensatio est non agendi." L. ix. p. 226. (P.)

‡ "Filius itaque diem idcirco quia tacet nescit, et patrem solum idcirco scire ait quia solus tui sibi non tacet." *Ibid.* p. 231. (P.)

§ "Sicut enim cum Deus solus sit sapiens et scientiam habeat omnium, oblivio passibilis et penitentia aut aliquid hujusmodi in eo nequaquam existit, cum utique de eo dispensa vitæ dicantur. Ita ergo sapientia et veritate Dei ignorantiam non recipiente, propter quandam utilitatem horum, et diem judicii dicitur ignorare, quorum singula aperte monstrabuntur, cum de his fuerit dicendi propositum." In *Johan.* C. ii.; *Bib. Pat.* VI. p. 653. (P.)

|| "Sed respondeant quæso, quando Deus in paradiso Adam patrem nostrum vocabat dicens: Adam, ubi es? et quando Cain interrogabat: Ubi est Abel frater tuus? quid dicent? nam si ignorantem Deum interrogasse affirmabunt, manifesta impietate tenebuntur; sin autem dispensationis modo quodam sic interrogasse Deum dicent, cur mirantur si Filius quoque Dei, per quem etiam tunc facta interrogatio est, utiliter dispensans ignorare se dicit horam illam ut homo, quamvis universa sciat ut sapientia patris? Quod autem dispensative solebat ignorantiam sibi attribuire salvator, manifeste ab ipso evangelista in alio loco dicitur. Nam quando miraculose multiplicatis panibus sequentes se voluit alere, ut ignorans interrogabat: Quot panes habetis?" *Thesaurus*, L. ix. C. iv., *Opera*, II. p. 292. (P.)

¶ Νυν δε, σωφρονον μεταχειρίζεσαι, και απειρογει αυτης δλως τη ζηλειν μαθειν και ενοχηειν αιτη, εν τω ειπειν οτι ετε οι αγγελαι, ετε εγω οίδα' απο δε παραδειγματος τινος, νοησεις το ιερουσολυμικου πηλοσικου παιδιου ημερα βλεποσιν της πατερας αι των κοιτωνας τι εν τωι χειρι,

We have two answers of *Epiphanius* to this question, one of which seems to imply that Christ feigned ignorance. "If," says he, "the Son knew the Father, which is the greatest of all, he must know the day of judgment. But it became a Son to honour his Father, that he might shew that he was his own Son."* The other solution implies a base equivocation on the part of our Saviour. "Christ," says he, "did not know the day of judgment; meaning, that it had not taken place, the wicked not being punished." †

We have two answers of *Basil* to this question, one of which likewise implies a feigned ignorance. "Christ," says he, "concealed the day of judgment, because it was not convenient for men to be informed of it." ‡ But the other solution implies something else: "The Father knows the day of judgment in the first instance, being the cause of all knowledge." § *Ambrose* again has recourse to a feigned ignorance: "Christ, out of the great love that he bore to his disciples, thinking it useless to them to know what they inquired about, chose rather to seem to be ignorant than to deny them." ||

The answer of *Austin* is peculiar, implying, that our Saviour had recourse to an *Hebrew* idiom, in which the verb *to know*, may signify *to make others know*, as if he had said. I do know myself, but I shall not tell you of it. "Christ," says he, "did not know the day of judgment, that is, he did not *make to know*, or discover it to others." ¶

Photinus seems to have considered ignorance as a property of human nature, and therefore to have thought that our Lord took it upon him of course when he became a man. "As a man," says he, "Christ did not reject that ignorance

και ζήησι τῶν δι δε πατερας, ου βουλομαι δεναει τα δε, κλαιθμυριζονται ως μη λαμβανουσαι τελευταιον μενησι, δι πατερες κρηττοσιν εκεινο ο κλαουσι, και επιδεικνυτες τας χειρας κενας τας παιδιαις, ισασιν αυτα του κλαιθμου. In Marc. xiii. Opera, I. p. 267. (P.)

* Ηως αν ε τα μεγα εως των ελαττων ιξερει ει ημωσκει τωων τον πατερα, γινεται τανως και την ημεραν και ουδεν εσιν ου λειπειαι κατα γνωσιν ο υιος. Εδει γαρ αληθως τον γησιν ουν τιμην τον ιδιον πατερα, ινα δειξη την γησισηλια. Ancoratus, Sect. xvii. Opera, II. p. 23. (P.)

† Ουτω δε εγνω αυτην κατα πραξιν, τωλεσιν ουτω εκβινεν' ετι γαρ ασικεις ασεβησιν, &c. Πα r. lxi. p. 769. (P.)

‡ Δις το μη σιμμερειν ουν τωις ανθρωποις ακουσαι τον καιρον της κρησεωσ απεσιωπησεν. Ad Eunomium, Hom. iv. p. 770. (P.)

§ Ουτω και το, ουδεις οιδε, την πρωτην ειδησιν των τε ωλων και των εστομενων επι τον πατερα αναγωνις, και ινα παντων την πρωτην αυτην τωις ανθρωποις υποδεικνυσις ειρησθαι ημωσμεν. Epist. cccxci. Opera, III. p. 389. (P.)

|| "Mavult enim Dominus nimio in discipulos amore petentibus his que cognitu inutilia iudicaret, videri ignorare quod noverat quam negare." *De Fide*, L. v. C. vii., Opera, IV. p. 205. (P.)

¶ "Hoc enim nescit, quod nescientes facit, id est, quod non ita sciebat, ut tunc discipulis indicaret." *De Trinitate*, L. i. C. xii., Opera, III. p. 258. (P.)

which became him as a man. He who took the whole, would he refuse to take any part, or not shew that he had taken it?"* This looks as if there was no communication between the divinity and the human soul of Christ; and on this supposition the orthodox of the present age endeavour to satisfy themselves and others; saying, that Christ knew all things as God, but was ignorant of many things as man; and this was perhaps the meaning of *Athanasius*, (if the *Fragments on the Psalms* be his,) who said, "What he knows by nature as God, he is said to hear according to his human nature, and the œconomy."†

Damascenus thought that "the human soul of Christ, in consequence of the union and personal identity between the two natures, knew every thing, even future events."‡

Gregory the Great has a very peculiar solution of this difficulty. He says that "Christ was ignorant of the day of judgment with respect to his body the church."§

The most prudent of all the answers, is that of *Leontius*, who says, "The question concerning Christ's ignorance, is not to be anxiously inquired into."||

It is *Mark* who asserts in the strongest manner that Christ was ignorant of the day of judgment; for he expressly says, (xiii. 32,) "neither the Son, but the Father." But *Ambrose* says, that "the ancient Greeks had not the words *neither the Son* in that passage."¶

There was at *Constantinople*, a particular sect of those who maintained that, as a man, Christ did not know the day of judgment. They were therefore called *Aagnoetæ*. But the orthodox opinion then was, that he knew it as a man, and *Theodosius* wrote against them.**

* 'Ὁς ἀνθρώπος δε, ὅδε τὴν ἀνθρώποις πρόπεσαν ἀγνοῖα, οὐ μὲν αὖν οὐκ ἠθεῖει. 'Ὁς γὰρ διὰ τοῦ ἴδιου εἰλεῖν λαβεῖν, πῶς ἐν τῇ τῶν περὶ ἐκεῖνο παρῆρησατο μὴ λαβεῖν, ἢ μὴ πισθεῖσαι ἐπὶ παρερμὴ λαβῶν; *Epist. cccxxviii. p. 336. (P.)*

† 'Ὅτω καὶ ἀπερ' αἰδε φησικῶς ἄς Θεός, ταῖα παλιν ἀκεῖν λεγέται δια το ἀνθρώπων ἀκινῆμας. *Opera, II. p. 522. (P.)*

‡ "At Domini anima, ob unionem cum ipso Deo verbo, ac personalem identitatem, ut reliquorum miraculorum, sic etiam futurarum, ut dixi, rerum notitiam consecuta est." *Orthod. Fid. L. iii. C. xxi. p. 421. (P.)*

§ "Quia diem et horam neque Filius neque angeli sciunt; omnino recta vestra sanctitas sensit, quoniam non ad eundem Filium, juxta hoc quod caput est, sed juxta corpus ejus nos quod sumus, est certissime referendum." *Epist. C. xlii. Opera, II. p. 225. A. (P.)*

|| "Nos autem dicimus non adeo de his subtiliter inquirendum." *Leont. De Sectis, Bib. Pat. App. p. 1875. (P.)*

¶ "Scriptum est inquit, de die autem illo et hora nemo scit, neque angelorum, nec Filius, nisi solus Pater. Primum non habent codices Græci, quod nec Filius scit. Sed et non mirum si et hoc falsarunt, quia scripturas interpolare divinus." *De Fide, L. v. C. vii., Opera, IV. p. 202. (P.)*

** "Quum autem privatus Byzantii Theodosius degeret *Aagnoetarum* (sic ab ignoratione dictorum) dogma motum fuit. Nam quia Dominus ait, neminem horum

SECTION III.

Opinions concerning the Body of Christ.

I HAVE had occasion to observe more than once, that Christianity was never quite purged from the errors of the *Gnostics*; for though the orthodox, who opposed them, advanced different principles, they were insensibly led to several of the same conclusions. Thus the orthodox agreed with the *Gnostics* in supposing, that the maker of the world was different from the Supreme God, and they came to agree with them at last, in supposing matter to be the cause of all evil. At least they adopted the same maxims and practices with respect to corporeal austerities; and several of them, we shall now find, came very near to them with respect to their doctrine concerning the person of Christ. All the *Gnostics* thought that the proper *Christ* was a super-angelic being, which had existed long before the birth of Jesus; and in this also the orthodox agreed with them, only supposing that this divine inhabitant of Jesus, was of a higher rank than the *Gnostics* had made him to be, (which was really departing farther from the genuine simplicity of the gospel,) and they applied the term *Christ*, not to the divine inhabitant of Jesus only, but to his whole compound person, which was a difference merely verbal.

Lastly, some of the *Gnostics* thought that Christ had no real body, and, consequently, had not the sensations or feelings of one; but the orthodox principle of the union of the divine nature to the human produced almost the same effect; for some of the Catholics supposed, that in consequence of this union, the body of Christ was exempt from all disagreeable sensations; and indeed this was a natural consequence of their principles; for if there was a real union between the two natures, the sensations of the one must have been communicated to the other; and as it was agreed that the divine nature could not feel pain, the human nature, in order to enjoy the benefit of the union, ought to be exempt from pain also, which we shall find was actually held by *Hilary*.

In general, however, it was maintained that the human

judicii scire, ne Filium quidem, extra solum Patrem: quaesitum est, an Christus eam ignoraret, ut homo. Theodosius Christum ignorare negabat, et adversus Agnoetas scripsit. *Leontius de Sectis, Bib. Pat. App.* p. 1861. (P.) See *Mosheim, Eccles. Hist.* (Ct. vi. Pt. ii. C. v. Sect. ix.), 1768, l. p. 472.

nature of Christ was as effectually deserted by the divine nature in the day of suffering, as the *Gnostics* had ever supposed it to be; and it is very remarkable how nearly the language of the orthodox on this subject approached to that of the *Gnostics*. *Tertullian*, in a passage quoted before, says, that “the complaint uttered by Christ on the cross, was from the man, not from the God, to shew that God was impassible, who thus left the Son, and gave the man up to death.”* “Let him learn,” says *Origen*, “that the logos, always remaining the logos, feels nothing of the suffering of the body or the soul.”† “As the sun-beams,” says *Damascenus*, “are not hurt when a tree on which it shines is cut down, so neither was the divinity of Christ affected when his flesh suffered.”‡ The opinion contrary to this, ascribed to the *Patripassians*, was deemed a heresy. Thus *Austin* says, “There is another heresy, which says that the divinity in Christ grieved, when his flesh was fixed to the cross.”§

It being, therefore, a settled point, that the divine nature of Christ could not feel pain; it is no wonder that some of the orthodox should have agreed with those *Gnostics* who held that his body, or what had the appearance of a body, had not the wants and weaknesses of other bodies, and was likewise insensible of pain.

Clemens Alexandrinus says, “It would be ridiculous to suppose that the body of our Lord required supplies for its support. He ate not on account of his body, which was supported by divine power, but lest those who conversed with him should have had a suspicion that he was a phantasm, and had only the appearance of a man.” He also says, that “he was exempt from all passion, pleasurable or painful.”||

* “Hæc vox carnis et animæ, id est hominis, non sermonis, nec spiritûs, id est non Dei, propterea emissa est, ut impassibilem Deum ostenderet, qui sic Filium dereliquit, dum hominem ejus tradidit in mortem.” *Ad Praxeam*, Sect. xxx. p. 518. (P.) See *supra*, p. 273.

† Μανθάνεται ὅτι ὁ λογὸς τῆ ἑστῆς μὲνων λογῶν, ἔθεν μὲν πάσχει ἂν πάσχει το σωμα ἢ ἢ ψυχῆ. *Ad Celsum*, L. iii. p. 170. (P.)

‡ “Quæmadmodum enim si sole arbori illucente securis arborem incidere, sol tamen infectus, atque ab omni injuria incolumis manet: eodem modo, ac multo etiam magis, impassibilis verbi divinitas, carni personaliter unita, patiente carne incolumis mansit.” *Orthod. Fid.* L. iii. C. xxvi. *Opera*, p. 428. (P.)

§ “Alia est hæresis, quæ dicit in Christo divinitatem doluisse, cum figeretur caro ejus in cruce.” *Catalogus Her. Opera*, VI. p. 29. (P.)

|| Ἐπι μὲν τῆ σαρκὸς το σωμα ἀπαίειν ὡς σωμα τὰς ἀναγκὰς ὑπηρεσίας εἰς διαίτησιν, γὰρ ἂν εἴη ἐφαγεν γὰρ οὐ δια το σωμα, δύναμις συνεχρημένον ἄνω ἄλλα ὡς μὴ τὰς σινουλάς ἄλλως περὶ αὐτῆ φρονεῖν ὑπεισέλθω ὡς περ ἀμελεί ὑπερον δοκῆσει τινος αἰτῶν πεφανεραστῶν ἰπτικῶν αὐτὸς ὡς ἀπαξῆπλως ἀπατῆς ἦν, εἰς ἃ ἔθεν παρεισδεδεία κινήματα πατῆριον, εἰς ἰουγῆ, εἰς ἡπτη. *Strom.* vi. p. 649. (P.)

Hilary maintained that the body of Christ was impassible. "You will not believe," says he, "impious heretic, but that Christ felt when the nails pierced his hands.—I ask, why did not the children," meaning the three in Daniel, "fear the fire, or feel pain?"* Other respectable writers maintained that the body of Christ was free from the affections of other human bodies. *Ambrose* says, "It was artifice in Christ to pretend to be hungry."† "In the divine and holy body of Christ," says *Cyril of Alexandria*, "there are no passions; and being the property of the logos, inhabiting it, and united to it, it is perfectly sanctified."‡ "Christ," says *Cassian*, "did not feel carnal desire."§

Anastasius Sinaita makes a difference between common flesh and the flesh of Christ, and says that, on this account, *Gregory Nazianzen* scrupled not to say that the flesh of Christ was God-like. ||

Notwithstanding it was so much a settled point with the ancient fathers, that the divine nature could not suffer or feel pain; yet during the *Nestorian* controversy, it was customary for the orthodox to hold a different language, and to say that the logos itself was crucified, suffered, and even died. This was in answer to *Nestorius*, who maintained that there were two distinct natures in Christ, the divine and the human, and that it could only be the human nature in Christ that suffered. The language which the orthodox made use of in answer to him was very extraordinary, and often shocking. *Cassian* says in so many words, that "God was crucified."¶ "If any one," says *Cyril of Alexandria*, "does not confess that the word of God suffered in the flesh, was crucified in the flesh, and tasted death in the flesh, being made the first-

* "Non vis impie hereticæ, ut transcendente palmas clavo Christus non doluerit, neque vulnus ibidem nullam acerbitatem teli compungentis intulerit. Interrogo cur pueri ignes non timuerint, nec doluerint?" *De Trinitate*, L. x. p. 255. (P.)

† "Videte artem Domini qua adversarium fraude circumvenit. Post multa jejunia esurire se simulat, ut diabolum, quem jejunando jam vicerat, iterum esuriendo sollicitet." *Serm. xxxvii. Opera*, V. p. 53. (P.)

‡ Ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς οὐ τὴν ἄσφα καὶ ἀσφα τὴν Χριστοῦ σαρκὶ τῶν αἰσθητῶν τι κεννησθεῖσαι φημεν, ἀλλ' ἢ ἀσφατὴ φρεσὶ καὶ ἐπιστάσει των πάθων, καὶ ὡς ἴδιον γεγονός τὸ ἐνάθεντο αὐτῷ ἐκικονῆσαι ἐσθ'· κατέπληθει των ἀγασθῶν. *Contra Julianum*, L. viii. *Juliani Opera*, II. p. 287. (P.)

§ "Non enim ignitos aculeos concupiscentiæ carnalis expertus est." *Coll. v. Opera*, p. 392. (P.)

|| "Est enim caro et non caro.—Et ideo *Gregorius* in theologia celeberrimus non veretur dicere carnem Domini ἁμάρτυρον, id est, simul Deum." *In Hexameron. Bib. Pat. App.* p. 1197. (P.)

¶ "Ergo necesse est ut Christum affixum esse in cruce deneges; aut Deum affixum esse fatearis." *De Incarnatione*, L. iii. C. x. p. 995. (P.)

born from the dead, as he is the life, and the giver of life, as God, let him be anathema.”*

But when this writer comes to explain himself, it appears that what he said was nothing better than a quibble. “God the word,” he says, “was free from passion; but he appropriated to himself what was done to his own body.”† “Christ is palpable and impalpable, visible and invisible.”‡ “We ascribe to him human properties on account of the dispensation of the flesh. and divine ones on account of his ineffable generation from the Father.”§ He also says expressly, “We all acknowledge that the word of God is impassible.”|| *Theodoret* likewise says, “Because the body which was assumed is called the body of the only-begotten Son of God, the sufferings of that body are referred to him.”¶

The doctrine of the union between the divine and human nature of Christ seems to have been carried to its greatest height by *Damascenus*, who says, “The flesh of Christ, on account of its union with the *logos*, has a life-giving property, is endued with a knowledge of futurity, and may even be said always to have been.”** For this he quotes *Gregory Nazianzen*. “The orthodox believe the deification of the flesh of Christ, though without any change of its properties. The one brought, and the other received divinity.”††

The nature of the body of Christ was one part of the *Apollinarian* controversy. *Apollinarius* held an opinion on this subject, which very much resembles that of some of the

* “Si quis non confitetur verbum Dei carne esse passum, carne crucifixum, et mortem carne gustasse, primogenitum ex mortuis factum, quemadmodum et vita est, et vivificans, sicut Deus, anathema esto.” *Epist. Opera*, II. p. 27. (P.)

† “Tum cogita quod Deus verbum passionis quidem manserit expers, verum hæc omnia proprio corpori facta sibi appropriarit.” *Hom. Opera*, II. p. 75. (P.)

‡ “Dicimus itaque eundem palpabilem cum sit impalpabilis, visibilem cum sit invisibilis.” *Ibid.* p. 96. (P.)

§ “Et huic adscribimus tam humana, propter dispensationem illius cum carne susceptam, quam divina propter inenarrabilem illius quam ex Patre habet generationem.” *Hom. Opera*, II. p. 97. (P.)

|| “Præterea et impassibile esse verbum Dei confitemur omnes.” *Epist.* xxviii. *Opera*, II. p. 44. (P.)

¶ “Και επειδή παρ’ αὐτε μονογενες διὰ τὴ θεοῦ σωμα τὸ ληφθέν προσηγγρευμένη σωμα, εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἀναφέρει τὸ τὴ σωματὸς πάθος.” *Epist.* cxliv., *Opera*, III. p. 1019. (P.)

** “Sæva et ignorans Christi caro dicitur. Verum ob persone identitatem, atque indivulsam conjunctionem, Domini anima rerum futurarum cognitione, quemadmodum et reliquis miraculis, locupletata est.” *Orthod. Fid.* L. iii. C. xxi. *Opera*, p. 421. (P.)

†† “Ut enim incarnationem citra mutationem et conversionem confitemur: sic item carni deificationem factam esse censemus. Sic enim Theologus Gregorius loquitur: Quorum alterum divinitatem attulit, alterum divinitatem accepit.” *Ibid.* C. xvii. p. 415. (P.)

Gnostics; for he said that “it came from heaven,”* “that it was eternal,”† and that “it was consubstantial with the divinity.”‡ Some who were called *Gainites*, also held that “the body of Christ was incorruptible.”§

That the body of Christ was naturally incorruptible was an opinion very prevalent among the orthodox after the Council of Nice. *Athanasius* says, that “the body of Christ suffered according to the nature of bodies, but that it had the property of incorruptibility from the logos inhabiting it.”|| *Fulgentius* says, that “the body of Christ had no corruption in the grave, and his soul no pain in hell.” This he ascribes to the body and soul being free from sin.¶ The Emperor *Justinian* adopted this opinion some time before his death. But it was afterwards generally condemned. *Agobard* attributed even a vivifying power to the flesh of Christ.**

In favour of his opinion, that the body of Christ came from heaven, *Apollinarius* urged *John’s* saying “the word was made flesh.”†† And it is observed by *Athanasius*, that this was a text which “both the ancient and modern heretics took advantage of.”‡‡ To this scheme it was answered, that “by making the body of Christ consubstantial with the logos, they made a fourth person in the Deity, and so composed a Quaternity, and not a Trinity.”§§

* Τινες μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν εἰλημήσαν λέγειν, ἀναθεν τοῦ Χριστοῦ τὸ σῶμα κατενηνοχέναι. Epiphanius, H. lxxvii. p. 996. (P.)

† Ὡςτε εἶπεν μὴ νεώτερον εἶναι τὸ σῶμα τῆς τῆ λόγῳ θεότητος, ἀλλὰ συναΐδιον αὐτῷ διαπαντός γεγενῆσθαι, ἐπειδὴ ἐκ τῆς σοφίας συνέστη. Ibid. p. 999.

‡ Εἰ ἀρχῆς ἐν τῷ οὐκ τῆν σαρκώδη ἐκείνην φησὶν εἶναι. G. Nazianzen, Or. xlvii. Opera, p. 722. (P.)

§ Τινες οὖ καὶ ἡμῶσιον τὸ σῶμα τῆ Χριστοῦ τῆ θεότητι λέγειν εἰλημήσαν. Epiphanius, H. lxxvii. Opera, I. p. 997. (P.)

¶ “Confitentur Gainite Deum sermonem à virgine naturam humanam adsump- sisse perfectè ac verè, sed post unionem esse corpus incorruptibile dicunt.” *Leontius de Sectis, Bib. Pat. App. p. 1873.* (P.)

|| Πάσχιον μὲν γὰρ τὸ σῶμα καὶ αὐτῆν τῶν σαρκῶν φησὶν ἐπάσχειν εἰς ὅτις ἀνθρώπου ἐκ γένου αὐτῆς συναΐδιον αὐτῷ λόγῳ. Sermo Major de Fide in Montfaucon, H. p. 7. (P.)

¶ “Sic tamen, ut nec Christi caro in sepulchro corrumpetur, nec inferni doloribus anima torqueretur. Quoniam anima, immunis à peccato non erat subdenda supplicio, et carnis sine peccato non debuit vitari corruptio.” *Ad Trasi- mundum, L. iii. C. xxx. p. 476.* (P.)

** “Felix soli divinitati tribuit vivificationem, dicens Dominum secundum divinitatem vivificantem quos vult; et non recordans quod et caro vivificatoris verba, vivificatrix credenda est, beato Cyrillo docente ita.” *Adversus Felicem, Sect. xxxii. p. 40.* (P.)

†† “Quomodo argumentantur Apollinaristæ vel quicumque sunt alii, adversus animam Domini, quam propterea negant quia scriptum legunt, verbum caro factum est. Si enim et anima inquirunt, ibi esset, debuit dici, verbum homo factus est.” *Austia de Anima, Opera, VII. p. 1159.* (P.)

‡‡ Τοῦ θεοῦ λόγῳ ἐν αὐτῇ σαρκὶ εἰρημένῳ, ἐπερφησας τε καὶ ἐπερπαῶν, ἐξελέξαντο καὶ ἰσχυρῶς κατὰ τὰς ἀρετὰς πόλεμον καὶ ἰσχυρῶς ἀντιῶν. Opera, II. p. 296. (P.)

§§ Ὁμοίως τὸ ἡμῶσιον σῶμα τῆ λόγῳ οὐκ ἐστὶν αὐτὸς ὁ λόγῳ, ἀλλ’ ἕτερον πρὸς τὸν λόγῳ ἵσχυρῶς αὐτῷ, ἐστὶν κατ’ αὐτὸν ἢ αὐτῶν τριῶν τεταύται. Epiphanius, Her. lxxvii. Opera, I. p. 1001. (P.)

CHAPTER VIII.

Of the Use of the Incarnation, and the Objections that were made to the Doctrine.

It is not my design in this work to treat largely concerning the *use* of the doctrine of the incarnation, as I have already done it in what I have advanced concerning the doctrine of *Atonement*, in my “History of the Corruptions of Christianity.”* But having selected a few passages which may throw some farther light on the subject, from the works which have lately gone through my hands, it may not be amiss to insert them in this place.

The great and immediate object of the doctrine of the incarnation of the *logos* was the exaltation of the person of Christ; but it was soon found to answer another purpose, and this was to enable the philosophizing Christians to conceive how *man* should conquer *death* and the *devil* which they say he could not have done, without the assistance of *divinity*. For this purpose, they supposed that the divine nature of Christ was so *mixed* with the human, that the actions of the one were attributed to the other; and they also conceived the human nature of Christ to be, as it were, the representative of mankind in general. They were likewise struck with the idea of the same being that made the world coming to restore it. “There is nothing absurd,” says *Athanasius*, “in supposing that the Father saved the world by the same person by whom he made it.”† “It was necessary,” says *Job*, the monk, “that the Maker of the world should reform and renew his own workmanship, which had received injury.”‡

Equal stress was laid both upon the *divinity* and the *humanity* of Christ, in order to accomplish this end. “God,” says *Irenæus*, “shall judge the Ebionites; for how can they be saved, unless it be God who works out their salvation upon earth; and how can man go to God, if God do not come to man?”§ But it was equally necessary that Christ

* Vol. V. pp. 122—144.

† Ουδεν γαρ εναντιον φανησεται, ει δι’ ου ταυτην εδημιουργησεν ο Πατηρ, εν αυτω και την ταυτης σωτηριαν εργασαι. De Incarnatione, *Opera*, l. p. 54. (P.)

‡ Ως εχρη τον δημιουργον και πλαστην, αυτον και αναπλασαι και ανακαινισαι συνιριβεν δημιουργημα. Phot. Bib. Sect. cxxii. p. 582. (P.)

§ Ανακρινει δε και τας Ηβιωνες πως δυναται σωθηναι ει μη ο Θεος ην ο την σωτηριαν επι της γης εργασαμενος; η πως ανθρωπος χαρακτηι εις Θεον, ει μη ο Θεος εχρησθη εις ανθρωπον; I. iv. C. lix. p. 358. (P.)

should have a proper human nature, that it might be a man who conquered his own enemies. “Man,” says *Athanasius*, “was corrupted and destroyed; wherefore the logos made use of man as an instrument, and conformed himself in all things.”* “The human nature of Christ,” says *Gregory Nyssen*, “by which the whole of human nature was mixed with the Deity, is taken out of all human nature, as the first-fruits of the common mass.”† Also *Gregory Nazianzen* speaks of Christ as “representing human nature, when he hung upon the cross, and says, that in this capacity he said, ‘My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?’ Not meaning that he himself was deserted either by the Father, or by his own divinity, but only that human nature was in a deserted and despised state.”‡

Chrysostom, speaking of Christ bidding his disciples to handle and feel him, that they might be satisfied that he was no spirit, and of his reproof to *Peter* about his suffering death, says, that “his human nature was that on which our salvation chiefly depended; for thus death and sin are destroyed, the curse abolished, and a thousand blessings introduced. He therefore chose that his humanity should be believed in the first place, this being the root and foundation of innumerable good things.”§ He also says, that “when Christ was led by the Spirit into the wilderness, and conquered the devil, it was not his divinity that did it; for that it would have been disgraceful to the Deity to say, *I have conquered.*”|| He also says, that “Christ saves us, and makes intercession, as a man.”¶

Theodorat makes it the strongest objection to the doctrine of *Eutyches*, that, upon his scheme, “We have no advantage

* Αλλ’ ὁ ἤδη γενομένος ἀνθρώπος ἐπιθεῖρειο καὶ παραπόλλυτο· ὅθεν εἰκοτὼς ἀνθρώπινον κερήται καλῶς ὄργανον, καὶ εἰς πάντα ἑαυτὸν ἠλώσεν ὁ λόγος. De Incarnatione, Opera, I. p. 98. (P.)

† Ἐκ πάσης δε τῆς ἀνθρώπινης φύσεως ἢ κατεμιχθῆ το θεῖον, διὸν ἀπαρχὴ τις τῆ κοινῆ φιλιαματος ὁ κατὰ Χριστὸν ἀνθρώπος ὑπέστη, δι’ ὃν προσεφυρη τῆ θεότητι παν το ἀνθρώπινον. Opera, I. p. 84. (P.)

‡ Οὐ γὰρ αὐτῷ ἐγκαταλείπεται ἡ ὑπο τῆ πατρὸς, ἢ ὑπο τῆς ἑαυτῆ θεότητι.— Ἐν ἑαυτῷ δέ, ὅπερ εἶπον, τίποτ το ἡμετερον ἡμεῖς γὰρ ἡμεν δι ἐγκαταλειμμενοι καὶ παρεωσιμενι τριτερον, εἴτα νῦν προσελημμενοι καὶ σεσωσμενοι τοῖς τε ἀπαθῶς παθεσιν. Or. xxxvi. Opera, p. 581. (P.)

§ Μαλλὸν δὲ τῆς ἑπερ ἡμῶν σαήγιας το κεφαλαῖον (τοτο) καὶ δι’ ὃν πάντα γεγενηται καὶ κατορθωται ὅτα γὰρ καὶ θάνατος ἐλιθῆ, καὶ ἄμαρτια ἀνηρῶθη, καὶ καταρα ἠφανισθῆ, καὶ τα μίριαν εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τον βίον ἡμῶν ἀγαθα· διὸ μαλιστα ἐβήλετο πιστευσῆσαι την οικονομίαν, την ῥίζαν καὶ τῆ γην ἡμῶν ταν μίριαν γενομενη ἀγαθων οικονομῶν δε τα θεια συσκαζεσῆσαι φημι. In Johan. Hom. xxx. Opera, VIII. p. 155. (P.)

¶ Ἀναστήσειν ἡμῶν ἀμαρτίας πενασθῆναι, καὶ εἰσῆσε τον διαβόλον, ἢ ἡ θεότης. Ὑβρις γὰρ ἢ τῆ θεότης· το εἶπεν Εὐαγγελιστῆ. De Sp. S. VI. p. 216. (P.)

¶ Ἡε σοφείας Πατῆρ, καὶ εἰς το εὐαγγελιον ὑπεσῆσαν ὁμοῦ ἀνθρώπινη. In Heb vii. Opera, X. p. 1846. (P.)

from the incarnation, nor any pledge of our own resurrection. For it will not follow, that because God rose from the grave, therefore man will. the difference of the natures is so great.* Arguing against the *Apollinarians*, he says, that “if Christ had a *logos*, instead of a human soul, it was God and not man that overcame in the temptation; and therefore, that man could derive no benefit from it. The devil,” he also says, “would exult, as having been overcome, not by man, but by God. For it was a great thing to him to be conquered by God.”†

Origen's idea on this subject was somewhat peculiar, but sufficiently agreeable to his doctrine of the *logos*, as the universal agent of the Deity operating through all nature. For he says, “Christ died not for man only, but for all rational creatures, even for the stars,” which, as a *Platonist*, he supposed to be animated.—For, says he, “the stars are not clean in his sight, as we read in the book of *Job*.”‡ Still, however, he retained the idea of the *logos* serving men in the character of a man, and other beings in their peculiar characters. For, he says, “Christ was a man for men, and an angel to angels,” as he infers from his appearances in the *Old Testament*.§ It is evident, however, from this, that *Origen* did not consider *suffering* as necessary to redemption. For though, according to him, Christ assumed the form of an angel, he could not suppose that he suffered in that form.

Though the doctrine of the incarnation of the *logos* served to cover the reproach of the cross, and to make the religion of Christ appear more respectable, which no doubt it did with many, it did not answer this end universally; for the thing itself was so monstrous and absurd, that it was much ridiculed by those who did not embrace it. Of this we have many instances, almost from the time that it was started, to a very late period.

In *Justin's* dialogue with *Trypho*, the latter says, “You

* Ἵνα δε την της μανιας υπερβολην καταλιπαμεν, εκεινο σκοπησωμεν, ως ηδεν ημιν οφελος εν της ενανθρωπησεως γεγενε, και της ημετερας αναστασεως ηδεν εχεγγρον εχομεν· ηδε γαρ, ει Θεος εκ νεκρων εγηγηται, παντας και ανθρωπος αναστησει· παμπλου γαρ των φυσικων το διαφορον. *Hæc. Fab. L. iv. C. xiii. Opera, IV. p. 373, ed. Halæ. (P.)*

† Εγω μεν ηδενα απανατην της νικης, ως ηδεν εις ταυτην εισενεγκων· αλλα και της ενλευθεν ευφροσυνης γεγημνωμαι επι τροπαιοις γαυριων αλλοιραιοις. *Opera, V. p. 47.* A more particular account of the use of the Incarnation, but all proceeding upon the same idea, may be seen in *Eusebius, De Laudibus Constantini, C. xiv. p. 759,* and in *Austin, De Civitate Dei, L. x. C. xxix., Opera, V. p. 590. (P.)*

‡ Ου μονον υπερ ανθρωπων απεδανεν, αλλα και υπερ των λοιπων λογικων εις χαριτι Θεου εγειςαλο τε υπερ παντος θανατου.—Οιον υπερ αστρων· ηδε των αστρων παντως καθαραν ολην εναντιον τη Θεου, ως εν τω Ιωβ ανεγνωμεν. *Comment. II. p. 89. (P.)*

§ Και σαφως γεγονεν ανθρωπος ανθρωπος, και αγγελος αγγελος. *Ibid. p. 82. (P.)*

tell me something incredible, and almost impossible, that God could be born and become a man.*

Celsus objected to the “impossibility of God becoming man.” † “God, O Jews and Christians, or the Son of God, never descended, or could descend.” ‡ “The conceited Greeks,” says *Clemens Alexandrinus*, “think it fabulous, that the Son of God should speak by man, that God should have a Son, and that he should suffer; and having this prejudice, they are prevented from believing.” § “You say,” say *Lactantius*, “it is impossible that any thing should be taken from an immortal being. You say it is unworthy of God to become a man, and to load himself with the infirmities of the flesh, so as to subject himself to passions, pain and death.” ||

Athanasius strongly expresses this objection to the incarnation of the Son of God. “The Jews,” says he, “reproach us for it, the Gentiles laugh at it, but we adore it.” ¶ “They urge us,” he says, with Heathenish and Jewish blasphemies, laughing at the mystery of the mission of the logos, and the incarnation.” *** “Some, thinking with Heathens and Jews, not admitting that God was incarnate, but endeavouring to comprehend by human reasoning and philosophy, things that are incomprehensible, as how that which is incorporeal can be born, how it can proceed, and where can be that which is every where, and contains all things, and fills all things; from this arguing about *how* and *where*, they go into infidelity.” ††

* Ἀπίστῳ γὰρ καὶ ἀδυνατῶν σχέδον πῶς ἄνθρωπος ἐπιχειρεῖται ἀποδεικνύσθαι, ὅτι Θεὸς ὑπερμυνη γεννηθῆναι, καὶ ἀνθρώπου γενεσθῆναι. P. 283. (P.)

† Ὅτι ἤτοι ἄς ἀληθῶς μεταβάλλει ὁ Θεός, ὡς περ ἔτοι φασιν εἰς σῶμα θνητῶν, καὶ προειρηται το ἀδυνατῶν. Origen, *Contra Celsum*, L. iv. p. 171. (P.)

‡ Θεὸς μὲν, ὃ Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ Χριστιανοὶ, καὶ Θεὸς πᾶσι εἴδεις ἢτε κατὰ ἡλθεῖν, ἢτε κατὰ ἡλθεῖν. Ibid. L. v. p. 231. (P.)

§ Μιτὰ τὰς γὰρ ἡγενηταὶ οἱ δοκησισοφῆαι, δια τε ἀνθρώπου υἱὸν Θεοῦ λαλεῖν, υἱὸν τε εἶχειν τὸν Θεόν, καὶ ὅτι καὶ ἐπινοῦνται τείον ἔσθαι αὐτῆς ἢ πᾶσι ἡλικίᾳς τῆς οὐκ ἔστιν ἀναπειθεῖται ἀπίστῳ. Strom. L. i. p. 313. (P.)

¶ “Negant fieri potuisse, ut naturæ immortali quicquam decederet. Negant denique Deo dignum, ut homo fieri vellet, seque infirmitate carnis oneraret; ut passionibus, ut dolori, ut morti se ipse subjecerit.” *Instit.* L. iv. Sect. xxii. p. 424. (P.)

¶ Ἦν Ἰουδαῖοι μὲν διαβαλλήσων, Ἕλληες δὲ χλευάζουσιν, ἡμεῖς δὲ προσκυνοῦμεν. *De Incarnatione, Opera*, I. p. 53. (P.)

** Ἄλλα, τε Ἕλληνας ἡμῖν ἀνίλογος κινήσει, καὶ τὰς ἐξ Ἰουδαίων βλασφημίας ἐπιφύρῃσι, χλευάζουσιν το μυστήριον τῆς ἀποστόλης τῆ λόγῃ καὶ σαρκώσεως. *Contra Sabellium, Opera*, I. p. 663. (P.)

†† Ταῦτα καὶ νῦν ζήλοισι τινες Ἕλληνας καὶ Ἰουδαῖαν νόσον νοσηνέες, καὶ μὴ παραδεχόμενοι, μὴτε πιστεύοντες ὅλας σαμαλῶσαι Θεόν, ἀλλο λογισμοῖς ἀνθρώπων, καὶ φιλοεικείας, καὶ φιλοσοφίας Ἕλληνας γενναίαι, καὶ κατὰ λαβεῖν μάλλον βλημένοι τα μεγάλα καὶ ἀκαταλήπτα, πῶς γενναίαι τῶ ἀσώματων πᾶς ὅτι καὶ πρὸς καὶ τῆ ὁ πανταχῶν ὄν, καὶ πάντα περιεχῶν, καὶ πάντα πληρῶν, καὶ ἐκ τῆ πᾶς, καὶ ὅπως, εἰς ἀπίστῳ ἐχώρησαν, καὶ ἀντιγενήσεως ἐπλάσαντο πᾶσι, καὶ ἀντι πρὸς κτιστῶν, καὶ παρὰ τὸν κατεσκεύασαν. *Unum esse Christum, Opera*, I. p. 665. (P.)

Libanius ridiculed the Christians for making a man of Palestine a god, and the son of God.*

Chrysostom also says, that “many Heathens, when they hear that God was born in the flesh, laugh at us, and disturb and affright the more simple,”† thinking it unworthy of God.‡

CHAPTER IX.

Of the Controversy relating to the Holy Spirit.

IT is pretty remarkable, that, notwithstanding the doctrine concerning the *person of Christ* had been the great subject of controversy ever since the promulgation of Christianity, there is no mention made of any difference of opinion concerning the *Holy Spirit*, that attracted any notice, till after the commencement of the *Arian* controversy, and even till after the Council of Nice. *Basil* observes, that “the doctrine concerning the Holy Spirit, which made so much noise in his time, had not been agitated by the ancients; and because they had been all of the same opinion about it; it had not been settled.”§ Now as in all this period it will appear that there were great numbers of *Unitarians*, (they being the majority of the unlearned Christians among the Gentiles, besides the whole body of the Jewish Christians, who did not believe in any divinity except that of the Father,) and this is never objected to them by their adversaries, who *do* censure them for not admitting the divinity of the Son, it is evident that the divinity of the Spirit had not been acknowledged even by those who had been deemed orthodox.

Even after the rise of the *Arian* controversy, many persons expressed themselves concerning the Spirit as if it had no proper divinity, at least of a personal nature, without censure, which could not have been the case, if it had been the uniform doctrine of the orthodox, that the Holy Spirit was a proper *divine person*, equal to the Son, or the Father. We

* Επειδη δε και ὁ σοφιστης Λιβανιὸς ἐπιχλευάζων, τὸν ἐκ Παλαιστίνης, φησιν, ἀνθρώποι, θεοῦ τε, καὶ θεοῦ παῖδα ποιεῖσιν. *Socratis Hist. L. iii. C. xxiii. p. 203. (P.)*

† Επειδη γὰρ πολλοὶ Ἑλλήνων, ἀκούοντες ὅτι θεὸς ἐτεχθή ἐν σαρκί, καταγελοῦσι, διασυώντες, καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀφιελέστερων ἱσοῦσσι καὶ ταρατῖσι. *Ser. xxxi. Opera, V. p. 476. (P.)*

‡ Ἀπρεπες θεοῦ. *Ibid. p. 478. (P.)*

§ Επειδη δε το νυν ἀνακυψαν παρα τῶν αἰ τι καινοδομειν επιχειρηθῶν ζήτημα, παρατηρηθῆν τοις παλαι, δια το ἀναίρητον, ἀδιαρρίπτον κατελειφθῆ (λεγω ὅτι το περι το ἄγι πνευματος). *Epist. cccclxxxvii, Opera, III. p. 382. (P.)*

may conclude, therefore, that it was the doctrine of the divinity of the Son which prepared the way for that of the Holy Spirit. But to enable us to judge from facts, I shall produce passages relating to the Holy Spirit from a considerable number of Christian writers, in the order of time in which they wrote.

SECTION I.

Opinions concerning the Holy Spirit before the Council of Nice.

THE sentiments of the *Gnostics*, with respect to the Holy Spirit, were never, that we find, much complained of. But indeed, we do not know very distinctly what they were, except that, from their general system, it may be concluded, that if they supposed him to be a person at all, he must have been one of their *æons*, derived, mediately, or immediately, from the Supreme Being; and this agrees with *Athanasius's* saying, that "Valentinus thought the Holy Spirit to be of the same rank with the angels."*

We can have no dependence, as I have shewn, upon any arguments from the writings of the apostolical fathers, except that of *Clement*, who makes no particular mention of the Holy Spirit. In the book ascribed to *Hermas*, he is made to say, "Do not offend the Holy Spirit, lest he intreat God, and depart from thee."† According to this, the Holy Spirit must have been thought to be a *creature* dependent upon God.

Ignatius, if his epistle to the Ephesians be genuine, considered the Holy Spirit as a *power* rather than as a *person*; for he says, awkwardly enough, "We are raised upwards by the machine of Jesus Christ, which is his cross, using the Holy Spirit as a rope."‡

Justin Martyr, to whom we are indebted for the first rudiments of the doctrine of the divinity of Christ, says but little concerning the Holy Spirit; and from that little, it is not easy to conclude what his real opinion was. But it is

* Επειδή τον Θεον και τον Χριστον ανημασεν, ειπα της αγιλης, αναγκη τοις αγιλοις συναριθμεισθαι το πνευμα, της τε αυτων ειναι συσσεικτας αυτο και αγιλον ειναι μειζονα των αλλων πρωτον μεν εν της ασεβειας εστιν Ουαλεντινου τελο ευρημα και οικ ελαβον οτοι τα εκεινη φηδεγόμενοι εκεινος γαρ φησι ότι περιφθενλος τε παρακλητην, συναπεταλησαν αυτο δι ηλικιωται αυτη αγιλοι. Epist. Ad. Serapion, Opera, I. p. 185. (P.)

† "Noli offendere Spiritum Sanctum, qui in te habitat, ne roget Dominum, et recedat à te." Mand. x. Sect. iii. p. 97. (P.)

‡ Ακαθροισμενοι εις τα ύψη οια της μηχανης Ιησου Χριστου, ή ειναι σταυρου, σχοινη χροισμενοι τη πνευματι τη αγιη. Sect. ix. p. 11. (P.)

probable that he considered the Spirit as a created being, since he represents him as inferior to Christ. “But him, and the Son who comes from him, and teaches us these things, and the hosts of good angels which follow them, and agree with them,” (meaning, perhaps, other valuable truths of an important nature,) “and the prophetic Spirit, we reverence and adore, honouring them in word and deed.”* Speaking of Christ as “the Son of the true God, and to be honoured in the second place,” he says, “we honour the prophetic Spirit in the third place, with the logos.” †

Irenæus seems to have considered the Holy Spirit as a divine influence, and no proper person. “By the name of Christ,” he says, “we are given to understand one who anoints, one who is anointed, and the unction with which he is anointed. It is the Father who anoints, but the Son is anointed in the Spirit, which is the unction; as the word says by Isaiah, ‘The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he has anointed me;’ signifying, the Father anointing, the Son who is anointed, and the unction, which is the Spirit.” ‡

Again, speaking of the fleece of Gideon, which continued dry, he says, “It is a type of the people, who would afterwards be dry, not having the Holy Spirit from God, as Isaiah says, ‘And I will order the clouds that they shall not rain upon thee, but in all the earth there shall be dew,’ which is the Spirit of God, which descended upon our Lord; the spirit of wisdom and understanding; the spirit of counsel and might; the spirit of knowledge and piety; the spirit of the fear of God, which he would again give to the church, sending the Paraclete from heaven upon all the earth.” §

Theophilus gives us no idea of a person, much less a divine one, when he speaks of the “spirit that moved upon

* Ἀλλ' ἐκείνον τε καὶ τὸν παρ' αὐτῆ ἰὸν ἐλθόντα, καὶ διδάξαντα ἡμᾶς ταῦτα, καὶ τὸν τῶν αἰδίων ἐπομένων καὶ ἐξομαρτωμένων ἀγαθῶν ἀγγέλων στρατὸν, πνεῦμα τε τὸ προφητικὸν σεβόμεθα, καὶ προσκυνούμεν, λόγῳ καὶ ἀληθείᾳ τιμῶντες. *Apol. i. p. 11. (P.)*

† Ἵσον αὐτῆ τε οὐλῶς Θεὸς μαθόντες καὶ ἐν δευτέρᾳ χώρᾳ ἐχούτες, πνεῦμα τε προφητικὸν ἐν τῷ τῆ ταξεί ὅτι μετὰ λόγῳ τιμῶμεν. *Ibid. p. 19. (P.)*

‡ “In Christi enim nomine subauditur qui unxit, et ipse qui unctus est, et ipsa unctio in qua unctus est. Et unxit quidem Pater, unctus est vero Filius, in Spiritu, qui est unctio; quemadmodum per Esaiam ait sermo: ‘Spiritus Dei super me, propter quod unxit me;’ significans et ungentem Patrem, et unctum Filium, et unctionem, qui est Spiritus.” *L. iii. C. xx. p. 246. (P.)*

§ “Quod erat typus populi, ariditatem futuram prophetans; hoc est, non jam habitaturos eos à Deo Spiritum Sanctum, sicut Esaias ait: ‘Et nubibus mandabo ne pluant super eam; in omni autem terra fieri ros,’ quod est Spiritus Dei, qui descendit in Dominum, spiritus sapientiæ et intellectus, spiritus consilii et virtutis, spiritus scientiæ et pietatis, spiritus timoris Dei: quem ipsum iterum dedit ecclesiæ, in omnem terram mittens de cœlis Paracletum.” *L. iii. C. xx. p. 244. (P.)*

the face of the water, as something imparted to the creation, to vivify it, as the soul does the body, the spirit being something attenuated, imparted to the water, which is thin and fluid also, that the spirit may nourish the water, and the water added to the spirit may nourish all creation, pervading it.”*

Athenagoras considered the Holy Spirit as an efflux from the Deity, flowing out and drawn into him again at pleasure, as a beam from the sun. † This was that kind of existence that *Justin Martyr* says some persons ascribed to the divinity of the Son, and which constituted, as I shall shew hereafter, what may be called the philosophical Unitarianism of that age.

Tertullian seems to have thought that the Holy Spirit was derived from Christ, in the same manner as Christ was derived from God, that is, by a kind of *prolation*. “The Spirit,” says he, “is the third from the Father and the Son; as the fruit is the third from the root and the branch; as the rivulet is the third from the fountain and the river, and the apex the third from the sun and its beam. For none of these are separated from their sources, from which they derive their properties; so the Trinity running, by connected degrees, from the Father, is no hinderance to a monarchy, and yet a protection to the œconomy.” ‡

In another passage, he seems to confound the Spirit with the *logos*, supposing the spirit of God by which the Virgin Mary was overshadowed to have been the word. “By not calling him God directly,” he says, “he means a portion of the whole, which will obtain the name of the Son. This Spirit of God is the same as the word; as *John* says, ‘The word was made flesh.’ We also understand the Spirit when the word is mentioned; for the Spirit is the substance of the word, and the word is the operation of the Spirit, and they two are one.” § *Eusebius* says, that *λογος* and *πνευμα*,

* Πνευμα δε το επιφερομενον επανω τη υδατος ο εδωκεν ο Θεος εις ζωογονησιν τη κτισει, καθ’απερ ανθρωπω ψυχην, τω λεπτω το λεπτον συγκερασας· το γαρ πνευμα λεπτον και το υδωρ λεπτον, οπως το μεν πνευμα τρεψη το υδωρ· το δε υδωρ συν τω πνευματι τρεψη την κτισιν, δι’αυτην πανταχοτε. L. ii. p. 98. (P.)

† Και τω και αυτο το ενεργον της εμφανεσι προφητικως αγιον πνευμα, απορρητων ειναι φημεν τη Θεω, απορρητον και επαναφερομενον, ως ακτινα ηλιου. Apol. pp. 84, 218. (P.)

‡ “Tertius enim est Spiritus à Deo et Filio, sicut tertius à radice fructus ex fructu; et tertius à fonte, rivus ex flumine; et tertius à sole, apex ex radio. Nihil tamen à matrice alienatur, à qua proprietates suas ducit. Ita Trinitas per consortes et connexos gradus à Patre decurrens et monarchiæ nihil obstrepit, et œconomix statum protegit.” *Ad Praxeam*, Sect. viii. p. 504. (P.)

§ “Tamen non directo Deum nominans, portionem totius intelligi voluit, quæ cessura erat in Filii nomen. Hic Spiritus Dei idem erit sermo. Sicut enim Joanne dicente, sermo caro factus est; spiritum quoque intelligimus in mentione sermonis: ita et hic sermonem quoque agnoscimus in nomine spiritus. Nam et spiritus est substantia sermonis, et sermo operatio spiritus, et duo unum sunt.” *Ibid.* Sect. xxvi. p. 515. (P.)

the word and the spirit, mean the same thing with respect to God. *

It was supposed by the ancients, that the Spirit appeared in the proper form of a dove at our Saviour's baptism, and consequently it was a question to be determined what became of the body of this dove. *Tertullian* intimates, that "as it was made out of nothing, it might be resolved into nothing, like the bodies of angels." †

Hippolytus perhaps considered the Spirit as a person; but it is not quite certain. "Why," says he, "should any one say that we teach two Gods? I do not say there are two Gods, but one, and two persons, also the third œconomy, the grace of the Holy Spirit. For the Father is one, but two persons; because there is a Son, and the third is the Holy Spirit." ‡ "This is the Spirit that moved upon the face of the waters, by which the world is moved, by which the creation consists, and all things receive life." §

Origen considered it as doubtful, whether, since all things are made by Christ, the Holy Spirit was not made by him. And after discussing the question a little, he says, "We who maintain three hypostases, the Father, Son, and Spirit, and believe that the Father only is unbegotten, think it more agreeable to piety and truth, to maintain that the Holy Spirit is superior to all things that were made by Christ; and that the only reason why he is not called a son of God, is, that the only-begotten Son had obtained that title, which the Holy Spirit wanted, being subservient to his nature, not only with respect to his *being*, but to his being wise and rational, and righteous, and every thing else that he is understood to be. But I think that the Holy Spirit, if I may so speak, furnishes the materials of all the gifts of God, which are distributed by Christ. We acknowledge, however, that there is room to doubt of this; since whatever is made is said to have been made by Christ, and that, in some places, the Holy Spirit seems to have been considered

* *In Ps. Montfaucon, I. (P.)*

† "Sed quaris corpus columbæ ubi sit, resumpto spiritu in cœlum; æque et angelorum; eadem ratione interceptum est, qua et editum fuerat; si vidisses eum de nihilo proferebatur, scisses, cum in nihilum subducebatur." *De Carne Christi*, Sect. iii. p. 309. (P.) See Vol. XX. p. 459.

‡ Τι εν φησειεν αν τις δυο λεγειν θεος; δυο μεν εκ ερω θεος, αλλα η ενα, προσωπα δε δυο, οικονομιαν δε τριηνη, την χαριν τε αγιη πνευματος. Πατηρ μεν γαρ εις, προσωπα δε δυο, οτι και ο υιος, το δε τριον το αγιον πνευμα. *Ad Noetum*, Sect. xiv., *Opera*, II. p. 15. (P.)

§ Τηο δε εστιν το πνευμα, το απ' αρχης επιφερομενον επανω των υδατων δι' ου κοσμος κινειται, δι' ου κτισις ισταται και τα συμπαντα ζωογονειται. *Hom. in Theophaniam*, *Opera*, p. 264. (P.)

as superior to Christ; especially as, in Isaiah, (xlvi. 16,) Christ himself confesses that he was sent by the Holy Spirit, as well as by the Father, and likewise that blasphemy against the Holy Spirit is more dangerous than blasphemy against the Son.”*

Afterwards he makes a distinction between those things which God made *in wisdom*, and those made *by wisdom*, that is, by the Son, † as if the Spirit had been made by God without the instrumentality of Christ. The following passage is more determinate: “For the Saviour made both one, and he being the first-fruits of those things that are made one, I mean of those whose souls are mixed with the Holy Spirit, and each of those who are saved becomes spiritual.” ‡

It is evident, from the uncertainty in which *Origen* appears to have been with respect to this subject, that in his time the doctrine of the church was by no means fixed, and that those who were deemed orthodox thought themselves at liberty to think and write as they pleased about it, without any danger of *heresy*.

Novatian, who had as much orthodoxy with respect to the Trinity as any person of his age, certainly did not believe in the divinity of the Holy Spirit, whom he represents as inferior to the Son, whom also he makes greatly inferior to the Father. “Christ,” says he, “is greater than the Paraclete; for he would not receive of Christ, if he was not less than he.”§

We are not able to trace with certainty the opinion of

* Ἡμεῖς μνησάμεθα τρεῖς ὑπόστασεις πενθόμενοι τυγχάνειν, τὸν πατέρα, καὶ υἱόν, καὶ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, καὶ ἀγεννήτων μὴδὲν ἕτερον τῆ πατρὸς εἶναι πιστευόντες, ὡς εὐσεβεστέρον καὶ ἀληθέστερον, πιστευόμεθα τὸ, πατρίαν ὡς τὸ λόγον γενομένων, τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα πάντων εἶναι τιμιώτερον, καὶ τάξει πατρίαν τῶν ὑπὸ τῆ πατρὸς διὰ Χριστοῦ γεγεννημένων· καὶ τάχα αὐτῆ εἰς ἡμεῖς αὐτὰ τὴ μη καὶ αὐτὸ υἱὸν χημαιζέμεν τῆ Θεοῦ, μόνῃ τῆ μονογενεῖς φησεὶ ὡς ἀρχὴν τυγχάνουσαν, ὅτι χημαίσει εὐκὲ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, διακονάντων αὐτῆ τῆ ὑπόστασι, οὐ μόνον εἰς τὸ εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ σοφον εἶναι καὶ λογικόν, καὶ δίκαιον, καὶ πάν ὀπίσθην χρεὶ αὐτῆ κείν τυγχάνειν, κατὰ μετοχὴν τῶν ἀρεσιζόμενων ἡμῖν Χριστῆ ἐπιστοίαν· οἶμαι δὲ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα τὴν, ἢ ὡς εἶπα, ὕλην τῶν ἀπο Θεοῦ χαρισμάτων παρέχειν τοῖς δι’ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν μετοχὴν αὐτῆ χημαίσεισιν ἁγίοις, τῆς εὐρημένης ὕλης τῶν χαρισμάτων, ἐνεργημένης μὲν ἀπο τῆ Θεοῦ, ὡκονομένης καὶ ὑπὸ τῆ Χριστῆ, ὕφρασης δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα.—Ἐχει δὲ ἐπαπορήσιν ὡς τὸ, πάντα δι’ αὐτῆ ἐγενεῖσθαι, καὶ ἀκατάδειν τὸ πνεῦμα γεννημένον, διὰ τὸ λόγον γεγεννημένον, τὸς ἵκειν ποστίμασαι τῆ Χριστῆ ἐν τισὶ γραφαῖς, ἐν μὲν τῷ Ἠσαῖα ὁμολογῶντων Χριστῆ, αὐτὸ ὑπὸ τῆ πατρὸς ἀπεσταλῆσαι μόνῃ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὸ τῆ ἁγίου πνεύματος, φησεὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐν κείνῃ ἀπεστειλε με καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ· ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐναγγέλιῳ ἀφιστῶν μὲν ἐπαρ’ ἔλλημενοι ἐπὶ τῆς εἰς αὐτὸν ἀμαρτίας, ἀποφαινόμενου δὲ περὶ τῆς εἰς τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα βλασφημίας. *Comment. II. p. 57. (P.)*

† Πάντα γὰρ φησιν, ἐν σοφίᾳ ἐποίησας, οὐ διὰ τῆς σοφίας ἐποίησας. *Ibid. p. 59. (P.)*

‡ Περὶ αὐτῆ γὰρ ὁ πατήρ τα ἀμφότερα ἐν, κατὰ τὴν ἀπαρχὴν τῶν γινόμενων ἀμφότερων ἐν ἑαυτῷ τῷ πατρὶ πατρίτι· ἀμφότερα δὲ λέγει καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτοῦστων, ἐπὶ ὧν ἀνακεκράται τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι ἢ ἑκάστου ψυχῆ, καὶ γεγεννησθαι ἑκάστου τῶν σωζόμενων πνευματικῶς. *Ibid. p. 30. (P.)*

§ “Major ergo jam Paraclete Christus est: quoniam nec Paracletus à Christo acciperet, nisi minor Christo esset.” *C. xiv. p. 56. (P.)*

Cyprian on this subject. But, as he says that it was Christ who spake by the prophets,* he seems to have had no distinct office for the Spirit, and, therefore, probably thought that Christ himself was that Spirit.

It is enumerated among the faults of *Lactantius*, that “he makes no mention of the Holy Spirit, and that, in his epistles to *Demetrianus*, as *Jerome* says, he denied the personality of the Spirit; and according to a Jewish error, confounded him either with the Father or the Son.” †

“*Dionysius of Alexandria*,” who is often called the father of *Arianism*, “spake very improperly,” says *Basil*, “with respect to the Holy Spirit, and, not admitting of his divinity, reduced him to the rank of a created and servile nature.” ‡

Eusebius, who appears to have been as orthodox as other writers of his age with respect to the Son, (if his writings may be allowed to testify for him,) and who certainly was not bold in heresy, scrupled not to consider the Spirit as made by the Son. “The Holy Spirit,” says he, “is neither God, nor the Son, because he did not derive his birth from the Father, like the Son; but is one of the things that was made by the Son; because all things were made by him, and without him was nothing made.” § He also speaks of the Holy Spirit as “holding the third place, as receiving from the logos, and imparting valuable gifts to inferior beings, just as the logos receives every thing from the Supreme Being.” ||

Even *Hilary*, who wrote so largely concerning the divinity of the Son, seems not to have had the same persuasion concerning that of the Holy Spirit; but, in the little that he says on the subject, seems rather to have considered the Spirit as a divine influence. He represents our Saviour commanding the apostles to baptize in the name of the Father,

* “Sed quanto majora sunt quæ Filius loquitur, quæ Dei sermo, qui in prophetis fuit, propria voce testatur.” *De Oratione Dominica, Opera*, p. 139. (P.)

† “*Navi Lactantii et Errores—Quod Spiritum Sanctum ne quidem nominat: imo quod in epistolis ad Demetrianum, autore Hieronymo, Spiritus Sancti substantiam negavit; et errore Judaico dixit, cum vel ad Patrem referri, vel ad Filium; et sanctificationem utriusque personæ sub ejus nomine demonstrari.*” *Synthesis Doctrinæ Lactantii*, p. 899. (P.)

‡ Προς δε τούτους και περι του πνευματος αφηκε φωνας, η̄κιστα προποσας τη πνευματι της προσκινουμενης αιτη θεο̄λης εξοριζων, και καθω που τη κ̄ιση και λειτουργ̄η φησει τιταριθμων και ο̄ μεν ανης, τοιουτος. Letter to Magnus, in *Nicephorus's History*, L. vi. C. xxv. I. p. 419. (P.)

§ Το δε παρακλητον πνευμα, ουτε Θεος, ουτε υιος; επει μη εκ του πατρ̄ος ὁμοιος τη̄ ῡῑω και αυτο̄ τη̄ γενεσει ειληφεν; εν δε τι των δια του ῡῑου γενομενων τυγχανει, οτι δε παντα δῑ αυτοῡ εγενετο, και χωρις αυτοῡ εγενετο ουδε εν. *Ec. Theol. L. iii. C. iv. p. 175. (P.)*

|| Αλλα τουτο̄ μεν, τριη̄ν επεχον τη̄ ταξ̄ιν, τ̄ις υποβε̄ηκ̄οσι ταῑ εν̄ τᾱις κ̄ρῑτοῑαν̄ ὑ̄παρ̄εων̄ επιζηρη̄ει, οῡ μεν̄ αλλα καῑ αντιλᾱμβανεῑ παρ̄̄ ἑτεροῑ τοῡ, η̄ σ̄μᾱ Θεοῡ λογοῡ, τοῡ δε καῑ αν̄ωτερω̄ καῑ κ̄ρῑτοῑοῡ, ον̄ δε̄ δευτερευον̄ εφαρ̄εν̄ της̄ αν̄ωτᾱτω̄ καῑ αγεν̄η̄τοῡ φ̄υσεως̄ Θεοῡ τοῡ πᾱμβασιλεῡος. *Preparatio*, L. vii. C. xv. p. 325. (P.)

the Son, and the Holy Spirit, as signifying “a confession of the Father, of the only-begotten, and of the gift,”* which very much resembles what Irenæus says on the subject.

They who said that the Holy Spirit was created by the Son, held that there was a time when only one divine person existed; and again, that there was a time when only two existed, the Holy Spirit not being made. †

SECTION II.

Opinions concerning the Holy Spirit after the Council of Nice.

It was *Athanasius*, the great advocate for the divinity of Christ, and his consubstantiality with the Father, who also exerted himself strenuously and effectually in behalf of that of the Holy Spirit, whose divinity was denied by *Macedonius*. He informs us, that he was in the deserts of Egypt when he heard of that heresy, and that he wrote from thence to prevent the spread of it. ‡ He had so much influence in Egypt, that a synod was immediately called there, which he attended, and where the Holy Spirit was for the first time decreed to be consubstantial with the Father and the Son. §

Not long after this, the divinity of the Holy Spirit was more solemnly determined at a council held in Constantinople, and from that time it was deemed equally heretical to deny the divinity of the Spirit, as that of the Son. The doctrine of the Trinity now began to assume a proper form and consistence, one part of the scheme coming in aid of the other; and there were distinct treatises to prove the divinity of the Spirit, which had never been the subject of discussion before. Then was the doctrine of the perfect equality of the Spirit and the Son, as well as that of the Son and the Father, fully established; so that, among others, *Epiphanius* asserts that, whatever is said of the Son is also

* “Baptizare jussit in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti: id est, in confessione et auctoritate, et unigeniti, et doni.” L. ii. p. 22. (P.)

† Αναθεματίζομεν τῆς φρονήσεως καὶ λογείας ἢ πύε μνας, μὴ οὔτως εἶναι καὶ τὴν πύε δυάς, μὴ οὔτως ἀγία πνεύματος. Eugenii Legatio ad Athanasium, in Montfaucon's *Collectio Patrum*, II. p. 3. (P.)

‡ Ἐγὼ μὲν ἐν, καίπερ ἐν ἐρημίᾳ ἵσταμαι, διὰ ποτε ἐν τῇ ἀναίδειᾳ τῶν ἐκτραπέυτων ἐκ τῆς ἀληθείας· οὐ φροντισίας τῶν γέλων ἐπέβουλον· διὰ τὸ ἀσπένες καὶ ταπεινὸν τῆς διὰ τῶν λόγων ἐπίδειξας· δι' ἄλλων γραφῶν, ἀπεδείξα τῇ εἰλαβείᾳ, παρακαλῶν ἵνα ἐπιτοχῶν τῆς τα μὲν ἰσότητος· ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς ἀσπένες ἐρημηνοῖς συλλήνωσκη. Ad Serapion, *Opera*, I. p. 207. (P.)

§ Ἐν τῷ δὲ πύλλων πολέων ἐπισκοποὶ συνελθόντες εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, ἅμα Ἀθανασίῳ καὶ Εὐσεβίῳ, τὰ δευρομένα ἐν Νικαίᾳ κρατήσων· ὁμοῦσιον τε τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ υἱῷ τὸ ἀγίον πνεῦμα ὁμολογήσαν, καὶ τριάδα ὀνομασαν. Sozomen, L. v. C. xii. p. 198. (P.)

said of the Spirit, as that they are both *sent*, they both *speak*, they both *sanctify*, they both *heal*, they both *baptize*, &c., and we are *justified* by them both, &c., &c., &c. *

Still the forms of public worship were unfavourable to the new doctrine, for it had from time immemorial been the custom to *give glory* to the Father only; but about this time, it is said, that “Flavianus of Antioch, having assembled a number of monks, first shouted out, *Glory to the Father, to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit*; but that before him, some had said, *Glory to the Father through the Son, in the Holy Spirit*, which was the most customary form; and others, *Glory to the Father in the Son, and the Holy Spirit.*” †

But the new doctrine soon bore down the old forms, especially by the influence of *Basil*, and the two *Gregories*, his contemporaries, who exerted themselves as strenuously in this business as *Athanasius* had ever done with respect to the divinity of the Son. *Basil* even maintained, that “to deny the divinity of the Holy Spirit, is to be guilty of blasphemy against the Holy Spirit.” ‡ In former times we have seen that many persons were deemed orthodox who only held the divinity of the Son; but *Chrysostom* says, “It cannot be that he who halts with respect to the Spirit, can walk upright with respect to the Son.” § The description of the Spirit, as issuing from the substance of the Father, from this time very much resembled the former accounts of the generation of the Son from the Father. Thus *Cyril of Alexandria* says, “The Holy Spirit is the Spirit of the unbegotten God, and comes forth from him, has personality and life, and always exists, being from that which exists.” ||

At this time the formerly innocent doctrine of the Spirit having been created by the Son, or of his being inferior to him, was severely reprobated. *Austin* says, “he remembered to have read in some work of *Eusebius*, that the Spirit did not understand the mystery of our Saviour’s nativity, and he

* *Ancoratus*, Sect. lxxviii., *Opera*, II. pp. 71—73. (P.)

† ‘Οτι φησι τον Αντιοχειας Φλαβιανον, πληθος μοναχων συναγειραντα, πρωτον αναβοησαι, Δοξα πατρι και υιω και αγιω πνευματι των γαρ προ αυτη, τες μεν, Δοξα πατρι δι’ υιω εν αγιω πνευματι, λεγειν και ταυτην μαλλον την εκφωνησιν επιπαλαζειν της δε, Δοξα πατρι εν υιω και αγιω πνευματι. *Philostorgius*, L. iii. Sect. xv. p. 496. (P.)

‡ Εκεινο δε αν ηδεως αυτης εφ’ υμων ερωτησαιμι, και διοριζομαι πεπειδωτος, ετι μεταμελησει σοι ποτε της αιδου ταυτης σοφιας, κτισμα λεγοντι το πνευμα το αγιον ου φηδη την ασυγχαρητων αμαρτιαν; η τι ποτε οiei δυσσεβεσερον τωτθ δυνασθαι βλασφημειν. *Hom.* xxvii. *Opera*, I. p. 525. (P.)

§ *Ληκχανον* δε εστι τον περι το πνευμα σκαζοντα ορθοδοπησαι περι τον υιον. *De Spiritu Sancto*, *Opera*, VI. p. 219. (P.)

|| Και γαρ εστιν αγεννητη πνευμα Θεου, ιδιον αυτη, και εξ αυτη προιον, ενποσατον τε, και ζων, και αιων, οτι τθ ουτ’ εστι. *Contra Julianum*, L. viii., *Juliani Opera*, II. p. 275. (P.)

wondered that a man of his learning should fix such a blot on the Holy Spirit.*

Justin had been led into the belief of the divinity of Christ by the principles of *Plato*, as he expressly acknowledged; but he owns that *Platonism* was not very favourable to the doctrine of the divinity of the Spirit. He says, “that he found two principles in *Plato*, God the Father, and the Son, or the divine mind; but he found nothing concerning the Holy Spirit: and what the Platonists said of the third principle, he did not understand.”† Indeed, here it is that *Platonism* entirely fails those who wish so much to avail themselves of it; for the *third principle* of *Plato* was nothing belonging to the Deity, but either the world, or the soul of the world. “*Plato’s* third principle,” says *Eusebius*, “is the soul of the world.”‡ And as the world and the soul of the world were sometimes considered as different principles, the *Platonic* principles are sometimes said to be four. *Justin Martyr* says, that “*Plato* sometimes said there were four principles, making the soul of the universe the fourth, and sometimes he held matter to be created, and again to be uncreated.”§ *Cyril of Alexandria*, after mentioning *Plato’s* three principles, “God, idea, and matter,” says, “there is a fourth, which he calls the soul of the world.”||

Still, however, the orthodox Christians were very desirous of making out something of a Trinity in the doctrine of *Plato*; and *Justin Martyr* and others imagined they saw it so clearly, that they were confident it must have been derived from the Scriptures. Thus *Clemens Alexandrinus* imagined, from his construction of the language of *Plato*, that he had a knowledge of the Trinity, and that he learned it from *Moses*, alleging the two passages that have been already quoted from *Plato*, viz. that concerning *the oath*, in

* “Memini me in quodam libello Eusebii quondam egregii in reliquis viri, legisse, quia nec Spiritus Sanctus sciat mysterium nativitatis domini nostri Jesu Christi, et admiror tanta doctrine virum hanc maculam Spiritui Sancto indixisse.” *Quis dicitur Misteo, Opera*, IV. p. 865. (P.)

† “Quæ autem dicat esse principia tanquam Platonicis, novimus. Dicit enim Deum Patrem et Deum Filium, quem Græce appellat paternum intellectum, vel paternam mentem: de Spiritu autem Sancto, aut nihil, aut non aperte aliquid dicit: quavis quem alium dicat horum medium, non intelligo.” *De Civitate Dei*, L. x. C. xxiii. *Opera*, V. p. 577. (P.)

‡ Καὶ τὸν τῆν τὸν κόσμον ψυχὴν Θεοῦ τοῦτον καὶ αὐτὴν βασίζουσαν εἶναι. *Preparatio*, L. xi. C. xix. p. 511. (P.)

§ Πότε οὐκ ἐπὶ τῆσδε προσηύθησθε ἡμεῖς καὶ τὴν καθόλου ψυχὴν καὶ αὐτὴς τὴν ὅλην ἀγεννητὸν πνεῦμα ἁγίου, ἵνα οὐ γεννηθῆν αὐτὴν εἶναι λέγει. *Ad Græcos*, p. 8. (P.)

¶ Τὴν δὲ παλαιὰ ἢ Πλάτωνος τὰς τῶν ὅλων αἰτίας εἶναι λέγων, Θεοῦ τε καὶ ὅλην, καὶ εἶδος, πνεῦμα ἁγίου, καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἢ ἡ καὶ ὅλην ψυχὴν ἀναμαρτυρεῖ. *Cou. Jul. L. ii. Juliani Opera*, II. p. 18. (P.)

the epistle to *Erastus*, &c., and that concerning *the king of all*, in the epistle to *Dionysius*.* But this has been shewn to be a thing very different from the Christian Trinity.

The resemblance between the Christian and the *Platonic* Trinity is very imperfect, as it fails entirely in both the essential circumstances. For it was never imagined that the three component members of the *Platonic* Trinity were either *equal* to each other, or, strictly speaking, *one*. But then, neither had this been the language of those who introduced the doctrine of the Trinity; for they went little farther than the proper principles of *Plato*, without pretending either to make a perfect *equality*, or a perfect *unity* of the three persons; and, therefore, they did not maintain that this doctrine was so very *mysterious* and *unintelligible* as it was afterwards represented to be.

Notwithstanding the doctrine of the Trinity seemed to be completed by means of the divinity and personality of the Spirit, and in some respects it seemed better guarded against attacks, there were still some awkward circumstances attending it. The Spirit being a divine person as well as the Son, and yet like the Son not absolutely underived, there was some difficulty in settling the mode of his derivation. The term *generation* had been already appropriated to the Son, and it had also been settled that there could be only *one son* produced in that manner, Christ being denominated *the only-begotten Son of God*. Fortunately the Spirit was said to *proceed* from the Father or the Son, or from both; and though, in the Scriptures, this meant nothing more than his being *sent* by the Father, or the Son, and this being *sent* was only a figurative expression, denoting the imparting those powers which came from God, this term *proceeding* was immediately laid hold of, as expressing the manner of the emission of the Spirit from the fountain of Deity, and was deemed to be different from *generation*; but then there was great difficulty in determining in what that difference consisted. “The nativity of the Son,” says *Austin*, “differs from the procession of the Spirit, otherwise they would be brothers.” †

* Which may be seen, *supra*, pp. 158, 165. Σιωπῶ γὰρ Πλάτωνα ἀντικειμένους ὅτις ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἐραστοῦ καὶ Κορίνθου ἐπιστολῇ φανερὰται πατέρα καὶ υἱόν, οὐκ οὐδ' ἴσως, ἐκ τῶν Ἑβραίων γραφῶν εμφανίαν.—Ὡς καὶ ἐπὶν εἰπῆ, περὶ τοῦ παντῶν Βασιλεῖα πάντα ἐστὶν, ἤνεκεν ἕκαστοῦ τα πάντα κήρυξοι αὐτῶν ἀπαρίων καλῶν· δευτέρου δὲ, περὶ τα δευτέρου καὶ τρίου, περὶ τα τρίου οὐκ ἀλλῶς ἐρωγῆ ἐξάκτω, ἢ τὴν ἁγίαν τριάδα μνηνεσθῆναι τρίου μὲν γὰρ εἶναι, τὸ ἁγιον πνεῦμα τὸν υἱόν δὲ, δευτέρου, δι' ὃν πάντα ἐγενετο κατὰ βέλῃσιν τοῦ πατρὸς. Strom. L. v. p. 598. (P.)

† “Sic enim videbis quid distet nativitas verbi Dei à processione doni Dei, propter quod Filius unigenitus non de Patre genitum, alioquin frater ejus esset, sed

But notwithstanding all the ingenuity of the orthodox, nothing more than a mere verbal distinction could ever be made between a mysterious *generation* and an equally mysterious *procession*. "What is the difference," says the *Macedonian*, in the dialogue on this subject, ascribed to *Athanasius*, "between *generated* and *proceeding*?" The orthodox disputant answers, "Do not inquire into this difference, for it is incomprehensible. Attend to what is commanded you, and inquire no farther. You are commanded to believe that the Son is begotten, and that the Spirit proceeded. All other things, as the heaven, the earth, the sea, and things rational and irrational, are creatures."*

It was, generally thought, however, that there was something more intelligible in the doctrine of *generation* than in that of *procession*. For *Basil* says, "The Son is produced from the Father by generation, but the Spirit in an ineffable manner."† There is an air of still greater modesty in what *Gregory Nazianzen* says on the subject. "It is peculiar," says he, "to the Father to be unbegotten, to the Son to be begotten, and to the Holy Spirit to proceed. If you inquire the manner *how*, should you not leave it to themselves, who have declared that they only know each other, and to those of us who may be illuminated about it hereafter?"‡

Austin says, that the Holy Spirit, being the Spirit of both the Father and the Son, proceeds from them both; and this he makes to be the difference between the generation of the Son, and the procession of the Spirit. "It is peculiar," he says, "to the son of man to proceed from two," meaning of different sexes. "Far be this from the Son of God," &c. §

procedere dixit Spiritum Sanctum." *De Trinitate*, L. xv. C. xxvii. *Opera*, III. p. 476. (P.)

* Και τις ἡ διαφορά τῆς γεννήσεως καὶ τῆς ἐκπορεύσεως; ΟΡΘ. Τὴν διαφέρειαν μὴ περιεργάζεσθαι γὰρ καταλήπτῃ, ἀλλ' ἂν προσέλθῃ σοι, ταῦτα διανοῆ, καὶ περαιτέρω τῶν αὐτῶν μὴ βιάσθαι. Πρὸς εὐαγγ. δε σοὶ τὸ πιστεῖν, ὅτι ὁ υἱὸς γεννάται, καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα ἐκπορεύεται. Ἐν αὐτῇ ἀλλὰ πάντα, ἡμῶν, γῆ, ψάλλασσα, καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς λογικὰ καὶ ἀλογα, κτιστάματα εἰσι, κατ' ἐντολὴν αὐτῆ τῆ Θεοῦ κτισθέντα. *Opera*, II. p. 276. (P.)

† Ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν υἱὸς, ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς γεννήσῃς; τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα ἀρρήτως ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ. ΠΟΜ. xxvii. *Opera*, I. p. 526. (P.)

‡ Ἰὼν δὲ, πατὴρ μὲν, ἢ ἀγεννησία, ὅν δὲ ἢ γεννήσις, πνευμαῖος δὲ, ἢ ἐκπεμψίς; εἰ δὲ τῶν τῶν ἐπιζήσεις, τί κατὰλευθεῖς τοῖς μόνις γινώσκειν ἀλλήλα, καὶ γινώσκουσθαι ὑπ' ἀλλήλων μαρτυρούμεναι, ἢ καὶ ἡμῶν τοῖς ἐκεῖθεν ἐλλαμψύθησομεν οὐ γινώσκον. *Or.* xxiii. *Opera*, p. 422. (P.)

§ "Quero quid distat inter natiuitatem Filii et processionem Spiritus Sancti? Filius autem solus est Patris, non Spiritus Sancti. Anoborum inquam Spiritus, id est, Patris et Filii. Quod si spiritus sanctus filius esse diceretur, nullus autem filius est nisi duorum, patris et matris, quod absit ut inter Deum Patrem et Filium tale quid suspiciemur, quia nec filius hominis simul ex patre procedit et ex matre." *Questions*, lxy. *Opera*, IV. p. 679. (P.)

Cyril of Alexandria seems to think that he had some idea of the nature of the procession of the Spirit from the substance of God, when he says, that “Christ breathed upon his disciples, to shew that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the divine substance, as the breath of man proceeds from him.”*

There was likewise another difficulty with respect to the Holy Spirit being said to be *sent by the Son*, from which some concluded that, in his origin, he issued from the Son, as well as from the Father; and this doctrine prevailed in the *Latin Church*; whereas the *Greeks* held that the Spirit proceeded from the Father only. To the objection, that if the Spirit be God, the Father has two Sons, *Epiphanius* replies, that “the Spirit proceedeth both from the Father and the Son.”† *Damascenus* says, that “the Spirit proceedeth from the Father, and rests in the Son.”‡ But *Basil* seems to have considered the Spirit as deriving his being from the Son only; for he says, “As the Son is the *logos* of the Father, so the Spirit is the word (*ῥῆμα*) of the Son. For it is said that he,” meaning the Son, “supporteth all things by the word of his power.”§ The ancients are said, by *M. Caleca*, to have believed that “the Holy Spirit proceeded from the Father through the Son.”|| So miserably do men bewilder themselves, when they leave the path of simple truth, abandoning reason to follow mere imagination.

SECTION III.

Of the proper Office of the Spirit, with respect to the Offices of the Father and the Son.

THERE being now *three* Divine persons instead of *one*, there was a farther difficulty in adjusting their several pro-

* “Sed quemadmodum unusquisque nostrum, proprium in seipso spiritum continet, et ab intimis visceribus ad exteriora profundit: propterea corporaliter Christus sufflavit: ostendens hoc signo, quia quemadmodum ab ore humano corporaliter humanus spiritus procedit, sic ex divina substantia deitatis congruenter spiritus, qui ab ea est, profunditur.” *In Johan. L. ix. p. 936. (P.)*

† Το δε ἅγιον πνευμα το παρ’ ἀμφοτερων. *Ancoratus, Sect. lxxi. Opera, II. p. 75. (P.)*

‡ “Eodem modo etiam in Spiritum Sanctum credimus, qui dominus est, et vivificat, qui ex Patre procedit, et in Filio conquiescit.” *Orthod. Fid. L. i. C. x. Opera, p. 268. (P.)*

§ Δια τελο και Θεου μεν λογος ὁ υἱος, ῥῆμα δε υἱου το πνευμα φερων γαρ, φησι, τα παντα τω ῥηματι της δυναμειος αυτου. *Ad Eunom. L. v. Opera, I. p. 787. (P.)*

|| Και εἰ το πνευμα το ἅγιον εκ τε πατρος δια τε υἱε εκπορευεσθαι λεγεσιν, δι απο της πατρως μεχαι της ἰσδομης; συγδοε διαλαμψαντες. *Combefis Auctuarium, II. p. 216. (P.)*

vinces, for each Divine person must have an employment suited to his character. This arrangement being left to men, who can seldom agree, a considerable difference of opinion unavoidably arose in this case. However, after much discussion, it was at length settled, at least for a long time, that all the three Divine persons acted jointly in every operation in which any of them was concerned. But before it was determined in this manner, divines were much employed in settling the proper department of the Holy Spirit, after having agreed before, that the Son was the maker of all things under the Father.

For some time it was generally thought that the Father was the only prime *cause*, the *fountain of Deity*, the Son his immediate agent in the creation, and that the Spirit was the *sanctifier* or the *perfecter* of every thing. “There are three,” says *Basil*, “the Father ordaining, the Son executing, and the Spirit perfecting.”* “The Father,” says *M. Caloca*, “is distinguished as the primary cause, the Son as the creator, and the Spirit as the perfecter.” †

It appears most clearly from *Eusebius*, that to *sanctify* and to *perfect* the same thing. In the interpretation of *Psalm xxxiii. 6*, “By the word of the Lord were the heavens made, and all the host of them by the breath of his mouth,” he says, “By these we are to understand our Saviour, and the Holy Spirit, for both co-operated in the creation of the heavens and their host; for nothing is sanctified without the presence of the Spirit. The *word*, being the *demirgus*, introduced the angels into being, but the Holy Spirit gave their *sanctification*; for the angels were not created infants.” ‡

But though it had been settled by most of the Fathers, that the *logos*, or the Son, was the medium of all the Divine communications of God to man in the *Old Testament*, it was now generally thought proper to take from him the province of inspiring the prophets, and to leave to him only the visible appearances to *Abraham*, *Moses*, and others. *Irenæus* says it was the spirit of God that spake by the prophets and

* Τὸν πατέρα οὖν υἱοῦ, τὸν προφασσοῦντα κτίων, τὸν δημιουργηθέντα λόγον, τὸν σεβερηνῶτα τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου. De Spiritu Sancto, C. xvi. Opera, II. p. 325. (P.)

† Διὰ τὸν υἱὸν τῆς προκατακτικῆς αἰτίας ἀντιπρόσωπος τὸν πατέρα τῆς δημιουργικῆς, τὸν υἱὸν τῆς τελειωτικῆς, τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἁγιον. Combefis Auctuarium, II. p. 209. (P.)

‡ Ἰνα νόμος ὁ αἰὶνός και τὸ ἅγιον αἰὶν πνεῦμα ἀμφότερα δε συνήργησαν ἐν τῇ κτίσει τῶν οὐρανῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπιπέδων συνήργησαν διὰ τοῦ εἰρηῆν τῆς λόγου κτίειν ἢ φωνῆν ἐξερρεῖν ἴσον και τῆς πνεύματος τῆς δημιουργικῆς αὐτῆς πᾶσα ἡ ἰσότης αὐτῶν ὡς ἐν γὰρ ἀρχαί ζῆσαι εἰμὲν ἢ τῆς πνεύματος τῆς τελειωτικῆς ἀφῆσαν γὰρ τὴν μὲν εἰς τὸ εἶναι πατρῶν, ὁ δημιουργὸς λόγος ὁ πατρῶς τῶν ἁγίων παραγενόμενος τῶν ἀρχαίτων δε αὐτοῖς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον συνεπέφεραν, οἱ γὰρ ἴσην κτίσθησῆναι ἢ ἀφῆσαν. Monfaucon's Collectio, I. p. 124. (P.)

the apostles.* *Ambrose* says, “It was the same spirit by which Moses and Aaron performed miracles in Egypt, and who spake by Moses, the patriarchs, prophets, and apostles.”† “The Spirit,” says *Cyril of Jerusalem*, “operates in the law and the prophets.”‡

Hippolytus says, that “the fathers were inspired by the Spirit, and also honoured by the logos itself, being united together as the strings of an instrument, having the logos always in them, as a *plectrum*, by which being moved, the prophets declared whatever God chose.”§

With respect to the Father and the Son, personally considered, it does not appear that any particular province or agency was assigned to the Spirit, except the mere *proceeding* from one or both of them, till *Synesius* called him the “*centre* of the Father and the Son;”|| and *M. Victorinus* called him, “the *copula* of the Father and the Son.”¶ But what they meant by these expressions is best known to themselves.

It was necessary, however, that the Spirit should be no cipher in the system; and that, being a *person*, he should have the power of voluntary action. Accordingly, it is observed by *Basil*, that, “though the Spirit be *sent*, according to the *economy*, he was no servant, but acted voluntarily.”**

Creation is generally ascribed to the Son; but *Basil* maintains, that “because it is said, ‘By the word of the Lord were the heavens made, and all the host of them by

* “Unus enim et idem spiritus Dei, qui in prophetis quidem præconavit, quis et qualis esset adventus Domini, in senioribus autem interpretatus est bene quæ bene prophetata fuerant; ipse et in apostolis annunciavit, plenitudinem temporum adoptionis venisse, et proximasse regnum cælorum, et inhabitare intra homines credentes in eum, qui ex virgine natus est Emmanuel.” L. iii. C. xxv. p. 256. (P.)

† “Iste est, in quo Moyses et Aaron coram Pharaone rege Ægypti signa fecerunt, et de quo magi dixerunt: Hic digitus Dei est. Iste est, qui in Moyse et in omnibus sanctis patriarchis et prophetis atque apostolis locutus est.” In *Symbal.* C. vi. *Opera*, IV. p. 94. (P.)

‡ Το εν νομφ και προφηταις ενεργησαν. *Cat.* iv. *Opera*, p. 55. (P.)

§ “Ουτοι γαρ πνευματι προφητικω οι πατερς καθηρτισμενοι, και εν αυτη τη λογη αθιας τα προφηταια εργαται δικη αυτουσ ηραμενοι, εχητες εν εαυτοις και τον λογον ως πληρωμα, οδ ου κινεμενοι απηρηθλον ταυτα, απερ ητελεν ο Θεος, οι προφηται. *De Antichristo*, *Opera*, p. 5. (P.)

|| Χαρις δ ακραντ πνοια

Κεντρον κορη και πατρος. *Hymn v. Opera*, p. 342. (P.)

¶ “Adesto Sancte Spiritus, Patris et Filii copula.

Tu cum quiescis Pater es, cum procedis Filius.

In unum qui cuncta necis, tu es Spiritus Sanctus.”

De Trinitate Hymnus, *Bib. Pat.* V. p. 360. (P.)

** Αποσπелεται μεν οικονομικως, ενεργει δε αυτεξεσιως. *De Fide*, *Opera*, I. p. 432. (P.)

the breath of his mouth,' all things were created equally by the Son and the Spirit."* In another place he adds a farther argument from *Psalm* cxix. 73: "Thy hands have made me and fashioned me." He also says, that the supernatural body of Christ was the work of the Spirit. †

"That the Holy Spirit can create, is evident," says *Athanasius*, or one who borrows his name, "from the body of our Lord; the angel saying, 'That holy thing which shall be born of thee is of the Holy Spirit.'"‡ "When the logos came into the Virgin, the Holy Spirit accompanied him, and the logos, by the Spirit, formed to himself a body." § To this making by the Holy Spirit, the *Arians* having objected that Christ must be the Son of the Spirit, the orthodox speaker, in the dialogue above-mentioned, admits, that "Jesus was produced by the Holy Spirit; but," he says, "it is a *making*, not a *generating*." ||

That the Spirit might be employed by the Father as well as the Son, was proved by things being said to be done by the finger of God. For *the finger of God*, they said, means the Spirit; as when Christ said, *If I by the finger of God cast out demons*. The two tables of stone, therefore, being said to be written by the finger of God, were thought to be engraved by the Spirit. This was the opinion of *Ambrose*, who proves it by shewing, that what is called the Spirit of God in one evangelist, is called the finger of God in another. ¶

The Spirit is generally styled the *vivifier*, as if Christ

* Ἐπει οὖν λόγος μὲν κυριὸς ὁ σώτηρ, καὶ πνεῦμα τὸ σωματικὸν αὐτῆ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, μηδὲποτε δὲ συνήρρησε τῆ κτίσει τῶν ἑρῶν, καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς δυναμῶν διὰ τοῦ εἰρηταί. Τὸ λόγος κυριὸς δὲ ἑρῶν ἐσεβουδῆσαν, καὶ τὸ πνεύματι τὸ σωματικὸν αὐτῆ πᾶσα ἡ δυναμὶς αὐτῶν. In *Ps.* xxxii. *Opera*, I. p. 175. (P.)

† Ὅτι δημιουργὸν τὸ πνεῦμα—Ὅι ἑρῶν διηγεῖν δόξαν Θεοῦ, ποιῆσιν δὲ χειρῶν αὐτῆ αναγγελῆσαι το σωματικὸν καὶ ἐν ἑτέρῳ καὶ τὰ ἔργα τῶν χειρῶν σὲ εἰσὶν οἱ ἑρῶν—αἱ χεῖρες σὲ ἐπέλασαν με, καὶ ἐποίησαν με—εἰ τοῖντο τὸ ὑπερκόσμιον σωμα Χριστῆ ἐκ πνεύματος ἐστὶν ἁγίου. *Adv. Eunomium*, L. v. *Opera*, III. p. 778. (P.)

‡ Ὅτι δὲ δυνατὸν κτίσαι τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἁγίου, εἰδείχθη ἐκ τῆ κυριακῆ σημαίος, τοῦ ἀγγελῆ ἐρηκόλος. Τὸ γὰρ ἐν αὐτῆ γεννηθεὶν ἐκ πνευματικῆς ἐστὶν ἁγίου. *Con. Mac. Dial.* i. *Opera*, II. p. 174. (P.)

§ Ὅπως καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἁγίαν παρθένον Μαρίαν ἐπιδημῶντος τοῦ λόγου, συνήρρητο τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ ὁ λόγος ἐν τῷ πνεύματι, ἐπέλατε καὶ ἠρμῶζεν ἑαυτῷ τὸ σωμα. *Ad Serapion*, *Opera*, I. p. 207. (P.)

¶ Ἡ γενεσις εἶπεν, ἤχι ἡ γεννησις. *Dial.* iii. *Athanasii*, *Opera*, II. p. 258. (P.)

¶ "Legem quoque ipsam per Spiritum Sanctum datam accepimus et scriptam. Dicit enim Moyses: Et dedit Dominus duas tabulas lapideas digito Dei scriptas. Digitum autem Dei Spiritum Sanctum dici, evangelia manifestant. Cum enim Dominus demonem eiecisset, et accusaretur à Judæis, quod in Beelzebub, principe dæmoniorum, dæmonia expelleret; secundum Lucam quidem respondisse perhibetur, Quod si ego in digito Dei expello dæmonia; secundum Matthæum vero, Si autem ego in spiritu Dei eicio dæmones. Unde manifestum est Spiritum digitum Dei dici." *De Spiritu Sancto*, *Opera*, V. p. 523. (P.) See also *supra*, p. 318, Note †.

made only the outward forms of things, whereas to give *life* and *motion* was the province of the Spirit. This is said to have been expressed by *the Spirit moving upon the face of the waters*. But on this subject a ray of good sense beams upon us in *Theodoret*, who says, that “this Spirit means the wind.”* He seems, however, to have been singular in this opinion.

The vivifying even the body of Christ was thought by *Basil* to be the office of the Holy Spirit. † And *Cyril of Jerusalem* says, that “the Holy Spirit was imparted to the humanity of Christ at his baptism.” ‡ To this it might be said, that the proper divinity belonging to Christ himself might have sufficed. But *Chrysostom* says, “When God, the *logos*, took flesh of us, he fashioned it according to the form of man, or one of the prophets, or as one of the apostles, receiving the Holy Spirit; not that the divinity of the Son was not sufficient, but that the perfect knowledge of the Trinity might be shewn in that creation,” that is, the flesh of Christ. §

Austin doubted whether it was right to call the Holy Spirit the *goodness* of the Father and of the Son; but he had less scruple to say that he was the *sanctity* of them both. || This, however, could not respect the humanity of Christ, because the Father had no human nature. This might be construed to imply, that he thought the Spirit to be a *property* only, and not a *person*, if he had not been well known to hold the Holy Spirit to be the third person in the Trinity.

Still more has the language of *Cyril of Alexandria* the

* Τις δοκει το παναγιον πνευμα ζωογονον των υδατων την φυσιν, και διαγραφον την τε βαπτισματος χαριν' αληθεσμερον μεντοι εκεινον οικαι τον λογον, οτι το πνευμα ενλαυδα τον αερα καλει' ειπων γαρ, οτι τον ερανον και την γην εποικησε, και των υδατων δια της αυστου μνησθεις, αναγκαιως και τε αερος εμνησθη, εκ της τε υδατος επιφανειας μεχρι τε ερανο δηκοντος' αερος γαρ φυσις, το τοις κωλο κειμενοις επιφερεσθαι σωμασι. In *Gen. Opera*, I. p. 8. (P.)

† Το δε πνευμα — αγιαζον την κτισιν, και ζωοποιον, και χρισμα εφ' ημιν ου, ηδη δε και εν αυτη τε κυριε σαρκι. Hom. xvii. *Opera*, I. p. 439. (P.)

‡ Εδει γαρ, ως εξηγησαντο τινες τας απαρχας, και τα πρωτεια τε αγιου πνευματος των βαπτιζομενων τη ανθρωποιη τη σωτηρος παρασχειν, τε την τοιαυτην διδουσις χαριν. Cat. xvii. *Opera*, p. 244. (P.)

§ Όταν δε αναλαβη ο Θεος λογος την σαρκα την εξ ημων ποιει αυτην κατα τον ανθρωπινον τυπον, ως ενα των προφητων, η ως ενα των αποστολων, δεχομενην πνευμα αγιον' ειπον πρωταβων, ουκ ως μη αρχουσης της θεοληας τε υιου, αλλ' ινα ενιελης της τριαδος η γνωσις εν τω πλησματι τερω δειχθη. De Spiritu Sancto, *Opera*, VI. p. 213. (P.)

|| “Utrum autem boni Patris, et boni Filii, Spiritus Sanctus, quia communis ambobus est, recte *bonitas* dici potest amborum, non audeo temerariam precipitare sententiam; veruntamen ambobus eam dicere *sanctitatem* facilius ausus fuero, non amborum quasi *qualitatem*, sed ipsum quoque *substantiam*, et tertiam in Trinitate personam.” De *Civitate Dei*, L. xi. C. xxiii. *Opera*, V. p. 639. (P.)

appearance of his supposing that the Holy Spirit was only a property, or some divine grace, when he says, "The *pace* which our Lord gave his disciples was the Holy Spirit."* With equal impropriety *Gregory Nyssen* says, that "the glory which Christ had with the Father before the world was, meant the Holy Spirit. For then," he says, "nothing existed but the Father, the Son, and the Spirit; and that persons so distinct could not be united, but by the participation of the same spirit."† This, if it had not been equally dark itself, might have thrown some light on the Spirit being called the *copula* of the Father and the Son, quoted above.

This uncertain distribution of offices not giving satisfaction to *Ambrose* and *Austin*, it was determined by them, that all the three persons in the *Trinity* always act jointly in all their respective operations. Indeed, *Eusebius* had said, that "the Father, Son, and Spirit, are all principles (*αρχαι*)."‡ Also, that they were each *capable* of the functions of the others had been allowed; but it had been said that they *chose* to confine themselves to certain operations. "Christ," says *Cyril of Jerusalem*, "made angels and archangels, thrones and dominions; not that the Father wanted a creative power, but that he chose that the Son should reign over the works of his own hands, and gave him the government of the things which he had made."§ "The Father," says *Basil*, "had no need of the Son, though he operated by him: but he chose to do so; nor does the Son want assistance, when he operates like the Father; but he chose to perfect every thing by the Spirit."|| "As the Father," says *Theodoret*, "could have created without the Son, but did it not, to shew the identity of his nature; so the Son could have sanctified man without the Spirit, but did it with the Spirit.

* "Pax ergo quae principatus—excedit, Christi spiritus est, in quo Deo patri universa filius reconciliavit." In *Johan. L. x. C. vii. Opera*, I. p. 936. (P.)

† Δοξαν γαρ ενταυθα λεγειν αυτον οικει το πνευμα το αγιον, ο εδωκεν τοις μαθηταις δια τα προσφυσηματος ου γαρ εστιν αλλως ενωδηται τας απ' αλληλων διεσθηκας, μη τη ενωτητι τα πνευματος συμφυρομενες. In *Cor. xv. 28, Opera*, I. p. 849. (P.)

‡ Οτι οε γε θεοι λογοι, την αγιαν και μακαριαν τριαδα, πατρος και υιου και αγιου πνευματου, εν αρχη κοινη ταυτησιν. *Præparatio*, L. xi. C. xix. p. 541. (P.)

§ Πεντα επισητην ο Χριστος κην αγιελος λεγης, κην αρχαγγελος, κην κυριότηας, κην δυναμους· μη οτι ο πατηρ ηνοιε περι την των δημιουργηματων ανισοτητα· αλλ' οτι βασιδαιεν των υπ' αυτην πεποιημενων τον υιον ηβηληθη, αυτος αυτην παρεχων των καλασκευαζομενων την υφηγησιν. *Cat. xi. Opera*, p. 146. (P.)

|| Οτω γαρ ακαιε πατηρ προσδηξεν υιον, μηα τη θελειν δημιουργων, κηλ' ημιας θελειν· τεφικα δια αυτην αυτην ο υιος πνευματος προσδηξεν, καθ' ομοιωτητα· κηλ' αυτος ενεργησιν· κηλ' και ο υιος θελει και τεφικα δια το πνευματος τελειν. *De Spiritu Sancto*, C. xiv. *Opera*, II. p. 320. (P.)

that what was done might be the work of the Father, Son, and Spirit.” *

As if an *equal capacity* for every thing had not been a sufficient argument of *equal power*, the three persons were represented as all actually bearing a part in every operation. A treatise ascribed to *Athanasius* is the first in which I have found this sentiment, as applied to the body of Christ. “How,” says the *Macedonian*, “does Solomon say, ‘Wisdom has builded herself a house’? *Orthodox*. ‘Because all the works of the Father are also those of the Son, and of the Spirit; and, therefore, it is sometimes said to be the Father’s, sometimes the Son’s, and sometimes the Holy Spirit’s.’” †

But it is in *Ambrose*, as I have observed, that this system of *joint operation* appears most complete. “The holy and undivided Trinity,” he says, “never does any thing separately.” He instances in the “incarnation, the voice from heaven, at the baptism of Christ,” &c. ‡ “What one speaks, they all speak; for there is one voice of the Trinity.” § “The Father, Son and Spirit created the body of Christ; the Father, because it is said, ‘God sent his Son made of a woman:’ the Son, because it is said, ‘Wisdom has builded her a house;’ and the Spirit, because ‘Mary was with child by the Spirit.’” || He represents all the persons as present at the baptism of Jesus, “The Spirit under a corporeal form, and the Father, because he could not be seen, was heard.” ¶

Austin, who generally followed the steps of his master,

* Ὅσπερ ὁ πατήρ, δυναμενῶς κτίσται τον ἀνδραγον, μετα τῆ υἱῶ κτίζει, ἵνα δειχθῆ το τανόν τῆς φύσεως ὡτῶ και ὁ υἱῶ, δυναμενῶς κτίσται ἄγιον τον ἀνδραγον, μετα τῆ πνευματῶ ἄγιε κτίζει, ἵνα δειχθῆ το γεγονῶ εργον πατρῶ, και υἱῶ, και ἄγιε πνευματῶ. *Dial. Adv. Macedonian, Opera, V. p. 343. (P.)*

† Πὼς εἶπεν ὁ Σολομὼν, Ἡ σοφία ἀκόσμησεν ἑαυτῆ σικον; ΟΡΘ. Τὸτο γὰρ εἶπεν ὁ λέγων, ὅτι πάντα τα εργα τῆ πατρῶ, και τῆ υἱῶ, και τῆ ἄγιε πνευματῶ εἰσι και δια τὸτο ποιε τῆ πατρῶς λεγεται, ποιε τῆ υἱῶ, ποιε τῆ ἄγιε τῆ πνευματῶ. *Opera, II. p. 233. (P.)*

‡ “Quia sancta et inseparabilis Trinitas numquam aliquid extra se singillatim operari noverit.” *In Symb. Opera, IV. p. 93. (P.)*

§ “Quod unus loquitur, tres loquuntur, quia vox una est Trinitatis.” *In Luc. L. x. Opera, II. p. 203. (P.)*

|| “Et etenim sicut legimus quia creavit Pater dominicæ incarnationis sacramentum, creavit et spiritus: ita etiam legimus quod et ipse Christus suum corpus creavit. Creavit enim Pater, secundum quod scriptum est: Dominus creavit me— et alibi: Misit Deus Filium suum factum ex muliere, factum sub lege. Creavit et spiritus illud omne mysterium, secundum quod legimus; Quia inventa est Maria in utero habens ex Spiritu Sancto.” *De Spiritu Sancto, L. ii. C. viii. Opera, IV. p. 241. (P.)*

¶ “Videmus Spiritum, sed specie corporal. videamus et Patrem: sed quid credere non possumus, audiamus.” *In Luc. C. iii. Opera, II. p. 41. (P.)*

Ambrose, in other things, did it in this. He says, in general, that “in whatever the Trinity acts, it operates inseparably, because there is one operation of the Trinity, as it is one substance, essence, and will.”* “The whole Trinity,” he says, “reconciled us to itself, as the whole Trinity made the Word flesh.”† He says, that “the appearances of God in the Old Testament, might be of God in general, or of the whole Trinity, or of the Father, Son, or Spirit, according to the circumstances of the passage.”‡ “The voice from heaven, ‘I have glorified it, and will glorify it again,’ was from the whole Trinity.”§ He says he was the first who taught that doctrine.

This doctrine of the joint operation of all the persons in the Trinity, though most conspicuous in *Ambrose* and *Austin*, is not peculiar to them; it appears in *Epiphanius* and *Basil*. “All works,” says the former, “are the joint production of the Father, Son, and Spirit.”|| “In every operation,” says *Basil*, “the Holy Spirit co-operates with the Father and the Son.”¶ We find the same in *Theophylact*, who says, “Where there is one person of the Holy Trinity, there are all.”**

Idacius Clarus shews at large, that “all the attributes of the Father, Son, and Spirit, are common; as those of God, Lord, holy, prince, king, judge, true, just, strong. They are all judges, they all operate, they are all lofty. They have in

* “Quicquid operatur Trinitas sancta inseparabiliter hæc eadem operatur, quia una est Trinitatis operatio sicut una est substantia, essentia, et voluntas.” *Questiunculæ ex Libris de Trinitate, Opera*, III. p. 1038. (P.)

† “Trinitas enim nos sibi reconciliavit, per hoc quod solum Verbum carnem ipsa Trinitas fecit.” *De Fid. C. ii. Opera*, III. p. 217. (P.)

‡ “Tam enim quæsitum atque tractatum est, in illis antiquis corporibus, formis, et visis, non tantummodo Patrem, nec tantummodo Filium, nec tantummodo Spiritum Sanctum apparuisse, sed aut indifferenter dominum Deum qui Trinitas ipsa intelligitur aut quamlibet ex Trinitate personam, quam lectionis textus indicis circumstantibus significaret.” *De Trinitate, L. iii. C. i. Opera*, III. p. 281. (P.)

§ “Omnes quos legere potui qui ante me scripserunt de Trinitate, quæ est Deus, divinorum librorum veterum et novorum Catholici tractatores, hoc intenderunt secundum scripturas docere, quod Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus, unius ejusdemque substantiæ inseparabili æqualitate divinum insinuent unitatem.—Nec eandem Trinitatem dixisse de cælo: Tu es Filius meus: sive cum baptizatus est à Johanne, sive in montem quum cum illo erant tres discipuli: aut quem sonuit vox, dicens: Et clarificavi et iterum clarificabo: sed tantummodo Patris vocem fuisse ad Filium factum quamvis Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus, sicut inseparabiles sunt.” *Ibid. L. i. C. iv. p. 242. (P.)*

|| Πάντα γὰρ τὰ ἔργα ὅσα ἐσιν, ἅμα ἐκ πατρὸς, καὶ υἱοῦ, καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος θεοῦ γεγενῆσται. *Har. lxxi. Opera*, I. p. 832. (P.)

¶ Ὅτι ὁ υἱὸς θεοῦ ἀνὰ τὸ συναφές καὶ ἀδιαίρετον κατὰ πάσαν ἐνεργεσίαν ἀπὸ πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ, τὴν ἁγίαν πνεύματος διδασκαλίαν. *De Spiritu Sancto, C. xvi. Opera*, II. p. 324. (P.)

** Ἐνθα γὰρ μιὰ ὑπόστασις τῆς ἁγίας τριάδος, ἐκεῖ καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ. *In Rom. C. viii. Opera*, II. p. 75. (P.)

common, the appellations of fire, light, good, great, virtue, fountain, river," &c., and thus he proceeds to near a hundred instances.*

Cyril of Alexandria proves this doctrine from our Saviour's saying, that *he could do nothing without the Father*; meaning, he says, that "he was consubstantial with him; having equal power, the same will, and the same co-operation." †

SECTION IV.

Of the Arguments for the Divinity of the Holy Spirit.

THE reasoning of the fathers concerning the divinity of the *Holy Spirit* lies in a much smaller compass than that concerning the divinity of the Son. One principal reason of this is, that so little mention is made of the Holy Spirit in the Scriptures, and still less that can possibly be construed into an evidence of his being a divine person. This is a circumstance that could not escape notice, and which required to be accounted for by the orthodox. Among others, *Epiphanius* has advanced a reason which is curious enough. It goes upon the idea of the Holy Spirit being that person of the three which immediately dictated the Scriptures. He says, that "the Holy Spirit says little concerning himself, that he might not commend himself; the Scriptures being written to give us examples." ‡ I imagine, however, that the good fathers would not have been sorry if the Holy Spirit had been less observant of this punctilio; as it would have made the defence of their favourite doctrine of the Trinity much easier than, in the present state of things, they found it to be. For it was constantly observed by their adversaries, that the Holy Spirit is never once called God in all the *New Testament*.

Antiquity, also, and the established forms of public worship, were, in that age, strongly urged against the novel doctrine of the divinity of the Spirit. *Basil* parti-

* *Bib. Pat. V. p. 419. (P.)*

† "Non potest enim Filius facere à seipso quid, nisi accipiat posse à Patre. Quoniam autem æqualis operis et roboris se esse novit, ostendit quod unam ac eandem habeat cum ipso Patre substantiam, et ipse adoptat per se ad facienda, una volitione ad quodlibet simul vadens cum genitore, et ad opus consilium in omnibus, communibus quibusdam divinitatis legibus, simul concedens. *De Trinitate, L. vi. Opera, II. p. 464. (P.)*

‡ Και ίνα μη τις ε.π.η., εκου περι το πνευμα, επειδη περι ε.νος και ε.νος διηγεϊται; ουκ ε.β.ι το πνευμα αυτοσιζωτον αυτο γενεσθαι ε.αυτω· αιε γαρ φιλα.τι.ει.αι η δ.ε.ι.α γραφ.η, ε.πο.σ.τα.μ.ω.ς η.μ.ιν γενεσθαι. *Her. liii. Opera, I. pp. 475, 485. (P.)*

cularly complains of his having been pressed by this argument, though he endeavours to defend himself; saying, that the authority of *Gregory Thaumaturgus*, his predecessor in the see of *Neocesarea*, and whose memory was almost idolized in that country, was not against him, as his adversaries pretended. He likewise urges the authority of *Firmilian*.* But of this the people must have been as good judges as the bishop.

We have happily preserved to us the established forms of prayer and benediction in the writings of *Justin Martyr*, who, in his account of the administration of the Lord's Supper, says, that the minister "offers praise and glory to the Father of all, in the name of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit." † Again, he says, "For every thing that we eat we give thanks to the Maker of all things, by his Son Jesus Christ, and by the Holy Spirit." ‡

Moreover, in the *Apostolical Constitutions*, composed, probably, in the fourth century, according to what was supposed to have been the practice of the earliest ages, it is said, that "God alone is to be worshipped by Jesus Christ, and in the Holy Spirit." §

With respect to the argument from the Scriptures, *Basil* contents himself with saying, that "many things were received from the authority of apostolical tradition, and that there was no more reason to reject this than those." ¶

As the *personality* of the Spirit was very much questioned, *Epiphanius* says, that "he assumed the form of a dove, at the baptism of our Saviour, on purpose to shew that he had a real person." ¶ It was acknowledged, however, by *Austin* and others, that the Holy Spirit assumed the form of a dove

* Έκ τῶν τῶν Γρηγορίου, καὶ ὁ νῦν ἀντίλεγόμενος τρόπος τῆς θεολογίας ἐστίν, ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνου παραδόσεως τῆ ἐκκλησίᾳ πεφύλαγμένος· καὶ οὐ πῶλος ὁ πόνος μικρῶν κινήσεων τῶν ἐπι τῆσιν πληροφωρίαν λαβεῖν ταύτην καὶ Φερμιλιανῶν τῶ ἡμέτερω μαρτυρησὶ τῶν πατρῶν ἢ ἕτερα ἡσκατέωτες. De Spiritu Sancto, C. xxix. Opera, II. p. 360. (P.)

† Καὶ ἄλλως λαβὼν, αἶνον καὶ δόξαν τῷ πατρὶ τῶν ὅλων, διὰ τὴ νομαίως τὸ υἱοῦ, καὶ τὸ πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου, ἀναπερπεῖ. Apol. i. p. 96. (P.)

‡ Ἐκείνος, ὅς ἐστι προσφωρισθεὶς εἰσαρχῶν τῶν ποιητῶν τῶν πατρῶν, διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ οὐ πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου. Ibid. p. 97. (P.)

§ Ἐν τῷ παντοκράτορι ἕνα μόνον ὑπάρχειν, παρ' ὅν ἄλλος οὐκ ἐστὶ καὶ αὐτῶν μόνον σέβειν οὐκ ἔστιν ἐπιτελεῖν, ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῶ τῶ κίριῳ ἡμῶν, ἐν τῷ παναγίῳ πνεύματι. I. vi. C. xiv. p. 343. (P.)

¶ Πρὸς τὴ μὴν τὸ ἀμαρτηρῶν καὶ ἀγραφῶν εἶναι τὴν, συν τῷ πνεύματι, θεολογίαν, ἐκεῖνο λέγειν ὅτι εἰ μὴ μὴ ἐτέρων ἀγραφῶν, μὴδε τιτὸ παραδεχθῆτω· εἰ ὅτε τα ἅλεια τῶν μυσικῶν ἀγραφῶν ἦν ἐπιτέλειται, μετὰ πῶλλων ἑτέρων καὶ τούτῳ καταβεβαμῆσα. De Spiritu Sancto, C. xxiii. Opera, II. p. 357. (P.)

¶ Διὰ ταῦτα κατέταξα τὸ πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου σάμα μὴ φηροσαντος, ἐν εἰδὲ πεισιτείας σχηματίζουσαι, ὅπως βεῖξῃ σου καὶ ἐλεγχῃ σου τὴν πλανήν, ὅτι ἐντοσάλον ἐστὶ τὸ πνεῦμα καθ' ἑαυτὸ, καὶ ἐντοσάλος ὁ πατὴρ, καὶ ἐντοσάλος ὁ μονογενῆς. Hier. lxii. Opera, II. p. 517. (P.)

on this occasion, as well as of *fire* on the day of *Pentecost* for a time only, and not permanently, as Christ did his body.* It should seem, therefore, that this could not be a proof of *permanent* personality.

As *Athanasius* was the great asserter of the divinity of the Spirit, and of his being consubstantial with the Father, the reader will be desirous of seeing some of his arguments, and the following are a specimen of them. "The Spirit," he says, "must be consubstantial with the Father and the Son, because, according to Paul, the Spirit of God searches all things, even the deep things of God."† "Their folly is to be wondered at, who, not admitting the Son of God to be a creature, in this thinking very justly, yet think the Spirit of the Son to be a creature."‡—"This," says he, "is admitting a duality, not a trinity."§ *Basil* also calls the Holy Spirit the Spirit of Christ. ||

The capital argument for the divinity of the Spirit is, that the same things are ascribed to him as to God. This is urged by *Epiphanius*, who says, "The Holy Spirit is God, because he does the same things that the Son does. Thus Christ is sent by the Father, and the Spirit is also sent; Christ speaks in the saints, and the Spirit also speaks in them; Christ baptizes, and the Spirit baptizes," &c. ¶

One standing argument against the divinity of the Spirit, and a proof of his being a mere servant of the Father, and even of the Son, is his being said to be *sent* by them. But to this argument *Ambrose* says, "The Son is sometimes said to be sent by the Spirit, as, 'The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he has sent me to preach the gospel to the poor,'" &c. **

In *John* iv. 24, it is said, "God is a spirit;" but *Ambrose* read it, *the Spirit is God*; and he says, that this text so

* "Non enim sicut Filius hominem assumpsit, ut sic in æternum permaneat, sic Spiritus Sanctus columbam vel ignem: sed factæ sunt ille visiones de creatura inferiore, ad manifestandum Spiritum Sanctum quæ esse postea destiterunt." *Quest. lxx. Opera, IV. p. 679. (P.)*

† Λειτουργία λοιπὸν ὁμοιοποιεῖσθαι ὑποστῆ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος πατρὶ καὶ υἱῷ πάντα γὰρ τὰ τῆ Θεοῦ καὶ τὰ βαδῆ ἐπιστάται το πνεῦμα το ἁγίου. *Disp. con. Ar., Opera, I. p. 144. (P.)*

‡ Τῶν γὰρ καὶ συνμαρτυροῦντες αὐτοὺς τὴν ἀνοιαν, ὅτι τὸν υἱὸν τῆ Θεοῦ μὴ θελοῦντες εἶναι κτίσμα, καὶ καλῶς γε τοῦτο φρονεῖντες, πῶς τὸ πνεῦμα τῆ υἱὸς κτίσμα κῆν ἀκαταίτητος ἡρεσχοῦτο. *Epist. ad Separation, Opera, I. pp. 174, 196. (P.)*

§ Ἡ γὰρ οὐ τριὰς ἐστὶν ἀλλὰ δύο. *Ibid. p. 175. (P.)*

|| Πνεῦμα καὶ Χριστὸν τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι. *Hom. xxvii. Opera, I. p. 523. (P.)*

¶ *Hæc. lxxiv. Opera, I. p. 523. (P.)*

** "Ita et Filium Dei Spiritus misit. Dicit enim Filius Dei, Spiritus Domini super me, propter quod unxit me prædicare captivis remissionem, et cæcis visum." *De Spiritu Sancto, L. iii. Opera, IV. p. 254. (P.)*

clearly proves the divinity of the Spirit, that the *Arians* erase it out of their books.* I do not find, however, that any other writer mentions this circumstance. To advance the dignity of the Spirit, *Job*, the monk, says, “That the Holy Scriptures call the whole Trinity by his name, in saying, *God is a spirit.*” †

The arguments for the *procession* of the Spirit, either from the Father or the Son, or from both, lie in a small compass; for the whole depends upon his being said to be *sent* by either, or by both of them. Besides this, *Austin* says, that “our Saviour’s imparting the Holy Spirit by breathing on his apostles, is a proof that the Spirit proceeds from him as well as from the Father.” ‡

It is remarkable, that the doctrine of the divinity of the Spirit was attacked with even more vigour than that of the divinity of Christ; the reason of which was, that, besides the Unitarians, the *Arians* joined in this attack; and being very numerous at the time of that controversy, and having sometimes the favour of the emperors, they spoke and wrote with great freedom.

We know less of the history of *Macedonius*, who was at the head of the opposition to the doctrine of the divinity of the Spirit, than that of *Arius*, or almost any other leader of a sect. He is said not to have denied the personality of the Spirit; for *Sozomen* says, that “he held the Spirit to be a person, but like one of the angels, subservient to the Father and the Son, whom he allowed to be consubstantial with each other.” § The same is asserted by *Nicephorus*. || It appears from *Athanasius*, that they who held this opinion were also called *Tropici*. ¶ That *Macedonius*, and his proper followers, did not deny the divinity of Christ, is evident

* “Quem locum ita expresse Ariani testificamini esse de Spiritu, ut eam de vestris codicibus auferatis: atque utinam de vestris, et non etiam de ecclesie codicibus tolleretis.—Et fortasse hoc etiam in oriente fecistis. Et literas quidem potuistis abolere; sed fidem non potuistis auferre” *De Spiritu Sancto*, L. iii. C. xi. *Opera*, IV. p. 271. (P.)

† Και το αξιωμα δε τη πνευματος η ιερα επαρησα γραφη, ολην την τριαδα τη του πνευματος εξονομαζει φωνη, ως το πνευμα ο θεος. Phot. Bib. Sect. ccxxii. p. 623. (P.)

‡ “Neque enim datus ille corporeus, cum sensu corporaliter tangendi procedens ex corpore, substantia Spiritus Sancti fuit, sed demonstratio per congruam significationem, non tantum à Patre, sed et à Filio procedere Spiritum Sanctum.” *De Trinitate*, L. iv. C. xx. III. p. 313. (P.)

§ Το δε αγιον πνευμα, αμεινον των αυτων προσθειων απεφαινετο, διακονον και υπηρετην καλων, και οσα περι των θεων αγελων λεγων τις. L. iv. C. xxvii. p. 173. (P.)

|| Διακονον γαρ αυτο ειναι και υπηρετην εισηγηειτο, και βραχυ τι των αγγελικων διαφερον ταγματων. L. ix. C. xlvii. I. p. 800. (P.)

¶ Οι δε Τροπικoi, το πνευμα και αυτοι, τεις κτισμασι συναριθμησιν. Epist. ad Serapion, *Opera*, I. p. 192. (P.)

from what Chrysostom says, with some degree of pleasantry. "The Arians suffering shipwreck, lost both the glory of Christ, and the power of the Holy Spirit: the Macedonians, striving to escape, lost half their lading."*

The great weight of the opposition to the doctrine of the divinity of the Holy Spirit was in *Asia Minor*, where it was encountered by *Basil*, and the two *Gregories*; but it was so violent that it amounted to a kind of persecution. Nothing gives so much alarm to the people, as a change in the public offices in religion; and *Basil* seems to have given occasion to the violent outcry against him by singing *glory to the Holy Spirit* as well as to the *Father* and the *Son*. He speaks of his being persecuted on this account, in his treatise on the Holy Spirit. † He speaks of the doctrine about the Holy Spirit as what interested all people. ‡ He represents it as a subject of universal discussion, even by women and eunuchs, by whom he was beset, assuming the character of judges, and not of learners. § In another place, he complains of persons "teasing him with questions about the Holy Spirit, not with any view to information, but that if his answers should not please them, they might have a handle to make war against him." ||

He speaks of the zeal of his opponents in the strongest terms. "They would sooner," he says, "cut out their tongues than say *Glory to the Holy Spirit*. This is the cause of the most violent and irreconcilable war with us. They say that glory is to be given to God in the Holy Spirit, not to the Holy Spirit; and they obstinately adhere to this language concerning the Spirit, as expressing a low opinion of him." ¶ "When I was lately praying before the people, and sometimes concluding with the doxology to the Father, with the Son and Holy Spirit, and sometimes through the Son in the Holy Spirit, some who were present said, that I used phrases which were not only new, but contradic-

* 'Οι Αρειανοὶ ναυαγισθέντες, ἀπαῆσαν καὶ Χριστὸν δοξᾶν καὶ ἅγιον πνεύματος δύναμιν Μακεδονίαν φιλονεικῶσι μὲν ἀναρῆναι, τὸ δὲ ἡμῖσι τὸ φρόνισμα ἀπαῆσαν. De Spiritu Sancto, Opera, VI. p. 220. (P.)

† C. xxvi. Opera, II. p. 361. (P.)

‡ Πᾶσα γὰρ ἀκοὴ νῦν πρὸς τὴν ἀκοᾶσιν τῶν λόγων τῶν περὶ τὴν ἅγιον πνεύματος ἀναρῆσθαι. Hom. xxviii. Opera, I. p. 522. (P.)

§ Ἐπειδὴ δὲ περιεσηκασθε ἡμᾶς, οὐκ ἔστι μᾶλλον ἢ μαθηταί, ἡμᾶς δοκιμασαὶ βελομένοι, καὶ κτεταί τὸ λαβῆναι ἐπιζητεῖτε. Ibid. pp. 523, 526. (P.)

|| Ἀλλ' ὅπως εἰαν μὴ συμβαινέσας τῇ ἑαυτῶν ἐπιθυμίᾳ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις εὐρώσι, ταυτῆν αἰρομένην δίκαιαν εἶχεν δοξᾶσι τὸ πῶλεμα. De Spiritu Sancto, Opera, II. p. 292. (P.)

¶ Ἄλλα τὰς γήλαστας ἀν' ἐπιθυμίᾳ μᾶλλον ἢ τῆν φωνῆν ταυτῆν δεξασθῆναι τὸ μὲν οὐκ ἐστίν, ὁ τὸν ἀκηρῆλον ἡμῶν καὶ ἀσποδὸν πόλεμον ἐπεχειρεῖ ἐν τῷ πνεύματι, φησὶ, τῷ ἁγίῳ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἀποδοῖεν τῷ Θεῷ, καὶ δε καὶ τῷ πνεύματι, καὶ ἐκτεμολογῶν τῆς φωνῆς ταυτῆς ὡς ταπεινῆς, τὸ πνεύματος περιεχούσαι. Ibid. II. C. xxv. p. 347. (P.)

tory.”* He says that “he was accused of novelty, and as an inventor of new phrases, and that they spared no kind of reproach, because he made the Son equal to the Father, and did not separate the Holy Spirit from the Son; † on which account,” he says, “he applied to himself our Saviour’s saying, *Blessed are ye when men reproach you,*” &c. ‡ And speaking of his own resolution, he says, “We must obey God rather than man.” § These circumstances clearly shew that the great mass of the people exceedingly disliked the doctrine for which *Basil* contended. The same state of things appears also from the writings of *Gregory Nazianzen*, who says, “The heretics say, ‘Who ever worshipped the Spirit, either of the ancients or moderns?’” ||

If what *Jerome* and others say, ¶ be true, that “Donatus agreed with the Arians, with respect to the Holy Spirit,” it will be an argument of some weight in favour of the novelty of the orthodox opinion; for the *Donatists* were not distinguished from other Christians, with respect to the divinity of Christ.

One kind of argument used by the *Macedonians*, seems to have gravelled the orthodox exceedingly; as it affected the distinction between the Son and Spirit, which it has been seen they could never clearly make out; I shall recite the objection, as it is stated by *Athanasius*, *Basil*, and *Didymus of Alexandria*; and it is of a nature to relieve the dryness of these discussions.

“If the Spirit is not a creature, nor yet one of the angels, but proceeds from the Father, is he not also a son; so that he and the logos are brothers; and if he be a brother, how is the logos the only-begotten Son; and why are they not equal? But the Son is said to be begotten after the Father

* Προσεχημενη μιν παρην μετα το λαν, και αμφοτερας την δεξιολογιαν αποκλημενην τη Θεω και πατρι, εν μεν μετα το υν συν το πνευματι το αγιον, εν δε δια τη υν εν αγιον πνευματι, επισκηνην τινος των πατριων, χειρισταις ημιας φαναις κεχηρησαι λεγοντες, και αμα προς αλληλας υπεραντιως εχρσαι. De Spiritu Sancto, Opera, II. p. 293. (P.)

† Οτι μετα πατρος αποκληρημεν το μονογενει την δεξιολογιαν, και το αγιον πνευμα μη υιωμεν απο το υν· οθεν νεωτερικως ημιας και καινομοιας και εφευρεταις βρηματων, και τι γαρ χει των επωνεισαν αδικησαν. Ibid. C. vi. pp. 301, 304. (P.)

‡ Εν τισιν απην διαχωρισειν ταις λαδογιας, ασε ει μη λυτην ημιν ενεποιει και ανυπατην ολογη ημερ αιτιας ζημια, μικρα αν ειπον και χαριν αυταις της βλασφημιας εχειν, ας μακαρισμο προξενουσ μικροιοι γαρ εσε, φησιν, οταν ονειδισωτην υμας (και διαωσται και επασι των πονηρον ημια καδ εμων ψευδομενοι) ενεκεν εριμ.—Επι τελεις το πολερικον τω καδ αγιον σημενοιημιας σιφοσ; πασαι δε παλεις, και κωμαι και εσχαιαι, πασαι πληρεις των ηματων εναντιων. C. xxvi. Opera, II. p. 361. (P.)

§ Προς δε ομοιωσ των αποστολων φανη αποκριασσαι, οτι πειδαρχειν Θεω δει μαλλον η υδατοις. Ibid. p. 313. (P.)

|| Αλλα τις προσεκησε τη πνευματι, φησι· τις η των παλαιων, η των νεων; Οτ. xxxvii. Opera, p. 599. (P.)

¶ “Extant ejus multa, ad suam haeresim pertinentia, et de Spiritu Sancto liber, Ariano dogmati congruens.” Catalogus Scriptorum, Opera, I. p. 311. (P.)

and the Spirit is after the Son. If he be from the Father, why is he not said to be begotten, so that he is a Son, and not simply a Holy Spirit? But if the Spirit is from the Son, is not the Father the grandfather of the Holy Spirit?"*

"The Holy Spirit, if he be God," as the objection is stated by *Basil*, "must either be begotten or unbegotten. If he be unbegotten, he is the Father; if begotten, the Son; and if he is neither begotten nor unbegotten, he is a creature."† "If the Holy Spirit is not created," as the objection is stated by *Didymus*, "he is either the brother of God the Father, and the uncle of Jesus Christ, or else he is the son of Christ, and the grandson of God the Father; or he himself is the son of God, and then Jesus Christ will not be the only-begotten Son. These," he says, "were usual topics of argument."‡ As no satisfactory answers could ever be given by the orthodox to these questions, which are calculated to set their doctrine in a very ridiculous point of light, it is no wonder that so long a space of time, aided by the authority of councils and emperors, was necessary to establish it.

One argument to prove that the Holy Spirit is a creature, was drawn from *John* i. 3, where it is said, that *every thing was made by the logos*, and *without him nothing was made*. But to this *Ephiphanius* answers, that the true reading was *without him nothing was made that was made by him*. § But this, besides suggesting no meaning at all, appears to have no authority besides his own.

In this controversy great stress was laid on the force of some Greek particles; as appears from *Basil*: "As it is said, *I Cor.* viii. 6, there is one God, the Father, of whom (*ἐξ ὧν*) are all things; and one Lord, Jesus Christ, by whom (*δι' ὧν*)

* *Εἰ μὴ κτίσμα ἐστὶ, μὴδὲ τῶν ἀγγέλων εἷς ἐστὶν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκπορεύεται, ἕκων υἱὸς ἐστὶ καὶ ἀδελφὸς καὶ δύο ἀδελφοὶ εἰσὶν αὐτὸς τε καὶ ὁ λόγος· καὶ εἰ ἀδελφὸς ἐστὶ, πῶς μονογενὴς ὁ λόγος, ἢ πῶς οὐκ ἴσος, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν, μετὰ τοῦ πατρὸς γεγεννησθῆναι, τὸ δὲ, μετὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ ὀνομαζέσθαι· πῶς δὲ εἰ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐστὶν, οὐ λεγέσθαι καὶ αὐτὸ γεγεννησθῆναι· ἢ ὅτι υἱὸς ἐστὶν ἀλλ' ἀπλῶς πνεῦμα ἅγιον· εἰ δὲ τοῦ υἱοῦ ἐστὶ πνεῦμα, ἕκων πατρὸς ἐστὶν ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ πνεύματος.* *Epist. ad Serapion, Opera, I. p. 189. (P.)*

† *Ἀγεννητὸν ἐστὶν ἢ γεννητὸν· εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἀγεννητὸν, πᾶσι δὲ εἰ δε γεννητὸν, υἱὸς· εἰ δὲ μηδέτερον τῶν, κτίσμα.* *Hom. xxvii., Opera, I. p. 524. (P.)*

‡ "Idcirco illud quod solent tractare prætereo, sacrilega adversus nos audacia proclamantes. Si Spiritus Sanctus creatus non est, aut frater est Dei Patris, aut patruus est unigeniti Jesu Christi: aut Filius Christi est, aut nepos est Dei Patris: aut ipse Filius Dei est, et jam non erit unigenitus Jesus Christus, cum alterum fratrem habeat." *De Spiritu Sancto, in Jerome's Works, VI. p. 234. (P.)*

§ *Νομίζουσι δὲ παραγνωσκόντες, καὶ μὴ νοήντες διασελλεῖν τὴν ἀναγνωσιν τινες ἐν τῷ εἰπεῖν πάντα δι' αὐτὸ ἐγενέτο, καὶ χωρὶς αὐτῆ ἐγενέτο ἕθεν· ἕως ἄδὲ ἀπολιπέντες τὸ ῥῆλον, ἕπουσαν βλασφημίας εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον λαβόντες, σφαλῆσαι περὶ τὴν ἀναγνωσιν καὶ τὸ ἀπο τῆ σφαλμαίως τῆς ἀναγνωσεως σκαζόντων εἰς βλασφημίαν τρεπομένων· ἢ δὲ ἀναγνωστικῶς ἕτως ἔχει· πάντα δι' αὐτὸ ἐγενέτο καὶ χωρὶς αὐτῆ ἐγενέτο ἕθεν, ὁ γεγεννητὸν ἐν αὐτῷ· τᾶτεσι δὲ εἰ τι γεγονός, δι' αὐτὸ ἐγενέτο.* *Ancoratus, Sect. lxxv. Opera, II. p. 80. (P.)*

are all things; and one Holy Spirit, in whom ($\epsilon\nu \acute{\omega}$) are all things; they (that is, the heterodox) say, that the $\delta\acute{\iota} \acute{\omicron}\nu$ and $\epsilon\nu \acute{\omega}$ are proofs of a different nature; and therefore, that the Son was *ανομοιος* (unlike) to the Father.*

Considering the violence with which this controversy was conducted, it shews great moderation in *Gregory Nazianzen*, to express himself so favourably concerning the *Macedonians*: for he says, “We admire their lives, but do not approve their faith.” † It is evident that *Basil* thought proper to yield, in some measure, to the times and the circumstances in which he found himself. That he might not exclude too great a number from communion, he advised that, without entering into nice distinctions, all those should be admitted who did not say that the Holy Spirit was a creature. ‡

CHAPTER X.

Of the Doctrine of the Trinity after the Council of Nice.

AFTER the Council of Nice, we find a very different kind of orthodoxy from that which prevailed before. It was a maxim with the *Antenicene* writers, that the Son was inferior to the Father. They even expressed themselves, as has been seen, in the strongest manner upon this subject, and were solicitous so to do in order to remove the odium under which it is evident that the new doctrine of the *divinity of Christ* then lay. But as the Christian world, and especially both the philosophical and the governing part of it, began to relish this doctrine, (being one of which they were less ashamed, than of being the disciples of *a mere man*;) the *Platonic* doctrine of Christ being the *logos of the Father* was pursued to its just extent; and, accordingly, the Son was then pronounced to be of *the same substance with the Father*, and therefore *equal* to him in all respects.

At this, though nothing more than the natural consequence of the doctrine of Christ being the *logos* of the

* ‘Εἰς Θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ ἐξ ἧ τα πάντα, καὶ εἰς κυρίος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, δι’ ἧ τα πάντα, καὶ ἕν πνεῦμα ἅγιον, ἐν ᾧ τα πάντα.—Ανομοίον οὖν τὸν ἐξ ἑὸ τοῦ δι’ ἑὸν, ἀνομοίος ἔρη καὶ τὸν πατέρα ἑὸς. *De Spiritu Sancto, Opera*, II. p. 294. (P.)

† Ἐν τὸν βίον Ἰσαμαζόνιος, οὐκ ἐπαινεῖμεν πάντη τὸν λόγον. *Or. xlv. Opera*, p. 710. (P.)

‡ Ἐπει ἂν πολλὰ ζημιὰν προκίαι κατὰ τὸ πνευματικὸν τὸ ἅγιον, καὶ πολλὰι γλωσσαι κληροῖαι εἰς τὴν καὶ αὐτὸ βλασφημίαν, αξιόμεν ὑμᾶς, ὅσον ἐσιν εἰς ἡμῶν, εἰς ὄλεθρον ἑμῶν κληροῖαι τὸς βλασφημίας, καὶ τὸς μὴ λεγόντας ὑπὸ τὸν ἅγιον πνεῦμα ἑμῶν κληροῖαι. *Ep. ccii. Opera*, III. p. 223. (P.)

Father, many revolted; and this circumstance, among others, contributed, no doubt, to the schism of the *Arians*; who, firmly retaining the former doctrine of the inferiority of the Son to the Father, and yet seeing the impossibility of holding this with that of his being the proper *logos* of the Father, maintained that he was a *created logos*, or simply a super-angelic spirit, *created* (as was then the opinion) *out of nothing*, but still the maker of the world under God, as had been asserted of the former *logos*.

The alarm given by the new doctrine of the *perfect equality of the Son to the Father* was the greater, as, in the *Sabellian* controversy, it had been incautiously asserted, not only that Christ was inferior to the Father, but even of a *different substance* from him; for, as the learned *Unitarians* had talked of the divinity in the Father and that in the Son being *the very same*, their opponents had maintained, that it was quite different; and this language had been uniformly held till the rise of the *Arian* controversy; so that those bishops who deposed *Paul of Samosata*, and those who were assembled at *Nice*, held, in fact, quite opposite doctrines; the one saying, that the Son was not *consubstantial* with the Father, and the other that he was so. But at those different times they had different objects, and attended less to the propriety of their language than to contradict their opponents.

Notwithstanding the prevalence of the new doctrine, we perceive several remains of the old, viz. that of the Father being the sole fountain of Deity, which necessarily implied some kind of inferiority in the Son, both at the time of the Council of *Nice* and afterwards. Indeed, that great principle (which strongly militates against the doctrine of the equality of the Son) was never properly given up at any period; and in words it is, I believe, in general, maintained by those who are called orthodox in the present age. "There is one God," says *Athanasius*, "because there is one Father."* *Basil* also says, "There are not two Gods, because not two Fathers."† And *Cyril of Alexandria* acknowledges, that "when the Scriptures speak of one God, that name is to be applied to the Father only, with whom the Word was."‡ But Pope *Damasus*, in the fourth century,

* 'Εἰς Θεὸς ὅτι καὶ πατὴρ εἷς. *Contra Sabell. Opera*, I. pp. 655, 656. (P.)

† Οὐ δύο Θεοὶ, ἀλλ' ἕνα γὰρ δύο πατέρες. *Hom. xxvii. Opera*, I. p. 521. (P.)

‡ "Quare quum unum Deum prædicare scripturam inveniamus, Patri solummodo id nomen vere attribuimus, apud quem erat Verbum." *In Johan. C. iii. Opera*, I. p. 603. (P.)

anathematized those who said that the Father, exclusive of the Son and Spirit, was the one God.*

SECTION I.

The Doctrine of the perfect Equality of all the Persons in the Trinity.

To shew how far the sentiments and language of the orthodox fathers changed after the Council of *Nice*, I shall produce passages from the most celebrated of them, in which they express their opinion with respect to the *perfect equality* of the Son to the Father, or that of all the three persons to each other.

Whereas it had been the universal language, from which no person thought himself at liberty to depart, to say that the Father was *the one true God*, it was now the custom to say, that the *Trinity* was the one God. This is the constant language of *Austin*. Speaking of the immensity of the divine nature, he says, “So is the Father, so is the Son, so is the Holy Spirit, so is the Trinity, one God.”† Accordingly, in explaining the saying of our Saviour, [*Matt. xix. 17.*] “There is none good but one, that is God,” he says, “It is not said, that there is none good but the *Father*, but there is none good but *God*. By the term Father is meant the Father, but by the term God is meant the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit; for the Trinity is the one God.”‡ “The Trinity is the one only God, good, great, eternal, omnipotent, who is to himself unity, deity, magnitude, goodness, omnipotence.”§ Leo the Great says, “The whole Trinity together is one God.”|| This doctrine is also asserted in the large creed ascribed, but very unjustly, to *Gregory Thaumaturgus*.¶

Also, whereas the Son had formerly been said to be infe-

* Η παλινη ἐπεξελομενος τον υιον και το πνευμα το αγιον ως μονον υπονοησαι τον πατερα Θεον λεγεσθαι, η μη πιστευεσθαι ενα Θεον, αναθεμα εσα. Theodoret, Hist. L. v. C. iii. p. 211. (P.)

† “Ita Pater, ita Filius, ita Spiritus Sanctus, ita Trinitas unus Deus.” *Epist. lvi. Opera*, II. p. 274. (P.)

‡ “Non ait nemo bonus nisi solus Pater, sed nemo bonus nisi solus Deus, in Patris enim nomine, ipse per se Pater, pronunciat, in Dei vero et ipse, et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus, quia Trinitas unus Deus.” *De Trinitate*, L. v. C. viii. *Opera* III. p. 320. (P.)

§ “Et hæc Trinitas unus Deus, Deus solus, bonus, magnus, a ternus, omnipotens ipse sibi unitas, deitas, magnitudo, bonitas, omnipotentia.” *Ibid.* L. v. Sect. v. C. xi. *Opera*, III. p. 322. (P.)

|| “Tota simul Trinitas est unus Deus.” *Ser. lxxv. Opera*, p. 160. (P.)

¶ *Opera*, p. 19. (P.)

rior to the Father in his highest or divine nature, as having been derived from him, the language now was, that, with respect to his divine nature, he was perfectly equal to the Father, and inferior only with respect to his human nature; and this is the language that continues to be held to this day. “The Father,” says a writer whose work has been ascribed to *Athanasius*, “is said in the Scriptures to be greater than the Son; but it is neither in magnitude, in time, nor in nature; but as the father of a son made man; and on account of his being made man, he is less than the angels.”* “Whatever mean things,” says *Athanasius* himself, “are said of Christ, they respect that state of poverty which he assumed, that we might be made rich, and must not give occasion to blaspheme the Son of God.”† “The Father,” says *Ambrose*, “gave the revelation to Christ as a man.” He adds, that “the Son likewise gave it to himself, viz. his divinity to his humanity.”‡ “The Father,” says *Theophylact*, “is the God of Christ, according to his humanity, and his Father according to his divinity.”§

This new doctrine furnished the orthodox with a short and easy answer to every objection that could be made to the divinity of Christ, from his being represented as a mere man in the Scriptures. “All the low phrases,” says *Theodoret*, “we apply to Christ as a man, and the lofty ones as God; and this demonstration of the truth is very convenient to us.”|| This language is frequent with *Chrysostom*. But the convenience which these writers so much boast of was unknown to their ancestors in orthodoxy, who always supposed, as truth and common sense require, that whenever Christ is spoken of, his whole nature, and not a part of it only, was intended. On this principle *Irenæus* argued with the *Gnostics*.

When the doctrine of Christ being the creator of the world was first advanced, he was represented as having

* Μείζων ὁ πατήρ τοῦ υἱοῦ γεγραπται, οὔτε δὲ ὄγκῳ, οὔτε χρόνῳ, οὔτε φύσει, ἀλλ’ ὡς πατήρ υἱοῦ ἐνανθρώπησαντός· δια δὲ τὴν ἐνανθρώπησιν καὶ τῶν ἀγέλων ἠλατῶσθαι αὐτοῦ λέγει ὁ ἀποστόλος. De Trinitate, Dial. ii. Opera, II. p. 188. (P.)

† Ὅσα ἐν εὐαγγέλιον λόγοις ὑπο τοῦ κυρίου εἰρηγῆται, τῆς πτωχότητος αὐτοῦ διαφέρει, ἵνα ἡμεῖς ἐν αὐτοῖς πλητῆσθωμεν, ἐχ’ ἵνα ἡμεῖς ἐν αὐτοῖς βλασφημησάμεν κατὰ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Θεοῦ. De Humana Natura, Opera, I. p. 599. (P.)

‡ “Apocalypsis, revelatio vel manifestatio interpretatur. Quod revelationis donum et Pater Filio dedit, secundum quod homo erat, et Filius sibi met ipse, divinitas scilicet homini quem assumpsit.” In Apoc. C. i. Opera, V. p. 365. (P.)

§ Θεὸς μὲν γὰρ τὸ Χριστοῦ, κατὰ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον· πατὴρ δὲ κατὰ τὴν θεότητα. In Rom. C. xv. Opera, II. p. 144. (P.)

|| Νεν γὰρ τοῖς μὲν ταπεινοῖς τῶν λόγων ὡς ἀνδραπῶν προσάπιμεν, τοῖς δὲ ἐψηλοῦς καὶ ὑπερπεῖς ὡς Θεῶν, καὶ εὐπρεπῆς ἀγαθὴν ἡμῖν ἐστὶν ἢ τῆς ἀληθείας ἀποδείξις. Epist. xxi. Opera, III. p. 916. (P.)

created all things by the order of the Father. But now this was not thought to be sufficient. *Idacius*, writing against *Varimadus*, the *Arian*, does not admit that the Son made the world by the Father's order, but says, that he did it "by his own power and will, and that he governs them by his providence;" proving this from *Isaiah*, "Thus saith the Lord, I have made the earth by my word, and created man upon it."*

Also, whereas it had been said that the Son was the *servant* of the Father, and ministered to him, it was now observed that this service was reciprocal. "The Father," says *Cyril of Alexandria*, "ministers to the Son, as the Psalmist says, Sit thou at my right hand, till I make thine enemies thy footstool."†

On this idea of the perfect equality of the Son to the Father, *Chrysostom* observes, that "sometimes the name of Christ is placed before that of the Father."‡

It had been thought to be peculiar to the Father to be *invisible*; but *Cerealis* says, "The Son is invisible, because none can know him but the Father."§

The principles of the later and more rigid doctrine of the Trinity are most clearly expressed in what is called *the Athanasian Creed*, whoever was the author of it. We are there told, "There is one hypostasis of the Father, another of the Son, and another of the Holy Spirit; but there is one deity of the Father, Son, and Spirit, their glory equal, their majesty co-eternal. Such as the Father is, such is the Son, and such the Holy Spirit."|| The importance of holding this absurd faith was deemed to be so great, that the same creed, having pronounced this to be *the Catholic faith*, denounces, that "if any person does not hold it wholly and

* "Si tibi dixerint: Quia Filius jussione Patris fecit, quæ facta sunt. Resp. Non ut ipse adstruis Filium jussione Patris fecisse, quæ facta sunt, sed suo imperio et voluntate universa creavit, quæ creanda fore providentia sua perspexit, *Isaia* propheta dicente: Hæc dicit Dominus: Ego feci sermone meo terram, et hominem super eam, ego solidavi caelum manu, ego omnibus sideribus mandavi, ut luceant in caelo." *Bib. Pat. V. p. 380. (P.)*

† "Pater vero ministrat Filio, ut canit Psalmista: Sede à dextris meis, donec ponem inimicos tuos scabellum pedum tuorum. Si ergo Pater, quamvis ministret Filio, minor tamen ipso propterea non est: nec Filius quia Patri subjicitur, minor Patre putandus est." *Thesaurus, C. viii. Opera, II. p. 301. (P.)*

‡ "Εἰ γὰρ κατὰδεξιέρους ὁ υἱὸς διὰ τὸ μετὰ πατέρα κεισθῆναι, ἐπειδὴ ἐνταῦθα ἀπὸ τῆς Χειρὸς ἀρχαίμενος ὁ ἀποστόλος ἐπὶ τὸν πατέρα ἐρχεται, τί ἀνείποιεν. *In Gal. i. Opera, X. p. 961. (P.)*

§ "Quia invisibilis est Filius sic docetur: Nemo novit Filium nisi Pater, neque Patrem quis novit nisi Filius." *Bib. Pat. V. p. 451. (P.)*

|| Ἀλλῆ γὰρ ἐστὶν ἡ τῆ πατρὸς ὑπόστασις, ἀλλῆ τῆ εἰς, καὶ ἀλλῆ τῆ ἁγίου πνεύματος· ἀλλὰ πατὴρ καὶ υἱὸς καὶ ἅγιον πνεύματος· μίᾳ ἐστὶ θεότης, ἰσὴ δοξα, συνδιαιωνίζουσα ἢ μεγαλειότης· ἓν ὁ πᾶσι, τὸ αὐτὸν καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον.—Αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ καθόλου πίστις, ἣν εἰ μὴ τίς πίστευε τε καὶ θεῖαις πίστευσεν, σωθῆναι οὐ δύνησται: *Athanasii, Opera, II. p. 32. (P.)*

undefiled, he must, without doubt, perish everlastingly." * The style of this *Athanasian Creed* occurs in *Austin* on the Trinity, where he says, that "each of the three persons is God, yet there are not three Gods. Each of them is great and good, and yet there are not three that are great or good, but only one." †

I shall now proceed with my extracts from the orthodox fathers, in which their agreement with the principles of this creed, and their disagreement with those of the *Antenicene* fathers, will be still more apparent. "The Trinity," says *Austin*, "is of one and the same nature and substance, not less in each than in all, nor greater in all than in each; as great in the Father only, or in the Son only, as in the Father and the Son together; and as great in the Holy Spirit alone, as in the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. Nor did the Father demean himself that he might generate a Son out of himself; but he so generated another self out of himself, that he remained wholly in himself, and was in the Son as much as when he was alone." ‡

"The Son," says *Basil*, "is all that the Father is." § "There is," says *Gregory Nyssen*, "a whole Father in a whole Son, and a whole Son in a whole Father." || This writer expresses his idea of the importance of this mysterious doctrine in the following manner: "If the confession of the Holy Trinity be useless, all the institutions of the church are absurd; baptism, confession of sin, obedience to the commands, good morals, temperance, justice, moderation, fortitude." ¶

* Ἦν εἰ μὴ τις ἕγηται καὶ ἀμαρτὴν τηρήσειεν, πάσης ἀμφιβολίας ἔκτος, εἰς τοῦ αἰῶνα ἀπολείπει. *Athanasii, Opera*, II. p. 32. (P.)

† "Ut quicquid de singulis ad seipsum dicit, non pluraliter in summa sed singulariter accipiatur. Quemadmodum enim Pater Deus est, et Filius Deus est, et Spiritus Sanctus Deus est, quod secundum substantiam dici nemo dubitat, non tamen tres Deos, sed unum Deum dicimus eandem ipsam præstantissimam Trinitatem. ita magnus Pater, magnus Filius, magnus Spiritus Sanctus, non tamen tres magi, sed unus magnus. Non enim de Patre solo, sicut illi perversi sentiunt, sed de Patre et Filio et Spiritu Sancto scriptum est, Tu es Deus solus magnus; et bonus Pater, bonus Filius, bonus Spiritus Sanctus, nec tres boni, sed unus est bonus, de quo dictum est: Nemo bonus nisi solus Deus." L. v. C. viii. *Opera*, III. p. 320. (P.)

‡ "Hæc Trinitas una est ejusdemque naturæ atque substantiæ, non minor in singulis, quam in omnibus: nec major in omnibus, quam in singulis, sed tanta in solo Patre vel in solo Filio, quanta in Patre simul et Filio; et tanta in solo Spiritu Sancto, quanta simul in Patre et Filio et Spiritu Sancto. Neque enim Pater ut haberet Filium de seipso, minuit seipsum, sed ita genuit de se alterum se, ut totus maneret in se, et esset in Filio tantus quantus et solus." *Epist. lxxvi.*, *Opera*, II. p. 319. (P.)

§ Πάντα ὡς ἅτα ἐστὶν ὁ πατήρ. De Fide, *Opera*, I. p. 430. (P.)

|| Εἰς θεὸς ὁ πατήρ ἐν ὅλῃ τῷ υἱῷ, καὶ ὁ υἱὸς ἐν ὅλῃ τῷ πατρὶ. *Opera*, II. p. 301. (P.)

¶ Εἰ γὰρ ἀχρηστὸς μὲν ἢ τῶν σεμνῶν τῶ καὶ τιμῶν τῆς ἁγίας τριάδος ὀνομαζῶν ὁμολογία,

“Whoever,” says *Gregory Nazianzen*, “maintains any of the three persons to be inferior to the other, overturns the whole Trinity.”* *Jerome* says, that “since Christ is the power of God, and the wisdom of God, he has all the Father’s perfections.”† *Chrysostom* gives the preference to the Father only in name. “I name the Father first,” says he, “not on account of his rank, but because he is the Father of the only-begotten;” and at the same time, he says, that “there is nothing improper in naming the Son before the Father.”‡ “There is no difference,” says *Theodoret*, “between the Father and the Son, but in generating and being generated, in emitting and proceeding.”§ “If any one,” says Pope *Damasus*, “does not say that the Father, Son, and Spirit, have one godhead, power, dominion, glory, and authority, one kingdom, one will, and one truth, let him be anathema.”||

“The Son,” says *Ambrose*, “knows the will of the Father, and the Father that of the Son; and the Son hears the Father always, and the Father the Son, by an union of nature, will, and substance.”¶ “The Father,” says *M. Caleca*, “is a whole God, the Son a whole God, and the Spirit a whole God.”** According to this language, it would certainly have been most natural to say, that there were *three Gods*; and this, indeed, is sometimes tacitly acknowledged; but the Scriptures having expressly asserted the contrary, these writers could not do it in words. “To say that there are more Gods than one,” says *Hilary*, “is irreligious.”††

ανουηλαδε τα εδνη εκκλησιας εν σε ταις εθεσι ταυτις εστιν η σφραγις, η προσεχις, το βαπτισμα, η των αμαρτιων εξαγρευσις, η περι τας ενυλιας προδιμια, η περι το ηθος κληροδοσις, τα ιατα σωφροσυνη θεν, τα προς το δικαιον βλεπειν, τα μη ταις επιθυμιας εδίζεσθαι, μη ηδονης ητλασθαι, μητε αρειης απολειπεσθαι. *Contra Eunomium, Or. x. Opera, II. p. 277. (P.)*

* Και ο, τι αν των τριων κληρωσωμεν, το παν καθαιρειν νομιζομεν. *Or. xx. Opera, p. 338. (P.)*

† “Cum enim Christus Dei virtus sit, deque sapientia, omnes in se virtutes continet Patris.” *In Esaiam, I. xii. Opera, IV. p. 140. (P.)*

‡ Λεγω πατερα πρωτον, οτι τη ταξει πρωτον, αλλα τη ενουη, επειδη γεννητωρ του μονογενης, επειδη η ριζα τε αληθινη κειται. Αρα ει τις εδολμησεν ειπειν εν εκκλησια, ο Χριστος υμνος ελογησει, και ο πατηρ αυτη, οχως αιακως ενομιζειο. *Ser. iv. Opera, VI. p. 34. (P.)*

§ Α. Οχι εστιν ου διαφορα πατρος, και υιου, και αγιου πνευματος; Ο. Εν τη φυσει ου εν τη ελεγματι ου εν τη γεννην και γεννασθαι, και εκπεμπειν και εκπορευεσθαι, και. *Dial. Adv. Anomaeos, Opera, V. p. 275. (P.)*

|| Ει τις μη επι της του πατρος, και του υιου, και του αγιου πνευματος, μιαν θεοτητα, εξησιαν, δυνασειαν μιαν, ουσιαν, κεινοτητα μιαν, βασιλειαν μιαν, θελησειν, και αληθειαν, αναδημα εση. *Theodoret, Hist. L. v. C. x. p. 211. (P.)*

¶ “Sicut autem semper Filium voluntatem Patris, et Pater Filii, et audit Patrem Filius semper, et Pater Filium per unam eam naturam, voluntatis atque substantiam.” *Hex. L. ii. Opera, I. p. 32. (P.)*

** Και γαρ ο πατηρ Θεος ολος, και ο υιος Θεος ολος, και το πνευμα το αγιον Θεος ολος. *Combefis Auctuarium, II. p. 203. (P.)*

†† “Quia et Deos dici religiosum est.” *L. x. p. 271. (P.)*

SECTION II.

Of the new Language introduced at and after the Council of Nice.

NEW ideas always require new terms; and unfortunately, the nice distinctions which were now made with respect to the doctrine of the Trinity, required more words than had ever been used by theologians before; nor was there any thing in the Greek philosophy to correspond to the distinctions that were now to be expressed. Besides, the *Latin* tongue was much less copious than the *Greek*; and this afforded a new source of embarrassment and contradiction among those who wished to say the same thing.

To express the difference between the three persons, it was necessary to have one term which might be applied to them all, and another to each of them separately; for though they were *one* in a certain respect, that is, as God, they must be called three in another, that is, as persons in the Godhead. The two terms that were candidates for this latter office in the *Greek* language were *ουσια* and *υποστασις*, *essence* and *hypostasis*; and though it was acknowledged, that in the *Greek* philosophy these words had been used without any difference, it was thought necessary to make a distinction between them now. *Theodoret*, after observing that, “in the external philosophy there was no difference between essence and hypostasis, says, that with the fathers they differed as common and particular, or as genus and species, or individual.”* *Socrates*, however, says, that “the word hypostasis was not used by the ancient philosophers, but that by the moderns it was always used for essence.”†

Before the *Arian* controversy it had, as I have observed, been uniformly said by the orthodox, that the Father and the Son were different in their essence. *Origen* expressly says this, as well as that the Son was subject to the Father.‡ Also *Athanasius*, in his fifth oration against the *Arians*, maintains that *essence* and *hypostasis* mean the same thing. The

* Καλα δε γε την των πατερων διδασκαλιαν, ην εχει διαφοραν το κοινον υπερ το ιδιον, η το γενος υπερ το ειδος, η το ατομον, ταυτην η οσια προς την υποστασιν εχει. Dial. i. Opera, IV. p. 4. (P.)

† Ισενον μεντοι οτι ει και οι παλαιοι φιλοσοφοι την λεξιν παρελιπον, αλλα ομως οι νεωτεροι των φιλοσοφων συνεχως αντι της οσιας, τη λεξει της υποστασεως απεχρησαντο. Hist. L. iii. C. vii. p. 180. (P.)

‡ Ει γαρ ετερος, ως εν αλλοις δικνυια, κατ' οσιαν, και υποκειμενος εστιν ο υιος του πατρος. De Oratione, p. 48. (P.)

author of a treatise ascribed to him says, "Whoever asserts that there are three hypostases, that is, three substances, he, under the name of piety, asserts three natures;"* and this according to the orthodox constituted the Polytheism of the Arians. "Accordingly, it was agreed," says *Sozomen*, "in a council held at Alexandria, which Athanasius attended, that the word *essence* should be avoided, except in disputing with the Sabellians."† It was also maintained in the Council of *Sardica* at which *Athanasius* was present, that "there is one essence of the Father, Son, and Spirit, which *essence* the heretics call *hypostasis*."‡

It was with respect to this difference about *essence* and *hypostasis*, that *Gregory Nazianzen* says, "It was ridiculous, though lamentable, that so small a difference in words should occasion a difference in faith;" and that "Athanasius, perceiving it was a difference in words only, having addressed both parties with gentleness and good nature, and after carefully examining the meaning of the words, when he found that the two parties did not differ in sense, gave them liberty with respect to words, but held them strictly bound with respect to the things signified by them."§

The *Latins* having no terms to express both *essence* and *hypostasis*, as is observed by *Gregory Nazianzen*,|| used the word *substance* to express both; and, accordingly, they were much chagrined at the *Greeks* for making any difference between them. *Jerome* expresses his resentment on this subject, saying, that, "in the secular schools they had no

* "Quisquis autem tres υποσασεις dicit, id est, tres substantias, is, sub nomine pietatis, tres naturas conatur asserere." *Opera*, II. p. 581. (P.)

† Εν ταυτη δε πολλων πολλων επισκοποι συνελθοντες εις Αλεξανδριαν αμα Αθανασιον και Ευσεβιον, τα δεδογμενα εν Νικαια κρατυνησιν ομωσιον τε τω πατρι και τω υιω το αγιον πνευμα αμολογησαν και τριαδα ωνομασαν ου μονω τε σωματι, αλλα και ψυχη τελειω χρηναι δεξαζειν ανθρωπον, ον ο Θεωσ λογος ανελαβεν, εισηγησαντο, καθα και τωσ παλαι εκκλησιαστικωσ φιλοσοφωσ εδοκει επει δε η περι τωσ ησιασ και υποσασεωσ ζητησις τωσ εκκλησιωσ εταρατιε, και συχραι περι τωων εριδεσ και διαλεξεισ ησαν, ει μαλα σφιδωσ μη οκωσιν ορσαι, μη εβ αρχησ ειθισ επι Θεω τωλοσ χρησθαι τωσ ονωμασι, σλην ηνικα τις την Σαβηλλιαν δοξαν εκβαλλειν επειρωτο. L. v C. xii. p. 198. (P.)

‡ Ημεισ δε ταυτην παρειληφμεν και δεδιδαγμαθα, και ταυτην εχμεν την καθολικην και ομοσολικην παραδοσιν και πισιν και ημολογησαν, μιαν ειναι υποσασιν ην αυτοι ει αρετικωσ ησιασ προσαγορευουσι, του πατροσ και του υιω και αγιω πνευματοσ. *Theodoretii*, Hist. I. ii. C. viii. p. 81. (P.)

§ 'Οσ τωσ γελωτων η ελευσιν πειρωσ εδοξε διαφορα η περι τον ηχον μικρολογια—Ταυτην οραν και ακηαν ο μακαριοσ εκεινω προσκαλεσαμενω αμφοτερα τα μερη ητωσι πρωωσ και φιλευδρωτασ, και τον νοον των λεγομενων ακριβωσ εξετασασ, επειδη συμφρωνηντασ ευρε, και ουδεν διεσφιασ κατα τον λογον, τα ονωματα συγχωρησασ, συνδει τωσ πραγμασι. *Or.* xxii. pp. 397, 396. (P.)

|| Τωσ γαρ μιωσ ησιασ, και των τριων υποσασεων λεγομενων μεν υφ' ημων ευσεβωσ το μεν γαρ την ψισιν οκωσ της θεοησιοσ, το δε τωσ των τριων ιδιοησιασ, νοημενων δε και παρα τωσ Ιταλωσ ομωιασ, κλη' οι δυναμενωσ δια σφωστητα της παρ' αυτοισ γλωττησ και ονωμαϊων τιωιασ, διελειν απο τωσ ησιασ την υποσασιν, και δια τουτο αντεισαγρθησ τα προσσωπω' ησ μη τρεισ ησιασ παραδειχθωσι. *Or.* xxi. p. 395. (P.)

difference; and who," says he, "will dare to say there are three substances? Let it suffice us to say there is one substance, and three subsisting persons, perfectly equal and co-eternal. Let us say nothing of *three hypostases*, but keep to *one*."* *Austin* also thought that no difference should be made between *essence* and *hypostasis*, and said, that in Latin they said, indifferently, that there was one essence or substance, and three persons.† This is likewise asserted by *Gregory Nazianzen*, in the passage quoted above.

Notwithstanding the dislike that was taken to the word *essence*, it was thought necessary to make use of it at the Council of *Nice*, in order to censure the *Arians*, who held that the Son was created out of nothing; and if the term *essence* be the same with *substance*, and the *logos* be, as the orthodox said, "God of God," or one God made out of another, the term ὁμοσιϑ, *consubstantial*, was, no doubt, very proper to express their idea of his origin, as opposed to that of the *Arians*. An account of the objections that were made to the use of the term at that time, of the reasons for adopting it, and of the sense in which it was admitted, is thus given by the historian *Socrates*. He says, that "the term *consubstantial* was objected to as implying the production of one thing from another, either according to *division*, or *fluxion*, or *prolation*; *prolation* signifying the production of a branch from a root; *fluxion*, that of children from a father; and *division*, the making two or three masses of gold from one; and that the generation of the Son resembles none of these."‡

In defence of the term it was said, that "God is not to be considered as a material being, but as immaterial, intellectual, and incorporeal, and therefore incapable of any bodily affections; and that the subject is to be considered in a divine and hidden manner."§ At length, it was interpreted

* "Tota secularum literarum schola nihil aliud hypostasin, nisi usiam, novit. Et quis, rogo, ore sacrilego tres substantias prædicabit?—Sufficiat nobis dicere, unam substantiam, tres personas subsistentes, perfectas, æquales, co-æternas. Taceantur tres hypostases: si placet, et una teneatur." *Epist. lvii. Opera, I. p. 417. (P.)*

† "Non audiemus dicere unam essentiam, tres substantias, sed unam essentiam vel substantiam, tres autem personas." *De Trinitate, L. v. C. ix. Opera, III. p. 321. (P.)*

‡ Ἐπει γὰρ εἶπασαν ὁμοσιον εἶναι, ὃ ἐκ τινος ἐστίν, ἢ κατὰ μερισμὸν, ἢ κατὰ ῥέυσιν, ἢ κατὰ προβολήν· κατὰ προβολήν μὲν, ὡς ἐκ ῥίζαν βλαστῆναι· κατὰ δὲ ῥέυσιν, ὡς ὁ πατρικὸς παῖδες· κατὰ μερισμὸν δὲ ὡς βάλαν χρυσοῖδες ὑπὸ ἢ τρεῖς· κατ' οὐδὲν δὲ τῶν ἐστίν ὁ υἱός. *Hist. L. i. C. viii. p. 22. (P.)*

§ Μητε γὰρ δυνασθῆναι τὴν αὐτὴν καὶ νεραν, καὶ ἀσπαιῶν φύσιν, τιμαῖκον τι πάθος· δυνασθῆναι δὲ καὶ ἀπορίησις ῥήμασι, προσήκει τὰ τιμαῖα νερεῖν. *Ibid. p. 24. (P.)*

to mean “from no other essence or hypostasis, than that of the Father only;” * so that the *modè* of production, about which they could not agree, was left undetermined.

The reasoning of *Chrysostom* on this subject seems to be fair, and to justify the fathers of *Nice*; for he says, that “every thing that is generated is always consubstantial with that which generates, not in man only, but in all living creatures, and in plants;” † that is, every thing produces its like; and the maxim must apply to the case of the Divine Being, as well as to every other; so that if the Son was really produced from the Father, from his own essence, and not created out of nothing, he must necessarily be consubstantial with the Father.

Still, however, the term *essence* was not relished. The reason of this is more particularly given by *Socrates*, who says, that “the word essence, though used with simplicity by the fathers, yet being unknown to the common people, and not being contained in the Scriptures, gave offence; so that it was thought proper to disuse it, and that no mention should be made of the essence of God for the future; but that it should rather be said, that the Son is like to the Father in all things.” ‡

Notwithstanding the opposition made by the *Latin* Church, the language adopted by the Council of *Nice* continued to be in use; though even so late as the time of *Basil*, the signification of these terms was not so well settled, but that many persons, he says, confounded *essence* with *hypostasis*. §

The term *φύσις*, *nature*, it seems, had been proposed by some, but with respect to the doctrine of the Trinity, *Gregory Nazianzen* says, that he preferred the word *essence*. || And in time the term *essence* was established as the general

* Καὶ μὴ ἐκ τῆς ἑτέρας τῆς ὑποστάσεως καὶ ἡσίας, ἀλλ’ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς. Hist. L. i. C. viii. p. 25. (P.)

† Τὸ τοῦ γὰρ ἑξ, τὰς γραφαῖς μόνῃ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ κοινῇ πάντων τῶν ἀνθρώπων δοξῇ, καὶ τῶν ποικίλων ἀνθρώπων μαχόμενον ἔστιν ὅτι γὰρ ὁμοσυστὶς ὁ γεννηθεὶς τῷ γεννησαντι, οὐκ ἐπ’ ἀνθρώπων μόνῃ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ ζῴων ἀπάντων, καὶ ἐπὶ δένδρον τοῦ ἰοῦ τις ἀν. Hom. xxxii. Opera, I. p. 106. (P.)

‡ Τὸ ὅτι μὴ τῆς ἡσίας ἵνα τοῦ ἀπλῆστερον ἵπο τῶν πατέρων τεθεῖσθαι, ἀγνοημένοι δὲ ἴπο τῶν λαῶν, τὸ ἀντιθέτως φησὶ, ἵνα τοῦ μὴ τῆς γραφῆς τῆς περιεχίεν, κρῆσε τοῦ περιεχίεναι, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων μνηστικῶν ἡσίας ἐπὶ Θεοῦ εἶναι τῶ λοιπῷ, ἵνα τοῦ τῆς θείας γραφῆς μνηστικῶν πατρὸς καὶ ἵπο ἡσίας μνηστικῶν ὁμοίον δὲ λεγομένη του ἵπο τῷ πατρὶ ἵπο τῶν ἄλλων. Hist. L. ii. C. xxxvii. p. 137. (P.)

§ Ἐπειδὴ πολλοὶ τὴν κοινὴν τῆς ἡσίας, ἐπὶ τῶν μιστικῶν δογματικῶν μὴ διακρινόντες ἀπο τῆς ἑτέρας ὑποστάσεως λέγουσιν, τὰς ἀλλὰς συνερπιπτοῖσιν ὑπόστασις καὶ οἰοῦνται διαφέρειν μὴδὲν ἡσίας ἑτέρας ἡσίας λέγουσιν. Epist. Opera, III. p. 63. (P.)

|| Ἦν ἡ τῆς ὁμοίας ἡσίας ἀλλὰ ἡ φύσις καλοῦσθαι. Or. xlv. p. 717. (P.)

name, applicable to each of the three persons, and *hypostasis* was applied to them severally; * so that it was thought proper to say, that the Trinity consisted of *three hypostases in one essence*; and also the term *προσωπον*, *person*, was used as synonymous to *hypostasis*. † This term was probably borrowed from the Latin *persona*, which was always used in the *Latin Church* to denote the difference between the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit; for they said that there were “three persons in one Divine essence,” or God. This, however, was deviating a little from the original use of the term, which expressed a difference of *character*, such as the same person might appear in at different times, and therefore savoured a little of *Sabellianism*.

Notwithstanding every thing seemed to be well settled about the meaning of these terms, yet as they were applied to a subject concerning which men could not pretend to have any ideas, they were no more than mere *sounds*; and those who pretended to see farther into the subject than others, still continued to differ, and even to refine about the use of the terms; and the most ancient signification was not wholly lost sight of. Thus *Damascenus* says, that “the word *hypostasis* has two significations, viz. one of mere existence, in which it does not differ from *substance*, and sometimes that which subsists of itself, by which individuals of the same species are distinguished, as Peter and Paul;” ‡ that is, *hypostasis* may in one sense be used for *essence*, to which, as I have observed, it was originally synonymous.

SECTION III.

Illustrations of the Doctrine of the Trinity.

HAVING settled this new doctrine of the Trinity, and ascertained the use of the terms in which it was thought proper to express it, I come to give a view of the principal

* “Substantiæ (φυσεως) declaratio videtur sicut commune et universale quiddam esse, nomina vero subsistentiarum singularium (ὑποστασεις) sub illo universale prædicantur.” *Cyril Alex. De Trinitate*, L. i. *Opera*, II. p. 362. (P.)

† Το μὲν ἓν, τῆ ὁμοιᾶ γεννησκόντες, καὶ τῷ ἀμερισμῷ τῆς προσκυνήσεως· τὰ δὲ τρία, ταῖς ὑποστάσεσιν εἰς ἓν προσκύνουσιν, ὁ τισὶ φίλον. Gr. Nazianzenii, *Opera*, Or. xxxii. p. 520. (P.)

‡ “Hypostaseos nomen duplicem significationem habet. Interdum enim simplicem existentiam significat. Quo significato inter substantiam et hypostasim nihil interest. Unde etiam nonnulli sanctorum patrum, naturas, hoc est hypostases ipsas appellarunt. Interdum rursus eam, quæ per se est, ac seorsim subsistit, existentiam; qua significatione individuum id quod numero differt, significat, ut Petrum, Paulum, ac certum aliquem equum.” *Dialectica*, C. xlii. *Opera*, p. 641. (P.)

illustrations of it; for though it was spoken of as a greater *mystery* than ever, and we are cautioned not to expect to find any thing in nature to resemble it; yet every writer, who thought that he had hit upon any thing that would contribute to make the reception of it more easy, did not fail to enlarge upon his own conceit. Some writers have done this with a considerable degree of confidence; and by this means we may clearly perceive what it was that, in their opinion, constituted the relation of the three persons to each other. But in all their schemes, the nature of the subject restricted them to a choice of two insuperable difficulties, each of them fatal to the doctrine of any proper *Trinity in Unity*; for either the *Trinity* or the *Unity* was necessarily abandoned.

Photius very truly observes, that, “to recite all the answers which the fathers have given to the question, why, when the Father, Son, and Spirit are each of them separately God, we should not say, that there are *three Gods*?”* I shall not therefore attempt to give them all.

The following explications are such as are favourable to the Unity of the Divine nature, but unfavourable to a Trinity. “Fire,” says a writer whose work has been ascribed to *Athanasius*, “is one, but has three hypostases: its burning power is one, and its shining power another; so that there are three hypostases in one fire, viz. the fire, its burning power, and its shining power; and yet the nature of the fire is one, and not three. So also with respect to God.”† This is only giving one being two properties, to which no *Unitarian* will object.

Basil says, “The greatest proof of the connexion between the Spirit and the Father and the Son, is, that it has the same relation to the Father that the spirit of a man has to the man.”‡ To this illustration also no *Unitarian* will have

* Ενώπιος, πως ἐστὶ λέγειν, Θεὸν τὸν πατέρα, Θεὸν τὸν υἱόν, Θεὸν τὸ πνεῦμα, καὶ μὴ εἰς ἀναγκὴν περιφρασθῆναι, τρεῖς, ἀντ' ἑνός, θεοὺς ἀνυμολογεῖν. Ἐγὼ σοὶ σαφῶς καὶ συντόμως εἶπα. Πανταχθροῦν μὲν γὰρ πᾶλλα καὶ ποικίλα, ταῖς δυνάμεις ἡμῶν πατρᾶσιν, εἰς τὸ διαλεῖσαι τὴν ἀπορίαν ταύτην ἐπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ἀληθείας, ὑπὲρ ἧς ἐσπυράζον, ἀφθονῶς τε ἐχορηγήθη καὶ εἰς ἑὸν ἠαυτεῖταιτος ἀεὶ εἰς ἐπιμνησθῆναι βέλῃσει, βιβλίον ὅλον ἀντ' ἐπισύλης αὐ γράψαι. *Epist.* p. 214. (P.)

† Ἐὰν τὸ πῦρ ἐν εἴ, ἀλλῶς καὶ τρισυπερᾶσιν αὐτὸ γὰρ ἐν εἴ το ὑποκειμενον πῦρ, τὸ δὲ καιρικὸν αὐτ' ἑτέρῳ προσώπῳ, καὶ τὸ φωτιστικὸν αὐτῷ ἄλλῳ προσώπῳ ἰδὸν λοιπὸν τρεῖς προσώπα τῆ ἑνός πύρος, ἡγῶν τὸ ὑποκειμενον πῦρ, καὶ τὸ καιρικὸν, καὶ τὸ φωτιστικὸν, μία οὐ φύσις τῆ πύρος; καὶ οἱ τρεῖς ὁμοίως καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ Θεῷ. *Questiones alie, Opera*, II. p. 110. (P.)

‡ Τὸ δὲ μέγιστον τεκμήριον τῆς πύρος τὸν πατέρα καὶ υἱὸν τῷ πνεύματος συναφείας, ἐπὶ ἧταις ἔχειν λέγεσθαι πύρος τὸν Θεὸν, ἀεὶ πρὸς ἕκαστον εἶχει τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἐν ἡμῖν. *De Spiritu Sancto*, C. xvi. *Opera*, II. p. 329. (P.)

any objection; and still less to that of *Marius Victorinus*, who, in his hymn concerning the Trinity, says, "When thou reatest, thou art the Father; when thou proceedest, the Son; as uniting all into one, thou art the Holy Spirit."* After this we cannot wonder that the *Arians*, as the author of a work ascribed to *Athanasius* complains, should charge the *Trinitarians* with *Sabellianism*, because they made God and the Son to be one. †

In the famous controversy with *Rabbi Nachmanides*, before the king of Arragon, in 1263, the Christian disputant made a Trinity of the wisdom, the will, and the intellect of God; and the king illustrated it by the properties of taste, colour, and smell in wine. But the Jew answered, that, upon this principle, he could prove God to be five-fold, because God had life, wisdom, will, power, and strength. ‡

On the other hand, the great mass of comparisons that were made between the Trinity and things in nature, shews that, in the opinion of the writers, the three persons, though nominally *one God*, were, in fact, considered as *three parts of one whole*, though some of them will be found to express *three wholes*, and to be only *one* by their possession of some common property. Indeed, the subject did not admit of any thing better.

The most conspicuous of the emblems of the Trinity is that of the *sun*. "Know," says the writer quoted above, whose work has been ascribed to *Athanasius*, "from this, that as the sun has three persons, so the one God has three persons: for the sun's disk is the type of the Father, the beam is the type of the Son, and the light is the type of the Holy Spirit. Say, therefore, thus: In the sun there is a disk, a beam, and light; but we do not say there are three suns, but only one. So likewise in God the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, are not three Gods, but one God." § But it

* "Tu cum quiescis Pater es, cum procedis, Filius,
In unum qui cuncta nectis, tu es Spiritus Sanctus."

Bib. Pat. V. p. 360. (P.)

† Συ Σαβελλιος ει. ΔΘ. Ειπε, δια τι ειμι Σαβελλιος; ΑΡ. Ειπον επειδη ειπας, ο πατηρ και ο υιος εν εσην. *Disp. contra Arium, Opera, l. p. 116. (P.)*

‡ "Postea consurrexit Frater Raymundus, de Trinitate verba faciens, atque Judæis: Agnoscite tandem Trinitatem. Deus enim sapientia, voluntate ac intellectu constat.—Cæterum, rex in hanc rem proponebat similitudinem, quam corrupti et corruptores magistri illum docuerant. Vino, inquebat, tria hæc insunt: Sapor, color, et odor, atque tria ista res eadem sunt." *R. Nachman. pp. 58, 59. (P.)*

§ Και εκ τούτου γιγνωσκει, ότι ώσπερ ο ήλιος εστι τριπροσωπος, έτως, και εις Θεος τρισυ-
σταλος: τυπος γαρ τε πατρος εστι ο δισκος ο ήλιου, τυπος τε υιου εστι η ακτις, τυπος του
αγιου πνευματος εστι το φως τε ήλιου και ειπε έτως, επι τε ήλιου, δισκος, ακτις, και φως: ου
λεγμεν δε τρεις ήλιους, αλλα ένα και μόνου ήλιου και επι Θεου, πατρος, υιου, και αγιου
πνευμα εις Θεος, και ου τρεις. *Opera, II. p. 437. (P.)*

is obvious to remark, that neither the beam of light, nor the light itself, can be called *a sun*, as the Son and Holy Spirit are called God. Equally defective is *Basil's* comparison of the three persons in the Trinity to the rainbow and its colours, "The substance of which," he says, "is one, but their distinction manifest, though they run into one another."*

The pretended *Dionysius Areopagita*, with great ingenuity, compares the *union* and *distinctness* of the three persons in the Trinity to the perfect union and perfect distinctness of the light of a number of lamps in a room, none of which can be distinguished from that of the others; and yet that they are really distinct, appears by removing one of them, when it takes its own light only along with it, and leaves that which belonged to the rest. †

To pass from the *sun* to *vision*, I shall here observe, that *Austin* says, "We have an emblem of the Trinity in the thing that is seen, the impression that it makes upon the eye, and the sense of vision." ‡ But this is still more offensive than the preceding.

The greatest number of illustrations of the Trinity, by the ancients, is drawn from the consideration of the *mind of man* and its properties; and they were led to look for these illustrations here, rather than in other parts of nature; because man, being made after the image of God, they took it for granted that he must resemble the Trinity.

Gregory Nyssen says, that "God made such a creature as man, because he intended to publish the mystery of the Holy Trinity, that, being difficult to be understood, man might have in himself an image, likeness, and pattern of the Holy Trinity." § Even the *Platonists* had gone before the

* Ὅσπερ γὰρ ἐκεῖνο ἐν μὲν ἐστὶ κατὰ τὴν ἔσιν τὸ ἀέρος, πόλλα δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ χρώματα φαίνονται, καὶ φανερὰς τὰς διαφορὰς τούτων διατηροῦσθαι οὐ δύναται δὲ τῆ αἰσθητικῆ ἀτάλαξιν τὴν ἰσότησιν τὸ ἕτερον πρὸς τὸ ἕτερον. *M. Caleca in Combetis*, II. p. 33. (P.)

† Καὶ γὰρ ὅραμεν ἐν οἴκῳ πολλὰς ἐνοίας λαμπτήρας, πρὸς ἐν τὴ φῶς ἐνεμένα τὰ πάντα τὰς, καὶ μὴν αἰσθητὴ ἀδιακρίτον ἀναλαμπνοῖα, καὶ οὐκ ἂν τις, ὡς οἶμαι, δύναίτο τῷδε τῷ ἁπλοῦς τῆ φῶς ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων, ἐκ τῆ παντῶν τὰ φῶς περιεχοῦτος ἀέρος διακρίνει, καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἴσχυετο ἴσχυετο, ὅταν ἐν ὅλοις ἀμειγρῶ συγκεκραμένῳ ἄλλα καὶ ἓνα εἰ τις τῶν περὶ τὴν αἰσθητικὴν τὴ ὁρατικὴν συνεχέλευσται καὶ τὸ οἰκεῖον ἅπαν φῶς, ὅθεν τῶν ἕτερον φῶς ἐν αὐτῷ συνεπισπασμένον, ἢ τὸ ἑαυτῷ τοῖς ἕτεροις καταλείπον. *De Divinis Nominibus*, C. II. p. 170. (P.)

‡ "Itaque potissimum testimonio utamur oculorum. Is enim sensus corporis maxime excellit, et est visioni mentis pro sui generis diversitate vicinior. Cum igitur aliquod corpus videmus, hæc tria, quod facillimum est, consideranda sunt et agnoscenda. Primo ipsa res quam videmus, sive lapidem, sive aliquam flammam, sive quid aliud quod videri oculis potest, quod utique jam esse poterat, et antequam videretur. Deinde visio que non erat, priusquam rem illam objectam sensui sentiremus. Tertio quod in ea re qua videtur, quod videtur, videtur sensum detinet habuimus, id est, animi intentio." *De Trinitate*, L. XI. C. II. III. p. 379. (P.)

§ Ἐν Διονυσίου Ἁρεοπαγίτου, καὶ ἄλλων τῶν αἰσθητῶν, τῶν ἑλλήνων φιλοσόφων, ἐπιπέδῳ ἐπιπέδῳ

Orthodox in supposing that there was something in the constitution of the mind of man, corresponding to the three great principles in nature. This is strongly expressed by *Plotinus*.*

Of such illustrations as these, the writings of *Austin* particularly contain a great variety; but he was preceded in them by his master *Ambrose*, and also by another writer, whose work has been ascribed to *Athanasius*; who says, "Man, viz. the soul of man, is the image of God; but the soul of man, being one, has three hypostases, and three persons. How? Hear. The soul is one person, but the soul generates *logos*, that is, *reason*, and now the reason is another person. The soul emits the breath," (or spirit,) "and behold the spirit is another person. Behold, then, three persons, the *soul*, *reason*, and *spirit*." † On this very curious illustration, no particular remarks will be expected.

Ambrose makes the *intellect*, the *will*, and the *memory*, emblems of the Trinity; and says, "The intellect is the soul, the will is the soul, and the memory is the soul; and yet there are not three souls in one body, but one soul, having three dignities or attributes." He says farther, "As the Son is generated out of the Father, and the Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son, so the will is generated out of the intellect, as is easily understood by those who have knowledge." ‡

But *Austin* has discovered the most ingenuity in his illustrations of the Trinity, drawn from the consideration of the faculties of the mind. He says, that "*memory*, *intellect*, and *love*, are an image of the Trinity." § But he acknowledges

εν κοσμῷ κηρυχθῆναι το τῆς ἁγίας τριάδος μυστήριον, ὡς δυσεξημενηῖον τε καὶ ἀκατάληπτον ἵνα εἴη ἐν ἑαυτῷ ὁ κατ' εἰκόνα καὶ ὁμοιωσιν Θεοῦ, τὴν εἰκόνα καὶ ὁμοιωσιν καὶ τῆς τυπῆς καὶ τὰ παραδειγματὰ τῆς ἁγίας τριάδος. In Gen. i. xxvi. *Opera*, I. p. 863. (P.)

* Ὅσπερ δὲ ἐν τῇ φύσει τριτῖα ἐστὶ τὰ εἰρημένα, οὕτω χρῆ νομίζεσθαι καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν ταῖα ἀνάλογα λέγειν δε ἐκ ἐν τοῖς μυστήριοις. En. v. L. i. C. x. p. 491. (P.)

† Ἰδὲ λατῶν, ὁ ἀνδραπὸς εἰκὼν ἐστὶ τῷ Θεῷ, ἤγειν ἢ ψυχὴ τῷ ἀνδραπῷ: ἐστὶ δὲ ἢ ψυχὴ τῷ ἀνδραπῷ μία μὲν, τρισυποστατὸς δὲ τρία προσώπα εἶχει ἢ ψυχὴ καὶ πᾶς, ἀκῆσον ἐστὶν ἢ ψυχὴ ἐν προσώπων ἢ δὲ ψυχὴ γεννᾷ τὸν λόγον, καὶ ἰδὲ ὁ λόγος ἄλλο προσώπων ἢ ψυχὴ ἀπορρενεὶ καὶ τὴν πνοὴν, καὶ ἰδὲ ἢ πνοὴ ἄλλο προσώπων ἰδὲ προσώπα τρία, ψυχὴ, λόγος, καὶ πνοὴ. *Opera*, II. p. 439. (P.)

‡ Ita et anima intellectus, anima voluntas, anima memoria: non tamen tres anima in uno corpore, sed una anima tres habens dignitates. Nam sicut ex Patre generatur Filius, et ex Patre Filioque procedit Spiritus Sanctus: ita ex intellectu generatur voluntas, et ex his item ambobus procedit memoria, sicut facile à sapiente quolibet intelligi potest." *De Dignitate*, &c., *Opera*, I. p. 106. (P.)

§ "Ego per omnia tria illa memini, ego intelligo, ego diligo, qui nec memoria sum, nec intelligentia, nec dilectio, sed hæc habeo. Ista ergo dici possunt ab una persona, quæ habet hæc tria, non ipsa est hæc tria. In illius vero summa simplicitate naturæ quæ Deus est, quamvis unus sit Deus, tres tamen personæ sunt, Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus. Aliud est itaque Trinitas res ipsa, aliud imago

that this is not a perfect resemblance, as all images are imperfect. He compares “the joint operation of the Father, Son, and Spirit, to the joint exertion of the intellect, memory, and will of man, each of them being employed in the acts of each.” So he says, “The whole Trinity operates in the voice from the Father, the flesh of the Son, and the dove of the Holy Spirit, though they are separately referred to each of them.”* He also compares “the Trinity to the *mind*, its *knowledge*, and its *love*.”† Again, he says, “*To be, to know, and to will*, are properties that mutually involve each other; and yet belong to one soul;” and this he gives as an illustration of the Trinity.‡

Manuel Caleca says it would be more proper to denominate the three persons from the nature of the soul, *mind*, *reason*, and *love*, than from the body, by the names of Father, Son, and Spirit.”§

Gregory Nazianzen thought that “the *soul*, its *intellect*, and its *desire*, were an emblem of the Trinity, as not being divided from each other.”|| He also compares the Trinity to the *νοῦς*, intellect, λογῶν, reason, and πνεῦμα, spirit, of man; but acknowledges that it is imperfect.”¶

According to *Methodius*, quoted by *Gregory Nyssen*, “The *soul*, the *mind*, and the *spirit* of a man, are emblems of the Trinity: the soul, which is unbegotten, representing the Father; the mind, or *logos*, which is *generated*, the Son; and the spirit, or breath, which *proceedeth*, the Holy

Trinitatis in re alia, propter quam imaginem simul et illud in quo sunt hæc tria, imago dicitur: sicut imago dicitur simul et tabula et quod in ea pictum est; sed propter picturam quæ in ea est, simul et tabula nomine imaginis appellatur.” *De Trinitate*, L. xv. C. xxii. *Opera*, III. p. 469. (P.)

* “Et quemadmodum cum memoriam meam et intellectum et voluntatem nomino, singula quidem nomina ad res singulas referunt, sed tamen ab omnibus tribus singulis facta sunt: nullum enim horum trium nominum est, quod non et memoria et intellectus et voluntas mea simul operata sint: Ita Trinitas simul operata est et vocem Patris, et carnem Filii, et columbam Spiritus Sancti, cum ad singulas personas hæc singula referant.” *Ibid.* L. iv. C. xx. *Opera*, III. p. 411. (P.)

† *Ibid.* L. ix. C. iii. p. 360. (P.)

‡ “Dico autem hæc tria, esse, nosse, velle.” *Confess.* L. xiii. C. xi. *Opera*, I. p. 219. (P.)

§ “Ὁτι οὐ μὴ καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ τὴν ἐκγόνη λαμβανούσης, οικειοτέρας προσεθημεν τὸν θεὸν πατέρα, καὶ υἱόν, καὶ πνεῦμα, αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐκγόνην.” *De Principis*, in *Combefis*, II. p. 233. (P.)

|| “Ὅτι οὐ μὴ καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ τὴν πατρός μὴ χωρισθέντα παύσει, καὶ τὴν δὲ παλιν τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἄγιον, ὁμοίως ἐν τῇ αἰτῇ τῆν ἐνδύμεσιν ὡς γὰρ αἰκ ἐστὶ μεταξὺ νοῦ καὶ ἐνδύμεστος.” *Ὁτι οὐ μὴ καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ τὴν πατρός μὴ χωρισθέντα παύσει, καὶ τὴν δὲ παλιν τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἄγιον, ὁμοίως ἐν τῇ αἰτῇ τῆν ἐνδύμεσιν ὡς γὰρ αἰκ ἐστὶ μεταξὺ νοῦ καὶ ἐνδύμεστος.* *Or.* lvi. p. 719. (P.)

¶ “Ὅτι οὐ μὴ καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ τὴν πατρός μὴ χωρισθέντα παύσει, καὶ τὴν δὲ παλιν τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἄγιον, ὁμοίως ἐν τῇ αἰτῇ τῆν ἐνδύμεσιν ὡς γὰρ αἰκ ἐστὶ μεταξὺ νοῦ καὶ ἐνδύμεστος.” *Or.* lxi. p. 719. (P.)

Spirit; and there is this farther analogy, that the *logos* is two-fold, internal and external, which corresponds to the two-fold nature of Christ.* “The soul,” says this writer again, “has three powers, the *rational, irascible, and concupiscible* faculties, another emblem of the Trinity.” †

In all the preceding comparisons, the three persons are, in fact, *parts of one whole*; and yet this idea is reprobated by *Austin*, who says, “There is another heresy which asserts that God is three-fold, that the Father is one part, the Son another, and the Spirit a third, that all these parts of God make a Trinity, so that none of them are perfect of themselves.” ‡

According to another set of comparisons, the three persons of the Trinity agree in nothing but in having *one common property*, and in that sense, three men might make a trinity; but then their *unity* is entirely abandoned. *Athanasius*, and many others after the Council of *Nice*, became absolute Tritheists on this principle; believing that the Father, Son, and Spirit, are no otherwise *one*, than as having one common nature. *Athanasius*, considering this question, “Since the Father is called God, the Son God, and the Holy Spirit God, how is it that there are not three Gods?” answers, “That where there is a common nature, the name of the dignity is likewise common.” § He illustrates this by God’s calling the whole human race, by the name of *man*, in the singular number, and by *Moses* speaking of the *horse* and

* Ἀλλὰ γε ἦν ἐπὶ αὐτὸ τὸ καιρῳτάϊον τὸ κατ’ εἰκόνα καὶ καθ’ ὁμοιωσιν ἐλθῶμεν, ὅπως κατὰ τὰς ὑπόσχεσεις δεῖξωμεν τὸ μοναδικὸν τῆς ἐν τριάδι Θεότητος· πῶς δὲ ἐστὶ τοιοῦτο; εἰδήλων ὅτι ἡ ἡμετέρα πάλιν ψυχῆ, καὶ ὁ ταυτὸς νοερός λογος καὶ ὁ νεός, ὄντινα ὁ ἀποστόλος πνεῦμα προσήγορευσεν, ὅτε διακελευεῖται ἄγιος ἡμᾶς εἶναι τῆ ψυχῆ, καὶ τῷ σωματί καὶ τῷ πνευματί. Ληγουμένης μὲν γὰρ πάλιν ἐστὶν ἡ ψυχῆ καὶ ἀναλήτης, εἰς τὸν ἀγεννητὴ καὶ τὴ ἀναλήτη Θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς· ἐκ ἀγεννητοῦ δὲ ὁ νοερός αὐτῆς λογος, ἀλλ’ ἐξ αὐτῆς γεννημένος ἀρρήτως, καὶ ἀσπαλαῶς καὶ ἀνεμεμνηνείας, καὶ ἀπαίδως.

Τὸ δὲ παραδοξώτερον τῶν παραδοξῶν τῶν ἐκείνου ἐστίν, ὅτι ψυχῆν μὲν ἀπλῆν τινα ἐχόμεν, ὁμοίως καὶ νῦν μοναδικὸν καὶ ἀσυμπθεῖον· λογὸν δὲ διπλῆν ἐχούτες, τὸν αὐτὸν τὴν γεννητὴν καὶ ἕνα καὶ ἀμεμνητὸν φυλάττομενον. In Gen. i. 26, *Opera*, I. pp. 851, 859. (P.)

† Ὅθεν καὶ τριμερῆ πάλιν αὐτὴν τὴν ἡμετέραν ψυχὴν καθ’ ἕτερον τινα τρόπον οἱ ἐξω σοφοὶ εἶναι δόξαντο, ἐπιδυσμητικὸν αἰτὴν φασκόντες εἶναι καὶ λογιστικὸν καὶ θυρικὸν, ὅπως διὰ μὲν τῆ ἐπιδυσμητικῆς πρὸς τὴν τῆ Θεοῦ ἀγαθὴν συναπτήνηται· διὰ δὲ τῆ λογιστικῆς τὴν παρ’ αὐτῆ γνάσιν καὶ σοφίαν εἰσδεχθήηται· διὰ δὲ τῆ θυμικῆς πρὸς τὰ πνεύματα τῆς ποικίλης ἀντιπατήνηται, καὶ ἐν ταῖς πάλιν αὐτοῖς τρεῖσι τὸ κατ’ εἰκόνα Θεοῦ ἀναγραφῆσθαι. In Gen. i. 26, *Opera*, I. p. 859. (P.)

‡ “Est alia, quæ triformem sic asserit Deum, ut quædam pars ejus sit Pater, quedam Filius, quedam Spiritus Sanctus: hoc est quod Dei unius partes sint, quæ istam faciunt Trinitatem, velut ex his tribus partibus compleatur Deus, nec sit perfectus in seipso, vel Pater, vel Filius, vel Spiritus Sanctus.” *Catalogus Har.* *Opera*, VI. p. 29. (P.)

§ Καὶ πῶς φησὶ δύναται λεγοῦσθαι ὁ παῖτήρ Θεός, καὶ ὁ υἱός Θεός, καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον Θεός, καὶ οὐ τρεῖς εἰσὶ Θεοί; ὅπερ κίονα τὰ τῆς φύσεως, κίονον καὶ ὄνομα τῆς ἀξιώσεως. De Communi Essentia, *Opera*, I. p. 213. (P.)

the *horseman* being drowned in the Red Sea; when, in fact, great numbers of each sort were intended. "If this," says he, "be the case with respect to men, who differ so much as they do from each other, so that all men may be called one man, much more may we call the Trinity one God; when their dignity is undivided, they have one kingdom, one power, will, and energy, which distinguishes the Trinity from created things."*

In the dialogue against the Macedonians, written after the age of *Athanasius*, the orthodox speaker is represented as saying, "As Paul, Peter, and Timothy, are of one nature and three hypostases, so I say the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are three hypostases, and one nature."†

In the following illustration of this comparison, it will clearly appear, that all idea of a proper *unity* in the Trinity was abandoned; since the three persons were only considered as having the common property of *divinity*, just as three men have the common property of *humanity*. "Peter, Paul, and Timothy, are three, but not three men," says *Theodoret*, "because they must then have been discordant to each other, as Jew, Gentile, and Christian; but if they say the same thing, and there be no division among them, they are three hypostases, but one in the Lord; because they have one heart and one soul. They are three in number, but on no account of a diversity of nature, or heart."‡

When the Trinity was applied to *Peter*, *James*, and *John*, and it was observed that they were distinct men, *Gregory Nyssen* replies, "First, that though this be the case with *men*, it is not so with *God*." He afterwards says, that "the term is improper, and that it is an abuse of language in this case to say *three men*, for that it is the same thing as saying there are three human natures."§ He also says,

* Δια τὸ κινῆν τῆς φύσεως πάντα ἢ οὐκ ἔκμνη εἰς ἀνθρώπων ἐκλήθη ἵππῃ δὲ ἀμεριστὸς ἢ κῆρα, μίαν βασιλείαν, μίαν δύναμιν καὶ βίωσιν καὶ ἐνεργεῖαν, ἰδιαίτιστα τὴν τριάδα ἀπο τῆς φύσεως εἰς ἕνα λόγον Θεοῦ. De Comm. Essen. Ὁμοίᾳ, I. p. 214. (P.)

† Ὅσπερ Παῦλὸν, καὶ Πέτρον, καὶ Τιμόθεον, φύσεως μίας εἰσι καὶ τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις, ἵππῃ τριῶν καὶ ἑνὶ ἑνὶ, καὶ ἀγνὸν πνεῦμα, τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις λέγω, καὶ μίαν φύσιν. Opera, II. p. 209. (P.)

‡ Οὐκ ἐστὶν ἕν ἐστι τρεῖς Πέτρον, καὶ Παῦλόν, καὶ Τιμόθεον; Ὁ τρεῖς μὲν εἰσι ἀλλ' ἓν τρεῖς ἀνθρώποι. Α. Πας; Ὁ ὅτι τρεῖς εἰσιν ἀνθρώποι ὅταν ἀνομιαν ἐχῶσιν τὴν καθάραν, ὡς Ἕλληνας, καὶ Ἰουδαίους, καὶ Χριστιανούς ὅταν δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ λέγωσιν καὶ μὴ εἴη ἐν αὐτοῖς σχίσματα, τρεῖς μὲν εἰσι ὑποστάσεις, εἷς δὲ ἐν κυρίῳ, μίαν ψυχὴν ἐχούσας καὶ μίαν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ τρεῖς μὴ ἑνὸς σώματος, ἀλλ' ἑνὸς ἵεροῦ. φύσεως, ἢ καρδίας. Ad. Anomæos, Opera, V. p. 275. (P.)

§ Τίσι ποτε τοῖν ἐν τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς συνόδῳ καθ' ἕνα τοὺς ἐν τῇ φύσει τῇ αὐτῇ δεικνυμένους ἀπαιτιώσαντες πλῆθεινικῶς ὀνομάζομεν, τοσοῦς λεγοντες τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, καὶ οὐκ

that “though the men are three, the Father, Son, and Spirit, are not, because all their actions are joint, and none of them does any thing separately.”* “With respect to men,” he says, “there is no danger of being led into any mistake, as if more human natures were intended; but the language of scripture is more exact with respect to God, lest more divine natures should be understood, and therefore we are told, that there is but one God.”†

This writer expresses himself more concisely, and to the purpose, when he says, “they are not *three*, because there is *one divinity*.”‡ And also *Basil*, when he says, “To those who accuse us of making three Gods, we answer, that we acknowledge one God, not in number, but in nature.”§ It is very extraordinary, that men should express themselves in this manner, and yet imagine that they were not *Trithaists*. This writer also says, “A king and his image do not make two kings.”|| But then the image of a king is not a king, though he would maintain that Christ, the image of God, was himself God.

Cyril of Jerusalem varies this comparison, when he says, “The Father resembles a king, who has a son, who is a king also, and who gives his orders to be executed by his son;”¶ but here unhappily there are two kings, and not one.

Austin, who by no means keeps to one explanation of a thing, on one occasion extricates himself from the great difficulty of making three Gods, in a very curious manner. He says, that “in saying the Holy Spirit is God, or the Son

ἕνα τοῖς πανταῖς, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς θείας φύσεως ἐκβάλλει τὸ πλήθος τῶν θεῶν ὃ τῆ δογματικῆς λόγος, καὶ ἀριθμῶ τας ὑπερσυσσεις, καὶ τὴν πληθυντικὴν σημασίαν οὐ προσδεχομένους.— φημεν τοῖσι πάλιν κἀπαχρησιν τινα συνήθειας εἶναι τὸ τῆς ἀνηρημένος τῆ φύσει κατ’ αὐτὸ τὸ τῆς φύσεως ὄνομα πληθυντικῶς ὀνομαζέιν, καὶ λέγειν, ὅτι πολλοὶ ἀνδραποὶ ὥπερ ὁμοῖον ἐστὶ τὸ λέγειν, ὅτι πολλοὶ φύσει ἀνδραποῖται. Opera, II. p. 449. (P.)

* Ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς θείας φύσεως, οὐχ ὅπως ἐμαῶμεν, ὅτι ὃ πᾶσι ποιεῖ τι καθ’ ἑαυτὸν, οὐ μὴ συνεφαπτεται ὃ ὕψος ἢ πάλιν ὃ ὕψος ἰδιαζούτως ενεργεῖ τι χωρὶς τῆ πνευματικῆς. Ibid. p. 155. (P.)

† Διὰ τοῦτο ἀνθρώπων συγχαρεῖ πληθυντικῶς ὀνομαζέιν, διὰ τὸ μὴδενα τῶ τοιούτω σχηματῶ τῆς φωνῆς εἰς πληθος ἀνδραποῖτητων ταις ἑπωνυαῖς ἐκπίπτειν, μὴδὲ νομίζειν πολλὰς ἀνδραποῖνας φύσει σημαίνεσθαι, διὰ τὸ πληθυντικῶς ἐξαγγελθῆναι τὸ τῆς φύσεως ὄνομα τὸ δε Θεὸς φωνῆν παρατετηρημένως κατὰ τὸν ἑνικὸν ἐξαγγέλλει τυτῶν, τοῦτο προσημειωμένη, τὸ μὴ διαφορῆς φύσει ἐπὶ τῆς θείας ἑσίας ἐν τῇ πληθυντικῇ σημασίᾳ τῶν θεῶν παρεισταγῆσθαι διο, φησι, κυριὸς ὁ Θεὸς, κυριὸς εἰς ἐστίν. Ibid. p. 458. (P.)

‡ Διὰ τι ἐν οὐ τρεῖς; ὅτι μὴ θεότης. Or. i. Opera, I. p. 141. (P.)

§ Πρὸς δὲ τῆς ἐπιφραζούσας ἡμᾶς τὸ τρίτον, ἐκεῖνον λέγεσθω ὅτι περ ἡμεῖς ἕνα Θεὸν, οὐ τῶ ἀριθμῶ, ἀλλὰ τῆ φύσει ὁμολογῶμεν. Epist. cxli. Opera, III. p. 161. (P.)

|| Οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁ κατὰ τὴν ἀγορᾶν τῇ βασιλικῇ εἰκὸν ἐνατενίζων, καὶ βασιλεῖα λέγων τὸν ἐν τῷ πίνακι, διο βασιλεὺς ὁμολογεῖ, τὴν τε εἰκόνα, καὶ τὸν ὅ ἐστιν ἢ εἰκὸν. Hom. xxvii. Opera, I. p. 522. (P.)

¶ Ὅσπερ γὰρ ἀν τις βασιλεὺς, βασιλεῖα υἱὸν ἐχὼν, βεβλημένῳ κατασκευασταὶ πολιν, ὑποδοῖτο τῶ ὑφ’ συμβασιλεύοντι τὴν κατασκευὴν τῆς πόλεως. Cat. xi. Opera, p. 146. (P.)

of God is God, and the Father God, I say *God three times*, but I do not say *three Gods*; for *three times God* is more than *three Gods*.*

The different origins of the three persons in the Trinity were thought to be illustrated by the case of Adam, Eve, and their son, in the following ingenious manner, by *Methodius*, as it is given by *Gregory Nyssen*: “Adam, his son, and Eve,” he says, “were types of the Trinity; Adam of the Father, who was without cause, or unbegotten; his son of Christ, who was begotten; and Eve, who issued from Adam, of the Holy Spirit, who was not begotten, but proceeded. For this reason,” he says, “God did not breathe into her the breath of life, because she was to be a type of the Holy Spirit.” †

He adds, “If this was not intended to be a type of the Trinity, why were not three or four progenitors made, each having their several properties? Whereas here being an *unbegotten*, a *begotten*, and one that *proceeded*, they make an exact type of the Trinity.” ‡

Similar to the illustrations of the Trinity from the subdivisions of the mind of man, are those more ancient ones of the fountain, the river, and a draught of water; and that of the root, the stock, and the branch, which are adopted with variations by *Austin*. But these all represent *parts of one whole*, or rather they are things that agree in one common property; and in this very circumstance it is, that *Austin* makes the resemblance to consist; for, concerning the former he says, “they are all water,” and concerning the latter, “they are all wood.” §

* “*Spiritus enim Sanctus Deus, sicut dei Filius Deus, et Pater Deus. Ter dixi Deus, sed non dixi tres Deos, magis enim Deus ter quam dii tres.*” *Expositiones in Johan. Tr. vi. Opera, IX. p. 49.*—Something seems to be omitted after *magis* (more); perhaps he meant *more safe*, or *more pious*. Had he attended to his arithmetic, he would have found, that there is no difference between *three times one* and *three*. (P.)

† Το μεν αυτην και αγνηνην Αδამ τιτων και εικονα εχουσης το αυτην και παντων αυτην περιλαμβανουσα Θεου και πατρος; τινος γεννηθη δια αυτην εικονα περιλαμβανουσα το γυναικιο αυτην και λογον το Θεου; της δε εκπορευουσης Ενας σημαιωσισης την το αγιον πνευματος εκπορευουσαν ειναι ομοιως εειρησησεν αυτην ο Θεος στηνν Ζαχς, δια το τιτων αυτην ειναι της τε αγιας πνευματος της και Ζαχς, και δια το μηδεν αυτην δι’ αγιον πνευματος διεξισθησαι Θεο το αυτην αυτην τιτων και Ζαχς. In Gen. i. 26, *Opera, I. p. 856.* (P.)

‡ Ει δε υπηκοη, η εν εντα τωλο το κατ’ εικονα, τι ηγαπε μη τεσσαρες, η δυο, η τλειονες εν εντα; ταυτα αυτην η γρηγορησι, ταυτην λαμβανουσα εχεται τας υποστατικας αυτων ιδιοτητας; λογον δε το αγνηνην και το γεννηθη, και το εκπορευου, αλλα τρεις και μινας, εκον εχεις κατ’ εικονα και κατ’ ομοιωσιν τιτων εν ταυτα, εν μιαν αυτην τρισιν υποστασειν, ακληρον σε λυτων μιαν και μιαν αυτην εν ταυτα. Ibid. (P.)

§ “*Cum illa regula nominis maneat, ut radix lignum sit, et robur lignum, et rana lignum non tum tria ligna dicantur, sed unum.—Illud certe omnes concedunt si ex fonte tria pocula impleantur posse dici tria pocula, tres autem aquas non posse dici, sed omnino unam aquam.*” *De Fed. Opera, III. p. 146.* (P.)

After such a Trinity as this, can we wonder that some should be acknowledged by their friends to carry their orthodoxy into absolute *Trithicism*? “There are three disorders,” says *Gregory Nazianzen*, “with respect to theology with us; one of Atheism, another Judaism, and a third Trithicism. Of the latter,” he says, “those are guilty who are too orthodox among us.”* Or can any person be surprised at the rise of a sect of *Trithicists*, of whom we have an account in ecclesiastical history?†

After the exhibition of so many wretched explications and illustrations of the Trinity, one cannot help approving the wisdom of those fathers who were occasionally sensible of their imperfection, and therefore acquiesced in the doctrine, as expressed in the usual phraseology, without pretending to understand it at all. Thus a writer, whose work has been ascribed to *Athanasius*, says, “The Trinity is an inexplicable mystery,” not to be inquired into.‡ *Basil* also says, that “the mysteries of theology require to be assented to, without previous reasoning.”§ “Let no one,” says *Gregory Nyssen*, “insult us, because we are not able to produce from all nature a perfect image of the Trinity.”|| *Cassian* says, “It is God’s part to know, ours to believe.”¶ And *Julianus Pomcrius*, Archbishop of Toledo, says, “That all the labour of human disputation is to be set aside, where faith alone is sufficient.”**

This being the case, it certainly would have been much wiser in these writers not to have attempted to explain what in its own nature was incapable of being explained; as all their attempts could only tend to expose it and them to ridicule. It was alleged, however, that though the doctrine of the Trinity be mysterious and incomprehensible, there are likewise many things inexplicable to us in nature. In answer to those who objected to the mystery of the

* Τῶσαν γὰρ οὖσαν τῶν νυν περὶ τὴν θεολογίαν ἀθέωσιμῶν ἀθέτως καὶ Ἰουδαϊσμῶν καὶ πολυθεΐας.—Τῆς δὲ τινες τῶν ἀγῶν παρ’ ἡμῶν ἀφροσύνην. *Or. i. Opera*, p. 16. (P.)

† See *Nicophori Hist.* L. xviii. C. xvi. II. p. 872. (P.)

‡ Ἀρρήτων καὶ ἀνεκφράστον τὸ τῆς ἁγίας τριάδος ὑπάρχει μυστήριον. *Opera*, II. p. 282. (P.)

§ Οὐδὲν ὄντως καὶ τὸ τῆς θεολογίας μυστήριον, τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἀθάνατου πίστεως ἐπιζητεῖ σὺγκυλάθεισιν. In *Ps.* cxv. *Opera*, I. p. 270. (P.)

|| Μήδεις δὲ ἐπιτρέψατο τῶν λόγων μὴ ἀναλογισθῆναι καὶ τῶν ἁγίων ἐκείνων τὰ ζήτητα ἢ δια πάντων ἀσκεσι δι’ ἀναλογίας τινος καὶ ἐρωτήσεως πρὸς τὴν τε ἀποκειμένην παρασάσιν. *Contra Eunomium*, *Or.* vii. *Opera*, II. p. 206. (P.)

¶ “Nostrum namque est credere, illius nosse.” *De Incarnatione*, L. i. C. v. p. 970. (P.)

** “Postponenda enim est omnis humana disputationis industria, ubi fides sufficit sola.” *Contra Judæos*, L. ii. *Bib. Pat.* V. p. 228. (P.)

Trinity, *Gregory Nazianzen* says, there are mysteries in all nature, and in the mind of man. "If," says he, "you who inquire concerning these things do not understand yourself, if you do not understand those things which you can examine with your senses, how can you understand God, what and how great he is? This is great folly."*

The authority of the church was also had recourse to, as an argument to enforce the reception of what could not be proved or explained. "Some tenets in the church," says *Basil*, "we receive as preserved in writing, but some are of apostolical tradition, handed down as *mysteries*, both of which have the same force with respect to piety, and no one will question them, who is at all acquainted with the laws of the church."†

Austin pleaded for implicit faith by the authority of the prophet *Isaiah*. "It was therefore," he says, "rationally said by the prophet, (*Ch. vi.*) unless ye believe, ye will not understand; where he doubtless distinguishes these two things, and advises that we first believe that we may be able to understand what we believe; so it seems reasonable that faith should precede reason."‡

The fathers having meditated so much on the number *three*, it is no wonder that they should have got a kind of fondness for it, and have thought that there was something very wonderful in it. *Epiphanius* has taken pains to collect all the instances of this sacred number from the Scriptures, and he makes above one hundred of them.§

Austin having mentioned twelve attributes of God, reduces them all to three, viz. *eternity*, *wisdom*, and *happiness*. "These three," he says, "are a Trinity, which we call God; and perhaps, in the same manner in which we reduce the twelve attributes to these three, the three may be reduced into any one of them. For if, in the Divine nature, wisdom and power be the same thing, or life and wisdom, why may

* Ἐν παντὶ οὐκ ἐργως, ὅστις εἰ, ὁ περὶ τῶν διαλεγόμενων, εἰ πάντα οὐ κατελαβες, ὧν καὶ ἡμισυστὸς μακρὸς, τὴν Θεὸν ἀκρίτως, ὅπερ τε καὶ ὅσον ἐσιν, εἶδεναι ὑπὸ λαμπρανεῖς; πολλῆς ἐστὶ τῆς ἀσέβειας. Or. xxix. *Opera*, p. 493. (P.)

† Ταῦτα ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ πεφωλαγμένον δογματῶν καὶ κηρυγματῶν, τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῆς εὐγραφῆς ἐπιστολικῆς ἔρχεται, τὰ δὲ ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἀποστόλων παραδόσεως, διαδοθέντα ἡμῖν ἐν μυστηρίῳ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὅτι οὐκ ἀμφότερα τὴν αὐτὴν ἰσχὴν ἔχει πρὸς τὴν εὐσεβείαν καὶ θεοῦς ὁδοῦς ἀλλὰ ὅτις γε κτῆν κατὰ μικρὸν γυν ἵεσμον ἐκκλησιαστικῶν πεπειραται. *De Spiritu Sancto*, C. xxvii. *Opera*, II. p. 351. (P.)

‡ "Et ideo rationabiliter dictum est per prophetam: Nisi credideritis, non intelligitis. Ubi procul dubio discrevit hæc duo, deditque consilium quo prius credamus, ut id quod credimus intelligere valeamus. Proinde ut fides precedat cognitionem, rationabiliter visum est." *Epist. cccxii. Opera*, II. p. 859. (P.)

§ "De Numerorum Mysteris," *Opera*, II. p. 364. (P.)

not eternity and wisdom, or happiness and wisdom, be the same thing?"* I need not repeat upon this occasion, what I have before observed concerning the metaphysics of the ancients; and those of the philosophers were no better than those of the fathers.

Austin, after considering the properties of the number *three*, seems to have thought that of itself it afforded a proof of the doctrine of the Trinity. †

Even the number *six* was thought deserving of some particular notice, because it was the double of the sacred number *three*. *Epiphanius* says, the number *six* is also sacred, because it is *twice three*; ‡ and *Austin* treats of the perfection of the number six. § “*One, two, and three*,” he says, “make *six*; and on account of the perfection of this number, God made all things in six days. Wherefore the three parts of this number *six* demonstrate to us that God the Trinity, made all things in the trinity of *number, measure, and weight*.” ||

But, perhaps, the most curious circumstance relating to the number *three* that the reading of these fathers can furnish, is the following, which was thought worthy of being recorded by *Austin*. “*One father Valerius*,” he says, “thought that it was particularly ordered by Providence, that the word *salus*,” which signifies *health, or salvation*, in Latin, “in the language of the Carthaginians,” (which was of Phœnician origin,) “should signify *three*, or the mystery of the Trinity.” ¶ In Hebrew, *שלוש* is *three*, which is one proof, among many others, of the derivation of the Carthaginians from the Phœnicians.

* “Nunc igitur cum dicimus, æternus, sapiens, beatus, hæc tria sunt Trinitas, quæ appellatur Deus: redegimus quidem illa duodecim in istam paucitatem trium, sed eo modo forsitan possumus et hæc tria in unum aliquod horum. Nam si una eademque res in Dei natura potest esse sapientia et potentia, aut vita et sapientia, cur non una eademque res esse possit in Dei natura, æternitas et sapientia, aut beatitudo et sapientia?” *De Trinitate*, L. xvi. C. vi. *Opera*, III. p. 446. (P.)

† “Divisio trium in ter unum est. Quid autem aliud hic numerus ostendit, nisi Trinitatem, quæ Deus est?” *Opera*, IV. p. 68. (P.)

‡ *Opera*, II. p. 307. (P.)

§ *De Civitate Dei*, L. xv. C. xxx. (P.)

|| “Unum et duo, et tria, sex faciunt. Ideoque propter hujus numeri perfectionem sex diebus operatus est omnem creaturam. Tres ergo hæc partes senarii numeri demonstrant nobis Trinitatem Deum, in trinitate numeri mensuræ et ponderis, fecisse omnem creaturam.” *Questiones*, lxx. *Opera*, IV. p. 684. (P.)

¶ “Quod pater Valerius animadvertit admirans. In quorundam rusticorum colloccutione cum alter alteri dixisset, *Salus*, quæsit ab eo qui et Latine nosset et Punicè, quid esset *salus*: responsum est, *Tria*. Tum illi agnoscens cum gaudio salutem nostram esse Trinitatem, convenientiam linguarum non fortuito sic sonuisse arbitratus est, sed occultissima dispensatione divinæ providentiæ; ut cum Latine nominant *salus*, à Punicis intelligant, *tria*: et cum Punicè lingua sua *tria* nominant, Latine intelligant, *salus*.” *Ad Rom. Opera*, IV. p. 1181. (P.)

CHAPTER XI.

OF THE ARGUMENTS BY WHICH THE DOCTRINE OF THE TRINITY WAS DEFENDED.

SECTION I.

Arguments from the Old Testament.

HAVING given a view of the doctrine of the Trinity in all its variations, with the several *illustrations* of it, I shall now proceed to shew in what manner it was *defended* by its ancient advocates; and it is easy to imagine that all their arguments must be drawn from the *Scriptures*, as it was always acknowledged that *nature* teaches no such doctrine, though it had been imagined that it was capable of being illustrated by some natural objects. These arguments from scripture I shall arrange according to the order of the books from which they are drawn.

It will be thought extraordinary, that the very first verse in the book of *Genesis* which asserts the creation of all things by one God, should, notwithstanding this, have been imagined to teach the doctrine of the divinity of Christ. But it arose from this circumstance. Among other synonyms of the divine *nous*, or *logos*, *αρχη* (*principle*), as has been observed, was one; being taken from one of the *Platonic* principles of things; and this having been interpreted to signify *Christ*, wherever that word is used in the Greek translation of the *Old Testament*, several of the fathers thought that they had a right to suppose that Christ was intended. Since, therefore, Moses says, that “in the beginning (*εν αρχη*) God created the heaven and the earth,” they thought it was the same as if it had been said, that God *in Christ*, or *by Christ*, made the heavens and the earth. *Theophilus* says, that in the *αρχη* means *by the αρχη*, that is, as an instrument.*

“In the *principium*, that is, *in Christ*,” says *Ambrose*, “God made the heaven and the earth.”† “What *principium*,” says *Austin*, “can we understand but the Son? For he himself answered the Jews, who questioned him concerning himself,

* *Εν αρχη επηρκεν ο θεος τον ουρανον, τειτες δινα της αρχης γεγενησθαι τον ουρανον.* *Ad Autolycum*, l. ii. p. 97. (P.)

† “In hoc ergo principio, id est in Christo, fecit Deus cœlum et terram.” *Hexameron*, l. i. *Οροια*, l. p. 6. (P.)

the *principium* who speaks to you.”* We render that passage, [*John* viii. 25,] “The same that I said unto you from the beginning.”

As a proof that Moses was not ignorant that the world was made by the living and substantial word of God, *Cyril of Alexandria* alleges God’s saying, “Let there be light, and there was light,” &c. †

This passage, one would rather think, was a proof that the world was made not by a *substantial* or *personified word*, but by the *simple word*, or mere *power*, of God. But in the age of *Cyril*, the term *word*, or whatever implied *word*, suggested the idea of the living and substantial *logos*.

Tertullian expresses his dislike of this interpretation, and says that *principium*, in this place, is synonymous to *initium*, beginning. ‡ *Jerome* also shews the same good sense upon this occasion, saying that “according to both the Greek and the Hebrew, it ought to be rendered, *In the beginning.*” §

I shall in this place, point out some other arguments of the fathers in favour of the divinity of Christ, from their supposing him to be intended by the word *αρχη* in the Scriptures. *Origen* proves that the Son is *αρχη*, from *Rev.* xxii. 13, though at the same time he says he cannot be *αρχη* in all respects. || “That the Son is the *αρχη* may be clearly proved,” it is said in the extracts of *Clemens Alexandrinus*, “from *Hosea* i. 10.” ¶

* “Quid aut principium intelligendum putabimus, nisi Filium? Ipse enim de se ipso interrogantibus Judæis quis esset, respondit: Principium qui et loquor vobis.” *Quest. lxxv. Opera*, IV. pp. 675, 682. (P.)

† Ένα γαρ και αιλιος τον φυσικε τε και αληθως διακηρυτλει Θεου, εκ ηρηνοκως του, δι’ ου τα παντα παρηχθαι προς γενεσιν, τον ζωντα τε φημι και ενυπαστατον λογον αυτη, και το εν Θεω τε και εξ αυτη πνευμα ζωοποιον, το δι’ ου ην τη κτισει πεμπομενον’ εφη γαρ οτι εν αρχη εποιησεν ο Θεος τον ερανν και την γην, κεφαλαιωδεσειν δε, και ως εν βραχει τῶ λογω γενεσι-αρχη των ἡλων απιφραζαι αυτην, επεξεργαζεται το σιγηγμα, και δεδειχεν οτι δια ζωνιος λογου τε κρατηνθῃ παντων Θεου, παρηχθη προς ἱπαρξην τα εκ οντα ποτε, ζωογονειται δε και εν πνευματι’ ειπε φησιν ο Θεος, Γενηθητω φως, και εγενετο φως, Γενηθητω σκερωμα εν μεσῳ τε υδατος, και εγενετο υδατος. *Contra Julianum*, L. i. *Juliani Opera*, II. p. 21. (P.)

‡ “Ita principium, sive initium, inceptionis esse verbum, non alicujus substantiæ nomen. Nam et ipsum principium, in quo Deus fecit cælum et terram, aliquid volunt fuisse quasi substantivum et corpulentum, quod in materiam interpretari possit.” *Adv. Hermogenem*, S. xix. p. 240. (P.)

§ “In principio fecit Deus cælum et terram plerique existimant, sicut in alteratione quoque Jasonis et Papisci scriptum est, et Tertullianus in libro contra Praxeam disputat, nec non Hilarius in expositione ejusdam Psalmi affirmat, in Hebræo haberi, in Filio fecit Deus cælum et terram: quod falsum esse, ipsius rei veritas comprobat, nam et septuaginta interpretes et Symmachus, et Theodotion, in principio transmulerunt: et in Hebræo scriptum est, beresith בראשית.” *Questions in Genesis*, *Opera*, I. p. 853. (P.)

|| Εγω ειμι αρχη και το τελος, το Α και το Ω, ο πρωτος και ο εσχατος’ αναγκαιον δε εινεσθαι οτι ου κατα παν ο νομαζειται αρχη εστιν αυτος’ πως γαρ καθ’ ο ζων εστι δυναται ειναι αρχη; *In Johan. Comment.* II. p. 19. (P.)

¶ ‘Οτι δε αρχη ο υιος Ωση διδασκει σαφως’ και εσαι, εν τῳ τοπω ου ερήθη αυτοις, ο ζωομα’ υιους, κληθησονται και αυτη υιοι Θεου ζωντος’ και νυν αρχησονται δι’ υιοι Ισραηλ’

These interpretations will surprise us the less, if we consider how familiar it was with the fathers to consider *αρχη* as synonymous to *logos*, which they always understood of Christ. Thus *Clemens Alexandrinus* says, that “the Son is the *αρχη* and *απαρχη* of all things, of whom we must learn the cause, the Father of all, the most ancient, and the benefactor of all.”* In another passage he calls Christ the *αρχη*; saying, “Because the *logos* was from above, he is and was the divine *αρχη* of all things. This *logos*, the Christ, was the original author of our being; for he was in God, and of our well-being. This *logos* has now appeared to men, he alone being both God and man, the author of all good to us.” †

Theophilus also speaks of the *logos*, as having been in God, as the *αρχη* the Spirit of God, who spake by the prophets. “God, therefore, having his own *logos* in his own bowels, generated him with his wisdom, throwing him out before all things. This *logos*, generated by himself, he used as his assistant, and by him made all things. He is called the *αρχη*, because he rules and governs all things that are made by him. He, therefore, being the Spirit of God, ‡ and the *αρχη*, and wisdom, and supreme power, went into the prophets, and by them spake concerning the maker of the world and all things. For there were no prophecies when the world was made, but the wisdom of God, which was in him, and the holy *logos*, which is always with him.” §

However, the term *αρχη* was not so appropriated to Christ, but that it was common to all the three great *principles* of

επι ταυτο, και θησονται εαυτοις αρχην μιαν, και αναθησονται εκ της γης. Combefis Auctuarium, l. p. 197. (P.)

* Το προσβηλερον εν γενεσει, την αρχουον και αναρχον αρχην τε και απαρχην των ουρανων, των υιων, παρ’ ου εκμανθανειν επεκεινα αιτιον, τον πατερα των όλων, το πρεσβυσιον και παντων ενεργητικωτατον. Strom. vii. p. 700. (P.)

† Αλλ’ οτι μεν ην ο λογος αναθεν, αρχη θεια των παντων ην τε και εξιν’ οτι δε νυν ωμα ελαθεν, το παλαι καθωσιωμενον, δυναμειω αξιον, Χριστος, και τον ασμα μοι κεκληται’ υιος ην ο λογος ο Χριστος, και τε ειναι παλαι ημας, ην γαρ εν Θεω, και τε εν ειναι’ νυν δε επιφανη ανθρωπος αυτος ουτος λογος, ο μονος αμφω, Θεος τε και ανθρωπος, απαντων ημων αιτιος αγαθων παρ’ εν το εν ζην εκδιδασκομενοι, εις αιδιον ζωνην παρατεμπομεθα. Ad Gentes, Opera, p. 5. (P.)

‡ It is observable, that *Theophilus* makes the *logos* to be the same with the Spirit, πνευμα. *Eusebius* also says, that *logos* and πνευμα have no difference with respect to God. It is, indeed, impossible that they should have conceived any difference between them, and yet this circumstance throws great confusion into the orthodox system. (P.)

§ Εχων εν ο Θεος τον εαυτη λογον ενδιαδελον εν τοις ιδιοις σπλαγχνοις, εγεννησεν αυτον μετα της εαυτη σφιας εξερευζαμενου προ των όλων’ τατον τον λογον εσχεν υπηργον των υπ’ αυτη γεγεννημενων, και δι’ αυτη τα παντα σπεκοικεν’ ουτος λεγειαι αρχη, οτι αρχει και οικειει παντων των δι’ αυτη δεδημιουργημενων’ ουτος εν ν πνευμα Θεου, και αρχη και σφια, και δυναμις υψιστη, καταρχετο εις τες προφητας, και δι’ αυτων ελαλει τα περι της ποιησεως τη κοσμη και των λοιπων απαντων’ ου γαρ ησαν οι προφηται’ οτε ο κοσμος εγενετο’ αλλα η σφια η εν αυτω οσα η τη Θεου, και ο λογος ο αγιου αυτη ο αι συμπαρον αυτω’ ου οη και δια Σολομανος προφητα’ ουτω λεγει. L. ii. p. 82. (P.)

things, and of course belonged to the Father, even with respect to Christ; and therefore *Cyril of Alexandria*, after observing that the Father is “an eternal principle to the Son,” says, that “by *αρχη* in the introduction to the Gospel of John, the blessed evangelist seems to signify the Father.”*

That there was some kind of superiority in the Father in consequence of his being the original (*αρχη*) or cause (*αιτιος*), was always acknowledged by the most orthodox. This is expressly asserted by *Gregory Nazianzen*, at the same time that he says, the Son is equal to the Father as to his nature. On this principle, he supposes that Christ meant to say that the Father was greater than he. “That God,” he says, “should be greater than man, is true indeed, but no great matter: for what is there extraordinary in God being greater than a man?”†

I now proceed to recite other arguments in support of the *Trinitarian* doctrine, in the order of the books of scripture from which they are derived. *Theophilus* says, that the three days which preceded the “light,” (meaning the creation of the sun,) &c., “are types of the Trinity; of God, his logos, and his wisdom. The fourth,” he says, “is the type of man, who wanted light, that there might be God, logos, wisdom, man; wherefore on the fourth day lights were produced.”‡

The plural number, in which God is represented as speaking, was soon laid hold of as a proof of the plurality of persons in the Trinity. *Tertullian* says, “Does this number of Trinity scandalize you, as if they were not connected in simple unity? I ask, how could one person only speak in the plural number, and say, *Let us* make man in our likeness?” § To this argument *Austin* adds, “Had not the three persons been one, it would have been said, *Let us* make man in our

* “Ita æternum ei principium Pater est.—Videtur igitur principii hic nomine, beatus evangelista Patrem significare.” *In Johan. i. Opera*, l. p. 600. (P.)

† Δηλον ὅτι το μείζον μιν ἐστὶ τῆς αἰτίας, τὸ δὲ ἰσον τῆς φύσεως, καὶ τὸ ὑπο πολλῆς ἐγγνωμοσύνης ὁμολογημένον ἡμεῖς.—Τὸ γὰρ δὲ λέγειν, ὅτι τὴ κατὰ τὸν ἀνθρώπον νοημένη μείζον, ἀληθεῖς μιν, οὐ μέγα δέ τι γὰρ θαύμαστον, εἰ μείζον ἀνθρώπου Θεός; *Or. xxxvi. p. 582.* (P.)

‡ Ὁσαύτως καὶ αἱ τρεῖς ἡμέραι τῶν φωστῆρων γεγονυῖαι, τυποὶ εἰσιν τῆς τριάδος, τὸ Θεοῦ, καὶ τὸ λόγῳ αὐτῆ, καὶ τῆς σοφίας αὐτῆ· τελευτῆ δὲ τυπὸς ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπῳ ὁ προσδεχὸς τὸ φῶς, ἵνα ἡ Θεός, λόγος, σοφία, ἀνθρώπος; δια τῆς καὶ τῆ τελευτῆς ἡμέρας ἐγεννήθησαν φωστῆρες. *L. ii. p. 106.* (P.)

§ “Si te adhuc numerus scandalizat Trinitatis, quasi non connexæ in unitate simplici, adhibeo quomodo unicus et singularis pluraliter loquitur? Faciamus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram.” *Ad Praxeam*, Sect. xii. p. 506. (P.)

images, not in our image." * *Basil of Seleucia* has the same thought. †

Michael Glycas, with great ingenuity, discovers that all the three persons were employed in the creation of man. "Who," says he, "said, Let us make man? The Father. Who took the dust of the ground for that purpose? The Son. And who breathed into him the breath of life? The Holy Spirit." ‡

Austin's veneration for the number six was mentioned before. He considered the creation of the world in six days as a proof of the Trinity; for six, says he, is twice three. § This will be thought sufficiently far-fetched; but what then shall we say to *Cyril of Alexandria*, who found a representation of the Trinity in the dimensions of the ark of Noah? ¶

That it was Christ who spake to the patriarchs, was agreed by all the fathers from the time of *Justin Martyr*; and the proof of it lay in this circumstance, that the person who appeared is called God; but since the supreme God is invisible, there must have been another person entitled to that appellation; as we have seen in the extracts from *Justin* himself. ¶ I shall in this place add some passages to this purpose from other writers.

Tertullian, having observed that God the Father is invisible, and yet that God was in some sense visible to the patriarchs, infers that it must have been the Son who appeared to them. "He must, therefore," he says, "be another per-

* "Si vero in illis tribus personis tres essent intelligendæ vel credendæ substantiæ, non diceretur ad imaginem nostram, sed ad imagines nostras." *De Fide, Adv. Pel. C. i. Opera*, III. p. 211. (P.)

† Τριαδα μὲν ἐμφανεῖ τὴν πλάτῃσαν, μίαν δὲ εἰκόνα τῆς τριάδος ὑπαρχήσαν· εἰ δὲ μία τῆς τριάδος ἢ εἰκὼν, μία τῶν τριῶν ἔποςασεν ἢ φησὶ· τὸ γὰρ ταῦτον τῆς ἑστίας ἢ τῆς εἰκόνης ἑκείνης κηρύττει. *Or. i. Opera*, p. 5. (P.)

‡ Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ Θεὸς· Ποιήσωμεν ἀνδράπιν· καὶ λαβὼν ὁ Θεὸς χην ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἐπλάσσε τὸν ἀνδράπιν· τις ὁ εἶπεν; ὁ πατήρ· καὶ τις ὁ λαβὼν; ὁ υἱός· ἵνα γινῇ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἑλισσόμενον φανήσῃ τῆς τῆ ἀνδράπῃ δημιουργίας, τὴν ἐνεμήρησε, ἔλεξεν καὶ πᾶν θαύματος παρέληψε. *Annales, pars i. p. 69.* (P.)

§ *Quæst. lxx. Opera*, IV. p. 684. (P.)

¶ "Aspice ergo quæso, quemadmodum in trecentis cubitis, quod arca longitudinem esse assignavimus, perfectio sanctæ Trinitatis consecratur. Quod autem, ut formula dixerim, deitas, quæ in unitate perspicitur, perfectio sit perfectionum ex latitudine arca, quæ ad quinquaginta se cubitos extendit, latissime patet. Quinquagenarius etenim numerus, septem septies diebus, unitate quoque conjuncta, conficitur. Quia unam quidem deitatis naturam esse adserimus. Altitudo etiam ipsius arca nil aliud profecto, quam mentem ipsam mirifice nobis suggerit. In decimum enim tertium cubitorum numerum perficitur. Tringida enim cubitorum, inquit, altitudinem ejus facies: et in cubitum unum consummabis eam. Sancta enim Trinitas in tres hypostases triumque personarum differentias quum extendatur, in unam deitatis naturam quodammodo contrahitur." *In Gen. iii. Opera*, I. p. 17. (P.)

* *Supra*, p. 250.

son who was seen ; for he who was seen cannot be invisible. It therefore follows, that we suppose the Father to be invisible on account of the plenitude of his majesty, but the Son to be visible, as being derived from him. As, though we cannot see the sun himself, we can bear his beams, as a tempered portion of him, extending to the earth.”*

“Moses,” says *Novatian*, “every where introduces God the Father as immense, and without end ; not confined to place, but including all space ; not one who is *in place*, but rather in whom all place is, comprehending and embracing all things ; so that he can neither ascend nor descend. For he contains and fills all things ; and yet he introduces a God descending to the tower which the sons of men built.” †

Austin supposed, that the three men who appeared to Abraham either were, or represented the Trinity. “The two who went to Sodom must,” he says, “have been the Son and the Spirit, because they are said to have been *sent*, which the Father is never said to be.” ‡ As it might be objected that the Father could not become visible, he says, “Why may not the Father be understood to have appeared to Abraham and Moses, and to whom he pleased, and as he pleased, by means of a changeable and visible creature, when he in himself remained invisible and unchangeable ?” §

He says, with respect to all these appearances, “They may either be those of the whole Trinity, which is God, or of each of the persons, according to the circumstances.” ||

* “Jam ergo alius erit qui videbatur, quia non potest idem invisibilis definiri, qui videbatur, et consequens erit, ut invisibilem Patrem intelligamus, pro plenitudine majestatis ; visibilem vero Filium agnoscamus, pro modulo derivationis : sicut nec solem nobis contemplari licet, quantum ad ipsam substantie summam quae est in caelis ; radium autem ejus toleramus oculis pro temperatura portiois quae in terram inde porrigitur.” *Ad Praxeam*, Sect. xiv. p. 508. (P.)

† “Quid si idem Moyses ubique introducit Deum Patrem immensum atque sine fine, non qui loco eludatur, sed qui omnem locum eludat : nec eum qui in loco sit, sed potius in quo omnis locus sit : omnia continentem et cuncta complexum, ut merito nec descendat nec ascendat, quoniam ipse omnia et continet et implet ; et tamen nihilominus introducit Deum descendentem ad turrim, quam aedificabant filii hominum.” *Cap. xvii.* p. 62. (P.)

‡ “Sed quas duas personas hic intelligimus, an Patris et Filii, an Patris et Spiritus Sancti, an Filii et Spiritus Sancti ? Hoc forte congruentius quod ultimum dixi ; missos enim se dixerunt, quod de Filio et Spiritu Sancto dicimus. Nam Patrem missum nusquam scripturae nobis noticia occurrit. *De Trinitate*, L. ii. C. x. *Opera*, III. p. 272 (P.)

§ “Si ergo Deus Pater locutus est ad primum hominem ; cur non jam ipse intelligatur apparuisse Abrahamae et Moysi et quibus voluit, et quemadmodum voluit per subjectam sibi commutabilem atque visibilem creaturam, cum ipse in seipso atque in substantia sua qua est, incommutabilis atque invisibilis maneat ?” *Ibid.* p. 269. (P.)

|| “Jam enim quaesitum atque tractatum est, in illis antiquis corporalibus formis et visis non tantummodo Patrem, nec tantummodo Filium, nec tantummodo Spiritum

Glycys says, that the Trinity was received by Abraham, and cheerfully partook of the entertainment provided for them.* He adds, that, according to the opinion of *Cyriel*, it was the Father that remained with Abraham, because he judges no man; and, that they were the Son and Spirit that were sent to Sodom, was the opinion of the great *Athanasius*, because no others could have been assessors with him.

Justin Martyr imagined that Christ was signified by the serpent in the Wilderness; and even thought that Plato had got a hint of the same thing from the Scriptures, but did not rightly understand it. †

Chrysostom finds a proof of the Trinity in the blessing pronounced by Moses: [*Numb.* vi. 24—26:] “The Lord bless thee and keep thee: the Lord make his face shine upon thee, and be gracious unto thee: the Lord lift up his countenance upon thee, and give thee peace.” “Here,” says he, “is the Holy Trinity clearly celebrated.” ‡ The foundation of this argument could only be, that God is mentioned three times in this form of benediction.

Eusebius says, that “when Jacob is called the Lord’s portion, Christ is intended.” §

If any one text be decisive in proof of there being only one God, it is that of Moses, [*Deut.* vi. 4,] “Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord;” and yet because the word *Lord* or *God* occurs three times in it, this also has been pressed into the service of the Trinity. *Austin*, after repeating the text, says, “In this we are not to understand the Father only, but the Father, Son, and Spirit.” ||

tem Sanctum apparuisse, sed autem indifferenter Dominum Deum qui Trinitas ipsa intelligitur, aut quamlibet ex Trinitate personam, quam lectionis textus indicii circumstantibus significaret.” *De Trinitate*, L. iii. C. i. III. p. 281. (P.)

* Και τοσοῦτον ἀπλῶς φιλοξενός ην, ὡς και αὐτὴν τὴν ἀγιαν τριάδα καλεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς αὐτῆ, και τὸν παρὰ τὴν αὐτὴν περιχαρῶς ἐμφορῆσθαι. Διὸ δὲ τοῖς Σόδομοις ἐπιφύησαν, ἕνε γὰρ ὁ πατὴρ κρινεῖ ἕνεκα πᾶσαν δὲ τὴν κρισὶν δέδωκε τῷ υἱῷ, κατὰ τὴν φωνὴν αὐτῆ τῆ κρισὶ συνούλιος φυσικῶς, και τὸ ἀγιὸν πνευματὸς. Ὅτι δὲ ὁ υἱὸς και τὸ πνευμα ἐπὶ Σόδομα ἐπορεύοντο, και ἡ τῆ Ἀβρααμ ξενία σαφῶς παρῖστα, καὶ ὡς ἀπερὶ ὁ μέγας φησὶν Ἀθανάσιος, εἰ μὴ γὰρ ὁ υἱὸς και τὸ πνευμα ἦσαν, οὐκ ἂν τῷ Θεῷ και πατρὶ συνεκαθῆντο, ὅτι δε συνεκαθῆντο, ὅθεν ἐκ τῆ περι τῶν, ἔτω λεγειν. *Annales*, pars ii. p. 132. (P.)

† Ὅπως παρέδωκεν ἀναγνῶν Πλάτων, και μὴ ἀκριβῶς ἐπισημαίνῃ, μηδὲ νόηστας τιπὸν εἶναι φαίνῃ, ἀλλὰ χριστῶς νόηστας, τὴν μετὰ τὸν πρώτον Θεὸν ὕναμιον κειχασθῆαι ἐν τῷ παντὶ εἶπε. *Apol.* i. p. 87. (P.)

‡ Ἐλλογῆσαι σε κενός, και φιλαξει σε, ἐπιφανεῖ κυριὸς τὸ προσωπὸν αὐτῆ ἐπὶ σε και εὐλογῆσαι σε ἐπίκει κενός τὸ προσωπὸν αὐτῆ ἐπὶ σε, και δῶν σοι ἐγγὴν. Ὅρα τὴν ἀγιαν τριάδα ἀναρῆσθαι ἐν τῷ παντὶ. *Ser. v. Opera*, VI. p. 73. (P.)

§ Ταῦτα μετῆσαν τὸ μέγιστον, πρώτος Ψελλογῶν Μωσῆς ἐν ἀπορρήτοις Ἑβραϊαῖς τῆς παλαιῆς διαθήκης ἔγραψεν, ὅτι ἀντιμερίζον ὁ υἱὸς ἐδῆν, και ἐγενήθη μετῆς κενὸν λαὸς αὐτῆ τῆς παλαιῆς διαθήκης, διὰ τῶν γὰρ ἔβρισαν μεν τὸν ἀνοσίῳ, και ἐπὶ πᾶσι, Θεὸν τῶν ἄλλων νομαζει. Καὶ ἐκ τῆς τῆς παλαιῆς διαθήκης τῆς ἀνοσίῳ ἡμῶν μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν Θεῶν κειχασθῆναι *Demonst.* L. iv. C. vii. p. 156. (P.)

|| “Totū eode rētime Patrem Deum, Filium Deum, et Spiritum Sanctum Deum,

I find no more arguments or illustrations of the doctrine of the Trinity from the *Old Testament*, till we come to the Book of *Psalms*; but here I find a great number. *Jerome* says, that “the tree planted by the river of water in the first Psalm, is wisdom, and that wisdom is Christ.”* *Ambrose* says, that “Christ is the giant to run a race.”†

Some of these interpretations may be supposed to be nothing more than an allegorizing of scripture, and a play of imagination; but when the fathers argue from those texts in which the *logos* is mentioned, they were certainly very serious. The *logos* must be Christ. Thus *Eusebius* makes Christ to be the maker of the world, in *Psalm xxxiii. 6*: “By the word of the Lord were the heavens made.”‡

On the same principle, *Psalm xlv. 1*, *My heart is throwing out a good word*, (*logos*,) was, by almost all the fathers, interpreted of the eternal Father generating the Son from himself. But there is an exception in *Basil*, who says, that “it refers to the prophet.”§

Eusebius also was of opinion, that it was not the Father, in *Psalm xlv. 1*, who was speaking of his heart throwing out the *logos*, but that it was the prophetic person who was speaking, because what follows does not seem to agree to the Father. ||

In *Psalm li. 10, 11*, we read, “Create in me a clean heart, O God, and renew a right spirit within me. Cast me not away from thy presence, and take not thy holy spirit from me.” “In this,” say *Origen*, “we have the Father, Son, and Spirit; the Father being *the principal spirit*,” (as the

id est sanctam atque ineffabilem Trinitatem unum esse naturaliter Deum, de quo in Deuteronomio dicit: Audi Israel; Deus, Deus tuus, Deus unus est. Et, Deum, Deum tuum, adorabis, et illi soli servies.” *De Fide ad Pat. Opera*, III. p. 210. (P.)

* “Lignum autem, cui vir beatus comparatur, sapientiam puto: de qua et Salomon loquitur: Lignum vite est his qui sequuntur eam. Sapientia autem per apostolum Christus Dei Filius declaratur.” In *Ps. i. Opera*, VII. p. 1. (P.)

† “Christus est Dei Filius, et sempiternus ex Patre, et natus ex virgine. Quem quasi gigantem sanctus David propheta describit, eo quod biformis geminaque nature unus sit consors divinitatis et corporis, qui tanquam sponsus procedens de thalamo suo, exultavit tanquam gigas ad currendum viam.” In *Ps. xix. De Incarnatione*, C. v. *Opera*, IV. p. 290. (P.)

‡ Και ὁ Δαβὶδ δε πον εν ψαλμῳδαῖς ἕτεροῦ προσειπῶν την σοφίαν ονομαζῶν, φησι: Τὸ ἔργον κερὶ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐξερεώδησαν, τὸν τὰν ἀπαλῶν δημηγορικὸν λόγον Θεοῦ, τὸν ἐνεφθίμῃστας τὸν τροπον. *Preparatio*, p. 320. (P.)

§ Ἐξηρηρεῦξαστο ἡ καρδία μου λόγον αγαθὸν ἤδη μὲν τινες κηθήσαν εκ προσώπῃ τοῦ πατρος κηθεῖσθαι ταῦτα, περὶ τοῦ εν αρχῇ υἱὸς πρὸς αὐτὸν λόγον, ἐν εκ τῆς βίονει καρδίας καὶ αὐτὸν τὰν σπληγγῶν, φύσι, πρὸς γαγε, καὶ ἀπὸ ἀγαθῆς καρδίας αγαθὸν λόγον προσήλθεν τῷ θεῷ. οὐκ ἐκ ταῦτα ἐπὶ τοῦ προφητικὸν ἀναφερεῖσθαι προσώπῃ. In *Ps. xlv. Opera*, I. p. 216. (P.)

|| Ἐμοῖ δε δοκεῖ ταῦτα ἐπὶ τοῦ προφητικὸν ἀναφερεῖσθαι προσώπῃ τοῦ γὰρ ἐφεξῆς τοῦ ἔργου ἐκεῖ ὁμοίως ἐξομαζῶν ἡμῖν την περὶ τοῦ πατρος ἐξηγησιν. *Montfaucon's Collectio Patrum*, I. p. 186. (P.)

God. For if the princes of the nation, who had bad characters, were called gods, what danger can there be in calling the man who is at the right hand of God, and the Son of man who is made strong, a God?*"

Eusebius finds Christ in *Psalm* cvii. 20: "He sent his word and healed them;" † and in *Psalm* cxlvii. 15: "His word runneth very swiftly." ‡ *Austin* understood "the fountain of life," *Psalm* xxxvi. 9, of the Father producing the Son who is light. § All the fathers understood Christ to be meant by *wisdom* in the book of *Proverbs*, and proved from it that he made the world. ¶

There is a double reason why Christ should be intended by *wisdom*. *Prov.* viii. 22: "The Lord possessed me in the beginning of his ways;" because in the LXX. it is, *The Lord created me the αρχη, of his ways*. See this text quoted for this purpose, besides innumerable other places, in those cited in the margin. ¶¶ The wisdom of which mention is made in the book of *Job*, (xxviii. 12,) "Where shall wisdom be found?" &c., is applied to Christ by *Eusebius*. **

It will make my reader smile to be informed, that the two garments which the good wife in the book of *Proverbs* is said to have made for her husband, were thought by *Ambrose* to signify the divinity and humanity of Christ. ††

Paulinus calls the Trinity the "three-fold cord" that "is not quickly broken." in *Eccles.* iv. 12. ‡‡

An argument for the divinity of Christ is brought by many of the fathers from *Isaiah* ix. 6, where Christ is supposed to be called the "counsellor, the mighty God." They always call him *the angel of the great council*, which is the version of the LXX.

Gregory Nyssen says, that, *Isaiah* xlvi. 13, *My hand has made all things*, means the Son. §§ In *Isaiah* xlvi. 16, we

* Και όπως μη παραχθῆται τις εἰς τον περι μοναρχιας λογον, Θεον ανθρωπον του Χριστου τε Θεου, εικονιας και πλειονας θεους αναμαζει τις δια των εβης και ηγγουρωνενος, μοναρχι παρακελευμενος μη αποκλειναι και τον εἶνον τε Θεου Θεον αποκλειναι· ει γαρ δι διαβαλλημενοι τε εβαιοι αρχοντες θεου ηβαιοι εσαν νομασθησαι, πως αν γεννητο κεινος τον ανθρωπον της δεξιας τε Θεου και τον εἶνον τε ανθρωπου τον κεφαλαιωμενον Θεον ομιλορηεν; *Moutsfaucon's Collectio Patrum*, I. p. 424. (P.)

† *Preparatio*, p. 320. (P.)

‡ *Ibid.* (P.)

§ *De Filii Divinitate*, C. v. *Opera*, I. p. 281. (P.)

¶ *Euseb. Hist.* L. i. C. ii. p. 7; *Preparatio*, p. 320. (P.)

¶¶ *Origenis Comment. in Johan.* ii., l. p. 17; *Euseb. Preparatio*, L. vii. C. xii. 230; *Ambrosii Hexameron*, L. i. *Opera*, I. p. 6. (P.)

** *Preparatio*, L. vii. C. xii. p. 320. (P.)

†† "Dicuntur vero binæ, quia Christum Deum et hominem confitentur." In *Prov.* xxxi. *Opera*, I. p. 1102. (P.)

‡‡ "Astringamur autem huic arbori fune validissimo, vincti in spe, fide, charitate, credentes cordibus et oribus confitentes individuam Trinitatem, que spartum triplex, quod non rumpitur." *Ad Severum, Epist.* iv. p. 65. (P.)

§§ *Contra Eunomium*, vi. *Opera*, II. p. 191. (P.)

read, "The Lord God, and his Spirit has sent me." "This," says *Theodoret*, "plainly shews that there is another person besides God, to confute the Jews and Sabellians."* The three *holies*, in *Isaiah* vi. 3, are frequently mentioned as signifying the three persons in the Trinity. †

So much was it taken for granted that the *logos* was to be understood of *Christ*, that *Origen* says, "What is the word (*logos*), that came from the Lord, whether to *Jeremiah*, to *Isaiah*, to *Ezekiel*, or to any other, but that which was in the beginning with God? I know no other word of the Lord but that which the evangelist spake of, when he said, "In the beginning was the word, and the word was with God, and the word was God." ‡ The word that came to *Hosea* is also interpreted of *Christ*, by *Jerome*. §

Austin, after urging many arguments against *Photinus*, concludes with what he says is alone sufficient, if he be in his right mind, viz. this from *Jer.* xvii. 5, "Cursed is the man that trusteth in man." || But this is, perhaps, rather applying a *maxim* than urging a particular text, as referring originally to *Christ*.

Lastly, *Cyprian* says, that the "three hours of prayer observed by the three who were strong in faith, and the three out of the fire," meaning those who were cast into the fiery furnace in *Daniel*, "were emblems of the Trinity." ¶

* Και νυν κυριος, κυριος απεστειλε με, και το πνευμα αυτη, — σαιφας δε ημιν ενταυθα ετερον εδειξε παρα τη Θεω προσωπον, εις ελεγχον και των Ιουδαιων, και των τα Σαβηλλιωνιστην. Opera, II. p. 111. (P.)

† As by *Ambrose*, De Fide, l. ii. c. iv. Opera, IV. p. 141. (P.) Bishop *Louth*, instead of condescending thus to advocate the Creed of his Church, remarks *in loc.*

"This hymn, performed by the Seraphim, divided into two choirs, the one singing responsively to the other; which *Gregory Nazian.* (*Carm.* 18) very elegantly calls *Σιμφωνον, αντιφωνον, αγγελικων ψασιμ*, is formed upon the practice of alternate singing, which prevailed in the Jewish Church from the time of *Moses*, whose Ode at the Red Sea was thus performed, (see *Exod.* xv. 20, 21,) to that of *Ezra*, (iii. 11,) under whom the Priests and Levites sung alternately,

‘ O praise Jehovah, for he is gracious;
For his mercy endureth for ever.’

‡ Το γενησεν ην ο λογος ο γεννημενος παρα κυριου, ειτε προς Ιερειμαν, ειτε προς Ησαιαν, ειτε προς Εζεκιελ, ειτε προς αν οποιουτε; Ο εν αρχη προς τον Θεον; Εγω ουκ οίδα αλλου λογου ενταυθα, η ενταυθα περι ην ειρηκεν ο εναγγελιστης, το εν αρχη ην ο λογος, και ο λογος ην καις του Θεου, και Θεος ην ο λογος. Comment. in Jer. l. p. 102. (P.)

§ Opera, V. p. 35. (P.)

¶ "Maledictum plane legis *Photinus* evadere non potest, quia spem suam habet in Christo, quem tantum hominem dicit, cum legat, Maledictus homo qui spem habet in homine. — Apostolus autem sciens Christum Deum — ideo et in presenti et in futuro spem esse in eo ait." *Quest. ex N. T.* xci. Opera, IV. p. 763. (P.)

¶ "In orationibus vero celebrandis invenimus observasse cum *Daniele* tres pueros in fide fortes, et in captivitate victores, horam, sextam, nonam, sacramento scilicet Trinitatis: quae in novissimis temporibus manifestari habebat. Nam et prima hora in tertium veniens, consummatum numerum Trinitatis ostendit." Opera, p. 154. (P.)

SECTION II.

Arguments for the Divinity of Christ from the New Testament

WHEN the idea of the divinity of Christ was once formed from the principles of *Platonism*, it was not difficult to imagine that it was likewise the doctrine of *the Scriptures*; and that there were passages in the *New Testament* no less favourable to it than those above recited from the *Old*; though all the books were in the hands of the common people, for whose use they were particularly calculated, and *they* saw no such doctrine in it.

The great argument for the divinity of Christ from the *New Testament* was, that “though Christ appeared to be a man by his infirmities, he appeared to be a God by his works,” as it is expressed by *Novatian*.* And yet our Saviour himself always ascribes his miraculous works to his Father, and never to himself; and the people who saw those works were not led by them to suspect that he was any thing more than a man; for we only read, that when they were most struck with them, they wondered that God had given such power unto man. *Eusebius* likewise alleges the spread of the gospel, and its overturning Heathenism, as a proof of the divinity of Christ, but by the same kind of argument he might have proved the divinity of Moses.

The two styles in which our Saviour speaks of himself were observed by *Origen*, and were considered by him, as they are by the *orthodox* to this very day, as proofs, the one of his perfect humanity, and the other of his proper divinity. “Jesus,” says he, “sometimes speaks as the first-born of all the creation, as when he says, ‘I am the way, the truth, and the life;’ and sometimes as a man, as when he says, ‘You seek to kill me, a man who has told you the truth.’” †

The author of a treatise ascribed to *Athanasius* produces thirty arguments to prove that Christ cannot be a mere man; the chief of which are these: “He that was subject to death

* “Ut homo ex infirmitatibus comprobetur; probatio divinitatis in illo collecta ex virtutibus illuc proficiet, ut etiam Deus ex operibus adseratur.” C. xi. p. 33. (P.)

† “Ὅτι αἱ μὲν τινες εἶπὶ φωναὶ τε ἐν τῷ Ἰησοῦ πρωτότοκα πάσης κτίσεως, ὡς ἡ. Ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡ ὁδὸς, καὶ ἡ ἀληθεύς, καὶ ἡ ζωὴ, καὶ αἱ ταύτας παραπλήσιαί αἱ δε τε κατ’ αὐτὸν νοημένε ἀνθρώπῳ ὡς ἡ τοῦ. Νυν δὲ με ζητεῖτε ἀποκτείνειν ἀνθρώπου ὅ; τὴν ἀληθεύσαν ὄμιαν ἡλεκάλῃκα. Ad Celsum, L. ii. p. 76. (P.)

cannot take away death. No man has glory from eternity ; but Christ had. Christ was sinless ; but no man is so. The flesh of no man is from heaven ; but the flesh of Christ is. A man actuated by God, is not God ; but Christ is God.* A better reason than any of these is given by *Austin*, who says, that “no man was ever greater than Solomon, but Christ was so.”† *Ambrose* gives a curious reason why the father of Jesus should be a carpenter: “It was,” he says, “to signify, that Christ was the Son of the Maker of all things.”‡

It is the Gospel of *John* that has always furnished the greatest number of proofs of the divinity of Christ, though it is remarkable, that in none of the Gospels are there more evident proofs of his proper humanity. But of these no account was made, because they were only considered as proving what was never denied, viz. that Christ had *human* nature. *Epiphanius* proves the divinity of Christ from the Father being called the *light*, and the Son “the true light.”§ *John the Baptist* said, [*John* i. 30,] “After me cometh a man,” who “was before me.” “Here,” says *Theodoret*, “both the humanity and the divinity of Christ are taught.”||

That it was Christ who spake both in the prophets and in the gospel, *Ambrose* proves from our Saviour’s own words: “In foretelling the gospel by *Isaiah*, I who spake am pre-

* Ουδεις ανθρωπον πωσ των αιωνων εχει δοξαν· Χριστος δε εχει.—Ο εχ αμαρτιας σωζειν. επιτ αμαρτιαν εστιν και σωζει Χριστος· υμεις δε ανθρωπων επιτ αμαρτιαν ουκ ερα ανδρα, επιτ ο Χριστος.—Ουδεις ανθρωπος η σαρξ εχ ηνωσ λεχενταν Χριστ η ε σαρξ εχ υραν εισηλθ. Ανθρωπος επι Θεω εισηλθεν, ο Θεος, σαρκα δε συνηψεν Θεω, Θεος. Θεος δε ο Χριστος. —Πας ανθρωπος επι θανaton, και ουδεις επι θανaton αν, καταργει θανaton. Opera, II. p. 248. (P.)

† “Salomoni cum sapientiam à Deo postulasset, responsum à Domino est: Ecce dedi tibi, inquit, cor sapiens et prudens, quale non fuit ante te, et post te non exurget vir similis tibi. Quid dicemus, verum est quod promisit Deus? Imo verum est. Nemo ergo hominum similis erit Salomoni. Et quid videbit de Christo, qui inter cetera, Regina, inquit, austri venit ab ultimis terræ audire sapientiam Salomonis? Et ecce plus Salomone hinc. Nunc elige cui credas, Photine, Deo an Christo, Patri an Filio? Si Patri credis, arguis Filium: Si Filio credis, accusas Patrem. Si enim homo tantum est Christus frustra se preposuit Salomoni contra promissum Dei.” *Questiones*, Ex. T. J. Opera, IV. p. 768. (P.)

‡ “Non alienum etiam videtur ut qua ratione fabrum patrem habuerit, declaremus. Hoc enim typo cum patrem sibi esse demonstrat qui fabricator omnium condidit mundum, juxta quod scriptum est, In principio fecit Deus cælum et terram.” In *Luc.* iii. Opera, II. p. 42. (P.)

§ Και ερα μη της τω γραφων ακριβειαν· εστι μεν γαρ πατηρ φως, και ου προσκειται τησ πατρως, φως αληθινον· επει δε τω περι υν· ειπε, φως αληθινον, και ουδεις τομω αλλω λεγων. Ancoratus, Sect. iii. Opera, II. p. 8. (P.)

|| Και ο τωσ δε ημωσ εσθα λεγων· Οπισω μη ερχεται ανηρ, ος εμπροσθεν μη γερουσι, .. ουκ εστι μη χρ' και το ε προσωπον βειξωσ αμφοτερα τετρηε, και τα θειν, και τα ανθρωπ. .. ουκ εσθαι μεν γαρ, και το, ανηρ και το, ερχεται· θειν δε το οτι πρωτωσ μη χρ' αλλ' ημωσ ουκ αλλωσ ουδε τωσ οπισω ερχομενωσ, και αλλωσ των περι αιτωσ ουτω. Epist. lxxxiii Opera, IV. p. 1149, ed. Hake. (P.)

sent; (*Is.* liv., *John* xvi. ;) that is, I am present in the gospel, who spake in the law."*

What *John* [x. 30] represents our Saviour as saying, "I and my Father are one," and which had been urged by the *Sabellians* against those who were then deemed orthodox, was now most strenuously urged by the orthodox, in a more advanced state of the controversy, as a clear proof of Christ having proper divinity as well as the Father; and at the same time, that they did not make *two Gods*.

Origen, interpreting this text, observes, "that the Father and Son are two hypostases, but one in unanimity, harmony, and will."†

This text is urged by *Novatian*;‡ but *Hilary* makes it to be heretical to interpret this text to mean unity of consent, or harmony, and not sameness of nature. § *Ambrose* refines upon it, taking notice, that our Saviour places himself before his Father, "Lest it should be imagined that he was inferior to him; whereas it could not be supposed that the Father was inferior to the Son."|| But what is more extraordinary than even this, advantage is taken by *Basil* of Christ's saying, "My Father is greater than I" [*John* xiv. 28]. "It is," says he, "a proof that they are both of the same nature, because things of a different nature are not so compared."¶

Eusebius retained something of the old ideas on this subject, when he said that the Father and Son are one by a

* "Atque ut scias, imperator Auguste, Christum esse qui loquutus est et in propheta et in evangelio, tanquam in predestinatione evangelii per Esaiam dicit: Ipse qui loquebar adsum: hoc est, adsum in evangelio, qui loquebar in lege." *De Fide*, L. ii. C. iii. *Opera*, IV. p. 134. (P.)

† Ὁρῆσμεν ἐν τῷ πατέρα τῆς ἀληθείας, καὶ τὸν υἱὸν τὴν ἀληθείαν, ὄντα δύο τῆ ὑπὸσασει πράγματα, ἐν δὲ τῇ ὁμοιοῖ, καὶ τῇ συμφωνίᾳ, καὶ τῇ ταυτοῖτῃ τὰ βεβλήματῶ. *Contra Celsum*, L. viii. p. 356. (P.)

‡ "Si homo tantummodo Christus, quid est, quod ait, Ego et Pater unum sumus? Quomodo enim ego et Pater unum sumus, si non et Deus est et Filius? Qui idcirco unum potest dici dum ex ipso est, et dum Filius ejus est, et dum ex ipso nascitur, dum ex ipso processisse reperitur, per quod et Deus est." C. xv. p. 52. (P.)

§ "Hæc igitur quia hæretici negare non possunt, quippe cum sint tum absolute dicta atque intellecta: tamen stultissimo impietatis suæ mendacio negando corumpunt. Id enim quod ait, Ego et Pater unum sumus, tentant ad unanimatis referre consensum, ut voluntatis in his unitas sit, non naturæ; id est, ut non per id quod idem sunt, sed per id quod idem volunt, unum sunt." *De Trinit.* L. viii. p. 162. (P.)

|| "Pulchre etiam illud præmisit, Ego et Pater. Nam si Patrem præmississet, tu minorem Filium judicares: sed præmisit Filium, quem non convenit credi Patre superiorem." *Hexameron*, L. vi. C. vii. *Opera*, I. p. 94. (P.)

¶ "Καὶ πάλιν ὁ πατὴρ μὴ μείζων μὴ ἐπι- κερχρηῖται γὰρ καὶ τέλος τῆ βῆψ τα ἀχαρισία ἐπιστάματα, τὰ τὰ πονηρὰ γεννημάτων· ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ ἐκ ταύτης τῆς ἰφανῆς, τὸ ὁμοῖσθον εἶναι τὸν υἱὸν τῷ πατρί, ἀλλεσθῆναι πεπιστευκῶ· τὰς γὰρ συγκρίσεις οἶδα κυρίως ἐπὶ τῶν τῆς αἰνῆς φύσεως γινόμενας· ἀγγέλου γὰρ ἀγγέλου λεγομένου μείζονα, καὶ ἀνδρῶτον ἀνδρῶτε δικαιοτερον, καὶ πτηνον πτηνῶ ταχυτερον· εἰ τοιούτῳ ἀν συγκρίσεις ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμοειδῶν γίνονται· μείζων δὲ κατὰ οὐκέρσιν εἰρηται ὁ πατὴρ τῷ υἱῷ, ὁμοῖσθον τῷ πατρί ὁ υἱός. *Epist.* cxli. *Opera*, III. p. 137. (P.)

communication of the glory which he imparted to his disciples. For thus they also might be admitted into this unity.*

I shall now proceed to note a few proofs of the divinity of Christ from the apostolic epistles. *Paul* is supposed to say, † that Christ was “God over all, blessed for ever,” *Rom. ix. 5*. This is observed by *Novatian*, ‡ and many others. *Gregory the Great* says, that “Paul alludes to the Trinity, in *Rom. xi. 36*, of him, and by him, and in him, are all things.” §

Both *Eusebius* and *Jerome* quote *Gal. i. 12*, *I received not my doctrine from man*, as a proof that Christ, from whom he did receive his gospel, was more than man. ||

Eph. iv. 10, “He that descended, is the same also that ascended,” is urged by *Jerome* against *Ebion* and *Photinus*. ¶ *Lactantius* proves that Christ is both God and man, from his being called, [*1 Tim. ii. 5*,] the “Mediator between God and men.” ** *Origen* applies to Christ, *Rev. i. 8*: “I am the beginning and the ending.” †† *Chrysostom* proves that Christ is equal to the Father from Christ’s saying, [*John xiv. 23*,] *I and my Father will come, and take up our abode with him*. “Did ever,” he says, “a deputy say concerning his king, *I and my king give orders?*” ‡‡

* Οὕτως ἢ ἐν εἰσὶν ὁ πατήρ καὶ ὁ υἱός, κατὰ τὴν κοινωνίαν τῆς δοξῆς, ἧς τοῖς αὐτοῖς μαθηταῖς μεταδόθη τῆς αὐτῆς ἐνώσεως, καὶ αὐτὸς ἦξιν. Ec. Theol. L. iii. C. xix. p. 193. (P.)

† See Vol. XIV. pp. 233, 234. “The French Editor” of *Abauzit* says, “that in the ancient copies, the reading was simply this: ‘Of whom is, according to the flesh, Christ, who is blessed above all for ever and ever.’” *Abauzit’s Miscellanies*, 1774, pp. 123, 124. See *ibid.* pp. 123–143.

‡ Cap. xiii. p. 43. (P.)

§ “Paulus quoque ut operationem sanctæ Trinitatis ostenderet, ait: Ex ipso et per ipsum, et in ipso sunt omnia, atque ut unitatem ejusdem Trinitatis intimaret, profertur addit: Ipsi gloria in secula seculorum, amen.” In *Joh. C. xxviii. Opera*, p. 174, B. (P.)

¶ Καὶ πρῶτον, τοῖς αὐτοῖς εἶπεν, ὅτι, Το εὐαγγελίον μου, το εὐαγγελισθῆναι εἰς ὑμᾶς, ἔκτισται κατὰ ἀνθρώπον, ἔδωκεν ἐγὼ παρὰ ἀνθρώπου παραλαβὸν αὐτό, οὐδὲ διδάχθην, ἀλλὰ διὰ ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. Δὲ ἄν, ἀνδρες, ὅτι μὴ ἀνθρώπος ἦν φίλος, Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς παριστῆ. *Contra Marcel. L. i. p. 7*.

“Ex hoc loco Ebionis et Photini dogma conteritur: quod Deus sit Christus, et non tantum homo.” *Jerome in Gal. C. i. Opera*, VI. p. 122. (P.)

¶ “The locus adversum Ebionem et Photinum vel maxime facit. Si enim ipse est ascendens in celos, qui de caelis ante descenderat, quomodo Dominus noster Jesus Christus non ante Mariam est, sed post Mariam.” In *Eph. C. iv. Opera*, VI. p. 178. (P.)

** “Unde illum Græci μεσσην vocant; ut hominem perducere ad Deum posset, id est, ad immortalitatem: quia si Deus tantum fuisset (ut supra dictum est) exempla virtutis homini præbere non posset; si homo tantum, non posset homines ad justitiam cogere, nisi auctoritas, ac virtus homine major accederet.” *Instit. L. iv. Sect. xxv. Opera*, p. 430. (P.)

†† *Comment. II. p. 19*. (P.)

‡‡ Ἐπιπέδου ἀποκαλύψεως, ὅτι ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ θυσιάζων διατασσάμεν. *Contra Marcel. L. i. p. 3*. (P.)

but the Father; but there is none good but one, that is God; including himself, and the Holy Spirit, as well as the Father."* This observation occurs several times in the works of *Austin*.

The *orthodox* laid great stress on Christ's being called "the Son of God," as implying that he was of the *same nature* with God the Father, and therefore that he was properly *God of God*. To this the Unitarians replied, that good men are frequently called "the sons of God," as well as Christ. But the universal answer to this objection was that of *Jerome*: "Christ is the Son of God by nature, but we by adoption." †

It was alleged by the *Unitarians*, as a proof that Christ was inferior to the Father, that he is said to have been *sent* by him, as if he was subject to his authority. But *Ambrose* says, "The person sent is not always inferior to him that sends him; for then Christ would be inferior to Pilate, who sent him to Herod." ‡ To this, *Gennadius* adds, that "an angel was sent by Tobiah." §

To *come forth from the Father* might be interpreted to mean nothing more than being *sent* by the Father, as other prophets were. But *Hilary*, taking advantage of the literal meaning of the word, says, "To come from the Father, and to come out of God, do not mean the same things. They differ as much as *to be born*, and *to be present*; since the one is to come from God in his nativity, and the other to come from the Father into the world, for the salvation of men." ||

The *Unitarians* always laid great stress on Christ's calling the Father *the one true God*. What answer *Tertullian* made to this objection we have seen already, viz. that *the one God* was the original title of the Father before he had a Son, and therefore, that his having a Son could not deprive him of it. But the general answer was that of *Epiphanius*, viz. "That

* Ideo non ait nemo bonus nisi solus Pater, sed nemo bonus nisi solus Deus; in Patris enim nomine ipse per se Pater pronunciat, in Dei vero et ipse et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus, quia Trinitas unus Deus." *De Trinitate*, L. v. C. viii. *Opera*, III. p. 320. (P.)

† "Et ille quidem naturâ Filius est, nos vero adoptione." In *Eph.* C. i. *Opera*, VI. p. 162. (P.)

‡ "Esto tamen, minor sit qui mittitur, eo à quo mittitur, ergo et Pilato minor Christus, quoniam Pilatus misit eum ad Herodem." *De Fide*, L. v. C. iii. *Opera*, IV. p. 191. (P.)

§ "Sicut legimus angelum esse missum à Tobia, et Christus missus est à Pilato ad Herodem." *Bib. Pat.* V. p. 445. (P.)

|| "A Patre enim venisse, et à Deo exisse, non est significationis ejusdem: et quantum interest inter nasci et adesse tantum à se uterque sermo discernitur; cum aliud sit à Deo in substantia natiuitatis exisse, aliud sit à Patre in hunc mundum, ob consummandi salutis nostræ sacramenta, venisse." L. vi. p. 113. (P.)

the Father is called the one true God, in opposition to the Gods of the Heathens.* On this subject *Jerome* farther observes, that “Christ is also called the true God 1 *John* v. 20: ‘We are in him that is true,—this is the true God, and eternal life.’”† But *Austin* even proves the divinity of Christ from this text; for he says it ought to be read, “That they may know thee, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent, to be the true God.”‡

It was objected to the doctrine of the divinity of Christ that he said, *he could do nothing of himself*. But *Isidore of Pelusium* says, that “this intimated not his weakness but his strength, as it shewed that he would do nothing contrary to his Father,” (meaning, no doubt, that it was in his power,) “as he had fallen under a suspicion of being the antagonist of God, and of appropriating glory to himself.”§

It was objected to the divinity of Christ, that *he prayed to the Father*, as one who was dependent upon him. The general answer to this objection is thus expressed by *Damas-cenus*: “Christ being personally united to God, has no need of that ascent of the mind to God in which prayer consists; but having taken human nature upon him he shewed us a pattern of what was proper for us to do.”|| “The *glory* that Christ prayed for,” says *Hilary*, “was not for the word, but for the flesh.”¶ But *Ruffinus* says, “Christ was pray-

* Εν τῷ εν ειπειν τον μονον αληθινον Θεον, εις μοναρχειαν ημας ηγαγεν' ινα μηκει υπε τα χειρα τῃ κοσμη αμεν δεδωλομενοι, ινα μη πολυθεια εν ημιν ετι η. Sect. ii. *Opera*, II. p. 7. (P.)

† “Non secundum errorem Arianorum referimus ad personam tantum Dei Patris de quo scriptum est: Ut cognoscant te solum verum Deum, et quem misisti Jesum Christum; sed ad Filium, qui et ipse verus Deus est, dicente evangelista Johanne; Venit Filius Dei et dedit nobis mentem, ut cognoscamus verum, et simus in vero Filio ejus Jesu Christo. Iste est verus Deus et vita æterna.” *Opera*, IV. p. 219. (P.)

‡ “Ut hæc sit sententia, te, et quem misisti Jesum Christum, cognoscant unum verum Deum.” *Epist.* clxxiv. *Opera*, II. p. 785. (P.) Some modern *Trinitarians* have advocated this sense of the passage. Yet see Vol. XIV. p. 435, *Notes*.

§ Το γαρ, ου δυναται ο υιος ποιειν αφ' εαυτη θεν, εκ ασθενειαν αληθ καταγορει, αλλα και μεγαλην βωμην, οτι ανεπιδεκτος εστι τῃ εναντιον τι τῷ πατρι ποιειν' επειδη γαρ υπωπτει εἰς παρ' αυτων ὡς αντιθεος, και αλλοτριαν σφετεριζομενης δοξαν, τῷ εφη. *Ep.* L. iii. p. 387. (P.)

|| “Oratio est mentis ad Deum ascensus: aut eorum à Deo postulatio, quæ postulare convenit. Qui ergo fiebat, ut Dominus in Lazari suscitatione, ac passionis tempore, preces adhiberet? Neque enim sancta ipsius mens ascensione ad Deum opus habebat, quippe quæ simul Deo personaliter unita esset: nec rursus ei opus erat, ut quicquam à Deo postularet. Unus enim Christus est. Nimirum igitur id cause erat, quod personam nostram sibi adscisceret, atque id quod nostrum erat, in seipso exprimeret, seque exemplar nobis præberet, nosque à Deo postulare, mentesque ad eum erigere doceret.” *Orthod. Fid.* L. iii. C. xxiii. p. 426. (P.)

¶ “Gloria enim omnis non verbo, sed carni acquirebatur.” L. v. p. 211. (P.)

ing for his body the Church, when he said, ‘ My God, my God, why has thou forsaken me ? ’ **

Our Saviour expressly says that his Father was greater than he. But this was generally explained by saying, that he referred to his human nature only. This is the reply of *Athanasius*, who says, that, “ being the logos of the Father, he was at the same time equal to him.” † But *Epiphanius* intimates that our Saviour said this as a mere compliment to the Father, such as became a son to make. ‡ In the *Anco-ratus*, he says, it was to prove that Christ was the genuine Son of the Father. §

What *Paul* says concerning the *subjection of Christ to the Father*, who “ put all things under his feet,” (1 Cor. xv. 27,) was made an objection to the *Trinitarians*, as implying that Christ was certainly inferior to the Father, and that his kingdom was to have an end. “ Very many,” says *Hilary*, “ think that when all things are subjected to him, Christ will be subject to God; that on account of this subjection he is not God.” || Of this difficulty many solutions were proposed, and some of them curious enough.

Chrysostom says, that “ when Paul spake of the subjection of the Son to the Father, he was afraid lest some unreasonable persons should imagine either that the Son was greater than the Father, or that there was another unbegotten principle (αεζχι). ¶ *Damiani* says, that “ to deliver up the kingdom to God even the Father, means bringing men to contemplate the Father.” ** *Gregory Nyssen* says, that “ the subjection of Christ to the Father means the subjection of the body of Christ, which is his church.” †† He afterwards says, “ his

* “ Suscepit mortem pro nobis, et nos fecit corpus suum, pro quo orat ad Patrem, cum dicit, Deus, Deus meus, respice in me, quare me dereliquisti?” In *Ps. xxi. Opera*, II. p. 15. (P.)

† Καθώς λεγει, ὁ πατήρ μὲ ὁ σωματις με μείζων μὲ εἶναι, ἐπεὶ ἀνθρώπιος γέγονεν, μείζων ἀπὸ λεγεί τοῦ πατέρου· λόγος δὲ ἂν τῆ πατρός, ἴσος αὐτῆ εἶναι. De Humana Natura, *Opera*, I. p. 597. (P.)

‡ Τοῦ γὰρ ἐστῆτε ὡς ἐξείζων ἰδιον πατέρα ἀλλὰ τῷ γνησίῳ ὡς. Hier. lxii. *Opera*, I. p. 516. (P.)

§ Εἰς γὰρ ἀλλήλους τῶν γνησίων ἴδιον τιμῶν τοῦ ἰδίου πατέρα· ἵνα δείξῃ, τὴν γνησιότητα. Anco-ratus, *Opera*, II. p. 23. (P.)

|| “ Plerique enim ita volunt, ut aut dum subjectis omnibus Deo subicitur, per conditionem subjectionis Deus non sit.” De *Trinitate*, I. xi. p. 282. (P.)

¶ Ἐγὼ εἶπα, ἵνα μὴ ἐν τῆς δόξῃ παρὰ τίτι τῶν ἀλογοτέρων, ἢ μείζων εἶναι τῆ πατρός ὁ υἱός, ἵνα τῆ ἀρχῆ ἀγεννήτος. In 1 Cor. xv. *Opera*, IX. p. 680. (P.)

** “ Cum tradere e. summa Deo Patri nihil aliud sit juxta sobrium intellectum, nisi perducere erudentes ad contemplandam speciem Dei Patris.” *Epist. Bib. Pat. App.* p. 485. (P.)

†† Καὶ ὅτις ἢ τῆ σωματις τῆ ὑποταγῆ, αὐτῆ λεγεται εἶναι τῆ ἰδίου ὑποταγῆ, τῆ ἀποκαταμενῆ σφῆς τῆ ἰδίου σωμα, ὅπερ εἶναι ἢ ἐκκλησία. In 1 Cor. xv. 28, *Opera*, I. p. 37. (P.)

body is all human nature, with which he is mixed.* This last idea will receive some illustration from what I have observed with respect to the supposed *use* of the incarnation of the *logos*.

However, it was the general opinion of the fathers, that Christ will not cease to reign when all things shall be put under him. *Eusebius* says, "Christ does not cease to reign when he delivers the kingdom to God the Father." † *Jerome* says, "Christ will rather begin than cease to reign, when his enemies shall be put under his feet," ‡ meaning, probably, that all obstacles would then be removed, and that he would reign in peace; and in this, many of the moderns concur with him.

The *orthodox* were not a little embarrassed with Christ's saying, that places at his right hand and at his left, were not his to give, but that they would be bestowed as his Father pleased. *Basil of Seleucia* says, "This is to be understood as if he had said, You are not worthy to receive it; shew me your deserts, and then I will shew my power." § To the same purpose, *Cyril of Alexandria* says, that "those places were not to be given at all, but were to be the reward of merit." ||

After this fair exhibition of the doctrine of the *Trinity* from the writers of the age in which it was advanced; having seen the absurdity of the principles from which it originated, and the still greater absurdities into which it was afterwards carried; and also after seeing the wretched illustrations, and miserable defences that were made of it, can we wonder at its being sometimes treated with ridicule, and sometimes regarded with abhorrence, by the *Unitarians* of that age; or that it should have exposed Christianity to the derision of unbelievers, notwithstanding it was originally calculated to

* Σωμα δε αυτω, καθως ειρηται πολλακις, πασα η ανθρωπινη φησις, η κατεμιχθη. In 1 Cor. xv. 28, *Opera*, I. p. 849. (P.)

† Βασιλειων δε τοις ο υιος τη Θεω, της επ' αυτω βασιλειουμενης παντας, τα αυτω παραδασει πατρι, ου πανταμενος της βασιλειας, ηδ' αναχωρων αυτης. Ec. Theol. L. iii. C. xvi. p. 187. (P.)

‡ "Num quid tandiu regnaturus est Dominus, donec incipient esse inimici sub pedibus ejus; et postquam illi sub pedibus fuerint, regnare desistet, cum utique tunc magis regnare incipiet, cum inimici ceperint esse sub pedibus." *Ad Helvid.* *Opera*, II. p. 311. (P.)

§ Και νυν λεγεις, εκ εσιν εμον θουαι; δια τι; επειδη της τε λαμβανοντος αξιας, ου της τε ούοντος εξησιας μονη τε οωων καρματων αυτων ο θρονος, ου φιλοτιμιας τε οουοντα εκ κατορθωματων ο θρονος, εκ εξ αιτησεως η οουσι; λειξον μοι την σην αξιαν, και βλεπε την εμην εξησιαν. Or. xxiv. *Opera*, p. 135. (P.)

"Non est meum dare: non enim certandi munera sic mihi proposita sunt ut velim petentibus dare quibuscunque, sed illis solum qui certando superabunt." *Theaurus*, L. x. C. v. *Opera*, II. p. 300. (P.)

gam over the more philosophical part of them? The *orthodox* made heavy complaints on this subject, of which several specimens have been given already. They particularly say, that they did not know how to speak of Christ without giving an advantage to some or other of their adversaries. "If Christ," says *Jerome*, "be called a man, Ebion and Photinus take the advantage; if he be called a god, Manes and Marcion."*

"With respect to the divinity of Christ," says *Photius*, "to acknowledge three essences is Polytheism, and consequently Atheism; and to assert one hypostasis, is Judaism and Sabellianism. And with respect to his humanity, to say there is one nature and one hypostasis, is Manichæism; and to say that there are two natures and two hypostases, is Paulianism."†

The *orthodox* were charged with holding different opinions concerning the Trinity, and a great variety of such opinions have been exhibited. *Gregory Nazianzen* denies this, and says, that "the difference in other things, which he allows, was not so great as their adversaries pretended; that they were in part composed, and would be entirely so."‡ They were, however, no farther composed than the authority of councils, and that of the civil powers, were able to do it; and this prophecy concerning the total cessation of those differences has never been fulfilled, nor is there any prospect that it ever will.

From the very beginning it has been seen that the *orthodox* were charged with making more Gods than one. This appears by the apologies which all the orthodox writers make on this subject. Among others, see *Novatian*. § And this complaint continued till the latest periods, and appears not to have been less after the Council of *Nice* than before.

* "Si Christum fiteatur hominem, Ebion Photinusque subreperunt; si Deum esse contenderit, Manichæus et Marcion." In *Gal. C. i. Opera*, VI. p. 120. (P.)

† Ὡςπερ ἐπὶ τῆς θεολογίας, καὶ τὸ, τρεῖς ἐμολογεῖν ὄντας, πλὴθειν καὶ ὅσα τὰς ἀδελφῶν καὶ τὴν μὴν ἰσχυρὴν ὑπόστασιν, Ἰουδαϊκὴν καὶ Σαβηλλικὴν ὅτω καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς οὐκονομίας, τὸ τε μὴν φησὶν φησὶν καὶ μὴν ὑπόστασιν Μανιχαϊκὴν καὶ ἀποβλήτων καὶ τὸ ὅσα φησὶς, καὶ ὅσα ἐπιπέτασιν, Πηλιανισμὸν καὶ μαρσιανισμὸν. *Epist.* p. 95 (P.)

‡ Ὁμοίως ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀπολογίας, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ αὐτὰς αἰτίας, ἡρώτησάμεθα, εὐδαιμονοῦντες τὴν ἀπερίεργον ἐπιστολὴν μάλιστ' ἐκρίναμεν, εἴτε τὴν συναγωγῶν Θεῶν, ἢ τὴν τετρακτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ πνεῦμα μὴν ἀπὸ τῆς θεῆς ὄντας, εἴτε τὸν ὄντα πρὸς τὸ πνεῦμα, τὴν μὴν μωσῆν, ἢ τὴν αὐτὴν τῆς ἀπερίεργον ταῦτα γὰρ ὡς ἐν κεφαλῇ τῶν ἐκείνων, τὰ νῦν ἀναστῆναι.—Ἰδὲ τὸν μὴν δευτέρου, συνιφρονόμεν τε καὶ συμβαίνοντες, οὐκ ἔστιν ἢ πρὸς εἰς τὴν ἢ δευτέρου ἢ μὴν μωσῆν τῶν εἰρηνικῶν, καὶ γεγραμμένον.—Ἄλλα οὐ ἐστὶν ὑπερὸν ἄν' ἀνεκχέσθαι κακῶς μὴν καὶ τὴν τῶν, οὐ γὰρ ἀνεκχέσθαι. Ἐὰν μὴν οὐν ἡμετέροις ἡμεῖς ἐν ἡμῶν αὐτοῖς καὶ διαλέκτομεθα ἐπιβλέπομεθα. Ἐν τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐργῆς, ὁ μικρὸς τε τὸς τετὰν πραγμάτων. *Or.* xiii. *Opera*, p. 207. (P.)

§ "Et imprimis illud retorquendum in istos qui duorum nobis Deorum controversiam facere presumunt." *Cap.* xxx. p. 118. (P.)

Basil says, "We are accused of blasphemy against God." * There is extant, a whole tract of *Basil's* against those who calumniated the orthodox, on account of their worshipping three Gods. †

Gregory Nyssen complains, that he and his friends were 'accused of preaching three Gods; that this accusation was sounded in the ears of the multitude, and made to appear very plausible to them.' ‡

In a Commentary on the Book of *Job*, published among the works of *Origen*, but written probably by some *Arian*, we have heavy complaints of the Trinitarian doctrine, called the heresy of three Gods, as a type of which the devil made three horns, or three bands, to plunder *Job*. It has, he says, filled the whole world, as with darkness. §

The writer of the Homilies on *Matthew*, falsely ascribed to *Chrysostom*, frequently inveighs against the doctrine of the Trinity; speaking of it as the heresy foretold by Christ to overspread the world, under the emblem of *briars* and *thorns*; and alluding to the word *tribulus*, he calls it "the triangular heresy." ||

Nor were the Heathens less backward than the Christians to upbraid the orthodox fathers with their own *Polytheism*, while they pretended to reclaim them from theirs. The Heathens, according to *Chrysostom*, would say to them, "Who is this Father, who is this Son, or this Holy Spirit? Do not you make three Gods, while you accuse us of Polytheism?" ¶

In ridicule of the Christian doctrine of the Trinity, one of the speakers in *Lucian's Philopatris*, bidding the other to swear "by the Supreme God, by the Son of the Father,

* Εγκαλημεθα γαρ την εις Θεον βλασφημιαν. Epist. lxxix. Opera, III. p. 140. (P.)

† Om. xxviii. Opera, I. p. 534. (P.)

‡ Τρεις Θεους προσθεουσθαι παρ' ημων αιτιωνται, και περιηροσι της ακρας των πολλων, και πιδανως κατασκευαζοντες την διαβολικην ταλην, ο πανουται. De Trinitate, II. p. 139. (P.)

§ "Tria cornua fecit diabolus in typum atque figuram trionymæ sectæ, triumque Deorum hæresis, quæ univresum orbem terræ in modum tenebrarum replevit, quæ Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum aliquando tres colit, nunquam unum adorat, quemadmodum Græcorum lingua memoratur: triada vel homousion. Istam ergo Trinitatis sectam et hæresim atque in fidelitatem jam olim de longe designans versutissimus ille diabolus tria cornua misit ad *Job* depradandum, sic namque etiam nunc memorata trionyma hæresis, præsertim prædatur atque expugnat ecclesiam." L. i. Opera, I. p. 393. (P.)

|| "Et verum est quidem, quia spinas et tribulos omnes iniquos hæreticos appellavit: tamen forsitan sciens Dominus hanc hæresim esse prævalituram præ omnibus tribulos eos appellavit, quasi Trinitatis professores, et triangulam impietatem in sua perfidia bajulantes." Hom. xix. p. 842. (P.)

¶ Αν ποιουν ερχεται τις 'Ελληνων τη ποτε εστιν ουτος ο πατηρ; Τις δε ε υιος; Τις δε το πνευμα το αγιον; Η πως και υμεις τρεις λεγοντες Θεος ημιν εγκαλειτε πολιθειαν; In *Jo-han.* i. Opera, VIII. p. 91. (P.)

and by the Spirit proceeding from the Father, one out of three, and three out of one, and to consider it as being Jupiter;” the other answers, “ You make me have recourse to numeration, and give me an arithmetical oath—I know not what you say, *one three, and three one.*”*

Julian who had himself been educated a Christian, and was acquainted with the Scriptures, charges the *orthodox* with grossly misrepresenting them, in order to make out their favourite doctrine of the divinity of Christ. To shew in what light he considered their conduct, I shall quote several passages from his writings. “ Moses,” he says, “ taught one only God, and said, that he had many sons, to whom the countries were distributed; but no only-begotten Son, no God the *logos*, such as you afterwards falsely substituted. This he neither knew from the first, nor taught.” † “ If he would have no one to be worshipped, why do you worship his Son, and one whom he never considered as his proper Son, as I can easily shew? But you, I do not know how, have obtruded him.” ‡

He reproaches the Christians with calling Jesus the *logos* of God. § Speaking to them he says, “ You are so unfortunate as not to abide by what was taught by the apostles, but have added things that are worse, and more impious, to those that were held before. For neither Paul, nor Matthew, nor Luke, nor Mark, dared to call Jesus God, but only that good man John.” ||

He tells us that the doctrine of the divinity of Christ is not to be found in the *Old Testament*. Speaking of the prophecy of *Isaiah* (vii. 4, &c.) he says, “ He does not say

* Και τινα επομισσάμαι γε; Τρι. Ὑψιμέδοντα Θεον, μεγάλην, ἀμύρολον, θρανιαν, — ἕιον πατρος, πνευμα ἐκ πατρος ἐκπαρευμένον, ἐν ἐκ τριων, καὶ ἐξ ἑνος τρια ταῖα νομίζε. Ζηνα τον ὄ ἡγρ Θεον. Κρι. Αριθμεῖν με διδασκεις, καὶ οὐκίς ἡ ἀριθμητικῆ καὶ γαρ ἀριθμεις ὡς Νικομαχος ὁ γερασσηνος οὐκ οἶδα γαρ τι λεγεις, ἐν τρια, τρια ἐν. Opera, II. p. 993. (P.) On *Philopatris*, see Moyle's Works, I. p. 292; Lardner, VIII. pp. 76, 81.

† Ἐνα καὶ μόνον εἰδασκε Θεον, ὕιος δὲ αὐτῆ πολλῆς τῆς κατανεμαμενης τα ἐθνη πρωτοτακον δὲ ἕιον, ἡ Θεον λογον, ἡ τι των ἀφ' ὧμων ὕστρον ψειδως συντεθειτων δὲ, ἐτι ζῆδει κατ' ἄλλων, ὡτε εἰδασκε φανερωσ. Cyril contra Jul. Juliani, L. viii. Opera, II. p. 990. (P.)

‡ Εἰ γαρ ἄθενα θελει προσκυνεῖσθαι, του χαριν τον ἕιον ταλον προσκυνεῖ, καὶ ὄν ἐκεῖνος δὴν αὐτε νομῖσιν, αἰθ' ἡγρησαλο πωποτε; καὶ δεῖξω γε ταῖο βραδως ὕμεις δὲ, οὐκ οἶδ' ὄθην, ἐπὶ ἤλθον αὐτῶ τρις θείε. Ibid. L. v. Opera, II. p. 159. (P.)

§ Καὶ ταῖων μὲν των Θεων ἀθενα προσκυνεῖν τοῖμαλτ' ὄν δὲ οὐτε ὕμεις αὐτε οἱ πατερος μὲν ἐνακασον ἡσων αὐσῆδε χρηναι Θεον λογον ὕπαρχειν. Epist. li. Opera, I. p. 434. (P.)

|| Ὅτι δὲ ἐστὶ ὄσχηρις, ἄσε αἰδε τας ὕπο των ἀποστόλων ὕμων παραβεθῆμενοις ἐμμεμενη- κει, καὶ ταῖα δὲ ἐπὶ τῶ χαριον καὶ δεσσεθεστρον ὕπο των ἐπιγομομενων ἐξεργασθη, τον μὲν Ἰσραηλ αἰε Παῖδος ὕδμησται εἰπειν Θεον, αἰε Μαῖβαῖδ' ὄν, αἰε Λυκαας, αἰε Μαρκ' ὄν, αἰε Ἰωαννης Ἰωαννης, αἰε ὄμηδ' ὄν ἡδῆ πολυ ἀλλῶδ' ὄν ἑλακας ἐν πολλῆς των Ἑλλῆνων καὶ Ἰουδαίων ταῖων ὕπο ταῖος τῆς ἰσοσ. Cyril contra Jul. L. x. Juliani Opera, II. p. 1027. (P.)

that a virgin shall bring forth a god, but you always call Mary, the mother of God. Where does he say that he who shall be born of a virgin, shall be the only-begotten son of God, the first-born of all creation? As to what is said by *John*, "All things were made by him, and without him was not any thing made that was made," can any person shew this in the prophets? But attend to what I can shew out of them. 'O Lord God possess us, we know no other besides thee.' King Hezekiah is represented by them as praying, 'O Lord God of Israel, who sittest upon the cherubim, thou art God alone.' He leaves no room for any other.*

From this passage it is evident that *Julian* understood the Scriptures much better than the *orthodox* fathers. But he was acquainted with *Photinus*, and therefore, must have known that *all* the Christians were not such absurd interpreters of the Scriptures, or such favourers of *Polytheism*. But the public reproaches of Christianity must always fall on the most *conspicuous* professors of it, and those who, in consequence of having the countenance of government, will always be the most numerous. And while the absurd *Polytheism*, the rise and progress of which I have described, had this great advantage, it set at equal defiance the indignation of the oppressed Unitarians, and the sneers of the unbelieving Heathens.

After what has been exhibited in this work, we cannot wonder at the complaint of *Ruffinus*, who says, "The Pagans are wont to object to us, that our religion, being deficient in reason, consists in the mere force of believing." †

Having given so much attention to the doctrine of the *Trinity*; having traced it from its rise; having followed it through all its variations, and seen what its original advocates were able to say in its defence, I shall in the next place invite my reader to give the same impartial attention to the history of the ancient *Unitarians*. This, however, will be attended with the melancholy reflection, that while the greatest and most alarming of all errors kept taking deeper root, and flourished under the protection of the wisdom and

* Μητι Θεου φησιν εκ της παρθενου τεχθησεσθαι; Ζηστοικον δε υμεις ου πανεσθε Μαρναν κληντες; η μη πε φησι τον εκ της παρθενου γεννωμενον υιον Θεου μονογενη και πρωτογον πατης κτισεως; αλλα το λεγομενον υπο Ιωαννη παντα δι αυτου εγενετο, και χωρις αυτου εγενετο εδε εν' εχει τις εν ταις προφητικαις δεξαι φωναις; α δε ημεις δεικνυμεν, εξ αυτων εκεινων εξης ακεετε. Κυριε ο Θεος ημων κτησαι ημας, εκτος σε αλλον ουκ οιδαμεν πεποιηται δε παρ αυτων και 'Εζεχιας ο βασιλευς ευχομενος. Κυριε ο Θεος Ισραηλ, ο καθημενος επι των χειροβημ, συ ει ο Θεος μου; μητι τω δευτερω καταλειπει χειραν. *Cyril contra Julianum, L. viii. Juliani Opera, II. p. 262. (P.)*

† "Pagani nobis objicere solent quod religio nostra, quia rationibus deficit, in sola credendi persuasione, consistat." In *Symbol. p. 171. (P.)*

power of the world, the simple truth of the Gospel was almost confined to the unlearned, who were first despised, and then cruelly persecuted; till, in the age of ignorance, barbarity, and antichristian tyranny, that overspread the Christian world, it was nearly exterminated. A vigorous seed, however, remained alive; *the Scriptures* which taught that doctrine were not lost, and, in more favourable circumstances, (pre-possessed as the minds of men were in favour of extraneous doctrines,) they came to be better understood; and then the first, the greatest, and the clearest of all religious truths began to be perceived. Its advocates are now increasing every day;* so as to give us the glorious prospect of *Unitarianism* being in time the belief of all the Christian world. And this, we doubt not, will be followed by a still more glorious event, that of the whole world becoming Christian. †

* "I am sensible," says Mr. Lindsey, "that the plain religion of Jesus, stripped of these mysterious, inexplicable doctrines, to which mankind have been so long wedded, is not likely to gain proselytes immediately. Too many are the more attached to them on account of their being hidden and obscure; imagining their faith to be thereby rendered more august and venerable; although it be a false grandeur which they admire. Christians must be better taught and informed, free from violent, narrow, early prejudices against others of differing sentiments, and more simplified in their ideas, before the true Unitarian doctrine of the Scriptures can be generally received. Among those also who have more light and knowledge, many are found cautious and shy of producing it, and afraid, from different motives, good or otherwise, of disturbing other people's minds, and putting them upon inquiry, and judging for themselves."

"And yet, notwithstanding these obstacles, there is abundant reason to rejoice, that the light of the knowledge of the glorious God, the great original, the sole creator, and benevolent author of all things, is breaking forth through the dark clouds that have hitherto so long intercepted it, and hindered him from being seen by the followers of Christ as he really is; and that, within a century past, this great truth of revelation confirmed by nature's still and secret voice, that God is *One, one single Person*, and not (distracting thought!) *compounded of two or three Persons*, has been imperceptibly making progress in the breasts of many among us; and, in the present day, to their honour, some are not afraid or ashamed to come forth and openly confess it." *Historical View*, 1783, pp. 5—7.

† The following *Motto*, on the Title-page of Vol. II. 1786, was omitted, *supra*, p. 186:

"Vana Philosophorum verba, quæ in doctrinis Platonicis ecclesie parvulos turbabant." *Jerome*.

BOOK III.*

THE HISTORY OF THE UNITARIAN DOCTRINE.

Id verum quodcumque primum, id adulterum quodcumque posterius.

TERTULLIAN.

Εἰ μὲν ἐβόλοντο πάντες, εἰς ἓς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ σωτήρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ
 ἡ ἀλήθεια, μὴδὲ ἐκλήθησαν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου παρεγγραφεῖν, τῆ δὲ παραδόσει τῶν ἀπιστῶν,
 καὶ τῆ ἀπλοῆς τῆς πίστεως ἐξαρκεισθῆναι, οὐδὲν ἂν ἡμῖν εἶδει λόγων ἐν τῷ παρόντι.

BASIL.

INTRODUCTION.

AFTER the view that has been given of the rise and progress of the doctrine of the *Trinity*, which sprung from the absurdity and mystery of *Platonism*, and terminated in a mystery still more unintelligible and absurd, in which every thing that is simple and excellent in Christianity was wholly swallowed up and lost, and a Polytheism little better than that of the Heathens took its place, (for the worship of Christ led to that of the Virgin Mary, and a thousand other persons, called *saints*,) it is with peculiar satisfaction that I proceed to give an account of the doctrine of the *Divine Unity*, or the *History of Unitarianism*.

If I had not given what I imagine will appear to be a satisfactory account of the rise of *Christian idolatry*, it might have appeared a very extraordinary and unaccountable thing; considering that the Jews, from whom the Christians sprung, were all zealous Unitarians in the time of our Saviour, and that they have continued such to this day. It even appears to have been the great object of the Jewish religion, as contained in the books of Moses, to preserve in the world the knowledge and worship of the one true God, notwithstanding the universal tendency to Polytheism among all nations in the early ages.

The doctrine of one great omnipresent Being, the maker and the immediate governor of all things, was too great and sublime, I do not only say to have been *discovered* by mankind, but even to be *retained* by any of them, after it was

revealed, without particular provisions for that purpose. Though, I have no doubt, but that the first parents of the human race were instructed in the knowledge of the Divine Unity, their posterity soon adopted the notion of different gods, to whom they imagined the government of the world was delegated; and their attention to these inferior deities, on whom they thought that they more immediately depended, withdrew their attention, as it naturally would, from the supreme God, under whom they at first supposed that these lesser gods had acted. Then, being left to their own imaginations with respect to the *characters* of these gods, and having no models by which to frame them besides beings like themselves, they presently conceived them to be of very different dispositions, some of them cruel and base, and others lewd; and of course delighting in cruel, base, and lewd actions. To procure the favour, or to avert the displeasure of these gods, they would, therefore, practise many abominable, horrid, and atrocious rites.

The religious ceremonies, and the general character and practice of the Heathen world, abundantly prove, that idolatry was not a mere speculative mistake, a thing only foolish and absurd, but of a very serious and alarming nature; and that it was therefore nothing that could be called *jealousy* in the true God, to take such extraordinary measures as the history of revelation represents him to have taken in order to cure mankind of their proneness to idolatrous worship. It was a part which it became the Supreme God, the benevolent parent of all his offspring, to take, and what a regard to their own happiness required. The mischief was of so alarming a nature, that the greatest severities were necessary, and therefore *proper*, to be employed for this purpose; and they must know nothing of the nature and tendency of the ancient idolatry, who find any thing to censure in the severity with which the Israelites were ordered to act with a view to the extirpation of it from among themselves, or the nations inhabiting the district that was destined for them.

It is not possible to imagine any instructions or regulations more proper to effect the extirpation of idolatry, and to guard the people from it, than the laws of *Moses*, interpreted by his repeated and earnest remonstrances on the subject with respect to the Israelites. Let the reader only peruse the book of *Deuteronomy*, and then form his judgment. And yet, so seducing were the idolatrous customs of those times, that their whole history shews how prone

the Jews always were to abandon their own purer religion, and more simple rites, though, to appearance, sufficiently splendid, and having little of austerity in them; for they had only one fast day in the whole year, and three great festivals.

But the intention of the Divine Being was equally answered by the obedience or the disobedience of that people; and after a series of discipline, they returned from the Captivity of Babylon, with *a new heart and a new spirit*, in this respect. For they never discovered the least proneness to idolatry afterwards; but, on the contrary, always shewed the most scrupulous dread and jealousy on this subject. Nay, to a neglect of their religion, there succeeded the most superstitious attention to the smallest punctilios relating to it.

CHAPTER I.

That the Jews in all Ages were Believers in the Divine Unity.

It is impossible to read the sacred books of the Jews, (with minds freed from the strongest prejudices,) without perceiving, that the doctrine of the *Divine Unity* is most rigorously inculcated in them. It is the uniform language of those books, that one God, without any assistant, either equal or subordinate to himself, made the world, and all things in it, and that this one God continues to direct all the affairs of men.

This is so evident from the bare inspection of the books, and the well-known principles of the Jews in our Saviour's time, that even the Christian fathers, desirous as they were to find advocates for their doctrine of the Trinity, and pressing even *Platonism* into the service, could not but allow it. They ransacked every part of the *Old Testament*, as we have seen, for proofs or intimations of the doctrine of the Trinity, or of the divinity of Christ; but, though they imagined they found many such, yet they always acknowledged that the doctrines were delivered so obscurely, that the bulk of the Jewish nation had not perceived them.

They thought, indeed, that Moses himself, and the prophets, were acquainted with these doctrines; but that there were good reasons why they did not endeavour to make them intelligible to the rest of their countrymen; partly, lest it should have hindered the operation of their religion

to divert them from idolatry, and partly, because the doctrines were too sublime to be communicated at so early a period, and before men's minds were properly prepared for them.

SECTION I.

The Fact acknowledged by the Christian Fathers.

As these concessions are of considerable consequence to my argument, I shall produce a number of them, from the earliest Christian writers to a pretty late period, to shew that it was the uniform persuasion of all those who were the greatest friends to the doctrine of the Trinity.

I shall begin with *Justin Martyr*, the first who advanced the doctrine of the personification of the *logos*. What the Jews thought of their *Messiah* in his time, appears very clearly from a passage in his dialogue with *Trypho*, which will be produced hereafter. In the mean time, I shall give his opinion with respect to the doctrine of the Jews in general on the subject. "The Jews," he says, "thinking it was the Father of all who spake to Moses, when it was the Son of God, who is also called an angel, and an apostle, are justly censured by the Spirit of God, and by Christ, as not knowing either him or his Father."*

Clemens Alexandrinus considered the doctrine of the œconomy (or that of the incarnation of the *logos*) to be the doctrine of the *perfect*, alluded to by *Paul* in his Epistle to the *Colossians*, where he speaks [i. 9] of their being "filled with the knowledge of his will," and of "the mystery which was hid from ages and from generations, but now made manifest to the saints," [ver. 26,] "so that there are other mysteries," he says, "which were hid till the times of the apostles, and delivered by them as they received them from the Lord." † In another passage he speaks of this œconomy as what Christians only were acquainted with. ‡

Tertullian had the same ideas. "I adore," says he, "the

* Ἰουδαίαι ἐν ἡγήσασιν αὐτοῖς τὸν πατέρα τῶν ὄλων ληλαθήκεναι τῷ Μωσῶϊ, τῷ λαλήσαντι ἑαυτῷ ἑαυτῷ ὡς τῷ Θεῷ, ὃς καὶ ἀγγέλλων καὶ ἀποστόλων κληθήσεται, ὡς καὶ ἐλεγχθησεται καὶ ὡς αὐτὸς προφητικῶς προειμαθήσεται, καὶ ὡς αὐτὸς τῷ Χριστῷ, ὃς ἦτι τὸν πατέρα, ἦτι τὸν ἰσὺν ἐγνώσαν. *Apol. i. p. 94.* (P.)

† Τὸ μυστήριον τῆς ὁμοουσιότητος ἡμεῶν ἀπὸ τῶν αἰῶνων καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν γενεῶν, ὅτι ἐφανερώθη τοῖς ἁγίοις αὐτῷ ὡς χριστῷ ἐν ἑαυτῷ Θεῷ γνωρισθῆναι, τί το πλῆθος τῆς δόξης τῆς μυστηρίου τῆτι ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ὡς ἐὰν μὴ τα μυστήρια τα ἀποκκριμμένα ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων, καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῶν παραδόξεντα ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου παραλήψασιν. *Strom. I. v. p. 576.* (P.)

‡ Ἡμεῖς ἐσμεν — ὅτι τῶ ἀποκρυφίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ κατανενοήκατες. *Ad Gentes, Opera, p. 40.* (P.)

fulness of the Scriptures,” meaning those of the *Old Testament*, “which manifest the maker and the things made; but in the Gospel I find the minister, or the person by whom it was made, and the judge, viz. the word of the maker.”* “It is the faith of the Jews so to believe in one God, as not to acknowledge the Son, or the Spirit.—What is the difference between us and them, but this? What need is there of the Gospel, which is the substance of the New Testament, (saying, that ‘the law and the prophets were until John,’) if from that period the Father, Son, and Spirit, being three, are not believed to make one God? So God would renew his covenant, that, in a manner, he should be believed in, together with the Son, and his Spirit; that God may be known in his proper names and persons.”†

“The Jews,” says *Hippolytus*, “honoured the Father, but they did not give thanks: for they knew not the Son.”‡

Origen also says, “The Jews were not acquainted with the incarnation of the only-begotten Son of God.”§

Eusebius speaks of the Christians as differing from the Hebrews, in that the latter did not acknowledge the divinity of Christ. || He considered the doctrine of the divinity of Christ as peculiar to Christians, and distinguishing them from Jews. “If any Jew,” says he, “be asked, whether God has a *logos*, he will say, Certainly. Every Jew will say that he has one, or more of them; but if he be asked whether he has a *son*, he will not acknowledge it.”¶

Cyril of Jerusalem says, “In this respect our doctrine is more sublime than that of the Jews, in that they acknowledge one God the Father, but do not admit that he is the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, in which they contradict

* “Igitur in principio Deus fecit cælum et terram. Adoro scripture plenitudinem, quæ mihi et factorem manifestat et facta. In evangelio vero amplius et ministrum atque arbitrum rectoris invenio sermonem.” *Ad Herm. Sect. xxii. Opera*, p. 241. (P.)

† “Judaicæ fidei ista res, sic unum Deum credere, ut Filium adnumerare ei nolis, et post Filium Spiritum. Quid enim erit inter nos et illos, nisi differentia ista? Quod opus evangelii, quæ est substantia Novi Testamenti, statuens legem et prophetas usque ad Joannem, si non exinde Pater et Filius et Spiritus, tres crediti, unum Deum sistant? Sic Deus voluit novare sacramentum, ut novè unus crederetur per Filium et Spiritum, ut coram jam Deus in suis propriis nominibus et personis cognosceretur, qui et retro per Filium et Spiritum prædicatus non intelligebatur.” *Ad Praxeam, Sect. xxx. Opera*, p. 518. (P.)

‡ Ἰουδαίῳ μὲν γὰρ εὐξάσαν πατέρα ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἠρχαμίσθησαν, υἱὸν γὰρ ἐκ ἐπεγράσαν. *In Noctum, Sect. xiv. Opera*, p. 16. (P.)

§ “Deerat enim illis in Trinitate etiam de unigeniti incarnatione cognoscere.” *Opera*, l. p. 290. (P.)

Μητε την δεσποτηα συνωνυλιες αυτη. *Demonstratio*, L. iv. C. i. p. 144. (P.)

¶ Εἰ γεν τις Ἰουδαίων ερωῖο τινα, εἰ λογὸν ἐχρη ὁ Θεός; πάντες πη φησὶν· ἐπει καὶ λογὸν, καὶ λογὸς ἀλλοίος ἐχρὲν αὐτὸν, ἐμολογήσασιν αὐτὸν, Ἰουδαίος αὐτὸν ἄρα, εἰ σε καὶ ἕνὸν ἐχρη· οὐκ ἐτὶ αὐτὸν ἐμολογήσασιν, ἐρωτηθεὶς. *Contra Marcellam*, L. i. p. 4. (P.)

their own prophets, who say, in the Scriptures, ‘The Lord said unto me, Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee.’” * *Cyril of Alexandria* also says, “The Jews believed that there was a God who was before all things, and after him the creatures, but nothing intermediate between them.” †

Basil ranks the *Unitarians* with Jews. “If any one,” says he, “suppose the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, to be one, one being under different names, and that they are but one hypostasis, under three denominations, we rank him with the Jews.” ‡

“The Hebrews,” says *Leontius*, “have only one hypostasis, or person, and one nature of God; plainly admitting no Trinity, nor saying that God is Father, Son, or Spirit, except that they call God Father, as the father of all men. They prove this one hypostasis from the words of Moses: ‘Hear, O Israel, the Lord thy God is one Lord.’” §

Lastly, *Theophylact* says, “In the Old Testament, God was known to the Jews only, but not as Father; he was afterwards revealed by the gospel to all the world with the Son.” ||

This is a series of testimony, sufficiently extensive for my purpose, as it clearly shews what was the general opinion among Christians concerning the ancient faith of the Jews; and it is uncontradicted by any other evidence whatever. Some writers of yesterday have maintained, that the Jews always believed in a Trinity, and that they expected that their *Messiah* would be the second person in that Trinity; but the Christian fathers, who say just the contrary, were as much interested as any men could be, in finding that doctrine among the Jews, and they were nearer the source of information.

* Ταῦτα γὰρ ἂν τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀνατρεψάμενοι φρονούμεν· οἳ μὲν γὰρ εἶναι ἓνα Θεὸν πατέρα κατασχεύουσι τῆς ἰσχυρίας—το δὲ καὶ πατέρα εἶναι τὴν κυρίαν ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῆ, τῶν αἰ παραφροσύνην, τοῖς ἀδικαῖς προφηταῖς ἐναντία φρονούντες, οἳ φασί, ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς γραφαῖς, κύριος εἶπε πρὸς με, Ὅτις μὲν εἶ συ, ἐγὼ σημεῖον γεγεννηκά σε. Cat. vii. p. 102. (P.)

† “Intellexerunt enim in his quæ credita sunt, Deum quidem esse ante omnia, et post illum creaturam, intermedium autem, aliud omnino nihil.” *De Trinitate*, L. iii. Opera, II. p. 398. (P.)

‡ Ἐπις τῶν ἰσχυρῶν πατέρα λέγει, καὶ υἱόν, καὶ ἄρῃν πνεῦμα· καὶ ἐν πρῶτῳ πολυωνυμῶν ἐπιτίθεται, καὶ μὴν ὑπόστασιν ὑπο τῶν τριῶν προσήγοριαν ἐκφρασανμεν· τὸν τοιοῦτον ἡμεῖς ἐν τῇ μετὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ταύτοισιν. Epist. lxxiii. III. p. 123. (P.)

§ “Ignem Belicam unam dicunt hypostasim sive personam, unamque naturam Dei, nullam plane Trinitatem admittentes, ac neque Patrem, neque Filium, neque Spiritum sanctum dicentes: nisi forte sic Deum, inquit, adpellemus Patrem; ut qui omnium sit hominum pater. Unam ex eo probant esse hypostasim Dei, quæ Moses dixerit: ‘Audi, Israelitica natio, Dominus Deus tuus, Dominus unus est.’” *De Sæctis. Bib. Pat. App.* p. 1849. (P.)

|| Ἐν γὰρ καὶ ἐν τῇ παλαιᾷ ἐρασίᾳ, ἀλλ’ Ἰουδαίους μόνους· καὶ οὐδε τοῖσι, ὡς πατὴρ ὕψιστος, καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀναγγέλει ἐξέκαλήθη τῇ ἀδικαίᾳ πάσῃ, μὴ αὐτὸς ὕψιστος. In Rom. Opera, II. p. 1. (P.)

It was, indeed, imagined, as I have observed, that Moses and the prophets were themselves acquainted with the mystery of the Trinity; but that they thought it was not a proper time to make a full discovery of that doctrine for the satisfaction of the body of the Jews. *Eusebius* says, that “Isaiah knew that there was a God in God.”* “The prophets,” says *Chrysostom*, “who foretold concerning Christ, concealed their treasure in obscure words;” † which implies that, in his opinion, they knew it themselves. “Adam,” says *Epiphanius*, “being a prophet, knew the Father, Son, and Spirit, and knew that the Father spake to the Son, when he said, ‘Let us make man.’” ‡

Pope *Gregory* likewise represents the people of the Jews as ignorant of the Trinity, though the prophets might teach it.§

SECTION II.

Of the Reasons why, according to the Christian Fathers, the Doctrine of the Trinity was not discovered to the Jews.

As the ignorance of the *Jews*, concerning the doctrine of the Trinity, was an objection to the truth of it, which the Christian fathers, who defended it, could not be quite easy under, and they were often urged with it, as we shall see, by the *Unitarians*; it may be amusing to know more particularly in what manner they accounted for the fact.

That there should be a *gradual revelation* of so great a mystery as that of the Trinity, the fathers thought to be an argument of great wisdom on the Divine dispensations, as they were by this means better adapted to the different states of the world.

Chrysostom represents Moses as saying, “That the world was made by God, and not by Christ, as accommodating himself to the stupidity of his hearers. Paul himself,” he says, “was contented to teach the same doctrine at Athens. But he afterwards held a different language in the Epistle to the Colossians; and says, that *God in Christ created all*

* Ησαϊας προφητῶν μερισθε σαφως οἶδε Θεον εν Θεῳ ειναι. Demonstratio, I. v. C. iv. p. 225. (P.)

† Οπως και δι προφηται Χριστον κηρυξαντες τη ασαφειη των λεξεων εκρυψαν τον εησαυρον. De Sigillis, Opera, VI. p. 169. (P.)

‡ Και ηδει πατερα Θεον και υιον και αγιον πνευμα, προφητης γαρ ην. I. i. p. 6. (P.)

§ “Ipsa enim Dei cognitio que apud illam in spiritalibus patribus fuit, nota omni Hebræorum populo non fuit. Nam omnipotentem Deum, sanctam videlicet Trinitatem cum propheta prædicarent, populus ignorabat: solum decalogum tenebat in fide, legem Trinitatis nesciens.” *Super Ezekiel, Hom. xvi. Opera, II. p. 83. F. (P.)*

things that are in heaven and in earth. And John, the Son of Thunder, cried, saying, 'All things were made by him, and without him was not any thing made that was made.' But not so Moses; and justly, because it would not have been proper to give those meat who had need to be fed with milk." *

"As Moses," says *Cyril of Alexandria*, "was slow of speech, so the law of Moses was slow to explain the reason of it, and to open the theology of the Holy Trinity." †

"Observe," says *Job the Monk*, "the wisdom of Divine Providence, that to the ancients the Father appeared superior; in the new, the Son appeared to some persons to be inferior to the Father, but to many, equal to him; the Holy Spirit to many, inferior, but to some, equal; that what is unequal in human apprehension, might be brought to a perfect equality." ‡ According to this writer, therefore, the doctrine of the divinity of the Spirit was not fully revealed even in the time of the apostles, but was reserved for a later period. However, *Epiphanius* thought that the divinity of Christ was taught by the prophets, though not that of the Spirit. "One God," says he, "was chiefly preached by Moses, a Duality by the prophets, and a Trinity by the evangelists; this being suited to a more advanced state of knowledge." §

The reason that is generally given by the fathers why the Jews were not instructed in the doctrine of the Trinity is, lest it should afford them a pretence for relapsing into Poly-

* Και μη ξηρωσθης αγαπητε, ει Μαυσης ταυτην εβρεχε την οδον, εν αρχη και προομιαις τοις ποιηταρις Ιουδαϊαις διαλεγομεν^{τοις}, οπου γε και ο Παυλ^{ος}, εν τη χωρη, ημεκα τισαυτη η επισοπις γεγρονε τε κηρυγματ^{ων}, μελλων τοις εν Αθηναις διαλεγοσθαι απο των οραμενων ποιηται προς αυτου την διδασκαλιαν υια λεγων· ο Θεος ο ποιησας τον κοσμον και παντα τα εν αυτω. Ημεκα προς Καλοστας επεσελλε, μηρετι ταυτην ερχομενα την οδον, αλλ' εβρεχε αυτου διαλεγομενα και λεγοντ^{ες}, οτι εν αυτω εκτισθη τα παντα τα εν τοις θρανις, και τα επι της γης, τα ορατα και τα αρατα, ειπε θρανοι, ειπε κυριοτητες, ειπε αρχαι, ειπε εθνοιαι, τα παντα υι' αυτων και εις αυτων εκτισθη και Ιωαννης δε ο της βουλης υιου, εβρα λεγων· Ηαυτη υι' αυτου εγενετο, και χαρις αυτω εγενετο ουδε εν' αλλ'· ηχ ο Μαυσης ουλας' εκοιλας' ηδε γαρ την οδον τουσ επι η ελακτουρημεν^{τοις} ουρεμενις στερας μετανοουαι τρηφης. In Gal. i. *Opera*, II. p. 13. (P.)

† "Sicut Moses erat tardioris lingua, ita etiam lex Mosaica est tardioris lingua ad explicandam ejusquod est rationem, et aperiendam sanctae Trinitatis theologiam." *Collectanea, Opera*, I. p. 1036. (P.)

‡ Και παλαι της διανοης τρυφαιας τον παντοφρον τε και αρετην ζιγον· ο πατηρ εδοκει τοις παλαι το μειζον εχειν· ο υιος δε παλιν κατα την νεαν ενις μεν το ελαττον, τοις παλαιοις τοις δε νεωτοις ενις μεν το ελαττον, ολιγοις δε το ισον· ινα ην το αυτισον· ο υιος δε ενις μεν το ελαττον, εις ισοτητα επανασθη. Phot. Bib. Sect. cexxii. p. 623. (P.)

§ Θεους δε μια εν Μωση μαλιστα καταγγελεται, δις δε εν προφηταις σφοδρα κηρυσσεται. Τρις δε εν αναγελαις φανεραται, πλην κατα καιρος και γιντας ομοιωσασα τον πατηρ, εις γρασιν και σισιν. H. lxxiv. *Opera*, I. p. 899. He says the same thing in his *Anconatus*, Sect. lxxiii. *Opera*, II. p. 78. (P.)

theism; and certainly there was great danger of its operating in that manner. “The multitude of the Jews,” says *Eusebius*, “were in ignorance of this hidden mystery, when they were taught to believe in one God only, on account of their being frequently drawn into idolatry; they did not know that he was the Father of the only-begotten Son. This mystery was reserved for the Gentile Church, out of special favour to them.”*

Gregory Nazianzen, therefore, representing the propriety of Judaism being abolished by degrees, says, “The Father was preached in the Old Testament, and the Son obscurely; in the New, the Son clearly, and the Spirit obscurely, he revealing himself more clearly to us: for it was not safe to preach the divinity of the Son clearly, while that of the Father was not understood, nor that of the Spirit, while that of the Son was not received, lest too great a burden should be laid upon us, or lest we should be dazzled with too much light,” &c. † And *Chrysostom* farther observes, that “the precept, ‘Hear, O Israel, the Lord thy God is one Lord,’ was not given till after the sin of the golden calf;” ‡ as if it had not been the intention of Providence to give them any such precept, if they had not previously shewn a disposition to abuse more perfect instruction.

Job the Monk, of whose writings we have a particular account in *Photius*, comparing the great revolutions in the state of religion to *earthquakes*, says, “As the first earthquake had cured the world of idolatry, by contrary remedies, but concealed the difference of hypostases; so in the last times, the Jewish opinion of one person having gained strength in time, and by the law, and having destroyed idolatry; the Son then, in a manner worthy of God, and friendly to man, took flesh, and revealed the mystery of the Trinity by degrees.” He likewise says, “The Saviour very

* Το ὅτι πλῆθος τῶν Ἰουδαίων εἰδώς ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ ἐτυγχάνει τὰ κεκαυμένα τῶν μυστηρίων, ὅθεν Θεὸν μὲν εἰδασκετοῖς ἵνα εἶδεναι, ὅτια τοῦ τῆς πόλεως πλῆθος συνεχῶς ὑποσχεσθῆναι πατέρα δὲ οὗτα τοῦ Θεοῦ υἱοῦ τῆς μονογενεῖς ἡγνοεῖ· τῆσι γὰρ ἐφελκυστέτο τῆς ἐξ εἰδῶν ἐκλήσις τοῦ μυστηρίου, κατὰ τὴν ἀξιαρεῖαν χάριν αὐτῆς δεδοσχημένον. *Contra Marcel. l. i. c. xx. p. 99.* (P.)

† Ἐχει γὰρ ὁ Θεός, ἐκρήσσει φανερός ἢ παλαιὰ τοῦ πατέρα, τὸν υἱὸν ἀμείωτον· ἐφανερωσεν ἢ καινῆ τοῦ υἱοῦ ἵπεδειξε τὸ πνευματικόν τὴν δευτέραν, ἐμπολιτευεῖται νῦν τὸ πνεῦμα, σαφέστεραν ἡμῖν παρέχον τὴν ἑαυτῆς δόξαν· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀσφαλές, μήπω τῆς τῶ πατρὸς δευτέρας ὁμολογηθείσης, τὸν υἱὸν ἐκόντως κηρύττεισθαι· μήτε τῆς τῆς υἱοῦ παραδεχθείσης, τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἄγιον, ἵν' εἴπω τι καὶ τολμηροτέρως ἐπιρροτίζεσθαι· μὴ κατὰ τὴν τροφήν τῆς ὑπεροικανῆς βασιλευσῆς, καὶ ἡλικίᾳ φησὶ σαυροτέρων ἐπὶ προστάλινος τῆν ὡσὶν καὶ εἰς τὸ κατὰ ὄναρμιν κινδυνεύσασσι. *Or. xxxvii. Opera, pp. 608, 609.* (P.)

‡ Ὅτις γὰρ ἐποίησαν τὸν μωσῆν, καὶ τὸ γέλιπτον προσεκυνησαν, τοῖς ἡκούσταις· Κύριος ὁ Θεός σου κύριος εἷς ἐστίν. *Ser. xxiv. Opera, v. p. 350.* (P.)

wisely spake lowly of himself, and withheld the beams of his divinity, and prepared to let it shine forth in works.”*

It was customary, as we shall see, to represent the doctrine of the Trinity as something *sublime*, and of difficult apprehension; and therefore fit for persons of ripe understanding and deep reflection; of which, on that account, even the Christians of the first ages were allowed to be ignorant, and the common people in general, till a much later period. It was natural, therefore, to allege this, also, as another reason why the Jews, living in the infant age of the world, should not have this sublime and difficult lesson taught them. “The Jews,” says *Eusebius*, “were not taught the doctrine of the Trinity, on account of their infant state.”† *Basil* gives the same account.‡ *Cyril of Alexandria* says, “The doctrine of the Trinity was taught in types only, and not clearly. For what reason? Because the light of divine vision is not easily accessible to those who are but lately called to the knowledge of the truth, and have not their minds exercised to those speculations.”§

Our Saviour said, [*Matt. xix. 8.*] that divorces had been allowed to the Jews, “because of the hardness of *their* hearts.” This also is given as a reason by *Eusebius*, why the Jews were not taught the doctrine of the Trinity. ||

SECTION III.

The Sentiments of the Jews, as expressed by themselves, on the Subject.

HAVING seen what the Christian fathers say in general of the ignorance of the *Jews* concerning the doctrine of the

* Και καθάπερ ὁ πρῶτος σεισμός δια τῶν ἐνανθίων ἰασαίῳ το πολυθεῖον, ἐπικιψάμενος τῶν ὑποστάσεων το διαφορῶν ἄτα και ἐν εσχάτοις καιροῖς, τῆς Ἰουδαϊκῆς δόξης εἰς ἓν προσωπικὴν ἡμῶν και χρόνῳ κρατενῶδεισης, και περιέλεσης το πολυθεῖον, ὁ εἰς τῆν καινὴν θεοπροπείας τε καὶ φιλοσοφίας και σαρκὶ λαμβάνει, και το τῆς τριαδῆς κατὰ μίαν ἀνακαλύπτει μυστηρίων ἐπαγεῖ δε τῶν, ἄς πανσφας ὁ σωτὴρ τοῖς μὲν ῥήμασιν ἐταπεινωλογεῖτο, και τὴν τῆς ἀποστόλου συνειδήσειν ἀγῶν, τοῖς ἐργοῖς δὲ ταύτης παρεσκευάζειν ἀσραπίειν, και δι' αὐτῶν ἰσάκι κηροτίεσθαι τῆς παντοκρατορικῆς ἰνναμείας το αξίωμα. Photii Bib. Sect. cccxii. p. 619. (P.)

† Καὶ τῶν ἡπιαζόντων τῶν Ἰουδαίων λαῶν. Ec. Theol. L. ii. C. xviii. p. 130. (P.)

‡ Ἦν γὰρ τι, ἄς εἰμεν, και ἀπο τῆ κοσμη τῆς, ὁ τῆ μὲν διανομῆς ἡμῶν ἐστὶ θεωρητικῶν, ἀνεργητῶν δὲ κατέλειψεν, δια το τοῖς εἰσαγομένους ἐτι και ἡπιαζῶν κατὰ τὴν γῶσιν ἀνεπιτηδίων. Opera, I. p. 6. (P.)

§ Ὅς ἐν τυποῖς ἐτι μόνον, ἤχι δὲ και αἰσθητικῶς, ἐδιδασκεῖο δια ποῖαν αἰτίαν; Ὅτι τοῖς ἡπιαζόμενοις εἰς ἐπιγῶσιν ἀληθείας και οὐκ ἐντριβῆτοις ἐπ' αὐτῆ θεωρημασι τὴν διανοίαν ἡπιαζῶν, ἀπρόσιτον στας εἶναι δοκεῖ και ἐστὶν ἀληθῶς, το φῶς τῆς θεοπτικῆς. Cont. Julianum, I. i. Juliani Opera, II. p. 19. (P.)

|| Ὅτι πρὸς τὴν σκληροκαρδίαν τῶν Ἰουδαίων λαῶν. Ec. Theol. L. ii. C. xx. p. 134. (P.)

Trinity, let us see what the Jews themselves have said on the subject, as far as we are able to collect it, either from the writings of the Christian fathers, or their own.

As the Christian fathers found the doctrine of the Trinity obscurely hinted at in the *Old Testament*, and particularly in the account of the creation, in which God is represented as saying, "Let us make man," we may wish to know what the Jews replied, when they were urged with this argument; and it is remarkable, that their answer was in general the same with that of the Unitarian in the *Clementines*, in reply to Simon, who had urged that very circumstance, as a proof that there were more Gods than one. However, there is a variety in the answers given by the Jews to this question, but all of them sufficiently natural and not improper. *Theodoret* says, "The Jews say, that when God said, 'Let us make man,' he used the kingly style;"* and this seems to be the most natural interpretation. But according to *Tertullian*, the Jews said that God addressed himself to the angels. "Did he speak to angels, when he said, 'Let us make man,' as the Jews say, who do not acknowledge the Son; or, as if he himself was Father, Son, and Spirit, did he, say they, make himself more than one, and speak in the plural number?"† This also is the answer which *Basil* reports. "The Jews say, God spake to the angels, when he said, 'Let us make man,'" addressing himself to an *Unitarian*, who he said was "a Jew pretending to be a Christian."‡ *Cyril of Jerusalem* says, that the Jews acknowledged only one God, the Father.§

We may form a very good judgment of the sentiments of the Jews on this subject, from the account of a solemn conference between *Gregentius*, a Christian bishop, and *Herbanus*, a learned Jew, in the presence of an Arabian prince in the fifth century. As it is the only work of the kind that remains of so early an age, I shall quote several extracts from it, to shew how the Jews of that age felt and reasoned.

The *Jew* expresses his dread of idolatry in very strong terms. "The prophet Moses," he says, "if you read the Pentateuch, pronounces a dreadful curse upon the children

* In *Gen.* xix. *Opera*, I. p. 15. (P.)

† "Aut numquid angelis loquebatur, ut Judæi interpretantur, quia nec ipsi Filium agnoscunt; an quia ipse erat Pater, Filius et Spiritus, ideo pluralem se prestatum, pluraliter sibi loquebatur." *Ad Præzeum*, Sect. xii. p. 506. (P.)

‡ Δικε και συ δ' εκ της νεας καταλοιμης, ο τον Ιουδαισμον προσβειων εν Χριστιανισμω προστοιμησαι' τινη λεγει κατ' εικονα ημετεραν. *Hom.* viii. *Opera*, I. p. 105. (P.)

§ 'Οι το μεν ειναι ενα Θεον πατερα καταδεχονται τοις δογμασι. *Cat.* vii. p. 102. (P.)

of Israel, from God, the angels, and saints, calling in all the elements under heaven, if we should ever receive any other God besides the God of our fathers. Why then should you make any words on the subject? For God himself by the prophets strictly orders us, saying, There shall be no other God in thee, nor shalt thou worship a strange God; I am the Lord thy God, who brought thee out of the land of Egypt. What think you of this?*

“It is grievous to me to desert the God of the law, whom you acknowledge to be a true God, and to worship a younger God, not knowing whence he sprung.” †

“Whence do you derive your faith in the Father, Son, and Spirit, and introduce three strange gods?” ‡ “Where did any prophet foretell that Christ was to be *God-man*, as you say?” § “Why did not God order Moses and the prophets to believe in the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, but yourselves only, who have lately discovered it, as you pretend?” ||

“How do you call your Christ God, if my God has chosen him, &c.? He cannot be a God, of whom you acknowledge it is said in the prophet, *I have made thee strong*. How can you call him your God and Saviour, who, as the prophet witnesses, can do nothing without my God?” ¶

Lastly, having quoted the words of the prophet, [*Isaiah* xlix. 8,] “I have heard thee in an acceptable time, I have formed thee,” he says, “How dare you, then, make him equal to him that formed him?”**

The *Rabbi Nachmanides*, in his public disputation before

* Μωϋσῆς ὁ προφήτης, εἰ τὴν πεντατευχὸν ἀνεγνώσ, μεγάλῃ καταρῶν τεθεῖκεν ἡμῖν τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ, ἀπὸ Θεοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀγγέλων, καὶ τῶν ἁγίων, θεῖς καὶ πάντα τὰ σκευὰ τὰ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ὑπὸ καταρῶν, εἰ ποτε ἕτερον Θεὸν ὑποδέξομεθα παρὰ τὸ Θεὸν τῶν πατέρων. Τί ἔνδοξον πολυπραγμονεῖς; Καὶ γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Θεὸς διὰ τὴν προφητῶν παρεγγύα ἡμῖν λεγῶν· ἐκ ἐσθαι ἐν σοὶ Θεὸς προσφάτος, ἠδὲ προσκινηθεὶς παρὰ ἀλλοτρίων· ἐγὼ γὰρ εἰμι κύριος ὁ Θεὸς σου, ὁ ἀνομήτων σου ἐκ τῆς γῆς Αἰγύπτου· τί ἐνδοκεῖ σοὶ πρὸς ταῦτα; P. 36. (P.)

† Οὐκ ἔστι μαρτυρία καταλείπειν τὸν Θεὸν τὴν νομὴν, ὅτι καὶ σὺ μαρτυρεῖς, ὅτι ἐστὶ Θεὸς ἄλλοθεν, καὶ προσκινηθεὶς (θεῶν νεωτέρῃ, σθένει ἐπειταχθέντι οὐκ εἰδώς. Ibid. p. 115. (P.)

‡ Ἦδὲν ἐν ἐξελικθεῖσθε πατέρα καὶ υἱὸν καὶ πνεῦμα πνεύματι, καὶ εἰσφέρετε εἰς τὸ μέσον τρεῖς θεοὺς ἀλλοκότους; Ibid. p. 6. (P.)

§ Καὶ τὰ κριζατὰ τῶν προφητῶν, ὅτι Θεὸς ἀνθρώπος ἐστὶ ὁ Χριστός, ἐν τῷ τρόπῳ λελαλήκατος; Ibid. p. 112. (P.)

¶ Τῷ Μωϋσῆϊ καὶ τοῖς προφῆταις πῶς οὐκ ἐξεδέτο ὁ Θεὸς πνεύματι εἰς πατέρα καὶ υἱὸν καὶ ἄλλον πνεύματι, ἀλλ' ἡ μόνος ἡμῶν νεώσι τέλο ἐξευρηκόσιν, ὡς ὑμεῖς φάτε; Gregent. p. 7. (P.)

¶ Καὶ ἐν τῷ εἶπῳ ἐχει, τῶν δὲ τρόπων τὸν Χριστὸν σὺ Θεὸν προσαγορεύεις, εἰς ἃ Θεὸς ὁ ἐμὸς ἐξελικθεῖτο, καὶ κρηθῆτε, καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς; οὐκ ἔστι Θεός· ὡς λέγεις, ὅτι φασκεῖ περὶ αὐτῆς αὐτὴ τὴν σφραγῆν, ὅτι ἐγὼ γὰρ εἰμι ὁ ἐνοσχασίας σε· πῶς δὲ καὶ ἀποκαλεῖς αὐτὸν Θεὸν καὶ πατέρα σου, ὡς τις καθὰς ἡ προφήτεια μαρτυρεῖ, ἀνευ τῆς ἐμῆς Θεοῦ πρᾶξις τί οὐ δύναται; Ibid. p. 111. (P.)

** Πῶς ἐν σὺ τὸ μῆκος ἴσον τῷ πλάτῃ αὐτῆς Θεὸν ἀνομαζῶν; Ibid. p. 151. (P.)

the king of Arragon, in 1263, lays the greatest stress imaginable on the doctrine of the *Messiah* being a mere man; and his address to the young king on the subject is pertinent and affecting. "The greatest subject of controversy between us and the Christians," says he, "lies in this, that you make the Messiah to be a God, which is not to be borne" (literally, it is *a very bitter thing*, מר מאד). "You, my king, are a young man, born of Christian parents, and have all your life heard monks and preachers discoursing about the nativity of Jesus, and they have filled your bones with this doctrine as with marrow; and from use it is grateful to you. But what you believe on this subject is contrary to sound reason. It is not agreeable to common sense, to the nature of things, or to the writings of the prophets. The enormous prodigy is utterly inexplicable.—For, could the Creator of heaven and earth, and of all things that are in them, go into the womb of a Jewish woman, be there nourished nine months, be afterwards born a boy, then grow to a man, be delivered into the hands of his enemies, who should pass sentence of death upon him, and execute it, then come to life again, &c. ? These are things that neither the reason of a Jew, nor that of any other man, can bear. It is in vain, therefore, and to no purpose to dispute about other things; it is on this that the hinge of our controversy turns."*

"The doctrine of the Trinity," says the *Rabbi Isaac*, "as held by learned Christians, rests on the slightest evidence, and is contrary to the doctrine of the prophets, the law, and right reason, and even the writings of the New Testament. For the divine law gives its sanction to the unity of God, and removes all plurality from him."† This writer shews,

* "Cæterum, principalis causa quæ inter Judæos ac Præputiatis dubia ac controversa est, in eo latet, quod vos Messiam inter divinitatis septa admittitis, quæ res est durissima. Tu vero, mi rex domineque, juvenis es, patre Christiano, et matre Christiana progenitus, totaque vita tua audivisti monachos, homunciones et concionatores de nativitate Jesu verba facientes, ii hæc quasi medullâ repleverunt ossa tua, et ex hac consuetudine suavis est ingenio tuo. Sed vero res quam creditis, sanæ rationi adversatur, nec enim vel intellectus, vel rerum natura tale quid concedunt, neque prophætæ hoc enunciarunt. Amplius, nec explicari potest prodigii enormitas, prout demonstrabo rationibus evidentibus suo loco et tempore.—Nunquid enim Creator cœli et terræ, rerumque quæ his continentur omnium, recipit sese in uterum Judaicæ mulieris, ibique aferetur, per menses novem, et puer postea nasceretur, educaretur deinde, traderetur in manus inimicorum suorum, qui capitalem sententiam adversus illum pronunciarent, et neci traderent, dicatur autem postea revixisse, et reversus esse in locum suum, quæque alia sunt ejus generis? Ista nec Judæi hominis nec cujusquam mortalium sana ratio suffert. In vanum igitur, et in nihilum, de aliis verba facitis; nam in his vertitur cardo nostræ controversiæ." P. 40. (P.)

† "Accedit his, quod dogma de Trinitate falsum est, et à quibusdam eruditissimis Nazarenorum, rebus levissimis, sine ullo vero prophetico fundamento recens superstructum, quodque legi divinæ, verbis prophetarum, humanæ rationi, dictisque

in many places, that the doctrine of the Trinity is not taught in the *New Testament*. *

The contempt which the author of a Jewish treatise, entitled *Nizzachon Vetus*, expresses for the Christian doctrine of God being confined in the womb of woman, is peculiarly strong. † As to those who said that Mary was not rendered unclean by the birth of Jesus, he says the contrary is evident from the offering that she brought for her purification. ‡

Having seen what the Christians, both *Unitarians* and *Trinitarians*, and also what the Jews, thought of the doctrine of the *Old Testament* concerning God, it may be some farther satisfaction to know in what manner the Heathens decided in this case. We have the opinion of the emperor *Julian* on this subject, and it is decisively in favour of the Jews, and the Unitarian Christians. He says, “Moses not only once, or twice, or three times, but many times, commands to worship only one God, who, he says, is over all. He mentions no other God, but only angels, and lords, and many gods,” that is, the Heathen gods. “This great Being he made to be the first, but he made no second like him, or unlike him, as you have done. If you can produce a single expression in Moses to this purpose, do it. That saying of his, ‘A prophet shall the Lord your God raise up unto you, of your brethren, like unto me, *hear him*,’ § is not said of the son of Mary. But if this be granted to you, he says that he shall be like to himself, and not to God, a prophet like himself, of man, and not of God.” ||

plurimis scriptorum Novi Testamenti repugnat. Quippe lex divina comprobatur Dei unitatem, omnemque pluralitatem ab eo segregat.” *Minimem Fidei*, p. 113. (P.)

* See *ibid.* pp. 397, 403, 418, &c. (P.)

† “Quomodo igitur iste Deus esse posset, qui faminam plenum immunditiiis ventrem habentem, ingressus est? Et quem toties mater illius, novem graviditatis mensibus, eo detulit, quo saturo itabat? Quique tempore nativitatis editus est inquinatus, et sordens, involutus secundinis, et abominabilis sanguine partus ac profluvii.” *Nizzachon Vetus*, p. 7. (P.)

‡ “Quod si dicat adversarius: non inquinatus fuit intra viscera ejus. Nam, cum in Maria muliebris consuetudo defecisset, intravit eam spiritus, exivitque sine dolore, et sine sanguinis sorditie. Ad hæc respondere licet: annon vos fatemini cum obtulisset sacrificium puerperarum, ejus immundities causa erat? Idem enim sacrificium offerrebant leprosus, hæmorrhousa, et puerpera, par turturum, aut duos pullos columbarum.” *Ibid.* (P.)

§ *Acts* iii. 22. See Vol. XIII. p. 398.

|| “Ο ταινω Μωσως ακ' ἀπαξ, ρηε δις, ρηε τρις, αλλα πλειστακις ένα Θεον μονον αξιοι μιμη, εν οη και επι πασιν ονομαζει, Θεον δε ετερον ηδαμη, αγγελης δε ονομαζει, και κυριος, και μενις και ζεις πλειστακις: εχειρειον και τον πρωτον, αλλον δε ηχ υπειληφε δευτερον: ητε ομοιον, ητε ανομοιον, κατωπερ υμεις απεξειργασθη: ει δε εστι παρ' υμιν υπερ τωτων μια Μωσως εβουλησεν ταυτην επιδικασαι, τριφασειν. Το γαρ, προφητην υμιν αναστησει κυριος ο Θεος υμων, ος εστι παρ' υμιν, ος εστι αλλα ακησεσθη: μαλιστα μωσ ην ακ ειρηται περι τη γρηγορησει. Μωσως δε τις υμιν ενκα συγχωρησεν, εναντη φησιν αλιον υμωων γεννησθαι, και ο παρ' Θεου προφητην ωσπερ εαυτον, και εξ ανθρωπων, αλλ' ουκ εκ Θεου. *Cyrii Contra Jul. L. viii. Juliani Opera*, II. p. 258. (P.)

It has been seen * that *Philo* personified the *logos* as much as the Christian fathers, and that they probably learnt of him the doctrine of a divine *logos* being the medium of all the communications of God to the patriarchs, and of this principle occasionally assuming a visible form. But *Philo* had no idea that this doctrine had any connexion with that of the *Messiah*, as he gives no hint that this was a character to be assumed by the *logos*; nor does it appear that the Jews in any age had such an expectation; though this has been pretended by some modern Christians.

It is unquestionable that, in our Saviour's time, the Jews expected no other than a man in the character of their *Messiah*. Mary, the mother of Jesus, evidently expected that the *Messiah* was to be born in the usual way, of two human parents; for, when the angel informed her that she should "conceive and bear a son," who should be called "the son of the Highest," and to whom God would "give the throne of his father David," she replied, *Luke* i. 34, "How shall this be, seeing I know not a man?" † Our Saviour could not possibly have puzzled the Jewish doctors as he did, by asking them how *David* could call the *Messiah* his Lord, when he was his son, ‡ or descendant, on any other principle. For if they had themselves been fully persuaded that the *Messiah*, though descended from *David*, was the maker and God of *David*, a satisfactory answer to his question was very obvious. *Origen* reproaches *Celsus* for his ignorance, in not knowing that the Jews never believed that the *Messiah* would be God, or the Son of God. § *Facundus* very properly says, that "Martha and Mary would never have said to Christ, 'If thou hadst been here,' [*John* xi. 21,] had they thought him to be God omnipresent." This writer also says, that the Jews always had expected, and that, in his time, they did expect, a mere man for their *Messiah*. "They did not know," he says, "that Christ, the Son of God, was God; but they thought that Christ would be a mere man, which any one may perceive that the Jews at this time also think." ||

Many Christians imagine, that the child called *Immanuel* by *Isaiah*, (vii. 14.) must be God, because the word signifies,

* *Supra*, pp. 205, 254, 261, 266.

† See Vol. XIII. p. 17.

‡ See *ibid.* p. 290.

§ Οὐκ αἰδε μέντοιγε ἕτι οὐ πάντι Ἰουδαίσι λεγῆσι Θεὸν οὐτὰ τον Χριστὸν καταβῆσθαι, ἢ Θεοῦ υἱόν. Contra *Celsum*, L. iv. p. 162. (P.)

|| "Sed non propterea Christum Dei Filium, Deum sciebant; hominem autem purum arbitrati sunt Christum.—Quod etiam nunc putantes Judæos quilibet videbit." L. ix. C. iii. p. 139. (P.) See Vol. XVIII. pp. 202, 214.

“God with us.” But the Jews understood their scriptures, and their own ideas with respect to giving names, too well to draw any such inference from this circumstance. *Eusebius* says, that they asserted it was not even the *Messiah* that was intended by *Immanuel*, but only some common child.*

Basnage, who studied the history and opinions of the Jews more carefully, perhaps, than any other modern writer, and who has written largely on this very subject, though a Trinitarian himself, has exploded all the pretences of *Cudworth* and others, to find the doctrine of the Trinity, either among the ancient or the modern Jews. “The Christians and the Jews,” he says, “separate at the second step in religion. For after having adored together one God, absolutely perfect, they find immediately after the abyss of the Trinity, which entirely separates them. The Jew considers three persons as three Gods, and this tritheism shocks him. The Christian who believes the unity of one God, thinks that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, should all be called God, and have the same worship. It is impossible to reconcile opinions so contrary. There are, however, divines bold enough to attempt it.” †

This writer also says, that “the Jews consider themselves as bearing their testimony to the unity of God among all the nations of the world.” ‡ How far the Jews of late years are from admitting the divinity of the *Messiah*, we may judge from what *Orobio* said in his controversy with *Limborch*, viz. that, admitting what is impossible, that the *Messiah* whom they expect should teach that doctrine, he ought to be stoned as a false prophet. §

It has, however, been imagined by some, that the *Jews* had a knowledge of the doctrine of the Trinity, that it spread from them among the *Gentiles*, and that traces of it may be

* Ταῦτα δὲ πάντα περὶ τῆς τυχεῖος παιδὸς λεγέσθαι, οὐκ οἶδα πῶς συζητῆσαι ἐκ περιτομῆς. In *Es. C. ix.* *Montfaucon's Collectio*, II. p. 391. (P.)

† “Les Chrétiens s'écartent des Juifs dès le second pas qu'ils font dans la religion. Car après avoir adoré ensemble un Dieu, souverainement parfait, ils trouvent un moment après l'abîme de la Trinité, qui les sépare, et les éloigne souverainement. Le Juif regarde trois personnes comme trois Dieux, et ce trithéisme lui fait horreur. Le Chrétien, qui croit l'unité d'un Dieu, veut à même tems qu'on donne ce titre au Père, au Fils, au Saint Esprit, et qu'on les adore. Il est impossible de concilier des opinions si contraires; cependant il y a des théologiens hardis, qui ont tenté de le faire.” *Hist. des Juifs*, L. iv. Ch. iii. Sect. i. (P.) See Vol. XVIII. p. 223.

‡ “Les témoins de l'unité de Dieu dans toutes les nations du monde.” *Hist. des Juifs*, L. vii. Ch. xxxiii. Sect. xv. (P.) See Vol. XVIII. p. 224.

§ “Dato impossibili quod Messias, quem expectamus, eam doctrinam, (v. g. se equalem esse Deo) Israellem edoceret, jure foret, ut pseudopropheta, lapidandus.” *Limborch's Amica Collatio*, p. 111. (P.) See Vol. III. pp. 433, 434.

perceived in the mysteries of Heathen religions. But, if this be the case, it is obvious to ask, why are no traces of this doctrine to be found in the Jewish scriptures, and the Jewish worship? Or, if the Jews had once been in possession of this knowledge, but had lost it in the time of our Saviour, why did not he, who rectified other abuses, rectify this, the most important of them all?

If an expectation of a *Messiah* had been prevalent among the Gentiles, we should certainly perceive some traces of it in their writings. It might have been expected, both on account of the interesting nature, and the obscurity of the subject, that there would have been different opinions about it, that it would have been a common topic in their philosophical schools, and that their historians would have given some account of the origin of such an expectation.

The fourth Eclogue of *Virgil* may be alleged as a proof of such an expectation. But I do not imagine that any person now thinks that *Virgil* himself ever expected such a personage as he describes. The use that a poet might make of a vague report of a prophecy, (brought probably from the east, and ultimately from the Jewish scriptures,) but seriously believed by no person that we know of, merely to embellish a poem, * is one thing; but the actual and universal expectation of such a person, is another.

SECTION IV. †

Of the Jewish Angel METATRON, &c.

IN the third of Ben Mordecai's Letters, written by the late Rev. Mr. Taylor of Portsmouth, I find the following extraordinary paragraph: "Among the notions of the more modern *Jacs*, we must also observe, that the Cabbalists believed El Shaddai to be the same person as the angel Metatron, whom they supposed to be the instructor of *Moses*, and the *Messiah*; that is, as Dr. Allix (456) expresses it,

* Dr. Trapp, in his "Introductory Remarks" on the *Pollio*, goes much further, asserting that "it contains a manifest and illustrious prophecy of our blessed Saviour uttered, in ignorance, by a Pagan writer," while complimenting *Pollio* on the birth of his son, *Saloninus*." *Virgil*, 1735, ed. 3, l. p. 37. See, to the same purpose, *Prideaux*, (Pt. ii. B. vii. ix.,) 1749, pp. 728, 729, 883, 893; *A. U. Hist.* 1747, X. p. 400, Note. *Catrou*, whom Mr. J. Warton calls "the first commentator that has given any thing like a rational interpretation of this famous Eclogue," considers it as occasioned by the birth of *Marcellus*, "whose death is lamented by *Virgil* in the 6th *Aeneid*." See Pitt and Warton's *Virgil*, 1763, l. p. 76.

† Copied, with enlargements, from *Theol. Repos.* IV. p. 477—483.

He was, according to the *Christian* phrase, the *Logos* before his incarnation, or, according to the *Jewish* phrase, the *soul of the Messiah*; which they look upon as something between God and the angels, whom nothing separates from God."*

"Bishop Pearson, in proving, by several arguments, that *Christ* is called *Jehovah*, says, 'The *Jews* themselves acknowledge that *Jehovah* shall be clearly known in the days of the *Messias*; and not only so, but that it is the name which doth properly belong to him,' for the proof of which he quotes the book *Sepher Ikkarim*, (ii. 8,) 'The scripture calleth the name of the *Messias*, *Jehovah* our righteousness; and *Midrash Tillim*, (on *Ps. xxi.*) God calleth the *Messias* by his own name, and his name is *Jehovah*, as it is, *Exod. xv. 3*: The Lord is a man of war, *Jehovah* is his name. And it is written of the *Messias*, (*Jer. xxiii. 6*.) And this is the name which they shall call him, *Jehovah* our righteousness. Thus *Echa Rabbiti*, (*Lam. i. 6*.) What is the name of the *Messias*? R. Abba said, *Jehovah* is his name, as it is said, *Jer. xxiii. 6*.'—The same he reports of Rabbi Levi; and the Bishop concludes, 'The Rabbins then did acknowledge, that the name *Jehovah* did belong to the *Messias*.'"†

Consulting Dr. Allix's own work on the subject, I find the following reference to authorities for what he advances: "See *Reuchlin*, L. i. *De Cabala*, (p. 651,) where he proves *Metatron* to be the *Messiah*, from their writings; or, in short, take the confession of *Manassch Ben Israel*, Q. vi. in *Gen. Sect. ii.*" The former of these authors I have not, and in latter I find no such passage as Dr. Allix quotes. But as there is abundant evidence that the Jews in general, and in all ages, from the time of our Saviour to the present, con-

* Here Mr. Taylor inserts the following note in French, but I shall give it in English: "*Cabmet*, on the word *Metatron*, says, 'The Hebrews give this name to the first of the angels, him who conducted them in the Wilderness, and of whom it is said, in *Moses*, 'I shall send my angel to go before you.'—He acted towards the *Israelites* the part of the officer whom the *Romans* called *Metator*. He marked out the encampments, traced the form of them, the dimensions, extent.—He is thought to be the archangel *Michael*, who was at the head of the people in the Wilderness, that it was he who wrestled with *Jacob*, who is called the face of God, in *Exod. xxxiv. 14*, and who is the *Mediator* between God and man; that he writes down good actions, and keeps a register of them.'" *Letter iii. p. 72. (P.)*

"Les Hebreux donnent ce nom au premier des anges; à celui qui les conduisoit dans le Désert, et dont il est dit dans *Moyse*, 'Je vais envoyer mon ange, qui marchera devant vous.'—Il faisoit à l'égard des *Israelites*, ce que l'officier nommé *Metator* faisoit chez les *Romains*. Il marquoit les campemens, en traçoit la forme, les dimensions, l'étendue.—On croit que c'est l'archange St. *Michael*; qui étoit à la tête du peuple, dans le Désert: que c'est lui qui litta contre *Jacob*, qui est appelé la face de Dieu, dans *Exod. xxxiv. 14*, et qui est le *Mediateur* entre Dieu et les hommes: qu'il écrit les bonnes actions, et en tient un registre." *Apology*, 1784, ed. 2, l. p. 379, Note.

† Pearson on the Creed, (p. 118,) in "B. Mordecai's Apology."

sidered their *Messiah* as a *mere man*, and a proper descendant of David, I own that I am disposed to examine, with some rigour, any pretended evidence to the contrary; though the speculative opinions of some of the *Cabalists* among them is a thing of little consequence, when they can be proved to be different from those that were entertained by the nation in general.

What *Calmet* says concerning the angel *Metatron* in Ben Mordecai's note, has no relation to the *Messiah*; so that the most that I should be disposed to infer from what the Jewish *Cabalists* may have said on the subject would be, that this *Metatron* was something similar to what *Philo* represents the *logos* as being, namely an *efflux of the divinity*, but no *being* or *person*, permanently distinguished from him. And it is highly improbable, that any *Jew* should have supposed that their *Messiah*, a man descended from David, would have no proper human soul, besides this *Metatron* or *logos* supplying the place of it; though they might suppose the *Messiah* to be distinguished by the presence and influence of this divine *efflux*.

The Jewish *Cabalists* might easily admit even that the *Messiah* might be called *Jehovah*, without supposing that he was any thing more than a man, who had no existence before his birth. That it must have been the mere *name*, and not the *nature* of God, that the Jews supposed their *Messiah* to partake of, is all that can be admitted in the case. Several things in the Scriptures are called by the name of *Jehovah*, as Jerusalem, in the passage above quoted, is called "*Jehovah our righteousness*;" but this never led the Jews to suppose, that there were two *Jehovahs*, a greater and a less. Nothing can be more expressly declared, than that there is but one *Jehovah*; and in the passages quoted by Bishop Pearson, there is no intimation of there being two *Jehovahs*; so that if the *Messiah* be *Jehovah*, there must have been no other being above him, which Mr. Taylor would not suppose.

From reading the above quoted passage from Mr. Taylor, the reader would conclude, that it was the universal opinion of the Jewish *Cabalists*, if not of the Jews in general, that this great angel *Metatron* was the soul of the *Messiah*. But this would be a mistake; for *Beausobre* quotes some of them who said, that the soul of the *Messiah* was the same that had been the soul of *Adam*, and likewise that of *David*. The *Cabalistic* proof of this mystery, he says, is the letter *A* in *Adam*, meaning *Adam*; the *D*, *David*; and the *M*,

the *Messiah*.* So little dependence is there on the whimsical and uncertain notions of these Jewish Cabalists. However, when they are quoted, they ought to be quoted fairly. Mr. Taylor probably saw nothing of them, but what he found in Dr. Allix.

† *Basnage* gives a large account of the Jewish angel *Metatron*, shewing that he is the same with the angel *Michael*, concerning whom the Jews had many absurd fancies. He particularly shews, that the name of God being in this angel, means nothing more than that the letters of the words *Metatron*, מטטרון, and those of *Shadai*, שדאי, considered as numerals, express the same number, viz. 314. ‡

Many mistakes on this subject have been occasioned by its being taken for granted, that what is said of the *logos* may be applied to the *Messiah*, because the generality of Christians have supposed them to be synonymous. But this was not the case with the Jews; and there is a passage quoted by *Basnage*, § which shews, that some of their writers considered them as quite distinct from each other. “Jonathan says, that the *Messiah* and *Moses* will appear at the end of the world, the one in the *Desart*, and the other at *Rome*, and that the *word*, or the *logos*, will march between them.”

Till I see much more evidence than I have yet met with, (and I have not spared any pains to come at it,) I cannot admit that any Jew ever supposed that their *Messiah* either pre-existed, or was, properly speaking, God.

|| With respect to all these pretences to make the Jews favourable to the doctrine of the *Trinity*, *Basnage* says, “They cannot be advanced without the authors of them deceiving themselves. ¶ The Jews will never,” he says, “be convinced by endeavouring to persuade them that they believe what they do not believe, and that they do not oppose the doctrine of the *Trinity*, which is the principal object of

* *Histoire De Manichéisme*, (Amst. 1739,) II. pp. 491, 494. (P.)

“‘Le Rabbin Elic,’ dit un savant moderne, (*Sandius*, De Orig. Animæ in Addit. ad p. 108, ‘témoigne que la Métémpsychose est un sentiment reçu et approuvé par les maîtres: Ils ne doutent point, que les Ames Humaines ne passent d’un corps dans un autre, au moins trois fois. Ils assurent que l’Ame d’Adam passa dans David, et qu’elle doit animer, un jour, le corps du Messie. La preuve Cabalistique de ce mystère est dans le nom d’Adam; l’A, désignant Adam; le D, David; et l’M, le Messie.’” *Ibid.*

† This paragraph is not in *Theol. Repos.*

‡ *History of the Jews*, B. iv. Ch. xix. III. p. 137. (P.)

§ *Ibid.* Ch. xxiv. Sect. ix. (P.)

|| This paragraph is not in *Theol. Repos.*

¶ See Vol. XVIII. pp. 299, 300.

their blasphemies." He mentions a Jewish writer, "Jacob, the son of Amram," who "laughs at the Christians who bring proofs of the Trinity from the Cabala. The Cabalists," says he, "under several of the letters conceal mysteries which the vulgar cannot discover; they only meant to teach the Unity of God, and to explain his attributes, and they were very ignorant who looked into their writings for the Trinity." *

How far *Manassch Ben Israel* was from supposing that there was any Trinity in the Divine nature, appears from the very section that Dr. Allix has quoted, which contains his interpretation of *Gen. i. 26*, "And God said, Let us make man." After reciting a variety of interpretations, he concludes as follows: "Or shall we say, that what seems to be of greater consequence, we generally undertake with more study and deliberation, and therefore that the scripture in describing the creation of man, makes use of the plural number, Let us make, which is the language of a person commanding and exciting himself to undertake and do any thing; so that God would shew that all other creatures were made for the use of man. But whether God be supposed to speak to all second causes, or to intelligencies only, or to the elements, or to souls, or to use the style of a king, or, lastly, whether he be supposed to excite or command himself, all ground of controversy is removed. For it does not follow, that there is any multiplication of the first cause, which is most simple, and one, because the phrase *Let us make* is used; for Moses might very safely make use of this language, since he every where most clearly teaches, that there is but one God; and, therefore, he only will defend his error by these words, who knowingly and willingly errs." †

* "Mais peut-on avancer cela sans vouloir se tromper, puis que l'unité d'un Dieu est le dogme capital des Juifs, et que la pluralité des personnes fait le plus grand obstacle à leur conversion.—On ne convaincra jamais les Juifs, lors qu'on s'entêtera de leur persuader qu'ils ont cru ce qu'ils ne croient pas, et qu'ils ne s'opposent point au dogme de la Trinité, qui est le principal objet de leurs blasphèmes.—Jacob, fils d'Amram, dans un ouvrage manuscrit qu'il intitule *La Porte de la Vérité*, se moque des Chrétiens qui tirent de la Cabale des preuves pour la Trinité. Car, dit il, les Cabalistes enferment sous l'écorce de la lettre des mystères que le vulgaire ne découvre pas. Les théologiens n'ont dessein que d'enseigner l'unité de Dieu, et d'expliquer ses attributs; et il faut être ignorant pour chercher chez eux la Trinité." L. vii. Ch. xxxiv. IV. p. 2159, &c. (P.)

† "Aut dicemus, plerumque id, quod majoris momenti videtur, majori quoque studio et deliberatione nos aggredi: ideoque scripturam in creatione hominis peculiari modo loqui in plurali, *faciamus*: quod verbum videtur imperantis sibi ipsi, et ad suscipiendum ac faciendum aliquid incitantis: eaque re ostendere Dominus vult, omnes reliquas creaturas suo beneficio creatas. Sed sive cum omnibus secundis causis loquatur Deus, sive cum intelligentiis tantum, sive cum elementis, sive cum animis, sive regio more hæc dicat, seu denique incitet semetipsum, sibi que imperet,

CHAPTER II.

General Considerations relating to the supposed Conduct of Christ and the Apostles, with respect to the Doctrines of his Pre-existence and Divinity.

THE whole nation of the Jews having been so well grounded in the great doctrine of the *Divine Unity*, ever since their return from the Babylonish Captivity, and their attachment to it having strengthened continually, as the whole of their history shews, especially in consequence of their persecution by *Antiochus Epiphanes*, and during their subjection to the Romans, (in which their utter abhorrence of every thing that had the appearance of *idolatry* is seen upon all occasions,) and this being well known to, and allowed by all the Christian fathers; it could not but, even in their idea, require the greatest caution and address to teach them any doctrine that could be construed into an infringement of it. That the doctrine of the divinity of Christ *had* this appearance, those fathers acknowledged, when they supposed that Moses and the prophets could not teach it, lest it should have given the Jews a pretence for relapsing into the worship of many gods.

They could not imagine that this difficulty would be at all removed by the Christian doctrine of Jesus being the *Messiah*, because it was well known to them that the Jews expected nothing more than a man for their Messiah; and even a man born in the usual way, a proper descendant of David. Their highest expectation concerning the Messiah was, that he would be a great prince, a conqueror, and a legislator, and perhaps that he would not die. The probability is, that they imagined that the race of their kings descended from David would be revived in him, and continue to the end of time. But all this is far short of the *deification* of the Messiah, or the idea of his being a great pre-existent spirit, the maker of the world under God, and who, in the name of God, had intercourse with the patriarchs. Such notions as these do not appear ever to have entered into

conciliatione ejusmodi tota tollitur controversia. Etenim non quia *faciamus* dicitur, nisi sequitur multiplicatio aliqua primæ causæ, quæ simplissima est et unica. Moses vero causam cur ita scriberet, justam habuit, quia clarissime passim docet unum Numen esse; eoque solus is, qui sciens volens errat, his verbis errorem suam censurus est." *Conciliator*, p. 12. (P.)

the head of any Jew, extravagant as their expectations were concerning the dignity and power of their Messiah.

Here, then, was a great dilemma in which the Christian fathers, advocates for the doctrines of the pre-existence and divinity of Christ, found themselves. They were under the necessity of maintaining that they were doctrines taught either by Christ or the apostles, or they must have abandoned them themselves. Doctrines of this great extent and magnitude, and so revolting to the minds of all Jews, they could not but suppose would alarm them very much; and therefore that it was necessary to introduce them with the greatest caution. Still, however, they must have been taught them fully and explicitly at one time or other.

Accordingly, we find, in their accounts of the preaching of our Saviour and his apostles, that they did suppose that the greatest possible caution was used, and that this cautious proceeding was continued even till after the death of most of the apostles; so that the doctrines of the pre-existence and divinity of Christ were not fully discovered till the publication of the *Gospel of John*, which was one of the last of all the books of the *New Testament*. But at that time they thought it to be absolutely necessary; as otherwise there would hardly have been any besides Unitarians in the church; the knowledge of those great doctrines having, in their opinion, been confined to the apostles and the leading Christians only.

A more improbable hypothesis was perhaps never formed by man, to account for any fact whatever; and yet I do not know that the Christian fathers could have done any better. Let their successors, who are equally interested in the solution of the problem, do better if they can. But certainly they who were nearer to the times of the apostles, were in a situation to form a better judgment in this case than any persons at this day can pretend to be; and therefore I cannot help concluding, that they were well aware, that the supposition of this discovery having been made at an earlier period in the gospel history would have been liable to still greater objections than the hypothesis which they did adopt. It is most probable that the state of opinions in their own time made it absolutely necessary for them to have recourse to this hypothesis, lame and wretched as it is.

The primitive fathers were not prevented by the supposition above-mentioned, from attempting to prove the pre-existence and divinity of Christ from those books of the *New Testament* which were published before the *Gospel of John*;

but neither were they prevented from attempting to prove the same doctrines, as we have seen, from the books of the *Old Testament*, though they acknowledged that the body of the Jewish nation never learned them from those books. In like manner, though they supposed that the apostles left sufficient traces of these sublime doctrines in their writings, they thought that the common Christians, for whose use they were written, did not perceive them, or make the proper inferences from them. That they should not have done this will not be thought extraordinary, if we consider the extreme *caution* with which, according to the account of these fathers themselves, those doctrines were taught in these books.

Such a revolution has time made in our apprehensions of things, that the doctrines of the pre-existence and divinity of Christ are now taught to children, as some of the first elements of Christianity; but formerly the case was very different. They were considered as most sublime and difficult doctrines, and therefore, not to be taught till after every thing else relating to the Gospel had been admitted and well understood. That these doctrines were actually considered in this light, appears from a great number of passages in the writings of the fathers, many of which I shall introduce in other parts of this work, and especially some very striking ones from *Origen*. But not to advance a thing of this consequence without some evidence, in a place where it will be particularly wanted, I shall produce a few passages of this kind here.

Eusebius, after demonstrating the divine mission of Christ as a prophet, introduces his discourse concerning his pre-existence and divinity as a “mysterious and recondite doctrine.”*

Austin compares the doctrine of the humanity of Christ to milk, and the doctrine of the divinity to strong meat, fit for men. †

“The doctrine of the incarnation,” *Chrysostom* says, “was very difficult to be received;” ‡ and then describing the great condescension of the Maker of all things in submitting to be carried nine months in the womb of a woman, he says,

* Καιρος ηδη και απαρρητοτερον εφαιψασθαι λογων, των περι της κατ' αυτον μυσηικωτερας θεολογιας. *Demonstratio*, l. iv. C. i. p. 144. (P.)

† “Ut nutritus atque roboratus perveniat ad manducandum cibum, quod est In principio erat verbum, et verbum erat apud Deum, et Deus erat verbum. Lac nostrum, Christus humilis est: cibus noster, idem ipse Christus aequalis Patri.” In 1 *Johan. Opera*, IX. p. 594. (P.)

‡ Πολυ υσπαραβεκτος ην ο της σαρκωσεως λογος. *Serm. viii. Opera*, V. pp. 131, 132. (P.)

that on this account the prophets announced it very obscurely. Again, observing that it was necessary to preach the humanity before the divinity of Christ, he says, "This was the order respecting his deity and incarnation, though it is introduced by John in a different manner from the rest, but in perfect agreement with them. But how? I say, that the doctrine not being taught at first, it was proper to dwell upon the incarnation, and to exercise them in the doctrine of the flesh; teaching them, from things gross and sensible; but when the doctrine was fixed, and the preaching received, it was then proper to begin higher."*

Cyril of Alexandria, explaining a passage in *Isaiah*, says, "Here he mixes a great and profound mystery, which required a mystical initiation; for so it was revealed to the divine Peter."†

Agobard considered what *John* taught concerning the divinity of Christ as being so difficult to be understood, that in order to it, the same inspiration was necessary that he himself had.‡

"Perfection," says *Æcumenius*, "is the doctrine concerning the divinity of Christ, as far as the human understanding can comprehend it."§ Again, he says, "by *first elements* the apostle means the *incarnation*.|| For, as with respect to letters, so in the divine oracles, what relates to the *incarnation* must be learned in the first place; for these were capable of being received by unbelievers and children; but to philosophize concerning the divinity of Christ, is left to grown men. Do you see why he rests so long in these low things? It is on account of the weakness of his hearers, who were not able to receive the perfect doctrine. For

* Οὕτω δὴ καὶ ἡ ταξίς αὐτῆς ἢ περὶ τῆς θεότητος καὶ περὶ τῆς οἰκονομίας, εἰ καὶ ἀπεναντίας τοῖς ἀλλοῖς γεγόνε παρὰ Ἰωάννη, ἀλλ' ὁμῶς σφόδρα συμφωνῶς αὐτοῖς· καὶ πῶς; Ἐγὼ λέγω, ὅτι παρὰ μὲν τὴν ἀρχὴν εἰδῶ τὴ λέγει σπαρένιος, ἀκολούθῳ ἢ τῆς οἰκονομίας ἐνδιατριβεῖν λέγει, καὶ περὶ τῆς σαρκὸς γημνάζειν διδασκαλίαν ἀπο τῶν παχύτερων καὶ αἰσθητῶν προαιμιάζομενος· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐπαγγίλα τῆς γνώσεως, καὶ εἰδεξάμην τὸ κηρύγμα, λοιπὸν εὐκαίρῳ ἢ ἀνωδῶν ἀρχεσθῆσαι. In *Ps. hlv. Opera*, III. p. 223. (P.)

† "Inmiscet autem hic mysterium profundum et magnum, et quod superna quadam mystagogia opus habet. Revelatum est enim sic divino Petro." In *Is. C. xlix. Opera*, I. p. 472. (P.)

‡ "Inde qui hæc dixit accepit Johannes ille, qui discumbebat super pectus Domini, et de pectore Domini bibebat quod nobis propinaret. Sed propinavit verba. Intellectum autem debes capere unde et ipse biberat qui tibi propinavit." *De Imaginibus*, p. 231. (P.)

§ Τελειότης δὲ ἡ ἀνωτατὴ ἢ περὶ τῆς θεολογίας Χριστοῦ, καθόσον ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπῳ δυνατόν, ἀκριβῆς καταλήψις. In *Heb. Opera*, II. p. 351. (P.)

|| A writer in the *Monthly Repository* (XV. pp. 335, 336) objects to the word "incarnation;" which, however, Dr. Priestley does not use in its popular sense, but as answering to the Greek ἐνανθρώπησις, the word "humanity" being represented by ἀνθρωπότης. (S. L.)

which reason, having in the beginning of the epistle philosophized but a little concerning the divinity of Christ, he presently changed his discourse, and the epistle is full of low things.* This he gives from *Photius*. Again, after having observed that the author of the Epistle to the *Hebrews* had spoken of the naked word of God, he says, that “he returned to the *incarnation*, lest he should confound his reader with the sublimity of his doctrine.” †

We see, then, that in the opinion of these fathers, (and some of them who write in this manner lived pretty early, though others of them wrote in a later period,) there were very mysterious and difficult doctrines to be revealed, of which no person to whom Christianity was preached had the least conception, and to which it was apprehended they must be exceedingly averse. Let us now see in what manner they supposed that our Saviour and the apostles conducted themselves in this nice circumstance, and what period it was that they thought to be the most proper for making the great discovery.

To give some idea of the nature of this question, I would observe, that, if it should appear that a discovery of so great magnitude, as the fathers represent this to have been, made no noise at all at the time fixed for the discovery, if it excited no particular attention; neither occasioning any doubt or controversy among Christians themselves, nor bringing any objection to their doctrine from their enemies, it will afford a strong reason to suppose that no such discovery was made at that particular time. The Jews to whom the Gospel was first preached, as the fathers admitted, expected nothing more than a man for their *Messiah*. They were fully sensible that no Jew had any idea of his having pre-existed at all, and much less of his having held any office of importance before he came into the world. When was it, then, that the Jews, to whom the Gospel was preached, were taught that Christ had pre-existed, that he was the *logos* of God, the maker of the world under God, or properly God himself? Was it in our Saviour's own life-time? Was it at the de-

* Στοιχεῖα ἀρχῆς, τὴν ἐνανθρώπησιν λέγει· ὡς περὶ ἐπὶ τῶν γραμμάτων πρῶτον τα εὐαγγέλιον μαρτυροῦντες ἄλλως καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν δευτέρων λόγων εἶπε πρῶτον τα περὶ τῆς ἐνανθρώπησεως διδασκόμεθα ταῦτα γὰρ ταῖς ἀπιστοῖς ἐπὶ καὶ νηπιαῖς ἀκούσας χαρήτα· ὡς το γὰρ περὶ τῆς δευτέρας τῆ Χριστὴ φιλοσοφίαν, τελείαν ἢ λοιπὸν ὄρας τὴν αἰτίαν δι' ἣν τοῖς ταπεινοῖς ἐμφυλοχάραι; Διὰ τὴν τῶν ἀκροῦτων ἀσθενείαν οὐκ ἰσχυροῦν τα τελεῖα δεξασθαι· ἵνα καὶ παρα τα ἀρχῆς τῆς ἐπιστολῆς διαλέξα φιλοσοφίαν περὶ τῆς δευτέρας τῆ Χριστὴ, ἐνδὺς κατεπίστε τῶν λόγων τῶν μετὰ ταπεινῶν ἢ ἐπιστολῆ γέμει. In Heb. *Orona*, II. p. 352. (P.)

† Εὐαγγέλιον περὶ γέννησιν τῆ Θεοῦ λόγου, ἠλθεν εἰς τὴν ἐνανθρώπησιν, ἵνα μὴ τῶ ὕψει τῶν εὐαγγέλιον ὑψηλοποιῆται. Ibid. C. i. p. 320. (P.)

scent of the Spirit at Pentecost? Or was it in a later period of the gospel history? If no traces can be perceived of any such discovery, in any period of the gospel history, an argument may be drawn from the consideration of it, highly unfavourable to the doctrine of Christ having any nature superior to that of man; and when this circumstance shall be sufficiently attended to, (as I suspect it never has been yet,) the *Arian* hypothesis must be greatly shaken, but especially that of the perfect equality of the Son to the Father.

Considerations of this kind, if they occur to him, no person, who thinks at all, can absolutely neglect, so as to satisfy himself with having no hypothesis on the subject. We certainly find the apostles, as well as the rest of the Jews, without any knowledge of the divinity of Christ, with whom they lived and conversed as a man;* and if they ever became acquainted with it, there must have been a *time* when it was either discovered by them, or made known to them; and the effects of the acquisition or the communication of extraordinary knowledge, are, in general, proportionably conspicuous.

Had we no written history of our Saviour's life, or of the preaching of the apostles, or only some very concise one; still so very extraordinary an article as this would hardly have been unknown, much less when the history is so full and circumstantial as it is.

Had there been any pretence for imagining that the Jews, in our Saviour's time, had any knowledge of the doctrine of the Trinity, and that they expected the second person in it in the character of their *Messiah*, the question I propose would have been needless. But nothing can be more evident than that, whatever some may fancy with respect to more ancient times, every notion of a Trinity was obliterated from the minds of the Jews in our Saviour's time. It is, therefore, not only a curious, but a serious and important question, When was it introduced, and by what steps? I have answered it on my hypothesis, of its being an innovation and a corruption of the Christian doctrine; let others do the same, on the idea of its being an essential part of it. Let us, then, see what it is that the Christian fathers, who themselves believed the pre-existence and divinity of Christ, and who were much nearer than we are to the time when the gospel was promulgated, have said on this subject.

* See Vol. XIII. p. 106 (on *Mark* v. 31); XVIII. pp. 218, 219.

CHAPTER III.

Of the Conduct of our Saviour himself, with respect to his own supposed Pre-existence and Divinity.

IF we look into the gospel history, we shall find, that all that our Saviour himself taught, or insinuated, were his divine mission in general, or his being the *Messiah* in particular; with the doctrine of the resurrection, and that of himself coming again to raise the dead and judge the world. These doctrines, accompanied with moral instructions, and reproofs of the Pharisees for corrupting the law of God, made up the whole of his preaching. He never told his disciples that he had pre-existed, or that he had had any thing to do before he came into the world; much less that he had made the world, and governed it; and there is abundant evidence that this was admitted by the Christian fathers.

Athanasius expresses his sense of the difficulty with which the Jews admitted that Christ was any thing more than a man, very strongly in the following passage: "He calls his humanity 'the Son of Man;' for the Jews, always opposing God, held a twofold blasphemy with respect to Christ; for some of them being offended at his flesh, viz. the Son of Man, thought him to be a prophet, but not God, and called him a glutton and a wine-bibber; who were forgiven, for it was then the beginning of the preaching, and the world could not yet believe him to be God, who was made man; wherefore Christ says, Whosoever shall speak a word against the Son of Man, viz. his body, it shall be forgiven him. For I will venture to say, that not even the blessed disciples themselves were fully persuaded concerning his divinity, till the Holy Spirit came upon them at the day of Pentecost. For when they saw him after his resurrection, some worshipped, but others doubted, yet they were not on that account condemned."*

* Τῆς αὐτοπροσώπου αὐτῆ ἑνὸς ἀνδρῶντος· ἢν γὰρ φησὶν εὐδοκασθεῖ ὁ υἱὸς τῆ ἀνδρῶντος· ἢ ἢν αὐτὴ τῆ Θεοῦ προσκοπιῶντες Ἰουδαῖοι, διττὴν πρὸς Χριστὸν τὴν βλασφημίαν ἐκεκτήνητο· ἢ μὲν γὰρ τῆ σαρκὸς αὐτῆ, ἢ ἢν τῆ εἰς τοῦ ἀνδρῶντος προσκοπιῶντες, πρὸς φησὶν αὐτὸν, ἀλλ' οὐ Θεοῦ εἶναι ἐπιμαρτυροῦν, καὶ φησὶν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀνομιῶν ἐκαλήν, οὐκ καὶ πρὸς ἡμῶν ἔδωκεν ἀρχὴν γὰρ ἢν τῆ κηρυγμαῖος, καὶ ἢν ἔχωρε ὁ κόσμος Θεοῦ πιστεῖν γενόμενον ἀνδρῶντος· διὰ φησὶν ὁ Χριστὸς ὅτι, ἢς ἀν εἶπῃ λόγον κατὰ τῆ υἱοῦ τῆ ἀνδρῶντος, ἢ ἢν τῆ σαρκὸς αὐτῆ, ἀφεθήσεται αὐτῷ· τὸ μὲν γὰρ λέγειν ὅτι αὐτὸς ὁ μακαριῶν μαθητῶν τοῦ τελείου περὶ τῆς αὐτῆ Θεοῦ τῆς εἰς φησὶν αὐτὸν, ἢ ἢν τὸ πρῶτον τοῦ ἁγίου αὐτοῖς τῆ πεντηκῆστῃ ἐπεφύθησεν· ἐπει καὶ μετὰ τῆ ἀναστάσι ἰδοῦς αὐτὸν, ἢ μὲν προσεκύνησαν, ἢ ἢν ἐδίδασαν· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἔδωκεν. Sermo major de Fide, in Moutfaucon's Collectio, II. p. 39. (P.) See Vol. XVIII. p. 219.

The fathers say, that whenever our Saviour said any thing that might lead his disciples to think that he was of a nature superior to that of man, they were offended, and that he conciliated their esteem whenever he represented himself as a mere man, such as they expected a prophet, and the *Messiah* to be. *Chrysostom* represents *John the Baptist* likewise as gaining proselytes to Christ, when he spake of him in low terms, but as deterring them when he seemed to speak of him in a higher capacity.

“Observe,” says he, “how, when he said, ‘He that cometh after me was before me, and I am not worthy to loose his shoe-latchet;’ he took nobody. But when he spake of his humanity, and used a lower style, then the disciples followed him. Nor is this the only case of the kind, for the multitude were never brought to him when any thing high and lofty, as of a God, was said of him, so much as when they heard something mild and humble, and more adapted to the salvation of men.”*

Accordingly *Chrysostom* speaks of our Lord’s disciples as having regarded him as a man in their intercourse with him. “Nathaniel,” he says, “confessed Christ as a man, when he addressed himself to him, by the title of ‘Son of God,’ (*John* i. 49,) as appears by his adding, ‘Thou art the king of Israel.’”† He says, that when *Nathaniel* was introduced to Jesus, his miraculous conception was not known.‡ As *Chrysostom* has written the most largely on this subject, I shall quote from him a passage or two of some extent, that we may more clearly perceive how he, and (as he was by no means singular in his ideas) how the Christian fathers in general thought with respect to this question.

“Another reason,” he says, “why Christ represented himself so much as a man, was the weakness of his hearers; and because they who first saw and heard him were not able to receive more sublime discourses. And that this is no mere conjecture, I will endeavour to shew from the Scriptures themselves. If he delivered any thing great, sublime,

* Θεα δε μοι κήκεινο πως ὅτε μεν ελεγεν, ὁ ὀπισω μη ερχομενο εμπροσθεν μη γεγωνα, και ὅτι ουκ εμι ικανο λυται τον ιμαντα τα ὑποδηματα αὐτα, ἕδνα ειλεν ὅτε δε περι της οικονομιας διελεχθη, και επι το ταπεινοτερον τον λογον ηγαγε, τότε ηκολυθησαν δι μαθηται ου τηῖ δε μονου εσι κατιδεν, αλλ’ ὅτι ουχ ἕτως δι πολλοι προσαγγιλαι ὅταν τι μεγα και εψηλον περι Θεου λεγεται, ὡς ὅταν χρησιν και φιλιανθρωπων και εις την των σκευων σωτηριαν ηκον. In *Johan. i. Hom. xvii. Opera, VIII. p. 93.* (P.)

† *Ibid.* p. 106. (P.) See Vol. XVIII. p. 215.

‡ Ει δε ὄνν Ιωσηφ αυτον λεγει, μη θορυβησης επι γαρ τεῖε παις νομιζειν ειναι. *Ibid.* p. 103. (P.)

and worthy of his glory ; (but why do I say great, sublime, and worthy of his glory ?) if he said any thing above human nature," (something is here omitted in the *Greek*, but supplied in the *Latin* version,) " they were thrown into tumult, and took offence ; but if he said any thing low and becoming a man, they ran to him, and received his doctrine. And where do we see this ? In *John* chiefly. For when he said, [viii. 56,] ' Abraham, *our* father, rejoiced to see my day, and he saw it, and was glad ;' they say, [ver. 57,] ' Thou art not yet *forty* years old, and hast thou seen Abraham ?' You see how they were affected towards him as to a common man. What then did he reply ? ' Before Abraham was, I am ;' and ' they took up stones to stone him.' He spake more distinctly, saying, [vi. 51,] ' The bread which I *shall* give for the life of the world is my flesh.—They said,' [ver. 60,] ' This is a hard saying, who can hear it ?' And [ver. 66] ' many of his disciples went back, and walked no more with him.'

" Tell me, then, what must he do ? Must he always dwell upon these lofty topics, so as to drive away his prey, and deter all from his doctrine ? But this did not become his divine philanthropy. Again, when he said, [*John* viii. 52,] He that heareth my words ' shall never taste of death,' they said, ' Do we not say well, that thou hast a demon ?—Abraham is dead, and the prophets are dead, and thou sayest, He that heareth my words shall not taste of death.' And is it to be wondered at that the common people were thus affected towards him, when their rulers had the same opinion ?" He then proceeds to instance in *Nicodemus*.—" How then must he discourse with persons who would hear nothing sublime ? Is it to be wondered at that he said nothing great or sublime concerning himself, to men creeping on the ground, and so meanly affected ? What he said is sufficient to shew this was the reason, and the excuse for such mean discourses.

" On the other hand, as you see men scandalized, thrown into confusion, flying back from him, railing at him, and deserting him, if he said any thing great and lofty ; so will I endeavour to shew you that they ran to him, and received his doctrine, if he said any thing low and mean. For the very same persons who had fled from him, immediately ran to him, when he said, *I can do nothing of myself, but as the Father has taught me, so I speak.* And the evangelists, designing to shew us that they believed on account of the

the meanness of his discourse, said, *When he spake these things, many believed on him.* You will, on many occasions, find the same thing happening. On this account he spake in many things as a man, but sometimes not as a man, but as became a God.* He adds more to the same purpose.

Again, he says, "If they took up stones to stone him, because he said that he was before Abraham, what would they have done if he had told them that he gave the law to Moses? Wherefore, when he said, it was said to the ancients, he did not say *by whom* it had been said." †

"Our Saviour," he says, "did not always teach his own divinity in express words, leaving the fuller explication of it to his disciples. If," says he, "they (meaning the Jews) were so much offended at the addition of another law to their former, much more must they have been with the doctrine of his divinity." ‡

* Εστι και ἕτερα μετα ταύτην αἰτία, ἡ ἀσθένεια τῶν ἀκροῦντων, και το μη δύνασθαι τοῖς πρώτοις αὐτῶν ἰδούνας, και τοῖς πρώτοις ἀκροῦντας, τῆς ὑψηλοῦς τῶν ὀνομασθῶν δεξασθαι λόγους· και ὅτι οὐ συγχασμος το λεγομενον, ἀπ' αὐτῶν σοι παραστήσαι τοῦτο πειλοασμαι τῶν γραφῶν, και δεῖξαι· εἰποῖτε τι μεγα και ὑψηλον και τῆς αὐτῆ ὀφθῆς ἀξιῶν ἐφ' ἑσθ' αὐτοῦ· τι λεγο μεγα και ὑψηλον, και τῆς αὐτῆ ὀφθῆς ἀξιῶν; Εἰ ποτε τι (ὑπερ) τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως εἶπε, πλεον εἰσθηκενὸς και ἐσκανδαλιζομένῳ· εἰ δὲ ποτε τι ταπεινῶν και ἀνθρωπίνων προσετρεχον, και τον λογον εδεχοντο· και πῶς τοῦτο ἐστὶν ἰδὲν φησι; Παρα τῷ Ἰωαννῇ μαλιστα· εἰποῖντος γὰρ αὐτῷ· Ἀβρααμ ὁ πατὴρ ἡμῶν ἠγαλλιασαῖο, ἵνα ἰδῆ τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν ἐμὴν, και εἶδε, και ἐχαρῆ, λεγῆσι. Τισσαρακοντία εἶπ' ἔγω εχεις, και Ἀβρααμ ἔωρακας; ἕσας ὅτι ὡς περὶ ἀνθρώπου ψιλῆ διεκενῆς. Τι οὖν αὐτοῦ· Προ τῆ του Ἀβρααμ γενεσθῶν φησιν, ἐγὼ εἰμι· και ἤσαν λιπῆς, ἵνα βλασῶσιν αὐτῶν· και τῶν μυσηρίων μακροῦς ἐπέεινε λόγους, λεγῶν· Και ὁ ἄρτος δὲ ὃν ἐγὼ ὤστω ὑπερ τῆς τῆ κοσμοῦ ζωῆς, σαρξ μὲ ἐστίν, ελεγον σκληροῦς ἐστὶ ὁ λογος ἔτος, τις δυναταί αὐτῆ ἀκνεῖν; Και πολλοὶ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτῆ ἀπῆλθον εἰς τα ὀπισω, και ἐκεῖ μετ' αὐτῆ περιπατεῖν.

† Τὸ ἐν εἶδει ποιεῖν, εἶπε μοι; τοῖς ὑψηλοῦς ἐνδιατριβῆν ῥήμασι διηνεκῶς, ὡς ἀποστοβῆσαι τὴν θῆραν, και παντας ἀποκρησασθαι τῆς διδασκαλίας; Ἀλλ' οὐκ ἦν τῆλο τῆς το Θεοῦ φιλιανθρωπίας. Και γὰρ πάλιν ἐπειδὴ εἶπεν. Ὁ τον λογον μη ἀκνω, θανατε οἱ μη γεισεται εἰς τον αἰωνα· ελεγον, Οὐ καλῶς ελεγομεν, ὅτι ὀαμινοῦν εχεις; Ἀβρααμ ἀπέθανε, και ὁ προφήτης ἀπέθανον, και σὺ λεγεις, ὅτι ὁ τον λογον μη ἀκνω, οὐ μη γεισεται θανατε. Και τι θάυμαζον εἰ το πλεθος ἔτω διεκεῖο, ὅπως γε και αὐτοὶ οἱ ἀρχόντες ταύτην εἰχον τὴν γνώμην; Πῶς οὖν τῆτοις διαλεγεσθῶν εἶδει, τοῖς ἔθεν τῶν ὑψηλῶν φερῶσιν; Ὅτι γὰρ ὅπως οὐκ εἶπε τι μεγα και ὑψηλον περὶ ἑαυτῆ, οὐ θάυμαζον ἀνθρώπους χαμαι σιρομενεις, και ἔτας ἀσθένως εχρῶσιν· ἠκνει μὲν οὖν και τα εἰρημενα δεῖξαι, ὅτι αὐτῆ ἡ αἰτία, και ἡ πρῶφρασις ἦν τῆς τῶν τοῦτο λεγομενων εὐτελειας, ἐγὼ δὲ και ἀπο θάτερα μερῆς τοῦτο πειραστομαι ποιῆσαι φημερον, ὡσπερ γὰρ αὐτῶς ἰδετε σκανδαλιζομενος, θορυβῶμενος, ἀποπηθῶνας, λιδορομενος, φειγῶνας· εἰποτε τι μεγα και ὑψηλον ἐφ' ἑσθ' αὐτοῦ ὁ Χριστῶς· ἔτας ὑμῖν αὐτῶς δεῖξαι πειραστομαι προσερχοῦνας, καταδεχόμενος τὴν διδασκαλίαν, εἰ ποτε τι ταπεινῶν και εὐτελες εἶπεν· αὐτοῖς γὰρ αὐτοὶ οἱ ἀποπηθῶνες, εἰποῖντος αὐτῆ πάλιν Ὅτι ἀπ' ἐμαυτῆ πῶω ἦδεν, ἀλλὰ καθῶς εἶδιδας με ὁ πατὴρ μὲ λαλῶ, εὐθῶς προσεδραμον· και β-λομενος ἡμῖν ἐνδειξασθῶν ὁ ἐπιγ-ηελιστῆς, ὅτι δια τὴν ταπεινωτῆα τῶν ῥημάτων ἐπισευσαν, ἐπισημαινεται λεγῶν· Ταῦτα αὐτῆ λαλῶσατος πολλοὶ ἐπισευσαν εἰς αὐτῶν· και ἀλλαχῆ πολλαχῆ τοῦτο εὐροῖ τις οὐ ἦτα σιμ-βῶνον· δια τῆλο πολλὰ και πολλανικ ἀνθρωπίνως ἐφ' ἑσθ' αὐτοῦ, και πάλιν οὐκ ἀνθρωπίνως, ἀλλὰ και θεοπρεπῶς. Or. xxxii. Opera, I. pp. 409, 410. (P.)

‡ Εἰ γὰρ, ἐπει εἶπε, πρὸ του Ἀβρααμ γενεσθῶν ἐγὼ εἰμι, λιθάσαι αὐτῶν ἐπεχειρησαν, εἰ προσεδῆκεν ὅτι και Μαῦσαι αὐτῶς τον νομον ἔδωκε τι οὐκ ἀν ἐποιῆσαν; Ser. II. Opera, V. pp. 696, 697. (P.)

† Δια δὲ ταῦτο οὐδὲ περὶ τῆς θεοτῆτος τῆς ἑαυτοῦ πανταχοῦ φαίνεται σαφῶς παιδεῦν. Εἰ γὰρ ἡ του νομου προσθήκη τοσούτου αὐτῶς ἐδούσκει, πολλῆ μάλλον το θεῶν ἐαῖνον ἀποφαι-νειν. In Matt. v. Hom. xvi. VII. p. 154. (P.)

Chrysostom frequently observes that Christ only intimated his divinity obscurely, and left the full discovery of it to his apostles. Thus he says, that “he himself never said plainly that he made the heavens and the earth, and the sea and all things visible and invisible. And why,” says he, “do you wonder that others should have said greater things of him than he said of himself, when he explained many things by actions, but never clearly in words? That he made man, he shewed clearly enough, as by the blind man; but when he was discoursing about the formation of the first man, he did not say *I* made them, but, *He that* made them, made them male and female. And that he made the world, he signified by the fishes, by the wine, by the loaves, &c., but never clearly in words.”* He even says, “That the high dignity of Christ was more necessary to be concealed from his disciples, because they would immediately have told every thing through an excess of joy.”†

“Christ,” he says, “did not reveal his divinity immediately, but was first thought to be a prophet, and the Christ, simply a man, and it afterwards appeared by his works and his sayings what he really was.”‡

Basil of Seleucia says, that “during the storm, [*Matt.* viii. 24,] the disciples of Christ, judging by appearances, did not know that the Deity was concealed in him; for they would not have been terrified, if they had known that the Author of the creation was giving orders to the work of his hands.”§ He adds, that “the apostles themselves were as ignorant of his being God as the rest of the Jews, when some said that he was Elias, or Jeremias, or some of the prophets;” and that Christ, “knowing the ignorance of Peter, suggested to him the answer that he made.”|| [*Matt.* xvi. 16.]

* Και τι θαυμαζεις ει ετεροι μειζονα περι αυτου ειρηκασιν αν αυτω ειρηκεν' οπου γε πολλοι δια των πραγματων επιδεικνυμενοι, δια των ρηματων σαφως ου ελεγεν; οτι γαρ του ανδραπον αυτω εποησεν εδειξε σαφως και δια του τυφλου ηνικα δε περι της εν αρχη πλασεως ο λογος ην αυτη, ουκ ειπεν οτι εγω εποησας, αλλ' ο ποιησας αρσεν και θηλυ εποησεν αυτους· Παλιν οτι τον κτισμον εδημηγορησεν και τα εν αυτη δια των εχθρων, δια του ανου, δια των αρτων—ρημασι ουδαμου τουτο σαφως ειπεν. In *Matt.* v. *Opera*, VII. p. 154. (P.)

† Εδει γαρ της λανθανειν, και μαλιστα επι των μαθητων και γαρ εκ πολλης ηδονης παντα εκηρξεν. In *Matt.* C. viii. *Opera*, VII. p. 274. (P.)

‡ Οι γαρ ενδεις ημιν εαυτε την θεοτητα εξεκαλυπτεν, αλλα πρωτον μεν ενομιζετο ειναι προφητης, και Χριστου, απλως ανδραπον, υσκειν δε ειρανη, δια των εργαων και των ρηματων, ταις οπερ ην. In *Johan. Hom.* ii. *Opera*, VIII. p. 20. (P.)

§ See *Watts*, quoted Vol. XIII. p. 99, Note †.

| Τα γαρ φαινόμενα προσπταιοιες, την κεκρυμμενην ηγνωσθησασα· ου γαρ αν εξεπληγασαν, κλεινοια τη κτισει θεωρησεν οι δημηγορον ειναι της κτισεως επισημανοι.—Τοσαυτης ον αγνωστας της των ανδραπων, ψυχας περι αυτην βοσκομενης, ουδε των αποστολων ο χριστος αγνωστος ελευθερος εμενεν.—Ειδως δε την αγνοσιαν, υποβαλλει τη Πιτρου δεικνας την αποκρισιν. Or. xxv. pp. 138, 139, 141. (P.)

Job the Monk observes, that “Christ said, [*Matt. ix. 2,*] ‘Thy sins be forgiven thee,’ without intimating that he himself forgave them, by his own authority.”*

Photius says, “When our Lord said, ‘My Father is greater than I,’ † the disciples were still imperfect, and thought the Father much greater. This they learned from the Mosaic law, which taught the Father rather than the Son. This also our Saviour himself had perpetually inculcated. This, therefore, being their fixed opinion, they said, [*John xiv. 8,*] ‘Shew us the Father, and it sufficeth us.’” ‡ Afterwards, he says, “They knew him to be God, after his sufferings and resurrection.”§

Theodoret says, that “before his sufferings all persons held such an opinion concerning him,” viz. that he was a mere man, “but after his resurrection and ascension, the descent of the Spirit, and the various miracles which they performed by invoking his name, all the believers knew that he was God, and the only-begotten Son of God.”|| This is expressed in general terms, but it will appear hereafter, that it is to be understood with great limitations; the knowledge of the divinity of Christ being, according to *Theodoret* himself, far from universal among the Christians, long after the death of Christ.

Sometimes the fathers speak of *Peter* as knowing that Christ was God before his death, by immediate revelation from the Father. *Chrysostom* also says, that before our Lord’s resurrection, the apostles had learned that God had a Son equal to the Father.¶ But in general it was their opinion, that even *Peter*, as well as the other apostles, was ignorant of this great truth, till the descent of the Spirit at *Pentecost*; and they thought that this was one of the great truths alluded to, when our Lord said, that he had many things to teach his disciples, of which he could not inform them before his death.

* ‘Ότι το μεν αφερνλαι ουκ εχει των ζηματων προφοραν, ας εξ ιδιας εξησιας προφερομενην και προσαγματῶ. Photii Bib. Sect. ccxxii. p. 622. (P.)

† *John xiv. 28.* See Vol. XIII. pp. 316, 317.

‡ Επει γαρ ετι ατελωσ ἔτοι διεκείνω περι τον Θεον και διδασκαλον, μειζονα τε πολλων τον πατερα ενομιζον τηλο μεν των Μωσαιικων νομων εμφανεσερον, αυτοις τον πατερα η τον υιον καταγγελουσαν τηλο δε τη σωτηροσ ανω και κατω περι-στροφουλοσ αυτοις τον πατερα επει ουν τοιαυτη τις αυτοις ενεσηρηκτο η δοξα, δια γαρ τηλο και ελεγον, Δειξον ημιν τον πατερα, και αρκει ημιν. *Epist. clxxvi. p. 263.* (P.)

§ *Ibid. p. 270.* (P.)

|| Προ μεν ουν τη παθουσ, τοιαυτασ ειχον δοξασ περι αυτη μετα δε την ανασασιν, και την εις φρανεσ αναθασιν, και την του παναγουσ πνευματοσ επιφοιτησιν, και τασ παντοδραπισ ζαυματεργιασ ας επετελεν, καληνλεσ αυτη το σεβασμιον ονομα, εγνωσαν απαντες δι πιστευουσλεσ, οτι και Θεοσ εστι, και του Θεου μονογενησ υιοσ. *Ad Rom. i. 4, Opera, III. p. 11.* (P.)

¶ Εμαδον οτι υιοσ του Θεου εστι, και υιον εχει ο Θεοσ ομοτιμων. *In Acta, VIII. p. 459.* (P.)

Cyril of Alexandria, descanting on this text, says, "They who were not renewed by the new rule of living and the new doctrine of the Spirit, to them the recent preaching of the Gospel, and the sublime mystery of the Trinity, was not to be delivered. Justly, therefore, was the interpretation of higher things reserved to the future renovation of the Spirit. That before the resurrection of the Saviour, and the coming of the Spirit, the disciples were as Jews, is easy to prove."* *Austin*, however, says, that "the doctrine of the divinity of Christ could not be one of the things that Christ would not reveal, because they were not able to bear it, though some had said so."† And yet this writer himself, as we shall see, acknowledges that the divinity of Christ was not taught with clearness, till it was done by the apostle John. *Origen* supposed that the things which our Saviour referred to were what related to the abolishing of the Jewish law.‡ But he thought that *John* was the person who first taught the doctrine of Christ's pre-existence and divinity.

Before I proceed to consider what the fathers thought of the apostles' sentiments and conduct on the day of *Pentecost*, I shall take notice of another reason which they give for the care that was taken to conceal the knowledge of our Lord's divinity, which was *to deceive the Devil*, lest he, knowing him to be the *Messiah*, should not have ventured to encounter him, and so, not being conquered by him, and especially by means of his death, the great object of his mission would not have been gained.

This thought first occurs in epistles ascribed to *Ignatius*, who says, "The virginity of Mary, her delivery, and his death, were concealed from the prince of this world."§ *Jerome*

* "Quia enim nondum nova vivendi norma, novaque doctrina per Spiritum reformati sunt, iis prædicatio evangelii recens, et mysterium Trinitatis sublime tradendum non est. Jure igitur renovationi per Spiritum futuræ, altiorum rerum interpretatio reservatur. Quod autem ante resurrectionem Salvatoris, et ante Spiritus adventum, Judaice discipuli vivebant, facillimum est probare." In *Johan.* L. xi. C. xli. *Opera*, I. p. 963. (P.)

† "In principio erat verbum, et verbum erat apud Deum, et Deus erat verbum, hoc erat in principio apud Deum, et alia quæ sequuntur, quoniam postea scripta sunt, nec ea Dominus Jesu dixisse narratum est cum hic esset in carne, sed hæc unus ex apostolis (jus ipso ac spiritu ejus sibi revelante conscripsit: ex his esse quæ noluit tunc Dominus dicere, quia ea discipuli portare non poterant, quis me audiat tam temere ista dicentem." In *Johan.* Tr. xvi. C. xvi. *Opera*, IX. p. 478. (P.)

‡ *Ad Celsum*, L. ii. p. 57. (P.)

§ Και ἐλάθε τὸν ἀρχόντα τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου ἢ παρθένα Μαρίας, καὶ ὁ τοκεὺς αὐτῆς, ἡμῶν, καὶ ὁ θάνατος τοῦ κυρίου, τρία μυστήρια κρανύνης, ἅτινα ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ Θεοῦ ἐπραχθήσονται. *Ad Eph.* Sect. xix. p. 16. (P.)

says, that both the demons and the devil rather suspected than knew the Son of God. * *Chrysostom*, speaking of the mystery of the incarnation being concealed from many, says, "Why do I say many? Mary herself, when she carried him in her womb, did not know the secret. And why do I say men? The Devil himself did not know it, for if he had known it, he would not afterwards have asked him upon the mount, saying, *If thou art the Son of God*; and he did this once, twice, and three times. On this account he said to John, who was beginning to reveal him, *Hold now*; that is, be silent now. It is not yet time to reveal the secret of the incarnation; I must yet deceive the Devil; keep silence now, for thus it becomes us." † Again, he says, "The Devil was at a loss to know whether Christ was God or not." ‡

There is something pleasant in the manner in which the fathers sometimes speak of the Devil being deceived by the humanity of Christ. *Cyril of Jerusalem* says, "It was necessary that Christ should suffer for us, but the Devil would not have come near him, if he had known this; for 'had they known, they would not have crucified the Lord of glory,' 1 Cor. ii. 8. The body, therefore, was the bait of death, that the dragon, thinking to swallow it down, might vomit up all that he had swallowed." §

Ruffinus also represents the divinity of Christ as concealed within his humanity, to catch the Devil as with a bait; and to prove this, he adduces many passages of the *Old Testament*, especially that of *Ezekiel*: "I will draw thee out with my hook," &c. ||

Theodoret says, that Christ concealed his divinity in his temptation by the Devil; and says, that when the Devil

* "Tam demones quam diaboli suspicari magis Filium Dei, quam nosse intelligendi sunt." In *Matt. C. viii. Opera*, VI. p. 12. (P.)

† Και τι λεγω της πολλης, επε γε ουδε αυτη η κνοισμοσα παρθενος ηδει το απορρητον. Και τι λεγω ανθρωπος, και αυτον τον διαβολον ελανθανεν; ουδε γαρ αν, ειπερ ηδει, ηρωτα αυτου μετα τοσθιου χρονου επι τη ορη, Ει υιος ει το Θεου, και απαξ, και δις και τριον τελο επιει; διο και τφ Ιωαννη ελεγεν αρξαμενφ αυτον εκκαλυπτειν; αφες αρτι τετεσι, σιγα νυν, ηδωπω καιρος του γαρ εκκαλυφθηναι το απορρητον της οικονομιας, ετι λανθανει τον διαβολον βολημα; σιγα τουνιψησι; ητω γαρ πρεπον εσιν ημιν. In *Ps. xlix. Opera*, III. p. 289. (P.)

‡ Εν αμυχανια λωπον ην, και οτε οτι ανθρωπος ην ψιλο; πιςευσαι ηδυναλο, δια τα περι αυτη λεχθεντα; ηδε αυ παλιη παραδεξασθαι, οτι υιος ην του Θεου, δια το βλεπειν αυτων πεινωα. In *Matt. Opera*, VII. p. 119. (P.)

§ Εδει παθειν υπερ ημων τον κυριον, αλλ' ουκ αν ετολμησε προσελθειν ο διαβολος, ει ηδει τριον; ει γαρ εγνωσαν, ουκ αν τον κυριον της δοξης εσαυρωσαν; δελεαρ τουνυ τη θανατου γερονε το σωμα, ινα ελπισας καταπειν ο δρακων, εξεμεση και της ηδη καταποθεντας. *Isa. xxv. 8, Cat. xii. Opera*, p. 155. (P.)

|| "Ita et is qui habet mortis imperium, rapuit quidem in morte corpus Jesu, non sentiens in eo hamum divinitatis inclusum; sed ubi devoravit, haesit ipse continuo, et disruptis inferni claustris, velut de profundo extractus, trahitur ut esca caeteris fiat." In *Symbol. Opera*, p. 179. (P.)

heard him speak as a man, he was encouraged to proceed with the temptation. He represents him as saying, "I heard the voice that came down from heaven, calling you the Son of God, but I shall not believe it till it appear by facts."*

Job the Monk also says, "It was necessary that the mystery of the incarnation of the *logos* should be concealed, both to make it more acceptable to the hearers, and also to deceive the Devil."†

Basil of Seleucia says, that "though the demons called Christ the Son of God, they did not know that he was God, because all very good men are called *sons of God*, and Israel is called his first-born."‡

It was objected, that it was wrong in God to conquer the Devil by deceiving him, the divinity of Christ being concealed under his human nature; but *Gregory Nyssen* replies, that "it was fair enough to deceive the deceiver."§

If it was imagined to be necessary that the Devil, whose cunning and penetration were never thought very lightly of, should remain ignorant of our Lord's divinity, he must, no doubt, have concealed it with the greatest care, and have conducted himself in the most cautious manner. If the Devil was not able to discover any thing of the matter, how could *men* find it out, and especially Jews, whose most sanguine expectations from the *Messiah* went no farther than to a man, born like other men? Certainly they who thought that the Devil continued ignorant of the pre-existence and divinity of Christ till after his death, must have thought that all the Jews, and our Lord's disciples, were ignorant of those doctrines. If, as *Chrysostom* says, it was particularly necessary to conceal this great secret from our Lord's disciples, lest they should have published it through joy, and also from his enemies, and the Devil, lest they should have counteracted the design of his coming, we may take it for granted, that, in the opinion of the writers who have given us these representations, it was no more suspected at the time of

* Κρίπτει μὲν τὴν θεότητα—οὐκ ἀπηγορεύσει τὴν νικην ἀκῆσας ὡς ἀνδρῶν εἶη. Τῆς μὲν γὰρ ἀναστῆναι εὐδοκίας φωνῆς ἤκησα, φησὶ, τέλος σε καλεσθῆσθαι, ἀπιστῶ δὲ, ἕως ἂν λαβῶ τὴν πειραν οὐκιστικῆς. *Opera*, V. p. 46. (P.)

† Ἀναγκαῖον δὲ ἦν τὸ ἐπισκιάζεσθαι τὸ μυστήριον τῆς τῆ λογῆ σαρκώσεως διὰ δὲ τὸ γενεσθῆναι τοὺς ἀκραμένους ἐπιπαραδεδόντων, καὶ ἵνα τῆ σκοτεινῆς τὸν ἀρχόντα λαθῆ. *Photii Bib. Sect.* cxxii. p. 622. (P.)

‡ Ἰὺν μὲν Θεὸν καλεῖται Θεὸν δὲ τῶν τῶν υἱὸν οὐκ ἐπιστάνται υἱοὶ γὰρ Θεοῦ κεκληνηταί, καὶ ἵ ἐν ἀρεῆς ἀκρετῆτα τὴν πρὸς Θεὸν ἐχούτες ἀειοσθηταί· ἔτω τὸ πρωτότοκος υἱὸς μὲν Ἰσραὴλ. *Or.* xxiii. p. 128. (P.)

§ Ἡ μὲν γὰρ κατ' ἀξίαν ἀντίστροφος, δι' ἧς ὁ ἀπατεῶν ἀνταπαταταί τὸ δίκαιον δεικνύσιν. *Or. n. Opera*, II. p. 515. (P.)

Christ's death, that he had even pre-existed, or that he had had any thing to do in the making or governing the world, than that he was to be so great a personage before he was born.

Let us now see in what manner the apostles were supposed to have conducted themselves in this respect after our Lord's ascension, and after the descent of the Spirit on the day of *Pentecost*.

CHAPTER IV.

Of the Testimony of Athanasius to the Caution with which the Apostles divulged the Doctrines of the Pre-existence and Divinity of Christ.

As the testimony of *Athanasius*, on account of his known orthodoxy, and of course his unwillingness to make any needless concessions to his adversaries, may be thought to have more weight than any other, I shall, in the first place, produce *it*; and, as exceptions have been made to it, I shall shew, that, independent of any concurrent testimony of others of the fathers, who have mentioned the subject, and which I shall produce hereafter, it clearly proves that, in his idea, the apostles thought it necessary to use great caution in divulging to the Jews so offensive a doctrine as that of the divinity of Christ; though, in consequence of their caution on this head, the Jewish Christians did in their age continue *Unitarians*, believing Christ to be nothing more than a mere man, and also propagated the same doctrine among the Gentile converts. The passage itself is as follows:

“Will they affirm,” says he, “that the apostles held the doctrine of Arius, because they say that Christ was a man of Nazareth, and suffered on the cross? Or, because they used these words, were the apostles of opinion that Christ was only a man, and nothing else? By no means: this is not to be imagined. But this they did as wise master-builders, and stewards of the mysteries of God; and they had this good reason for it. For the Jews of that age, being deceived themselves, and having deceived the Gentiles, thought that Christ was a mere man, only that he came of the seed of David, resembling other descendants of David, and did not believe either that he was God, or that the word was made flesh. On this account the blessed apostles, with great prudence, in the first place, taught what related to the

humanity of our Saviour, to the Jews, that having fully persuaded them, from his miraculous works, that Christ was come, they might afterwards bring them to the belief of his divinity, shewing that his works were not those of a man, but of God. For example, Peter having said, that Christ was a man who had suffered, immediately added, he is the prince of life. In the Gospel he confesses, ‘Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God;’ and in his epistle, he calls him the ‘bishop of souls.’”*

There is a passage in the *Sermo major de Fide* of this writer, published in Montfaucon’s *Collectio Patrum*, which bears some resemblance to this. Speaking of *Peter* preaching Christ, [*Acts ii. 22,*] as “Jesus of Nazareth, a man approved of God,” he says, “He calls him a man and not God, with respect to the Jews, and others, who, like them, considered things according to the flesh, from that time to the present. And the apostles of our Lord, and our Lord himself, answered concerning himself as a man: ‘Ye seek to kill me, a man who has told you the truth.’” †

It has been said, that *Athanasius* is here speaking of the unbelieving Jews. ‡ The expression is, *οἱ τότε Ἰουδαῖοι*, *the Jews of that age*; which includes both the believing and unbelieving Jews. Had he been speaking of the Jews of his own time, it would, I own, have been probable that he meant the unbelieving Jews; but speaking as he does of the Jews at the very first promulgation of Christianity among them, it is most natural to suppose that he meant all the Jews. *Paul*, long after his conversion to Christianity, called himself a Jew. However, it will be sufficiently evident

* Οὐδεν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἀτολμήλον, ὅτι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀποστόλοι τα Ἀρεῖα εἶφρονον· ἀνδραπον γὰρ πτεν ἀπο Ναζαρεθ, καὶ παθῆρον τον Χριστον ἀπαγγελῆσθων, ἐκεῖνων τοῖνον τοιαυτα φραν- ἰαζομενων, ἀρ̄ ἐπειδὴ τοῖς ῥήμασι τῶν εχρήσαντο, μόνον ἀνδραπον ἠδεισαν τον Χριστον ὡς ἀποστόλοι, καὶ πλεον αἰδεν; Μη γενεῖτο· οὐκ ἐσιν οὐδε εἰς νεν ποτε τοῦτο λαβεῖν· ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ὡς ἀσχητικῶνες σοφῶν, καὶ οἰκονομοὶ μισηριων Θεου πεπειρηκασί· καὶ την αἰτιαν ἐχρησιν εἰλεγον· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ὡς τότε Ἰουδαῖοι πλανηθέντες, καὶ πλανησαντες Ἑλληνας, νομιζόν τον Χριστον ψιλον ἀνδραπον, μόνον ἐκ σπερματος Δαβιδ ἀρχεσθῆαι, καθ̄ ὁμοιοτήτα των ἐκ του Δαβιδ ἄλλων γεννημενων τεκνων· ἠτε δὲ Θεον αὐτον, ἠθε ὅτι λογος σαρξ ἐγενετο ἐπιστενον· τῆν ἰσταν, μετα πάσης τῆς συνεσεως ὡς μακαριοι ἀποστόλοι τα ἀνδραπονικα του σωτηρος ἐξηγγηλο σπαρον τῶν Ἰουδαῖοις, ἵνα ὅλας πεισαντες αὐτες, ἐκ των φαινομενων καὶ γενομενων σημειων, ἐληλυθῆναι τον Χριστον, λοιπον καὶ εἰς τα περι τῆς θεοτητος αὐτῆ πῆσιν αὐτῆς ἀναγαγωσιν, ἠεκητιδῆς ὅτι τα γενημενα ἐγχα οὐκ ἐσιν ἀνδραπη, ἀλλὰ Θεου, ἀμειλει Πητρος ὁ λεγων ἀνορα παθῆρον τον Χριστον, εὐδεις συνῆπτεν ὅτος ἀρχηγος τῆς ζωῆς ἐσιν, &c. &c. De Sententia Dionysii, Opera, I. pp. 553, 554. (P.) See Vol. XVIII. p. 61.

† Ἀνορα τε αὐτον φησιν, καὶ οὐ Θεου, προς τῆς Ἰουδαῖας καὶ τῆς ὁμοῖως αὐτοῖς κατὰ σαρκὰ φρονητίας ἐκ τότε καὶ νῦν· καὶ ὡς ἀποστόλοι καὶ αὐτος ὁ κυριος περι αὐτῆ ἀνδραπονικως ἀπεκονατο λεγων· Τι μὲζῆστετε ἀποκτεῖναι, ἀνδραπον ὡς την ἀληθειαν ὑμῖν λελαθηκα; Col- lectio, II. p. 16. (P.)

‡ See Vol. XVIII. p. 11, Note f.

from the whole tenor of the passage, that he must have meant the *believing* Jews principally, and, in some respects, the believing Jews only, exclusive of the *unbelieving* ones. And in this construction of the passage, I am by no means singular, but have the sanction of Trinitarians themselves, * as that of the *Latin* translator and *Beausobre*.

The *Latin* translator of *Athanasius*, a Catholic, † and certainly no Unitarian, had so little suspicion of any other meaning, that he renders *Χριστου* in this place by *Jesum*. The learned *Beausobre*, a Trinitarian, and therefore an unexceptionable judge in this case, quoting this very passage, does not hesitate to pronounce, that they were believing Jews who were intended by the writer, “Ces Juifs,” he says, ne sont pas les Juifs incrédules, mais ceux qui faisoient profession du Christianisme.” ‡ But admitting that the Jews here meant were unbelieving Jews, they were such as the apostles wished to convert to Christianity, and many of them soon became Christians.

But the circumstance which decisively proves that the Jews *Athanasius* is speaking of were *Christian* Jews, is their drawing the Gentiles into the belief of the simple humanity of Christ. For certainly the Gospel was preached to the Gentiles by the *believing*, and not by the *unbelieving* Jews. If it be supposed that the doctrine *Athanasius* speaks of was not concerning *Jesus*, but the *Messiah in general*, how could it interest the Gentiles? The doctrine, therefore, must have been that concerning *Jesus*, and consequently, the preachers must have been Christian Jews, and their proselytes Christian Gentiles. It is ridiculous to suppose that the question could be interesting to any others.

Supposing, however, the whole body of the Gentiles, (little as they were concerned in the question,) to have been previously taught by the Jews, that their *Messiah*, whenever he should come, would be nothing more than a man; if this was an opinion that they were as fully persuaded of as *Athanasius* represents the Jews, their teachers, to have been, the same caution must have been as necessary with respect to them, as with respect to the Jews themselves, and for the same reason.

It has been said, that *Athanasius* says nothing about the *caution* of the apostles, but only speaks of their *prudence*, in

* See Vol. XVIII. p. 70.

† *Montfaucon*, Bénédictin de St. Maur. He published *Athanasius* in 1698, and died in 1741, aged 87. See Vol. XVIII. p. 73.

‡ See *ibid.* p. 72.

teaching what was more easy and necessary, before that which was more difficult and less necessary. But the term *συντησις*, in the connexion in which it stands, can bear no other sense than *caution*, and great caution, *μετα πολλης της συντησεως*, and it appears from the whole tenor of the discourse, that Athanasius could have intended nothing else than to describe the prudence, or extreme caution of the apostles, and to account for it. He evidently does not represent them as deferring the communication of the doctrine of the divinity of Christ, on account of its being more conveniently taught afterwards as part of a system of faith; but only lest it should have given offence to the Jews. If skill, or prudence, in these circumstances, be not the same thing with *caution*, I do not know what is meant by caution.

It has been said that *Athanasius* speaks of the *rapidity* with which *Peter* proceeded to teach the doctrine of the divinity of Christ. On the other hand, I find no trace of rapidity in this account of the apostle's conduct. All that approaches to it is, that, immediately after any mention of the humanity of Christ, (which he speaks of as necessary on account of the Jewish prejudices,) he says the apostles subjoin some expressions which might have led their hearers to the knowledge of his divinity; but the instances he produces are such as plainly confute any pretensions to their being a distinct and full declaration of that doctrine.

The first instance he gives us is from the speech of *Peter* to the Jews on the day of *Pentecost*, in which he says, (*Acts* ii. 22,) "Ye men of Israel, hear these words: Jesus of Nazareth, a man approved of God among you, by miracles and wonders, and signs, which God did by him in the midst of you, as ye yourselves also know." In this, *Athanasius* acknowledges, that *Peter* preached the proper humanity of Christ, but says that, immediately afterwards, (referring to his discourse on the cure of the lame man in the Temple,) he called him *the prince of life*: *Acts* iii. 15: "And killed the prince of life whom God hath raised from the dead."

Had the apostle meant that his audience should have understood him as referring to the divinity of Christ by that expression, his prudence must have lasted but a very short time indeed; probably not many days. If, therefore, his intention was, as *Athanasius* represents it, to preach the doctrine of the humanity of Christ in the first place, and not to divulge the doctrine of his divinity till they were firmly persuaded of his Messiahship, he could not *mean* to allude to his divinity in this speech, which was addressed not to

the believing, but to the unbelieving Jews. At least, he could only have thought of doing it in such a manner as that his hearers might afterwards infer the doctrine from it; and it must have required great ingenuity, and even a strong prepossession in favour of the divinity of Christ, (the reverse of which this writer acknowledges,) to imagine that this expression of *prince of life*, which so easily admits of another interpretation, had any such reference. Moreover, in all the instances which Athanasius produces concerning the conduct of the apostles in this respect, from the Book of *Acts*, he does not pretend to find one in which the divinity of Christ is distinctly preached, though he quotes four passages in which his humanity is plainly spoken of.*

Besides, had *Athanasius* thought that the apostle had preached the doctrine of the divinity of Christ with much effect, it is probable that he would have added this circumstance to his narrative; as, from the object of the work in which the passage is introduced, it may be inferred, that he could not but have thought that it would have been sufficiently to his purpose. For, certainly, if he could have added that, notwithstanding their caution in preaching this extraordinary doctrine, (against which he acknowledges the Jews had the strongest prejudices,) the apostles nevertheless did preach it with effect, and that it was the general belief of the Jewish Christians in their time, he would have done it. It would certainly have favoured his great object in writing the piece, viz. the vindication of *Dionysius*, in using a like caution with respect to the *Sabellians*, to have added, that this prudence, or caution, was not, in either of the two cases, finally detrimental to the cause of truth. I therefore consider the silence of Athanasius on this head as a negative argument of some weight; and, upon the whole, I think that Athanasius must have supposed that both the *Jewish* and *Gentile* Churches were *Unitarian* in the time of the apostles. At least, he enables us to infer that it must have been so, which is quite sufficient for my argument.

Now, if this caution was requisite in the first instance, and with respect to the first converts that the apostles made, it was equally requisite with respect to the rest, at least for the sake of others who were not yet converted, unless the first should have been enjoined secrecy on that head. For whenever it had been known that the apostles were preaching not such a Messiah as they expected, viz. a man like

* See Vol. XVIII. pp. 74, 75.

themselves, but the eternal God, the difference was so great, that a general alarm would have been spread, and the conversion of the rest of the Jews, (to a doctrine which must have appeared so highly improbable to them,) would have been impeded. We may, therefore, presume that the apostles must have connived at this state of ignorance concerning the divinity of Christ, in the Jewish Christians, till there was little hope of making any further converts among the Jews, and till the gospel began to be preached to the Gentiles.

Indeed, this must have been the case according to *Athanasius's* own account; for he says, that these *Jews*, being in error themselves, led the *Gentiles* into the same error. * He must, therefore, be understood to say, that the Jewish converts, while, (through the caution of the apostles,) they were ignorant of the divinity of Christ, preached the gospel in that state to the Gentiles. And as he speaks of Gentiles in general, and without any respect to *time*, and also of their being actually brought over to that belief, it is impossible not to understand him of this caution being continued till the gospel had been fully preached to the Gentiles as well as to the Jews. †

If, according to *Athanasius*, the apostolical reserve with respect to the doctrine of the divinity of Christ continued till this time, (and he says nothing concerning the termination of it,) we may presume that this great doctrine, supposing it to have been known to the apostles, had not been publicly taught by them, till very near the time of their dispersion and death; and then I think it must have come too late, even from them. For it appears from the Book of *Acts*, that their mere *authority* was not sufficient to overbear the prejudices of their countrymen. At least, the communication of a doctrine of so extraordinary a nature, of which they had no conception, must have occasioned such an alarm and consternation, as we must have found some traces of in the history of the Acts of the Apostles. It could not have been received without hesitation and debate.

If we can suppose that the apostles, some time before their death, did communicate this great and unexpected doctrine, the effects of such communication must have been very transient. For, presently after the death of the apostles, we find all the Jewish Christians distinguished by the name of

* See Vol. XVIII. p. 72.

† See *ibid.* p. 73. The conclusion of the paragraph to be found there, Dr. Priestley, in his *Appendix to the Early Opinions*, directed to be omitted "as not being sufficiently to the purpose."

Nazarenes, or *Ebionites*, and no trace of the doctrine of the divinity of Christ among them. *

When all these things are considered, viz. that *Athanasius* acknowledged that it required great caution in the apostles to divulge the doctrine of the divinity of Christ, and that the gospel was preached with success among the Gentiles, while the Jews were ignorant of it, it can hardly be doubted, but that he must himself have considered the Christian church in general as Unitarian in the time of the apostles, at least till near the time of their dispersion and death. †

According to *Athanasius*, the Jews were to be well grounded in the belief of Jesus being the Christ, before they could be taught the doctrine of his divinity. Now, if we look into the Book of *Acts*, we shall clearly see, that they had not got beyond the first lesson in the apostolic age, the great burden of the preaching of the apostles being to persuade the Jews that Jesus was the *Christ*. That he was likewise *God* they evidently left to their successors, who, indeed, did it most effectually, though it required a long course of time to succeed in it. ‡

CHAPTER V.

Of the concurrent Testimony of other Fathers to the Caution of the Apostles, in teaching the Doctrines of the Pre-existence and Divinity of Christ.

I HAVE no great occasion to lay much stress on the testimony of *Athanasius*, as there is that of others of the fathers sufficiently full and clear to the same purpose.

Chrysostom having said, that Christ taught his divinity by his works only, says, that “Peter also, in the beginning, used the same method. For that, in his first discourse to the Jews, he taught nothing clearly concerning his divinity; and because they were then incapable of learning any thing clearly concerning it, he dwelt upon his humanity; that, being accustomed to this, they might be prepared for what they were to be taught afterwards. And if any person,” he says, “will attend to the whole of his discourse, he will see what I say very clearly; for he calls him a *man*, and dwells

* See Vol. XVIII. pp. 73, 74.

† See *ibid.* p. 76, Note *.

‡ See *ibid.* pp. 75, 76.

upon his suffering and resurrection, and things belonging to the flesh. And Paul, when he speaks of his being the Son of David according to the flesh, teaches us nothing farther, that what belonged to the humanity might be acknowledged; but the Son of Thunder discourses concerning his mysterious and eternal existence; so that, omitting what he *did*, he relates what he *was*.* †

The same writer says, that the apostles concealed the doctrine of the *miraculous conception* on account of the incredulity of the Jews with respect to it, and that when they began to preach the gospel, they insisted chiefly on the resurrection of Christ. With respect to the former, (and the same, may, no doubt, be applied to the latter,) he says, “He did not give his own opinion only, but that which came by tradition from the fathers and eminent men. He, therefore, would not have his hearers to be alarmed, or think his account of it extraordinary.” †

Thus, he says, that “it was not to give offence to the Jews, that Peter, in his first speech to them, did not say that *Christ* did the wonderful works of which he spake, but that *God* did them by him; that by speaking more modestly he might conciliate them to himself.” ‡ The same caution he attributes to him in “not saying that Christ, but that God spake by the mouth of his holy prophets, that by these means he might bring them gradually to the faith.” §

After treating pretty largely of the conduct of the apostles, with respect to their insisting on the doctrine of the resurrection of Christ, rather than that of his divinity, immediately after the descent of the Holy Spirit, he says, “As to the Jews who had daily heard and been taught out of the law, Hear, O Israel, the Lord thy God is one Lord, and besides

* Δια ταύτη και ὁ Πέτρος ἐν ἀρχῇ ταύτη κεχηρηται τῷ τρωπῷ και γαρ ταύτην (πρωτην) προς Ἑβραίους ἐδημηγορησει ὀμηγορησέν και επειδὴ ἔδεν περι τῆς θεότητος αὐτῆ τωσ σαφες μάθειν ισχυρον, οὐκ ταύτη τωσ περι τῆς οικονομικῆς ἐνδοκίματι λόγους ἵνα τῷσ ἢ ἀκοη γυμνασθεῖσα ἢ ἰσχυρη κατασκευασθῆναι ἵνα οὐκ ἐπιβληθῆσ τῆσ διημηγοριᾶσ ταύταισ ἀποθεν διελθῶσιν, ἀλλῃσ ταύτη ὁ λόγος σφῆρα διακαρπιον και γαρ ἀντις αὐτων κἀκει και αὐτος, και τωσ τε ταύτησ και τῆσ ἀναστασῆσ και τῆσ κατα σαρκα γεννησιωσ ἐνδοκίματι λόγους. Και Παυλος οὐ, ὅταν λέγῃ, τὴ γεννημῆν ἐκ σπερματικῆσ Δαβὶδ κατὰ σαρκα, ἀδεν ἔλεγον ἡμῶσ παύσθηναι, ἀλλῃ ὅτι τὸ σπέρμα ἐκ τῆσ ἀκαθαρσίας παραλήθηται ὁ και ἡμῶσ ἐπαυλορησῆναι ἀλλῃ ὁ τῆσ βασίλειωσ περι τῆσ ἀρετῆσ και σπουδαιωσ ἡμῶσ ἐπαρξῆωσ διαλογεῖται νυν οὐκ ταύτη το ἐποίησεν αἰφεισ, το πρῆσθηκεν. In *Johan. Hom. ii. Opera*, VIII. p. 20. (P.)

† Ἄλλα ἡμῶσ ἐπαυλορησῆσ τῶσ παραβῶσιν τῶσ λόγους ἵνα οὐκ ἡμῶσ ὁ λόγος ἀλλῃ ταύτησ ἡμῶσ ἐπαυλορησῆσ και ἐπισσημῶσ ἀνοσῶσ. In *Matt. C. i. Hom. iii. VII. p. 20.* (P.)

‡ Οὐκ οὐκ λέγει ὅτι αὐτῶσ, ἀλλῃ ὅτι ὁ αὐτῶσ ὁ Θεωσ, ἵνα μάθεισ τῶσ μετρησῆσιν ἐφελκῆσ τῶσ. In *Acha. Apostolohomias*, C. ii. *Hom. vi. VIII. p. 491.* (P.)

§ Οὐ λέγει ὅτι οὐκ ὁ Θεωσ, ἀλλῃ ὁ Θεωσ, ἐν τῶσ ἀποκρίσεισ μάθῃσ ἐπιβληθῆσ ἐν τῶσ ἀποκρίσεισ. In *ibid. Hom. ix. VII. p. 511.* (P.)

him there is no other,' having seen him (Jesus) nailed to a cross, yea, having killed and buried him themselves, and not having seen him risen again; if they had heard that this person was God equal to the Father, would not they have rejected and spurned at it?" I want words in English to express the force of the Greek in this place. The Latin translator renders it, *Nonne maxime omnes ab his verbis abhorrissent, ac risissent et oblatrassent.* "On this account," he adds, "they (the apostles) brought them forwards gently and by slow degrees, and used great art in condescending to their weakness."*

Chrysostom represents the apostle as beginning his Epistle to the *Hebrews* with saying, that "It was God who spake by the prophets, and not that Christ himself had spoken by them, because their minds were weak, and they were not able to bear the doctrine concerning Christ."† He even says, that "when he there speaks of Christ as above the angels," he still spake of his humanity. "See," says he, "his great caution, ἴσα τῶν συνεσιν τῶν πολλῶν,"‡ the very expression used by *Athanasius* on a similar occasion.

But we find no trace of either *Jews* or *Gentiles* having received these sublime doctrines that *Chrysostom* alludes to, in the age of the apostles. Nay we see that he himself represents the apostle *Paul* as obliged to use the same caution with respect to the Jews, when he wrote the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, which was so late as A. D. 62, about two years before his death.

Theodoret observes, that "in the genealogy of Christ given by Matthew, this writer did not add 'according to the flesh,'

* Πας δὲ ἂν Ἰουδαῖοι δι' καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν, μανθανόντες ὑπὸ το νόμῳ, Λαοὶ, Ἰσραὴλ, ἄριστος ὁ Θεὸς σὺ καὶ ὁ εἰς ἐσθ, καὶ πῆρ αὐτὸ οὐκ ἐστὶν ἄλλος, ἐπὶ ξίλη σφαῖρα ἰδόντες προσήκουσιν αὐτῷ, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ συνειστανύες καὶ θαυμάζοντες, καὶ οὐδε ἀναστασία θεασάμενοι, ἀποδέχονται. Θεὸς ἐστὶν καὶ ὁ εἰς ἐσθ, καὶ τὸ πᾶσι ἐστὶν, οὐκ ἂν μάλιστα πάντων ἐπισημασθῆναι καὶ ἀποδείχθαι. Διὰ τὸ τοῦτο ἡμεῖς, καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν, αὐτῶν προσεβήκαμεν, καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν κεραιήσασθαι τῆς συγκοινωνίας αἰκονομίας. In *Acta, Hom. i. Opera*, VIII. p. 175. (P.)

† Καὶ θεὰ τι συνέλας αὐτὸ εἰρηκε' οὐ γὰρ εἶπεν ὁ Θεὸς ἐλάλησεν καίτοιγε αὐτὸς ἦν ὁ λαλῶν, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ἀσθενεῖς αὐτῶν ἦσαν αἱ ψυχαι, καὶ εὐερω ἀκρῶν ἠδυνάτο τα περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, φησὶν ὁ Θεὸς εἰς αὐτοῦ ἐλάλησεν. (In *Heb. C. i. Opera*, X. p. 1756.) That is, "See how prudently he spoke: for he said, God spake though it was himself that spake; but because their minds were weak and they were not able to bear the things concerning Christ, he says, *God spake by him.*"

N.B. The *καὶ* in the second clause of this passage must be inserted by mistake for *καὶ*, or some other particle, as it contradicts what is said in the close of the sentence, and the obvious sense of the whole. Or, perhaps, the first Θεὸς should have been Χριστὸς. (P.)

‡ Perhaps an easier emendation would be, εἰς ὃν οὐ γὰρ εἶπεν ὁ (εἰς) ἐλάλησεν καίτοιγε αὐτὸς ἦν ὁ λαλῶν, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ἀσθενεῖς αὐτῶν ἦσαν αἱ ψυχαι, καὶ εὐερω ἀκρῶν ἠδυνάτο τα περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, φησὶν ὁ Θεὸς εἰς αὐτοῦ (the text is ἐν αὐτῷ) ἐλάλησεν. (X.)

† In *Heb. C. i. Opera*, X. p. 1755. (P.)

because the men of that time would not bear it;" evidently meaning, that they would thereby have been led into a suspicion that, in the idea of the writer, he had some higher origin, and that they would have been offended at it. "But the apostle Paul," he says, "could not avoid that expression in his Epistle to the Romans." [i. 3.] He adds, that "before his death, not only to the other Jews, but to the apostles themselves, he did not appear as a God, nor did his miracles lead them to form that opinion of him."* This writer also says, that the apostles in mentioning the subjection of Christ to the Father, (1 Cor. xv. 28,) spake of him more lowly than was necessary for their advantage.†

Æcumenius also says, that "Peter, in his first speech, [Acts ii. 30,] though by saying that Christ rose 'according to the flesh,' he intimated that he was God, yet refers all to the Father, that they might receive his sayings."‡ He makes the same observation on Peter's saying, "the promise of the Spirit" was from "the Father." [Ver. 33.] "He refers things to the Father, that he might draw his hearers."§ Again, he observes, that he said, "The Father, and not

* Ἡ γὰρ τοῦ καλοῦ σαρκὰ προσθήκη, αἰνιτλεῖται ὡς τῷ Θεῷ καὶ παῖρος υἱὸς ἐστὶν ἀληθῶς κατὰ τὴν θεότητα· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν τῷ Θεῷ μόνον ὄντων ὅπερ ὀφθαλμοὶ, ἐστὶν εὐρεῖν τὸ καλὸν σαρκὰ προσκεμενὸν· καὶ μάρτυς ὁ μακάριος Ματθαῖος ὁ εὐαγγελιστῆς· εἰρηκώς γὰρ Ἀβραὰμ ἐγεννήσθη τὸν Ἰσαὰκ, Ἰσαὰκ δὲ ἐγεννήσθη τὸν Ἰακώβ, Ἰακώβ δὲ ἐγεννήσθη τὸν Ἰσραὴλ, καὶ πᾶσαν ἐφεξῆς τὴν γενεαλογίαν διεξέλεξαν, ἠδ᾽ ἔλαβον τὸ καλὸν σαρκὰ προσκεμενὸν· οὐχ ἡμίσητε γὰρ αὐτοὶ ἀνθρώποι ἐσὶν ἢ τοιαυτὴ προσθήκη· εὐαίματα δὲ, ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἀνθρώποι μόνον ἐσὶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ Θεοὶ προαιετός· ὁ ἐνανθρώπησας Θεὸς λόγος, τοῦ σπερματός τοῦ Δαβὶδ μνημονεύσας ὁ ἴσως ἀπιστίας, ἀναγκάσιως τὸ καλὸν σαρκὰ προσέθηκε, σαφῶς ἡμᾶς διδάξας, πῶς μὲν υἱὸς ἐστὶ τῷ Θεῷ, πῶς δὲ τῷ Δαβὶδ ἐχηρηματίσθη.

Πρὸ μὲν τοῦ σταυροῦ καὶ τοῦ παθῆς, ὁ δεσποτῆς Χριστὸς οἱ μόνον τοῖς ἀλλοῖς Ἰσραηλῶσι, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἀποστόλοις οὐκ ἔδωκε· εἶναι Θεὸς· προσεπτάνην γὰρ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ἐσθιόντα τε καὶ πινόντα, καὶ καθεδονία, καὶ κοπιώντα· καὶ οὐδὲ τὰ θαυμαστά αὐτοῦ πρὸς ταύτην ἐπόδηγε· τὴν ὄψαν· αὐτῶν τοῖνον τὸ καλὸν τὴν θαλάτταν· θαλασσομενὸν θαῦμα ἔλεγον· πάλαιος ἐστὶν ἄτος ὁ ἀνθρώπος, ὅτι καὶ ἡ θαλάσσα καὶ οἱ ἀνεμοὶ ὑπακούουσιν αὐτῷ; Διοῦ τῷ Θεῷ καὶ ὁ κύριος ἔλεγε πρὸς αὐτοὺς· Πόλλα ἐχὼ λέγειν ὑμῖν, ἀλλ' οὐ δύνασθε βαστάζειν αὐτά.

Πρὸ μὲν ἢ τῷ παθῆς τοιαύτας εἶχον ὀφθῆς περὶ αὐτῆ· μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀναστασιν, καὶ τὴν εἰς κελύκος ἀνάβασιν, καὶ τὴν παναγίαν πνευματικὴν ἐπιφάνησιν, καὶ τὰς θαυμάσιους θαυματουργίας ὡς ἐπετέλεον, καὶ ἠρῶντες αὐτῆ τὸ σέβασμον ὄνομα, ἐγνώσαν ἅπαντες οἱ πιστεύοντες, ὅτι καὶ Θεὸς ἐστὶ, καὶ τῷ Θεῷ μονογενὴς υἱός. In Rom. C. i. Opera, III. p. 15, ed. Halic. (P.)

† Ὁ μὲν οὖν Θεὸς ἀπιστίας τὴν ἐκ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς μυθολογίας φλομενὴν ὑψωθῆναι βλάστην, ταύτην προσέθηκε, ταπεινωτικῶς χηρῶσας λόγους διὰ τὴν ἐκεῖνον ἀφέλειαν. In 1 Cor. xv. Opera, III. p. 273. (P.)

‡ Καὶ οὐδὲ ἄτος ἦλθεν εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν, ἀλλὰ πάλιν ἐχηρηματίσθη ὁ Δαβὶδ, διὰ τὸν σφραγιστὴν οὐκ ὑπαρχόν, ἵνα διὰ τὴν σφραγιστὴν καὶ τὸ γένος τὸ ἀπ' ἐκεῖνον, τῷ Χριστῷ δεξασθῆναι τὸν πᾶσι τῆς ἀναστάσεως λόγον· καὶ οὐκ εἶπεν, ὅτι ἐπηγγέλειτο αὐτῷ ὁ Θεὸς ἀλλ' ὁ μείζων καὶ ἀπαραβῆλτον εἶ, τὸ ἐμὸν· τὸ δὲ κατὰ σὰρκὰ κληρονομίος ἐστὶν, ὡς καὶ Θεὸς Χριστὸς, καὶ συνέστιν ἐν τῷ πατρὶ· τὰντὸν τῷ πατρὶ ἀνατίθησιν, ἵνα τῶν παραβῆλτων τα λεγόμενα. Opera, I. p. 21. (P.)

§ Καὶ πάλιν τῷ πατρὶ ἀνατίθησι τὸ γεγονός· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔτι τῆς ἀκρίτου ἐπιστομῆς· Oecumen. I. p. 21. (P.)

Christ, promised that appearance by Joel.”* On another part of his speech, [ver. 13.] in which mention is made of God glorifying “his Son Jesus,” he says, “he spake humbly concerning him.”†

Quoting *Theodoret*, he “calls low discourses concerning Christ the *first elements*. To those who were not capable of a perfect faith, the preachers of the gospel offered what relates to the humanity of Christ. Thus the blessed Peter preaching to the Jews, measures his doctrine by the weakness of his hearers. For he says, [Acts ii. 22,] ‘Jesus of Nazareth, a man approved of God among you.’ And ye have need, he says, from negligence, not being such, (that is, perfect,) of milk, not of strong meat. He calls low discourses concerning Christ, those that relate to the flesh, *milk*, and *strong meat* for the perfect, discourses concerning the divinity of Christ. For those, therefore, who were babes in faith, there was need of low discourses, as milk is fit for babes; but for the perfect in faith, there was need of strong meat, the sublime philosophy concerning Christ. Every one, he says, who partakes of milk, that is, every one who wants these low discourses concerning the humanity of Christ, (for they are milk,) is unskilful, and not a partaker of the word of righteousness. By the word of righteousness, he means the doctrine of the divinity of Christ,” &c. ‡

“Having called discourses concerning the humanity of Christ, the *first principles*, and those concerning his divinity *perfection*, lest they should despond, as not being worthy of the most perfect discourses, he endeavours to give them those that were perfect. And he says so, but not in the same sense in which he had used the word *perfect* before, for they were not able to bear it. But he disposes his dis-

* Κατ’ αρχας μὲν γὰρ τὸν πρῶτον (πατερα) ελεγεν, οὐ τὸν Χριστὸν ἀπαγγελῆσθαι τὸτο δια Ἰωηλ τοῦ προφήτου. Opera, I. p. 21. (P.)

† Ἐπι τῶν ταπεινῶσεων ἐχέται—διὰ τοῦ εἰπεῖν τὰ ἴδια δύναμιαι θαυματουργησαί—τῆ προσδεῖναι τὸν παῖδα, οὐ γὰρ τὸ αὐτοδοξασθαι ἐπι προσδεῖναι δόξης λαβεῖν. Ibid. p. 28. (P.)

‡ ΛΛΟΟ. Στοιχεῖα τῆς αἰχῆς τῶν λόγων τοῦ Θεοῦ, τῶν ταπεινῶσεων περὶ Χριστοῦ λόγους ἐκάλεσε· τοὺς γὰρ μὴδε πῶς τὴν πίσιν ἐσχηκῶσι τελείων, τὰ περὶ τῆς ἀνθρωποτήτος προσεφρονόμενα, τῆς ἀληθείας δι κηρυκῆς ἕως ὁ μακάριος Πέτρος Ἰθαλαῖς δημηγορῶν ἐμετρησε τὴν διδασκαλίαν τῆ ἀσθενείᾳ τῶν ἀκούων. Ἰησοῦ γὰρ, εἶπῃ, τὸν Ναζαρητίνον, ἀνδρὰ ἀπο τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀποδεδειγμένον εἰς ἡμᾶς. Καὶ γεγονάτε χρεῖαν ἐργῶν. Αὐτοὶ γεγονάτε, φησὶν, ἐκ βραδυμίας, οὐκ ὄντες ταπεινοὶ, γαλακτοῦ καὶ οὐ σφραγῆς τροφῆς· γαλα λέγει τῆς ταπεινῆς περὶ Χριστοῦ λόγους, τῆς περὶ τῆς σαρκὸς· σφραγὶς δὲ τῆς φησὶν, τῆς τελείως τῆς περὶ τῆς θεότητος αὐτοῦ τοὺς οὐν ἐτι νηπίους τὴν πίσιν εἶδει λόγων, ταπεινῶν (καταλλήλων γὰρ τοὺς νηπίους τὸ γαλα) τοὺς δὲ τελείους τὴν πίσιν, τῆς σφραγῆς τροφῆς καὶ τῆς ὑψηλῆς περὶ Χριστοῦ φιλοσοφίας· πῶς γὰρ ὁ μὲλεχων γαλακτοῦ, πῶς γὰρ, φησὶν, ὁ μετεχων λόγων ταπεινῶν, τῶν περὶ τῆς ἀνθρωποτήτος τοῦ κυρίου (ἔστι γὰρ τὸ γαλα) ἀπειρος ἐστὶ καὶ ἀμελοχῶς λόγῳ δικαιοσύνης· λόγῳ δι δικαιοσύνης λέγει, τὸν περὶ τῆς θεότητος τοῦ κυρίου· ἢ στερεὰ τροφή· ὁ ὑψηλὸς λόγος· καὶ τὰ ὑψηλὰ περὶ Χριστοῦ δογματά. In Heb. Opera, II. p. 353. (P.)

course in another manner, calling first principles, baptism, the imposition of hands, and the sign;" perhaps that of the cross, "and perfection, the philosophy of works."*

Commenting on *Heb.* v. 7, he "was heard, in that he feared," *Œcumenius* says, "this he said on account of the weakness of his hearers."† And again, speaking of God having "raised up Christ," [*Rom.* viii. 11, *1 Cor.* xv. 15,] he says, "the divine Paul often speaks in a low style; saying, That the Father raised up Christ."‡

Theophylact, commenting on *Heb.* i., says, "Why did he not say that Christ spake to us? It was both because they were weak, and not yet able to hear concerning Christ, and to shew, that the Old and the New Testament have the same author."§

I shall now proceed to shew, that, in the opinion of the same fathers, the apostles thought it necessary to observe the same caution in teaching the doctrine of the divinity of Christ to the *Gentiles*, that had been requisite with respect to the *Jews*.

CHAPTER VI.

Of the Caution observed by the Apostles in teaching the Doctrines of the Pre-existence and Divinity of Christ to the Gentile Converts.

THE apostles found the *Jews* fully persuaded concerning the doctrine of the Divine Unity, and on that account they are represented by the fathers as cautious how they taught the doctrine of the divinity of Christ, lest their hearers should have been staggered at it, as if they had preached two Gods. The *Gentiles* were in a quite different situation, believing in

* Άνω ειπον αρχην τοις περι ανδραποτητος τη κυριη λογους, τελειοτητα δε τους περι θεοτητας, και μη ανθρωπιου, ουκ εστιν δε μη αξιωμενη του τελειοτερου λογου, λογου της τελειως ανθρωπιου λογικης, ουκ εστιν ουκ εστιν τελειος ακουσις, (α γαρ ισχυει ακουσις,) αλλ' ετερας μεθ' αυτων τοις λογους, αρχην μεν το βαπτισμα κλησιν, και την εν αυτη των χειρων επιθεσιν και σφραγιση, τελειοτητα δε, την δι' εργων φιλοσοφικην. Photius in *Œcumen.* in *Heb.*, II. p. 354. (P.)

† Και εισακησθεις. Τωσθλον, φησιν, εστηκωσθη, οτι και ανστη' τωλο δε ειπε δια την ταπειναν των ακουσις, εστο μεγαλης εχρησεν περι Χριστου δοξας. Του δε ταπειμων τ' αυτων ημαμων δυο αιτιαι, ητις σαρξ, και η ασθενεια των ακουσιων. In *Heb.*, II. p. 349. (P.)

‡ Πυλλαχη γαρ ταπεινωσεν ο θεος Παυλον φησιν φησιν, τον πατερα φησιν αναστασει τον Χριστον. Ibid. p. 340. (P.)

§ Διοτι ταπεινωσεν, ελαθρον ημιν ο Χριστος; Άρα μεν, οτι τα ηθικους ειναι αιτιαι, και μεντοι ταπεινωσεν ακουσις περι του Χριστου; Αμα δε και οικουμων, οτι η παλαια και η καινη, ειναι εστι, και το αυτο. II. p. 376. (P.)

a multiplicity of Gods ; on which account it might be thought to require less caution to teach this favourite doctrine to them. But then, for the same reason for which it was thought improper for Moses and the prophets to teach it to the Jews, in the former periods of their history, when they were in danger of falling into idolatry, it was equally improper to insist upon it with the Gentiles, lest they should have been encouraged to persevere in the same system. Also, after they were brought to the worship of one God, they would have been no less averse to such a doctrine as the Trinity than the Jews. On this account it was not less hazardous, according to *Chrysostom*, to teach the doctrine of the divinity of Christ to the Gentiles than it had been to the Jews.

In the passage, part of which I have quoted above, [p. 418,] after observing, that if the apostles had not conducted themselves in this cautious manner with respect to the Jews, their whole doctrine would have appeared incredible to them, he adds, “ And at Athens Paul calls him” (Jesus) “ simply a man, and nothing farther, and for a good reason : for if they often attempted to stone Christ himself, when he spake of his equality with the Father, and called him on that account a blasphemer, they would hardly have received this doctrine from fishermen, especially after speaking of him as crucified. And why do I speak of the Jews, when at that time even the disciples of Christ himself were often disturbed and scandalized at him, when they heard sublime doctrines ? On which account he said, [*John* xvi. 12,] ‘ I have many things to say to you, but ye cannot bear them now.’ And if they could not bear these things, who had lived so long with him, and had received so many mysteries, and seen so many miracles, how could men, who were then first taken from their altars, idols, and sacrifices, and cats, and crocodiles, (for such was the worship of the Heathens,) and being then first brought off from these abominations, readily receive sublime doctrines ?” *

* Εν τῇ Ἀθήνῃς καὶ ἀνδραποῦν αἰὼν ἄπλως καλεῖ ὁ Παῦλος, ὡς κληρ εἶπαν εἰκοσις : καὶ γὰρ αἰὼν τοῦ Χριστοῦ διαλεγόμενοι περὶ τῆς εἰς τὸν πατέρα ἰσοτήτου, λιθάσαι πολλακίς ἐπιχειρήσαν, καὶ βλασφημοῦν διὰ τοῦτο ἐκείνου, σκληρῇ γὰρ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν λόγων ἡξίαται, καὶ ἰσὺν τοῦ σώζοντος προσηγορευαίτης. Καὶ τί διὰ λέγειν τῆς Ἰουδαίας ὅτι γὰρ καὶ αἱ τοὶ τότε πολλακίς διὰ μαθηταῖς τῶν ὑψηλοτέρων ἀκροατοὺς ἐθροῖβοντο καὶ ἐσκανδαλίζοντο διὰ τοῦτο εἰς εἶπε, Πολλὰ ἐγὼ λέγειν ἔμην, ἀλλ’ οὐ δύνασθε βασάζειν αὐτῶν : εἰ δὲ ἐκεῖνοι οὐκ εἰδὲναντο διὰ συγγενόμενοι χρόνον τοσούτων, καὶ τοσούτων κινωνηταῖς ἀπορρήτων, καὶ τοσαύτα θεωρηταμένοι θαύματα, πῶς ἀνδραποῦν ἀπο βαιμων, καὶ εἰδώλων, καὶ ψυγίων, καὶ αἰθεραν, καὶ κροκοδείλων, τοσαύτα γὰρ ἦν τῶν Ἑλλήνων σεβασματαῖς ; Καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν κακῶν τότε σαυτῶν ἐποσπασθέντες, ἀδρῶν τῆς ὑψηλῆς τῶν δογματῶν ἐσεξέλιτο λόγος. In Acta, Hom. i. Opera, VIII. p. 417. (P.)

Theodoret, commenting on 1 Cor. viii. 6, "To us there is but one God the Father,—and one Lord Jesus Christ," says, "Here he calls the one, *God*, and the other, *Lord*, lest he should give those who were just freed from Heathenism, and had learned the truth, a pretence for returning to their Heathenism and idolatry."*

Œcumenius, on the same place, says, "The apostle speaks cautiously concerning the Father and the Son, calling the Father the one God, lest they should think there were two Gods; and the Son the one Lord, lest they should think there were two Lords. For if he had said *God* and *God*, the Greeks, from their ignorance, would have thought it had been Polytheism; or if he had said *Lord* and *Lord*, they would have thought there were many Lords. This is the reason why he now says, that the Father was God, and the Son Lord. For he had premised that with us there was but one God. Had he called both the Father and the Son God, and Lord, he would have been found acting contrary to his own affirmation to the Greeks, and would have appeared to have introduced many Gods and many Lords. Therefore he calls the Father God, and the Son Lord; condescending to the state of novices in the Greeks."† Again, speaking of God having raised Christ from the dead, he says, "The apostle herein condescends to them as children, not that Christ was not able to raise himself."‡ *Theodoret* also, in his exposition of 1 Cor. xv. 28, in which the apostle says, that *the Son was subject to the Father*, says, "The divine apostle, fearing the evil that might arise from the Grecian mythology, added these things, speaking in low terms for their advantage."§

According to *Œcumenius*, those whom *John*, in his first epistle, addresses as *children*, were those who were acquainted

* Ἐπιταδε μιν τὸν μὲν Θεὸν προσηγορεῖς, τὸν δὲ κυρίον ἵνα μὴ τοῖς ἐναρχοῖς τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς θύλας ἀπαλλαγῆσι, καὶ τὴν ἀληθεῖαν μεταμαρῶσι, παρὰ σὺν προφασίν εἰς τὴν πόλειθεν ἐξαπατῆν πάλιν ἰδωρῆσαι. In loc. Opera, III. p. 158. (P.)

† Δὺς καὶ ἄλλος ἀσφάλειας τῆ πατρὸς καὶ τῆ υἱοῦ ἐρησῶδη τὸν μὲν πατέρα εἶπεν ἓνα Θεὸν, ἵνα μὴ τοῖς ἔθνεσι νομισασι, τὸν καὶ υἱὸν ἓνα κυρίον, ἵνα μὴ τοῖς κυρίοις νομισασι εἰ γὰρ εἶπε Θεὸν καὶ Θεὸν, πόλειθεν αὐτὸν ἐξ ἀπειρίας νομισασι Ἑλλήνες, ἢ Κυρίον καὶ Κυρίον, πόλειθι μισθῆσαι αὐτὸν νομισασι ἄλλοι καὶ τὸν υἱὸν εἶπεν Θεὸν πατέρα, καὶ κυρίον τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆ ἢ αἰτία ἢ γὰρ ἔπειθ' ἡμεῖς παρ' ἡμῖν ἓνα Θεὸν εἶπαι· εἰ ἢν εἶπεν καὶ τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν υἱὸν, Θεὸν ἢ Κυρίον, πόλειθι νομισασι τῆ οὐκ ἐπίσχεσι ὅσον πρὸς Ἑλλήνας ἐναντιωμένους, καὶ πόλειθι τὸν υἱὸν τῆ κυρίου ἐστὶν αὐτὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων. Opera, I. p. 492. (P.)

‡ Ὁ μὲν Θεὸς καὶ τὸν κυρίον ἡγάγει. Ἐπὶ κηπίοις ἡμῖν, εἰδὲ συγκρατῶσαι, καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐπιστολὴν αὐτῶν λέγειν μὴ ἐπιβήθης ἀκούς, ὅτι ὁ Θεὸς τὸν Χριστὸν ἡγάγειν· οὐ γὰρ εἶπεν ἡμεῖς αὐτὸν ἡγάγειν, τὸν φησίν. Ibid. p. 469. (P.)

§ Ὁ μὲν αὐτὸν ἄλλος ἀσφάλειας τῆν ἐκ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς μυθολογίας φησιν ἢ ἰδωρῆμενος βλαβῆσαι, πόλειθι προσεσθῆσαι, ταπεινὰ καὶ χατῶμενος λόγους διὰ τὴν ἐκείνων ἀφέθειαν. Opera, III. p. 201. (P.)

with the humanity of Christ only, as the grown men were those who knew his divinity. Of the latter he says, that "they knew him that was from the beginning. But who is from the beginning, but God the logos, who was in the beginning with God?" He represents him as explaining his own meaning in the following manner: "Since I know that you will receive my writings according to the difference in your ages, I must measure my doctrine according to your ages, and discourse with some as children who know the Father;" he means God the Father only; "but to others as fathers, who know more than the children, and not as the Father only, but as without origin and unsearchable, for he was in the beginning. To these I must address more perfect discourses."* Inconsistently, however, with this, he says, that "by those who *deny the Son*, in this epistle, are meant they who say that Christ was a mere man;" and yet he says, that "by those who *denied that Jesus was the Christ*, were meant the Gnostics."

Theophylact, commenting on 1 Cor. i. 9, says, "Since Paul was writing to the Greeks, who worshipped many gods and many lords, on this account he does not call the Son God, lest they should think there were two Gods, as being accustomed to Polytheism. Nor did he call the Father Lord, lest they should think there were many Lords. For the same reason he made no mention of the Holy Spirit, sparing the weakness of his hearers; as the prophets do not mention the Son clearly, on account of the Jews, lest they should think of a generation with passion."† In his commentary on Col. i. 12, he observes, that "Paul mentions 'giving thanks unto the Father' only. He does the same," he says, "in the Epistle to the Corinthians, bringing them gradually to the doctrine concerning the Son."‡

* Οἷς και εχειν την γνωσιν τε απ' αρχης μαρτυρει τις δε ο απ' αρχης; Ει μη ο Θεος λογος, ος ην εν αρχη προς τον Θεον. Επει ου φησιν ετως υμας οίδα, κατα τας των ηλικιων διαφορας δεξομενας τα παρ' εμε γραφομενα, αναγκη κημε παραμετρησαι τη διαδεσει της ηλικιας υμων την διδασκαλιαν, και τοις μεν, ως παιδιαις επεγνωκοσι τον πατερα (λεγει δε τον Θεον) διαλεχθηναι τοις δε, ως πατρασιν, δι πλεον εχρσι των παιδιων κατα την γνωσιν, το μη ως πατερα μονον επεγνωκειναι, αλλα και ως αναρχος και αδιεξιτηλος· ην γαρ εν αρχη· τηοις δε και τελειωτερον αξιαν παραδεσιν ποιησασθαι λογον. In *Johan. Opera*, II. p. 570. (P.)

† Αλλ' επειδη προς Ελληνας ην ο λογος αυτη, πολυθειαν πρεσβευουλας και πολυκυριστηα· δια τηο, ουτε και τον υιον Θεον ειπεν, ινα μη δυο Θεους νομισασιν· ατε πολυθεια ενειδισμενοι· ουτε και τον πατερα κυριον, ινα μη πολλης κυριος και παρ' ημιν ειναι δοξωσι. Δια ταυτην δε την αιτιαν, ουδε τε πνευμαλοσ εμνησθη εν ταυτα, φειδομενοσ της ασθενειας των ακουοντων· ασπερ και δι προφηταις τε υιη σαφαις ου μεμνηνται, δια της Ιουδαιας, ινα μη εμπαιδη νομισωσι την γεννησιν. *Opera*, II. p. 226. (P.)

‡ Ουτω και εν τη προς Κορινθιους πινει. Πρημα δε εμψιβαζει αυτες εις τον περι υιου λογον. *Ibid.* p. 631. (P.)

The same writer, in his commentary on 1 *Tim.* ii. 5, "There is one God, and one Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus," says, "He does not speak plainly concerning the deity of Christ, because Polytheism then abounded, and lest he should be thought to introduce many gods; where, though he says, *one* and *one*, he does not put them together, and say *two*, but only *one* and *one*. Such is the caution of the Scriptures. On this account he makes no mention of the Spirit, lest he should seem to be a Polytheist."*

Such abundant evidence as this, when there is nothing to oppose to it, (and many more passages to the same purpose might, I doubt not, be collected, if it could be thought that they were at all wanting,) must surely satisfy all the impartial, that, in the opinion of the Christian fathers, the doctrines of the pre-existence and divinity of Christ were considered as being of such a nature, as that it would not have been prudent to risk the communication of them either with *Jews* or *Gentiles*, on their first conversion to Christianity. And the plain inference from this is, that the orthodox fathers must necessarily have supposed, that the Christian church in general was at first *Unitarian*, and that it continued to be so a considerable time. For none of them say or hint when this caution on the part of the apostles ceased; and they represent them as using it in the very latest of their writings, as in those from *Paul* after his confinement at *Rome*, and therefore not long before the destruction of *Jerusalem*. At that time, therefore, they must have thought that the great body of Christians were *Unitarians*, and without being considered as heretics on that account.

But the most decisive proof of this is their universally concluding, that the doctrines of the pre-existence and divinity of Christ were never taught clearly and explicitly till it was done by *John*, in the introduction to his Gospel, † which they supposed to have been published among the last of the books of the *New Testament*, and after the death of the other apostles.

* Ουκ ειπε θε φρασεως και περι της θεοτητος τη Χριστη, επειδη πολυθεια τότε εκρατει, και να μη νομισθη και αυτος πολλους θεους παρεισαγειν' οπηγε ουδε το, εις και εις, όταν ληρηται, προσκειναι συνιδεναι, και λεγειν εις, αλλα εις και εις' τισαντη γαρ η ειλαθεια τ' ε' ε' αμφο' να το' ε' εκ εμνηστη ουδε τε πικρατος, να μη δεξη πολυθεος ειναι. Ibid. p. 77. (P.)

† "What none of the other evangelists has taught us," says *Theophylact*, "he has thundered forth. For as they confined their narratives to what happened to Christ in the body, and speak nothing clearly or expressly of his eternal generation—the great John relates his heavenly generation." *Lindsey's Sequel*, 1776, pp. 195, 196.

CHAPTER VII.

Of John being thought to have been the first who clearly and boldly taught the Doctrines of the Pre-existence and Divinity of Christ.

As this is an article of considerable consequence, I shall produce a redundance of evidence in support of it; nothing being better calculated to satisfy us, that, in the opinion of the Christian fathers, the doctrines of the pre-existence and divinity of Christ were not generally received in the lifetime of the other apostles; and, therefore, that simple *Unitarianism* could not have been considered as any heresy in the early ages. These authorities I shall produce, as I have generally done others, nearly in the order of time in which the writers flourished. I shall only first observe, that *John* seems to have got the title of θεῖος, *divine*, from this circumstance, of his teaching the doctrine of the divine *logos*, which was supposed to be peculiar to him.* This appellation is given to him in the title to the Book of *Revelation*. It is mentioned by *Athanasius* in his *Sermo major de Fide*, † and also by *Cyril of Alexandria*. ‡ For a similar reason *Isaiah* is styled *Theologus* by *Eusebius*, in *Isaiah* xxiv. 10. §

I shall also remind my reader in this place, that this hypothesis of *John* having taught the doctrine of the divinity of Christ in the introduction of his Gospel, does not occur in the earliest writers. These being nearer to the source of information, say that *John* had a view to the *Gnostics* only, both in his Epistles and the introduction to his Gospel. This was the opinion of *Irenæus*, who wrote about the year 170. || The first writer who says that *John* meant the *Unitarians*, I believe, was *Origen*.

* "The popular error," says Mr. Lindsey, "concerning St. John's design in penning his Gospel, seems to have given occasion to that sarcastic censure of him by the emperor *Julian*, as if by a cunning after-thought he had contrived to bring in Christ as God, which neither Paul nor any of the other evangelists had presumed to do. 'But that good man John,' says the emperor, 'perceiving what multitudes were seized with this frenzy in the cities of Greece and Italy,—he was thereby emboldened to advance that doctrine.' *Julian's* proof of his accusation brought against our apostle, as *Cyril* hath preserved it to us, shews great want of candour, and it is plain he entirely misunderstood his author." *Sequel*, pp. 196, 198.

† *Montfaucon's Collectio*, II. p. 13. (P.)

‡ *Hom., Opera*, II. p. 75. (P.)

§ *Montfaucon's Collectio*, II. p. 450. (P.)

|| For which see his Works, I. p. 255. (P.)

SECTION I.

The Acknowledgments of the Christian Fathers that John was the first who taught the Doctrines above-mentioned.

ORIGEN, though a zealous defender of the doctrines of the pre-existence and divinity of Christ, yet, as will appear in its proper place, only considered them as more sublime doctrines, fit for the more perfect Christians. He says, that “John alone introduced the knowledge of the eternity of Christ to the minds of the fathers.”* “John himself was transformed into God, and so became partaker of the truth, and then pronounced that the *word* of God was in God from the beginning.” †

“No one,” says this writer, “taught the divinity of Christ so clearly as John, who presents him to us, saying, ‘I am the light of the world, I am the way, the truth, and the life; I am the resurrection; I am the gate, I am the good shepherd;’ and in the *Revelation*, ‘I am the Alpha and the Omega, the beginning and the end, the first and the last.’ We may therefore boldly say, that as the Gospels are the first-fruits,” (or the most excellent part,) “of the Scriptures, so the Gospel of John is the first-fruits of the Gospels; the sense of which no person can conceive, except he who reclines on the breast of Jesus, and who receives from Jesus his mother Mary, and makes her his own. He must be another John, who was shewn by Jesus as another Jesus. For he who is perfect does not himself live, but Christ lives in him; and since Christ lives in him, he says to Mary concerning him, Behold thy Son, Christ himself.” ‡

The meaning of this is, that, to have the knowledge of the

* “Joannes sola ejus aeterna in notitiam fidelium animarum introducit.” *Opera*, II. p. 428. (P.)

† “Sanctus itaque theologus in Deum transmutatus, veritatis particeps, Domini verbum subsistere in Deo principio, hoc est Deum Filium in Deo Patre, pronuntiat.” *Ibid.* (P.)

‡ Ομοίως γὰρ ἄλλοιαν ἀκρίτως εἰφανέρωσεν αὐτὴ τὴν θεοτητα ὡς Ἰωάννης, παρασημασίου ἑαυτοῦ φησὶ, Ἐγὼ εἰμι τὸ φῶς τὸ ἀσπλάγχνον, ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡ ὁδὸς, ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡ ἀλήθεια, καὶ ἡ ζωὴ· Ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡ ἀνάστασις· Ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡ πύλη, ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ ποιμὴν ὁ καλός· καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀποκαλιφεί, Ἐγὼ εἰμι τὸ αὐτὸ τὸ αἶμα καὶ τὸ τέλος, ὁ πρῶτος καὶ ὁ ἔσχατος· τοιμήτεον τοῖνον εἰπεῖν ἀπαρχὴν μὲν πάντων γραφῶν εἶναι τὰ εὐαγγέλια, τῶν δὲ εὐαγγέλιων ἀπαρχὴν τὸ κατὰ Ἰωάννην, οὐ μόνον ὡς ἀκατὰ λαβὴν μὴ ἀπέσαν ἐπὶ τὰς ἑξῆς Ἰησοῦ, μῆτε λαβὴν ἀπὸ Ἰησοῦ τὴν ἑξῆς Ἰωάννην καὶ αὐτὴ μετὰ καὶ τῆριμκτον οὐ γενεσῆσαι διὰ τὸν ἐσομένον ἄλλον Ἰωάννην, ὃς πῶς ἔπειτα τὸν Ἰωάννην δευξῆσθαι ὄντα Ἰησοῦν ἀπὸ Ἰησοῦ—καὶ γὰρ πᾶς ὁ τετελειωμένος Ἰωάννης, ἀλλ’ ἐν αὐτῷ ζῆ Χριστῷ, καὶ ἐπὶ ζῆ ἐν αὐτῷ Χριστῷ, λέγεται περὶ αὐτῆς τῆς Μαρίας, ὡς ὅτι ὁ υἱὸς ὁ Χριστῷ. Comment, in *Johan.* II. p. 6. (P.) See Vol. XVIII. pp. 197, 198.

sublime doctrines of the pre-existence and divinity of Christ, as taught by *John*, a man must be a Christian of the *first class and rank*, far above the ordinary sort. He must be a second *John*, and a second *Jesus*, imbibing their spirit, and entering into their most profound meaning.

Eusebius says, that “*John* began the doctrine of the divinity of Christ, that being reserved for him, as the most worthy.”*

But he who wrote the most largely and the most eloquently on this subject is *Chrysostom*. And it will be seen, that the greatness of the mystery, its alarming appearance to the Jews, and the extreme caution of the evangelists and apostles in divulging it, gave him great scope for magnifying the courage of *John*, in teaching what the other apostles had only ventured to hint at, and which it was reserved for him, as the “*Son of Thunder*,” and whose emblem was *the eagle*, to express his soaring higher than any other that had gone before him.

“*John*,” he says, “alone taught the eternal and super-celestial wisdom.”† “*John* first lighted up the lamp of theology; and all the most distant churches running to it, lighted up their lamps of theology, and returned rejoicing, saying, *In the beginning was the logos.*”‡

Chrysostom represents all the preceding writers of the *New Testament* as children, who heard, but did not understand things, and who were busy about cheese-cakes and childish sports, § but *John*,” he says, “taught what the angels themselves did not know before he declared it;”|| and he represented them as his most attentive auditors. “Leaving the Father,” he says, “he (*John*) discoursed concerning the Son, because the Father was known to all, if not as a Father, yet as God, but the unbegotten was unknown.”¶

Of the three first evangelists, he says, “They all treated

* Τῆς δὲ θεολογίας ἀπαρξασθαι, ὡς ἀν αὐτῷ πρὸς τὴ θεῖν πνευμαλῶς διὰ κρείττονι παραπεφύλαγμενης· ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἡμῖν περὶ τῆς τῆ κατα Ἰωαννῆν εὐαγ. ἔτις γραφῆς εἰρησθαι. *Hist. L. iii. C. xxiv. p. 117. (P.)*

† Μόνος τῶν αἰωνῶν καὶ ὑπερκρίσμιον φιλοσοφίαν κηρύξας. In *Johan. i. Opera, VI. p. 235. (P.)*

‡ Πρῶτῃ ἀναψάσα τον τῆς θεολογίας λυχνον, πασαι των περῶων αἱ ἐκκλησιαὶ πρὸς σε ὀαμασται, ἕκαστῃ τῆν ἑαυτῆς λαμπάδα τῆν θεολογίαν ἀνηψε, καὶ ὑπεσβεψε χαιρῶσα, ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆν ὄλογοσ. *Ibid. p. 604. (P.)*

§ Ὅι γε αἱλοὶ ἀπάντεσ, καθάπερ τα παιδία τα μικρὰ, ἀκῆσοι μὲν, οὐκ ἴσασι δὲ ἀπερ ἠκῆσοι, ἀλλὰ περὶ πλάκενῆσ ἐπίσημαί, καὶ αὐτῶματὰ παιδῶικα. In *Johan. i. Opera, VIII. p. 2. (P.)*

|| Ἄ μηδὲ ἀγγέλοὶ πρὶν ἢ τῆῶν γενεσθαι ἤδεισαν· μεθ' ἡμῶν γὰρ ὄη καὶ ἄτοι διὰ τῆσ ἑαυτῶν φωνῆσ καὶ ὄη ἡμῶν ἐμαθῶν ἀπερ ἐργῶμεν. *Ibid. (P.)*

¶ Τὶ ὀησοῦν ἐν τον πατέρα ἀφῆσ, περὶ τῆ ὕβ διαλεγεταὶ ὅτι ἐκείν ὄη μὲν ὀη. ὄη ἀκῆσοι, ὄη, καὶ μῆ ὡσ πατῆρ, ἀλλ' ὡσ Θεῶ, ὄη ὅε μονογενῆσ ἠγγασῶ. *Ibid. p. 11. (P.)*

of the fleshly dispensation, and silently by his miracles, indicated his dignity. The dignity of the logos of God was hid, the arrows against the heretics were concealed, and the fortification to defend the right faith was not raised by the pious preaching. John, therefore, the Son of Thunder, being the last, advanced to the doctrine of the logos," or the divinity of Christ. *

“ ‘In the beginning was the word.’ This doctrine was not published at first, for the world would not receive it. Wherefore Matthew, Mark, and Luke,” (*John* is here added, but it must be an interpolation,) “began at a distance. When they began the preaching, they did not immediately say what was becoming his dignity, but what would suit the hearers. Matthew, beginning his Gospel, says, ‘The book of the generation of Jesus Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham.’ Why does he not say ‘the son of God?’ Why does he conceal his dignity by poor language? Why does he conceal from men the things relating to his deity? He answers, I am preaching to the Jews, who do not even believe him to be a good man. They would not believe Christ to be the son of Abraham, and will they believe his being called the son of God?

“The blessed Mark, also, when he applied himself to writing a Gospel, taking courage from what had been done before,” (meaning, perhaps, by *Matthew*,) “calls him ‘the Son of God;’ but he immediately contracts his discourse, and cuts short what he had intended to say, that he might soothe his hearers. He therefore introduces what he had to say concerning the Baptist, saying, ‘The beginning of the gospel of Jesus Christ, as it is written in Isaiah the prophet,’ &c.

“Luke follows in the third place, and goes a middle way. He touches upon the doctrine of the logos, but does not explain, or unfold his dignity; but says, ‘Since many have undertaken to give an account of what has come to pass among us, it seemed good to me also, who have attended to every thing from the beginning, to write in order as has

* Παντες αυ εγραψαν εις την της σαρχος οικουμηναν, και ηρεμα πως, δια των θαυματων, εγραψον την αξιαν. Εκριπτετο δε επι τη Θεου λογη αξιωμα. Εκριπτετο δε τα καια των αμαρταν φειλα, και τα της υψους υαξης επιτειχισμα υβεποτε τω κηρυγματι της ευσεβειας εγραψατο. Ιωαννης τω αυ, ο υιός της βροντης, τελειταος, παρηλθεν επι την θεολογίαν. *De Sigillis, Opera*, VI. p. 173. N. B. The sense of the passage absolutely requires *εκριπτετο* and not *εκηρτυετο* in both the clauses, and in the latter it is so rendered by the *Latin* translator, though not in the former. The observation that the first verses in the Gospel of *John* are a refutation of all heresies, is common with the fathers. No person, except one who is pretty well conversant with them, can imagine how often those verses occur in their writings. (*P.*)

been delivered to us, by those who were eye-witnesses and ministers of the *logos*.' But though he mentions the *logos*, he did not say that the *logos* was God. What then does he do? Touching upon the subject, and considering that he was speaking in the ears of the dead, he conceals his dignity, and brings on the *æconomy*," that is, the doctrine of the incarnation or humanity of Christ. "There was a priest, Zacharias," &c.

"John, therefore, the Son of Thunder, last of all advanced to the doctrine of his divinity, after those three heralds; and with great propriety he followed them, and they went before, lightening a little, as the lightning precedes the thunder, lest, bursting from the clouds at once, it should stun the hearer. —They therefore lightened the *æconomy*, or the humanity of Christ, but he thundered out the *theology*," that is, the doctrine of Christ's divinity. *

Again, he introduces *John* as holding a soliloquy with himself, and saying, after considering the progress of heresy, "Why do I delay? Why have I any longer patience? Why do I not bring forth the mystery hid from ages? Why do I hide in myself, the wisdom which was before the ages, which I derive from the immortal fountain on which I lean? Why do I not publish what angels are ignorant of? Why do I hide from the ends of the earth what no one knows, except the Father? Why do I not write what Matthew, and Mark, and Luke, through a wise and praiseworthy fear,

* Εν αρχῇ ἡν ὁ λόγος οὐκ εἶδος τῶτο ἐκηρυχθῆ. Οὐ γὰρ ἐχώρει ὁ κόσμος μακραν ἡμῖν ὅτι εὐαγγελίσται Ματθαῖος, Μαρκος, Λουκᾶς, (καὶ Ἰωάννης,) ὅτε ἡρξάντο τε κηρυγμαίως, οὐκ εἶδος ἐλάλησαν τὰ πρεποῦνα τῆς ἀξίης, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἀρμόζοντα τοῖς ἀκροαμένοις; ὁ Ματθαῖος, ἀρχὴν ποιήσασμενος τῶν εὐαγγελίων, λέγει· Διθλὸς γενεσεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ υἱοῦ Δαβὶδ, υἱοῦ Ἀβραάμ· διαβί, μὴ υἱὸς Θεοῦ; Διαβί πῶσῃ ληθεῖ κρυπτεῖς τὴν ἀξίαν; Διαβί τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὰ βῆτα καλυπτεῖς; Παρα Ἰερατοῖς, φησὶ, κηρυτῶ, τοῖς μὴ ἀνθρώπων δικαίον εἶναι πιστευοῦσι. Τὸν Χριστὸν υἱὸν Ἀβραάμ ἔπω ἐδεξάντο, καὶ υἱὸν Θεοῦ καταγγέλλομενον ἀνεξοῦναι;

Ἡ αὖτις ὁ μακαρίως Μαρκος καθέως ἐάτην εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, καὶ παροῦσας τοῖς προγεγραμμένους, λέγει μὴ υἱὸν Θεοῦ, ἀλλ' εὐθεὶς συνεσεῖλε τὸν λόγον, καὶ ἐκολοῦσθε τὴν ἐννοίαν, ἵνα μάλαξῃ τὸν ἀκροατὴν. Ἐπαγεῖ οὖν εὐθεὶς τὰ καλά τὸν βαπτιστὴν λέγων, ἀρχὴ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καθὼς γεγραπται ἐν Ἠσαῖᾳ τῷ προφήτῃ.

Ὁ Λουκᾶς ἀκολοῦσθε τρεῖς, καὶ μέσος χωρεῖ μετὰ τῶν, καὶ ἀπτεῖται μὲν τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγου, οὐ μὴ ἐμνησθεῖ καὶ ἀναπτίσει τὴν ἀξίαν; ἀλλὰ φησὶν, ἐπειδὴ περ πολλοὶ ἐπεχειροῦσαν ἀναταξασθῆαι διηγήσιν περὶ τῶν ἀπληροφόρητων ἐν ἡμῖν πραγμάτων, ἐδοξε κῆρυξ παρακλήσασθαι τοῖς πατὴρ ἀπαρχῆς γραφαί, καθὼς παροῦσασ ἡμῖν ὅτι ἀπ' ἀρχῆς αὐτοπτεῖται, καὶ ὑπηρετῆται γενομένοι τε λόγῳ; ἀλλὰ λόγον μὲν εἶπεν, οὐκ εἶπε δὲ ὅτι καὶ Θεὸς ἡν ὁ λόγος; τὸ οὖν καὶ αὐτὸς ποιεῖ; Ἀφαιμένοι τὸ εἶναι, καὶ ἐννοήσας, ὅτι νεκρῶσι ἀκοῆσι ἐνηχεῖ, κρυπτεῖ τὴν ἀξίαν, καὶ προφέρει τὴν οἰκονομίαν. Ἐγενετο ἱερεὺς Ζαχαρίας; καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς τοῦ εὐαγγελίου.

Ἰωάννης τοῖνυν ὁ υἱὸς τῆς βροντῆς τελευταῖος παρήλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν θεολογίαν; μετὰ τῆς τρεῖς ἐκεῖνος κηρυκᾶς, καὶ εἰκότως ὁ μὲν ἠκολοῦσθεν, ὁ δὲ προελαθόν, τὰ μικρὰ τῶν ἀστραπιούτων, ὅσπερ γὰρ τῆς βροντῆς προηγείται ἀστραπή, ἵνα μὴ ἀπύρρον ἐκεῖνη ἐκ τῶν νεφρῶν ἐλατῆσα πλῆξῃ τὸν ἀκοῦτον. Ὅτως ἐπειδὴ ἐμῆλλε βροντᾶν ὁ Ἰωάννης, προελαθόν ὁ τρεῖς εὐαγγελίσται δικτὴν ἀστραπῶν, καὶ ὅτι μὲν ἤσραψαν τὴν οἰκονομίαν, ὁ δὲ βροντᾶ τὴν θεολογίαν. *De Sigillis, Opera, VI. p. 171, &c. (P.)*

passed in silence, according to the orders that were given them? How shall I speak what was given me freely from above?

“Matthew, according to what was granted to him, wrote according to his ability. Mark and Luke, in like manner, according to the supply of the Spirit, have written their books in a becoming manner. I also will write, and add to those before, the fourth fountain of life. For there are wanting to the divine voice the discourses of *the divinity*, and the world is in danger on this quarter. I will write a book which will stop the mouths of all who speak unjustly of God. I will write a book which will hide all the wisdom of the world. I will write a book which shall not be confined to what concerns man. For the church is provided with what Moses wrote concerning these things, about the heavens and the earth, &c.

“But I, leaving all things which have come to pass from time, and in time, will speak of that which was without time, and is uncreated, about the *logos* of God, which was generated from the Father in an ineffable manner, about which Moses dared not to speak. But I am able to do all things, through Christ who strengthens me.

“The apostle John having reasoned thus within himself, and having the pen of a writer in his hand, and considering how to begin the theology, rejoicing in spirit, but with a trembling hand, is carried upwards, being in the body at Ephesus, but with a pure heart and holy spirit leaves the earth,” &c. Then representing him as carried up into heaven, he says, that, “Fishing out of the Father’s bosom the doctrine of the divinity, he wrote in his body on earth, *In the beginning was the logos*,” &c.*

Chrysostom introduces *Matthew* also reasoning on the subject of his saying so little, or rather nothing, of the divinity

* Ελογίζετο ἐν ἑαυτῷ λέγων, Τι ἀναβαλλομαι; Τι, φησι, μακροθυμῶ ἐτι; Τι οὐ προσφέρω εἰς μέσον τοῦ ἀπο τῶν αἰώνων κεκρυμμένον μυστήριον; Τι ἀποκριθῶ ἐμαυτῷ τῆν ἀπο τῶν αἰώνων σοφίαν, ἢ ἐκ τῆς ἀθανάτου πηγῆς ἐπιπέσαν ἔλκυσσα; Τι οὐ δημοσίευσά, ἐν ἀγγελῶν ἀγνοεῖς; Τι οὐκ ἀποκαλιπῶ τῆς περᾶσι, ἐν οὐδεὶς ἐπιγινώσκει, εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ; Τι οὐ γράψω, ἔπερ Ματθαῖος καὶ Μαρκος καὶ Λουκᾶς δι’ ἐπαινημένην δειλίαν παρασιαπτήσαντες παρέδωκαν τελευτᾶν τὰ πρὸς εἰσαγγεμένα αἰτοῖς; Ὅθεν λαλήσω κήγω κατὰ τὴν δοξείσαν μοι ἕσθαι ἀνοθεν;

Ματθαῖος μὲν ὅταν ἐχωρεῖ, ἐγράψε κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν δύναμιν, Μαρκος δὲ καὶ Λουκᾶς ὁμοίαν κατὰ τὴν ταύτην σφραγίδα χερσῶν τῶν αἰώνων βιβλίου θεοπνεύτως ἐδογματίσαν γράψω κήγω καὶ προσέειπα τοῖς ἐμπροσθεν τῆς τειαρῆν πηγῆν τὴν ζωῆς· λείπει γὰρ εἰς θεοσεύστων φανερὸν ὅτι πρὸς θεολογίας λόγος, καὶ κινδυνεύει ὁ κόσμος ἐν τῷ μερῶ τειρᾷ· γράψω βιβλίον, δι’ ἧς ἐμφανῆσθαι τὴν σφραγίδα κατὰ Θεοῦ ἀδικίαν γράψω βιβλίον τὴν καλιπτεσάν πᾶσαν ἐν κατὰ σοφίαν γράψω βιβλίον οὐ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων διηγεμένων οὐ γὰρ λείπει τῆ ἐκλήσεως, ἀπὸ τῶν τειτῶν ἐγράψε Μωσῆς περὶ οὐρανῶν τε καὶ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης καὶ ἰσθμῶν καὶ πετεινῶν

of Christ; and indeed, according to his account, it was a very dangerous and hazardous topic. "Now," says he, "let us awake, and arise. Behold the gates are open to us, but let us enter with great regularity, and with trembling; first passing the outer court. What is the outer court? The book of the generation of Jesus Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham. What is that you say?" says the hearer. "You promised to discourse concerning the only-begotten Son of God, and now you talk of David, a man who lived a thousand generations ago, and say, that he was his father and ancestor."

"Hold," (says the evangelist,) "and do not expect to learn every thing immediately; but slowly, and by degrees: for you are yet in the outer court, and only near the gate; and why are you in haste to get into the innermost recess? You have not yet well examined all that is without: for I do not as yet relate to you the generation itself; nor indeed shall I do it after this; for it is inexplicable and ineffable."

Then reciting the dread that the prophet *Isaiah* had of the subject, which led him to exclaim, "Who shall declare his generation?" he says, "It is not my business to treat of this generation, but of the earthly one, of which there were ten thousand witnesses; and concerning this I shall so discourse as the gifts of the Spirit shall enable me: for I cannot even declare this with perfect clearness; for even this is very fearful. Do not, therefore, think that you hear a small thing, when you hear even this generation; but raise your whole soul, and be full of horror when you hear that God is come upon earth;" and then he proceeds to describe at large all the awfulness of the incarnation, and the miraculous conception.* But this was far short of the eternal generation from the Father.

και τετραποδων, και ερπετων και φυτων και σπερματων και φωσηρων και βρωματων και λοιπης κτισεως.

Εγω δε παντα τα απο χρονη και εν χρονη γινομενα καταλειψας λαλησω περι του αχρονου και ακτιστου, του προ παντων των αιωνων εκ της πατρος αρρητως γεννηθεντος Θεου λογου, περι ου Μωσης ουτος ειπεν ουκ ισχυσεν εγω δε παντα ισχυω εν τω ενδυναμωθι με Χριστω.

Ταυτα εν εαυτω σκεπηόμενος ὁ ἀποστόλος Ἰωάννης και τον γραφικον καιλαμον εν τη χειρι κατεχαν, και εννοων πως της θεολογιας αρηηται, χαιραν μεν τη ψυχη, τρεμων δε τη χειρι, μεταστροφης γινεσθαι, και τω σωματι εν Εφεσῶν, τη καθαρη καρδια τῷ πνευματι μετεωρος ἵκηρχε, και εκ της πατρικης κολπης την θεολογιαν ἀλειψας, τῷ σωματι κατω εγραφεν, Εν αρχη ην ὁ λογος. De Johanne, Opera, VI. pp. 606, &c. (P.)

* Διανασασμεν τοιων και μη καθευδαμεν, ἰδη γαρ ὄρω τας πυλας ἡμιν ανοιγομενας· ἀλλ' εἰσιωμεν μελα εὐλαχιας ἀπασης και τρομῃ, των προθυρων αυτων ευθεως επιβαινοντες. Τίνα δε εστι ταυτα τα προθυρα; Βιβλ. γενεσεως Ιησῦ Χριστῷ υἱῷ Δαβιδ υἱῷ Αβρααμ. Τι λεγεεις; Περι του μονογενους υἱου του Θεου διαλεξασθαι ἐπηγγελειω, και τῷ Δαβιδ μνημονευεις, ἀνδρωπι μετὰ μιριστας γενεας γενομενῶ και αυτον εἶναι φης, και πατερα και προγονον' επισχες, και μη παντα αβρους ζηλει μαθεῖν, ἀλλ' ἡρεμα και κατα μικρον' εν γαρ τοις προθυροις εσηκας εἰς

“Do not think,” says this writer, “that you understand every thing, when you are informed that he was conceived by the Spirit; for there are many things of which we are yet ignorant, and which we have to learn; as how he who is infinite can be comprehended in a woman; how he who sustains all things can be carried about by her; how a virgin can bring forth, and remain a virgin.”*

On this subject, which affords so much scope for eloquence, *Epiphanius* writes as follows: “Wherefore the blessed John coming, and finding men employed about the humanity of Christ, and the Ebionites being in an error about the earthly genealogy of Christ, deduced from Abraham, carried by Luke as high as Adam, and finding the Cerinthians and Merinthians maintaining that he was a mere man, born by natural generation of both the sexes, and also the Nazarenes, and many other heresies; as coming last, (for he was the fourth to write a gospel,) began as it were to call back the wanderers, and those who were employed about the humanity of Christ; and seeing some of them going into rough paths, leaving the strait and true path, cries, Whither are you going, whither are you walking, who tread a rough and dangerous path, leading to a precipice?”

“It is not so. The God, the *logos*, which was begotten by the Father from all eternity, is not from Mary only. He is not from the time of Joseph, he is not from the time of Salathiel, and Zorobabel, and David, and Abraham, and Jacob, and Noah, and Adam; but ‘In the beginning was the *logos*, and the *logos* was with God, and the *logos* was God.’ The *was*, and the *was*, and the *was*, do not admit of his having ever not been.”†

παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ πριπιλαῖα· τί τοῖνυν σπειδεῖς πρὸς τὰ αὐτὰ· ἔγωγε ταῖς ἐξω καλῶς καὶ ὠπτεῖσας ἀπ' αὐτῶν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκείνη σοὶ τῶς διηγεῖμαι τὴν γενήσιν· μάλλον δὲ οὐδὲ τὴν μετὰ ταῦτα ἀνεκφράστους γὰρ καὶ ἀπὸρρητός.

Τὴν γενήσιν αὐτῶν διηγεῖσθαι; Οὐ τοῖνυν περὶ ἐκείνης ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ περὶ ταύτης τῆς καίης, τῆς ἐν τῇ γῆ γενομένης, τῆς μετὰ μίτριαν μαρτυρῶν, καὶ περὶ ταύτης δὲ, ἃς ἡμῖν ἔδωκεν εἰπεῖν βεβημένους τὴν τῆ πνεύματος χάριν, ἵνα διηγησάμεθα· οὐδὲ γὰρ ταύτην μετὰ σαφηνείας τῆς αὐτῆς παραστήσει ἐν' ἐπεί καὶ αὐτὴ φυσικῶς αἰετῆ· μὴ τοῖνυν μίτρα νομοθετῆς ἀκῆν, ταύτην ἀκῆν τὴν γενήσιν ἀλλ' ἀναστήσον σε τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ εὐδίας φρεῖν, ἀκῆσας ὅτι Θεὸς ἐστὶ γῆς ἡλίου, ἵνα γὰρ τὸ τοῦ θανάτου καὶ παραδόξου ἦν, ἃς καὶ τῶς ἀγ. ἐλθ. ἡρώδης ἡρώδης τῆς γενήσιν τῆς ὑπὲρ τῆς οὐρανῆς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀκίβητοις ἐφήμην. In *Mall. i. Opera*, VII. p. 12. (P.)

* Μὴ ἀνεκφράστους τὰ τῶν μεμαθημένων, ἐκ πνεύματος ἀκῆν, καὶ γὰρ πόλλα ἀγνωστοῦν ἐστίν. Καὶ τὸ τοῦ μίτρα νομοθετῆς, ἵνα τῶς ὁ ἀπείρητος ἐν μήτρῃ ἐστίν; Πῶς ὁ πάντα συνεχῶν φησὶν ὑπὸ γυναικός; Πῶς τικτεῖ ἢ παρθενεῖ καὶ μένει παρθενεῖ; Ibid. p. 12. (P.)

† Δὲν καὶ Ἰωάννης εἶδεν ὁ μακάριος, καὶ εἶραν τῆς ἀνδραπῆς ἠσχημένης περὶ τὴν Χρῆστος παραστήσει, καὶ τῶν Ἐβιωνίων πλανηθέντων διὰ τὴν εἰσαρκίαν Χρῆστος γενεαλογίαν, ἢ Ἐβιωνίων καταγενην, καὶ Ἀθηνα ἀκαταγενην ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀδάμ, εἶραν δὲ Κηρινθίαν, καὶ τῶν Ναζαρενῶν, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πειραστῶν αὐτῶν λόγου ἀπὸ ψίλων ἀνδραπῶν, καὶ τῶς Ναζαρενῶν, καὶ

Jerome says, "John the apostle, whom Jesus loved, the son of Zebedee, and brother of James, who was beheaded by Herod after the death of Christ, wrote his Gospel the last of all, at the entreaty of the bishops of Asia, against Cerinthus, and other heretics, and especially the doctrine of the Ebionites, then gaining ground, who said that Christ had no being before he was born of Mary, whence he was compelled to declare his divine origin."*

Ambrose says, "If you inquire concerning his celestial generation, read the Gospel of John."† "If there be any other things," says *Austin*, "which intimate to the intelligent the divinity of Christ, in which he is equal to the Father, John almost alone has introduced them into his Gospel; as having drank more familiarly and more copiously, the secret of his divinity, from the breast of our Lord, on which he was used to lean at meat."‡ On this account he compares *John* to an eagle.§ "The other evangelists," he says, "who treat of the humanity of Christ, were like animals that walk on the earth; but John, contemplating the power of his divinity more sublimely, flies to heaven with the Lord."|| "But now, with an open voice, he says, that he is God, and was always with God, laying open the mystery of God."¶

ἀλλὰς πολλὰς αἰρέσεις, ὡς κατοπιν εἰδῶν, τείαρτῶν γὰρ οὗτος εὐαγγελίζεσθαι, ἀρχεῖται ἀνακαλεῖσθαι, ὡς εἶπεν, τὴν πλανηθέντιαν, καὶ ησυχολημενὴς περὶ τὴν καλῶν Χριστὸν παρῆσαν, καὶ λεγὴν αὐτοῖς (ὡς κατοπιν βαιῶν, καὶ ὄρων τινὰς εἰς τραχείας ὁδὰς κεκλικοῦσας καὶ ἀφηνῆας τὴν εὐθείαν καὶ ἀληθινὴν, ὡς εἶπεν) Πῶι φερεσθε, πῶι βαδίζετε, διὰ τὴν τραχείαν ὁδὸν καὶ σκανδαλωδὴν καὶ εἰς χασμα φερεσαν βαδίζούσας. Ἀνακαμψατε.

Οὐκ ἐστὶν ἄνω, οὐκ ἐστὶν ἀπὸ Μαρίας μόνον ὁ Θεὸς λογῶν, ὁ ἐκ πατρὸς ἀνωθεν γεγεννημένος, οὐκ ἐστὶν ἀπὸ τῶν χρόνων Ἰωσήφ τε ταύτης ὄρμασε, οὐκ ἐστὶν ἀπὸ τῶν χρόνων Σαλαθηνῆ, καὶ Ζοροβὰβηλ, καὶ Δαβὶδ, καὶ Ἀβραάμ, καὶ Ἰακώβ, καὶ Νωῆ, καὶ Ἀδὰμ, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος, καὶ ὁ λογῶν ἦν πρὸς τὸν Θεόν, καὶ Θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος· τὸ ὄν ἦν, καὶ ἦν, καὶ ἦν ὡς ὑποδεχεται τὴν μὴ εἶναι ποτε. Hier. lxi. Sect. xxiii. *Opera*, I. p. 747. Another passage in this writer, in nearly the same words, may be seen, pp. 433, 434. (P.)

* "Joannes apostolus quem Jesus amavit plurimum, filius Zebedaei, frater Jacobi apostoli, quem Herodes post passionem Domini decollavit, novissimus omnium, scripsit evangelium, rogatus ab Asiæ episcopis, adversus Cerinthum, aliosque hæreticos et maxime tunc Ebionitarum dogma consurgens, quiasserunt Christum ante Mariam non fuisse, unde et compulsus est divinam ejus naturam edicere." *Opera*, I. p. 273. (P.)

† "At vero de caelesta generatione si quaeris, lege evangelium sancti Joannis." In *Luc.* C. ii. *Opera*, II. p. 26. (P.)

‡ "Et si qua alia sunt quæ Christi divinitatem, in qua æqualis est Patri, recte intelligitibus intimet, pene solus Johannes in evangelio suo posuit: tanquam de pectore ipsius Domini, super quod discumbere in ejus convivio solitus erat, secretum divinitatis ejus uberius et quodammodo familiarius biberit." *De Consensu Evangelistarum*, L. i. C. v. *Opera*, IV. p. 374. (P.)

§ *Ibid.* pp. 528, 529. (P.)

|| "Cæteri quippe evangelistæ, qui temporalem Christi nativitatem et temporalia ejus facta, quæ gessit in homine, sufficienter exponunt, et de divinitate pauca dixerunt, quasi animalia gressibilia cum Domino ambulant in terra: hic autem pauca de temporalibus ejus gestis edisserens, sed divinitatis potentiam sublimius contemplan, cum Domino ad cælum volat." In *Johan. Pref. Opera*, IX. pp. 5, 275. (P.)

¶ "Nunc autem aperta voce dicit eum esse Deum, et semper fuisse apud Deum, sacramentum patefaciens Dei." *Questions Mixta*, IV. p. 858. (P.)

A very particular and copious account of the pre-eminence of *John*, in consequence of his teaching the doctrines of the pre-existence and divinity of Christ, which had been omitted by the other evangelists, may likewise be seen in the epistle of *Paulinus*, which I put in the notes. *

Cyril of Alexandria says, that “John was the first who taught more sublime things.” † *Marius Mercator* ‡ says, that “the three former evangelists, having spoken of Christ as a man, John shewed him to be God.” §

Cosmas Indicopleutes, || describing *John* as *theologus*, and the chief of the evangelists, says, that “He wrote to supply the defects of the former evangelists, and especially in preaching clearly the divinity of Christ, making that the foundation of his work, all which had been omitted by the others. Wherefore, beginning at his divinity, he immediately passed to his humanity.” ¶

“John,” says *Nicephorus*, “did not give an account of the carnal generation of Jesus, but he first taught his divinity; this being reserved for him, as the most worthy, by the Holy Spirit.” **

“Wherefore, John,” says *Theophylact*, “began with the divinity of Christ. For whereas others had made no men-

* “Idem ultra omnium tempora apostolorum, ætate producta, postremus evangelii scriptor fuisse memoratur, ut sicut de ipso vas electionis ait, quasi columna firmamentum adjiceret fundamentis, ecclesie, prioris evangelii scriptores consona auctoritate confirmans, ultimus auctor, in libri tempore, sed primus in capite sacramenti, quippe qui solus à quatuor fluminibus ex ipso summo divini capitis fonte decurrens, de nube sublimi tonat: In principio erat verbum, et verbum erat apud Deum, et Deus erat verbum: transcendit Moysen, qui usque ad caput mundi et visibilium creaturarum exordia scientie terminos, et faciem mentis extendit. Iste et evangelistis cæteris, vel ab humano Salvatoris ortu, vel à typico legis sacrificio, vel à prophetico præcursoris Baptistæ præconio, resurrectionis evangelium exorsis, altius volans penetravit et æcos. Neque in angelis stetit, sed archangelos quoque et omnes desuper creaturas, virtutes, principatus, dominationes, thronos, supergressus, in ipsum se creatorem ardua mente direxit, et ab illa ineffabili generatione oriens, et coæternum et consubstantialem, et co-omnipotentem, et co-opificem Patri Filium nunciavit.” *Ad Amandum*, p. 213. (P.)

† “Joannes theologus, tonitru filius, cui divina dignatione concessum, ut supra hominum pectus recuberit, indeque nobis sublimiora ac divina hauserit dogmata: cum excellentem erga nos Dei benignitatem commendare vellet, primumque quæ divina sunt dixisset, utpote ista, In principio erat verbum.” *Hom., Opera*, II. p. 75. (P.)

‡ “Ann de *St. Augustin*, écrivit contre les Nestoriens et les Pélagiens, et mourut vers 451.” *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* IV. p. 486.

§ “Postquam præfationem subdescendens, ut ostenderet quem illi tres evangelistæ hominem scripserant, esse etiam Deum.” *Opera*, p. 165. (P.)

|| “Mome du sixième siècle, voyagea en Ethiopie, et composa une Topographie Chrétienne.” *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* II. p. 313.

¶ “Ἐξαιρετικὸς δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆς θεότητος τοῦ Χριστοῦ φανερώς κηρύξας, θεμελίον τῆς αὐτοῦ τηλοῦτης αὐτῷ προτάξας ἀπὸ ἀπάντα παραλειμμένα τοῖς ἀλλοῖς ἢ ἀρξάμενος τοῖνν ὑπὸ τῆς θεότητος, μετῆλθεν εὐθείας καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀνδρωπότητα αὐτῆ. *De Mundo*, L. v. *Montfaucon's Collectio*, II. p. 248. (P.)

** “Ἡ δὲ θεολογία καταρχεται, ἵνα τινος κρείττους πρὸς τὸ θεῖο πνεύματος ταμιεύσασθε αὐτῶ. *Hist.* L. ii. C. xlv. l. p. 214. (P.)

tion of his existence before the ages, he taught that doctrine, lest the logos of God should have been thought to be a mere man, without any divinity.* “Again,” he says, “John wrote lest men should never think highly concerning Christ, and imagine that he had no being before he was born of Mary, and that he was not generated from God the Father, which was the case with Paulus Samosatensis.”† “As John,” he says, “has more lofty things of Christ than any other of the evangelists, so he has recorded some of a lower nature; to shew that, as he was God, so he was truly man.”‡

Lastly, an account of John’s teaching the pre-existence and divinity of Christ, may be seen in the orations of Nicetas the Paphlagonian. §

The late introduction of the doctrine of the divinity of Christ is observed by the emperor *Julian*. He says, that “none of Christ’s disciples, except John, said that he made the heavens and the earth, and that not clearly and plainly.”||

SECTION II.

Reflections on the Subject.

AFTER reading these testimonies, so copious and so full to my purpose, and uncontradicted by any thing in antiquity, it is not possible to entertain a doubt with respect to the opinion of the Christian fathers on this subject. They must have thought that the doctrines of the pre-existence and divinity of Christ had not been preached with any effect before the writing of *John’s Gospel*; and, consequently, that before that time the great body of Christians must have been *Unitarians*; and they are far from giving the least hint of any of them having been excommunicated on that account. On the other hand, the apprehension was, lest those who

* Ἐπει γὰρ οἱ ἄλλοι οὐκ ἐμνησθήσαν περὶ τῆς πρὸ αἰῶνων ὑπαρξέως τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγου, αὐτὸς ἐδεδίλογησε περὶ ταύτης, ἵνα μὴ νομισθῆῃ ὁ τῆ Θεοῦ λόγος ψιλὸς ἀνθρώπος εἶναι. In *Matt. Pref.* l. pp. 1, 2. (P.)

† Θεὸς μὲν ἦν μὴ πῶτε τινες χαμαιπετεῖς καὶ μῆδεν ὑψηλὸν νοῆσαι δυναμένοι, νομισώσι τὸν Χριστὸν τοῖς πρῶτον εἰς ὑπαρξίν ελθεῖν ὅτε ἀπο Μαρίας ἐγεννήθη, καὶ οὐχι πρὸ αἰῶνων ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς γεννηθῆναι, ὃ πάντων πεπονθε Παῦλος ὁ Σαμοσατεύς. In *Johan. C. i. l. p. 553.* (P.)

‡ Ἐπει γὰρ πᾶρα πάντας τῆς εὐαγγελίας ὑψηλότερα περὶ τοῦ κερὶ φησέται, καὶ θεολογεῖ μεγάλα τινα, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐν τοῖς σωματικαῖς πολὺ ταπεινότερα φησέται ὅθεν καὶ ἐν τῷ πνεύματι πολὺ το ἀνθρώπινον εἶναι φησιν, ἀπο τοῦτο δεικνύων τῆς σαρκὸς τὴν ἀληθειαν, ἵνα σὺ μάθῃς ὅτι εἰ δὲ Θεὸς ἦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνθρώπος ἦν. In *Johan. ii. l. p. 720.* (P.)

§ *Combesis Auctuarium*, l. p. 362. (P.)

|| Ὅς δὲ ἡμεῖς θελετε, τὸν ἄραν καὶ τὴν γῆν ἀπεργασάμενος· οὐ γὰρ διὰ ταῦτα τέλοισι, καὶ τίς εἶπεν περὶ αὐτῶν τῶν μαθητῶν, εἰ μὴ μόνον Ἰωάννης, οὐδὲ αὐτὸς σαφῶς οὐδὲ τρανῶς. *Cyr. Con. Jul. L. vi. Juliani Opera*, ll. p. 213. (P.)

preached doctrines so new and offensive as those of the pre-existence and divinity of Christ, should have been rejected with abhorrence.

When we consider how late the three first Gospels were written, the last of them not long before that of *John*, which was near, if not after, the destruction of Jerusalem, and that, in the opinion of the writers above-mentioned, all this caution and reserve had been necessary, till that late period, on the part of the Christian teachers, how is it possible that, in their idea, the Christian church in general should have been well established in the belief of our Lord's divinity? It could only have been great and open zeal on the part of the apostles, and not the timid caution and management which these writers ascribe to them, that could have effectually taught a doctrine which, according to them, the people were ill prepared to receive. And the history of both *Peter* and *Paul* sufficiently prove, that the influence of mere apostolical authority was not so great at that time as many persons now take it to have been. Whatever power they had, they were not considered as lords over the faith of Christians.

The Christians of that age required something more than the private opinion of an apostle. They required some supernatural evidence that his doctrine was from God; and we have no account of the apostles proposing to them this additional article of faith, and alleging any such evidence for it. *Chrysostom* says, "If the Jews were so much offended at having a new law superadded to their former, how much more would they have been offended, if Christ had taught his own divinity!" May it not be supposed, therefore, that they would have required as particular evidence of a divine revelation in the one case as in the other? And what remarkably strong evidence was necessary to convince them that the obligation of their law did not extend to the Gentiles! Would they, then, have received what *Chrysostom* considered as the more offensive doctrine of the two, without any pretence to a particular revelation on the subject?

It may be said, that all the caution of which we have been speaking was necessary with respect to the *unbelieving Jews* only, into whose hands these Gospels, and the other writings of the *New Testament*, might fall. But how impossible must it have been to conceal from the unbelieving Jews the doctrine of the divinity of Christ, if it had been a favourite article with the believing Jews! If this had been the case, it could not but have been known to all the world; and, therefore, all the offence that it could have given would

have been unavoidable. So that this supposed caution of the evangelists, &c., would have come too late, and would have answered no purpose whatever.

This caution, therefore, must necessarily have respected those persons into whose hands the Gospels, &c., were most likely to come, and who would give the most attention to them; and these were certainly the believing Jews, and the Christian world at large, and not *Unbelievers* of any nation. We are authorized to conclude, that in the opinion of the writers who have spoke of it, of whatever weight that opinion may be, this caution in divulging the doctrine of the divinity of Christ was necessary with respect to the great body of Christians themselves, and especially the Jewish Christians. Consequently, they must have supposed, that at the time of these publications, which was about A.D. 64, the doctrine of the divinity of Christ was not generally held by Christians, and that there would have been danger of giving them great offence if at that time it had been plainly proposed to them by the apostles themselves. At this period, therefore, it may be inferred, that, in the opinion of these writers, the Christian church was principally Unitarian, believing only the simple humanity of Christ, and knowing nothing of his divinity or pre-existence.

From the acknowledgment which these *orthodox* fathers could not help making, (for certainly they would not do it unnecessarily,) that there were great numbers of proper Unitarians in the age of the apostles, it seems not unreasonable to conclude, that there were great numbers of them in the age immediately following, and in their own. And their knowledge of this might be an additional reason for the opinion that they appear to have formed of that prevalence in the apostolic age. Would these fathers have granted to their enemies spontaneously, and contrary to truth, that the Jews were strongly prepossessed against the doctrine of the divinity of Christ, and that the Unitarians were a formidable body of Christians while the apostles were living, if it had been in their power to have denied the facts? The consequence of making these acknowledgments is but too obvious, and must have appeared so to them, as well as it now does to others, which makes them so unwilling to make it after them.

I cannot conclude this chapter without observing, in how unworthy a manner, and how unsuitably to their real character and conduct, these fathers represent the apostles as acting. They were all *plain men*, far from being qualified or

disposed to act so cunning a part as is here ascribed to them. There is nothing like art or address in the conduct of any of them, as related in the Scriptures, except that of *Paul*; and this was only with respect to his preaching the gospel to the uncircumcised Gentiles, before it was generally approved of at Jerusalem; on which account, he informed the chief of the apostles only of what he had done. But this was no secret long, and indeed a thing of that kind could not, in its own nature, have been much of a secret at any time. On all other occasions he failed not to inform those to whom he preached, of "the whole counsel of God;" as he says that he had done with respect to the church of Ephesus (*Acts* xx. 27). Much less can it be supposed that he would have concealed a doctrine of so great magnitude and importance as that of the pre-existent dignity of his Master; and, communicating it only to a few, have left it to be taught after his death: for it is not to be supposed that the other apostles were in the secret of *John's* intending to do it after their deaths.

Besides, the instructions of the apostles enjoined them to teach all that they knew, even what their Master had communicated to them in the greatest privacy. Whereas, upon this scheme, they must have suffered great numbers to die in the utter ignorance of the most important truths of the gospel, lest, by divulging it too soon, the conversion of others should have been prevented.

To these observations I would add, that as among the twelve apostles, there must have been men of different tempers and abilities, it is not probable that they should *all* have agreed in conducting themselves upon this plan, viz. of not divulging the doctrine of the divinity of their Master till their hearers should be sufficiently persuaded of his Messiahship. Some of them would hardly have been capable of so much refinement, and would certainly have differed about the *time* when it was proper to divulge so great a secret. Besides, the mother of Jesus, and many other persons of both sexes, must have been acquainted with it; for that this secret was strictly confined to the twelve apostles, will hardly be maintained; and yet we have no account either of their instructions to act in this manner, or of any difference of opinion or of conduct, with respect to it.

Never, sure, was a more improbable hypothesis ever formed to account for any thing, than this of the Christian fathers to account for the late teaching of the doctrines of the pre-existence and divinity of Christ. But their circumstances

left them no alternative. They must have had some very cogent reason for admitting that the teaching of these doctrines was so late; and this could not have been any thing but the want of that *general prevalence* which they would have had, if they had been taught with effect in the life-time of the apostles, and which would have continued to their own times. They must, therefore, have known that there were more *Unitarians* in the church in the early ages than they could account for, on any other hypothesis than that of the doctrines of the pre-existence and divinity of Christ not having been taught till very late. At present, the facts which forced the fathers upon this hypothesis are forgotten, and the orthodox themselves wonder that they should have adopted a scheme so absurd and improbable. But the different manner in which such an hypothesis is received is a proof of a great difference in the circumstances and views of things in the different periods. We see nothing to make so strange an hypothesis necessary. They would not have had recourse to it, if it had not been necessary.

CHAPTER VIII.

Of the Nazarenes and the Ebionites, shewing that they were the same People, and that none of them believed the Divinity or Pre-existence of Christ.

WE have seen that, according to the unanimous and very express testimony of the Christian fathers, (a testimony which is greatly against their own cause, and therefore the more to be depended upon,) there could not have been many persons who believed the doctrines of the pre-existence and divinity of Christ in the age of the apostles; one of the last books of the canon, viz. the Gospel of *John*, being the first in which those doctrines were clearly published.

If we look into the Gospels and the Book of *Acts* we shall find that one part of their testimony is true, viz. that those *sublime doctrines*, as they call them, were not *taught* in an early period; for none of the three first Gospels make the least mention of any thing in the person or nature of Christ superior to those of other men. In like manner, all the *preaching of Christ*, of which we have an account in the Book of *Acts*, is, that Jesus was the *Messiah*, whose divine mission was confirmed by miracles, especially that of his own

resurrection, and by the gifts of the Spirit. And all the *controversies* of which we find any account, either in that Book or in the Epistles, respected either the *Jewish teachers* who would have imposed the observance of the law of Moses upon all the Gentile converts, or else those who held the principles of the *Gnostics*.

The erroneous doctrines of these persons are distinctly marked, so that no person can read the *New Testament* without perceiving that there were persons who held these doctrines, and that they were the cause of great uneasiness to the apostles; but there is no trace of any other opinions at which they took the least umbrage.

As to the effect of the publication of *John's Gospel*, from which so much seems to have been expected by the Christian fathers, it is impossible that we should learn any thing concerning it in the *New Testament*, because that was one of the last of the books that was published. However, we have no account in ecclesiastical history that it produced any change at all in the sentiments of Christians. Though it is said to have taught a new and a sublime doctrine, it does not appear to have been received with any degree of surprise. There are no marks of the publication having given any peculiar pleasure to some, or alarm to others; or that it occasioned the least division among Christians on the subject.

We may, therefore, very safely conclude, that those Christians for whose use this Gospel was written, saw it in a very different light from those fathers who gave the preceding account of it. We know, indeed, that to them it did not appear to teach any other doctrine than what was contained in the three former Gospels; for by the *logos* of which John treats in this famous introduction, they never imagined to be meant *Christ*, and therefore they could see nothing of his personal pre-existence or divinity in it. In their opinion, the *logos* was that *wisdom and power of God*, by which all things were made.

Though this Gospel was written in *Greek*, there were not wanting among the Jewish Christians men of learning who would not have failed to give an account of it to their more ignorant countrymen, or to translate it for their use, if it had been thought necessary. Yet, notwithstanding this, all the *Jewish Christians* continued in the very same state in which the Christian fathers represent them to have been before the publication of this Gospel, viz. believers in the *simple humanity* of Christ only, and acknowledging nothing of his

pre-existence or divinity. The same was also the state of the *Gentile* Christians in general, long after the publication of this Gospel.

As no entire writings of any *Jewish* Christians are come down to us, all that we know concerning them must be derived from the writings of the *Gentile* Christians; and as these Christians were Trinitarians, and had very little communication with the *Jewish* Christians, we cannot expect any favourable, or indeed any impartial accounts concerning them. If, however, we may depend upon the earliest accounts that we have of them, and those given by persons who were the best qualified to give us good information, they were all Unitarians, and were distinguished from the *Gentile* Christians by the name of *Ebionites* or *Nazarenes*. But as it has been pretended by those who, being *Trinitarians* themselves, were willing to believe that there *must* have been a body of ancient *Jewish* Christians, who thought as they do, and that the *Ebionites* or *Nazarenes* must have been sects who broke off from their communion; and as some of these persons have even said that these *Ebionites* or *Nazarenes* were subsequent to the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus; and others have fixed their origin so late as the desolation of Judea by Adrian, it may not be improper to shew that persons distinguished by the name of *Ebionites* and *Nazarenes* were supposed to have existed in the time of the apostles.

Irenæus, who gives no other name to any *Jewish* Christians besides that of *Ebionites*, whom he always speaks of as both denying the pre-existence and divinity of Christ, and likewise the miraculous conception, objects to the *Gnostics*, that they were of late date, but he says nothing of the *Ebionites* in that respect.* *Eusebius* says, that “the first heralds of our Saviour,” (by whom he must have meant the apostles,) “called those *Ebionites*, which, in the Hebrew language, signifies poor; who, not denying the body of Christ, shewed their folly in denying his divinity.” †

Epiphanius makes both *Ebion*, (for in his time it was imagined, that the *Ebionites* were so called from some parti-

* “Reliqui vero qui vocantur Gnostici, à Menandro Simonis discipulo, quemadmodum ostendimus, accipientes initia, unusquisque eorum, ejus participatus est sententia, ejus et pater, et antistes apparuit. Omnes autem hi multo posterius, mediantibus jam ecclesie temporibus, insurrexerunt in suam apostasiam.” L. iii. C. iv. p. 206. (P.)

† Και αυτε δε τα σωτηρος ημων, οι πρωτοκηρυκες Εβιωναες ανημεζον, Εβραικη φωνη πτωχες την δε αυσιαν αποκαλεντες, τες ενα μεν Θεον λεγοντας ειδεναι, και τα σωτηρος το παμμα μη αρνημενες, την δε τα υια θεοτητα μη ιδουσας. Ec. Theol. L. i. C. xiv. p. 75. (P.)

cular person of that name,) and *Cerinthus* contemporary with the apostle *John*; and he could not tell which of them was the older.* He likewise makes the *Ebionites* contemporary with the *Nazarenes*, at the same time that he says they held that Christ was the son of Joseph.† Also, in the passage before quoted from him, as well as in that from *Jerome*, we find the names of both the *Ebionites* and the *Nazarenes* among those who gave so much alarm to the apostle *John*. It must be owned, however, that in no perfect consistence with this account, *Epiphanius* places the origin of the *Nazarenes* after the destruction of Jerusalem. After mentioning the places where they resided, viz. *Peræa*, *Cæle-Syria*, *Pella*, and *Cocaba*, he says, “There was their origin, after the destruction of Jerusalem, when all the disciples lived at Pella; Christ having warned them to leave Jerusalem, and retire at the approach of the siege; and on this account they lived, as I said, at Peræa. Thence the sect of the *Nazarenes* had its origin.”‡

Sophronius, quoted by *Theophylact*, says, that “John, besides having a view to *Cerinthus*, and other heretics, wrote more especially against the heresy of the *Ebionites*, which was then very prevalent, who said that Christ had no being before he was born of Mary; so that he was under a necessity of declaring his divine origin.”§

Cassian calls *Hebion* “the first heretic, laying too much stress on the humanity of Christ, and stripping him of his divinity.”||

There can be no doubt, therefore, but that both *Ebionites* and *Nazarenes* were existing in the time of the apostles; and that there was no real difference between these two sects.

* *Ναζαρηαιοι καθ'εξης τούτοις επονται' αμα τε αυτοις ολες, η και προ αυτων, η συν αυτοις, η μετ' αυτης ημας συγγρηγοι' οι γαρ ακριβεστερον δυναμαι εξαιπειν' τινες τινας διεδεξαντο.* Hier. xxx. Opera, l. p. 149; II. xxix. p. 116. (P.)

† *Οτις γαρ ο Εβιον συγγρηγοει' μεν τῶν ὑπῆρχεν, ἀπ' αυτων δε συν αυτοις ὀρμαλαι' τα πρῶτα δε εκ πυρατρῆς και σπερματῶν ανδρος, τῶτεςιν τε Ιωσηφ, τον Χριστον γεγενησθαι εἰρηαι, ὅς και ηρη ἦσαν πρηνηται, ὅτι τα ισα τοις αλλοις εν ἀπασι φρονων, εν τετρω μονω ὑπερβαλον, εν τῷ τῷ νημῷ τῷ Ιουδαισμῷ προσαναχεν, κατα σαββατισμῶν, και κατα την περιτομην, και κατα τα αλλα παντα ὅσαπερ παλαια της Ιουδαϊας ἡμοιως τοις Σαμαρειταις διαπραττεται.* Hier. xxx. pp. 125, 126. (P.)

‡ *Εκείθεν μεν η αρχη γεγονε μετα την απο των Ιεροσολιμων μετασταν, παντων των μεμνηστων των εν Πάλλῃ, γρηγοτων, Χριστῷ φησαντος καταλελειπει τα Ιεροσόλυμα, και αναμνησται, επειδη ἀρῆλε τῶσθεν πολιορκιαν' και εκ της τοιαυτης ὑπόθεσεως την Περαιαν γρηγοτες, κεινος ως εἶπον διετριβον' εντειδενῆ κατα της Ναζαρηαινης ἀίρεσις ειχε την αρχην.* Hier. xxix. Opera, l. p. 123. (P.)

§ *Και μαλιστα τρικαιτα τα των Εβιονιτων ὀρμαλῶς ανακλιφανῶς, των φασκῶτων τον Χριστον της Μαρίας μη γηγενησθαι' ὅδε γραμματισῆ την θεϊαν γεννησιν αυτε ειπει.* In *Johann*, l. p. 518. (P.)

|| *Quorum primus Hebion, dum incarnationem dominicam nimis asserit, divinitatis eam conjunctionem nudavit.* *De Incarnatione*, L. i. C. ii. p. 962. (P.)

And, that both of them were equally believers in the simple humanity of Christ is no less evident.

The testimony of *Origen* is clear and decisive to this purpose. He says that the word *Ebion* in the Jewish language signifies *poor*, and those of the Jews who believe Jesus to be the Christ are called *Ebionites*.* Here is no room left for any difference between the *Ebionites* and the *Nazarenes*; for the *Ebionites* comprehended all the Jewish Christians; and, according to *Origen*, none of them were believers in the pre-existence or divinity of Christ. He says, there were two sorts of *Ebionites*, of whom one believed the miraculous conception, and the other disbelieved it, while both of them rejected the doctrine of his divinity. “And when you consider,” says he, “the faith concerning our Saviour of those of the Jews who believe in Christ, some thinking him to be the son of Joseph and Mary, and others of Mary only, and the Divine Spirit, but not believing his divinity.” †

He mentions the two sects of *Ebionites* in the following passage: “There are some heretics who do not receive the Epistles of Paul, as those who are called *Ebionites*, of both sorts.” ‡

Eusebius gives the very same account of the two sorts of *Ebionites*, and makes no mention of any *Nazarenes*, as differing from them. “Others,” he says, “whom a malignant demon was not able to turn aside entirely from the love of Christ, finding them weak in some respects, reduced into his power. These by the ancients were called *Ebionites*, as those who think meanly concerning Christ; for they think him to be merely a man, like other men, but approved on account of his virtue, being the son of Mary’s husband. Others called by the same name, leaving the absurd opinion of the former, do not deny that Christ was born of a virgin, but say, that he was of the Holy Spirit. However at the same time, they by no means allowing that Christ was God, the word, and wisdom, were drawn into the rest of their impiety.” He then says, that “they maintained the observance of the Jewish law, and that they used the gospel

* Εβιον τε γαρ ὁ πτωχὸς παραΙουδαίως καλεῖται. Καὶ Εβιωναῖοι χρηματίζονται διὰ τοῦ Ιουδαίου τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, ὡς Χριστοῦ, παραδεξαμένοι. In *Celsum*, L. ii. p. 56. (P.)

† Καὶ ἐπὶ ἰδῆς τῶν ἀπὸ Ἰουδαίων πιστευόντων εἰς τὸν Ἰησοῦν τὴν περὶ τὴν σωτηρίας πίστεν, ὅτε μὲν ἐκ Μαρίας καὶ τοῦ Ἰωσήφ οἰόμενον αὐτὸν εἶναι, ὅτε μὲν ἐκ Μαρίας μὲν μόνῃς, καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, οὐ μὴν καὶ μετὰ τῆς περὶ αὐτὴ θεολογίας, αἴπει, &c. Comment. in *Matt. ed. Huetii*, l. p. 427. (P.)

‡ Ἐστὶ γὰρ τινὲς ἄνομοι τὰς Παύλου ἐπιστολάς τοῦ ἀποστόλου μὴ πιστευόμενοι, ὥσπερ Εβιωναῖοι ἀμφότεροι. In *Celsum*, L. vi. p. 274. (P.)

according to the Hebrews." He says also, "that beggars are called Ebionites." *

It may be clearly inferred, from a passage in a letter of *Jerome to Austin*, that though he was acquainted with the nominal distinction between the *Ebionites* and *Nazarenes*, he did not consider them as really, or at least as materially, differing from each other. "If this be true," he says, "we fall into the heresy of Cerinthus and Ebion, who believing in Christ, were anathematized by the fathers on this account only, that they mixed the ceremonies of the law with the gospel of Christ, and held to the new" (dispensation) "in such a manner as not to lose the old. What shall I say concerning the Ebionites, who pretend that they are Christians? It is to this very day in all the synagogues of the East, a heresy among the Jews, called that of the Minei, now condemned by the Pharisees, and commonly called Nazarenes, who believe in Christ the Son of God, born of the Virgin Mary, and say, that it was he who suffered under Pontius Pilate, and rose again, in whom also we believe. But while they wish to be both Jews and Christians, they are neither Jews nor Christians." †

That this account of the *Nazarenes* is only explanatory of the *Ebionites*, is evident from his saying, "What shall I say concerning the Ebionites?" After such an expression as this,

* Άλλως δε ὁ πονηρὸς δαίμων τῆς περὶ τὸν Χριστὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ διαθεσεως ἀδυνατῶν ἐκτεισῆαι, διὰ τερατολήπτης εὐρανὸν ἐσφρατίζει. Ἐβιοναῖοις τῆς οὐκείας ἐπειρημίξιν ὅι πρώτοι πτωχοὺς καὶ ταπεινοὺς τὰ περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ δοξαζόντας· λιτοὺς μὲν γὰρ αἶόν καὶ κοινὸν ἡγνῶλο κατὰ προκοπὴν ἠθεὺς αἰὼν μονὸν ἀνδρῶπων δεικτικαίμενον ἐξ ἀνδρὸς τε κοινανίας καὶ τῆς Μαρίας γεννηθῆμενον· θεὸν δὲ πάλιν αὐτοὺς τῆς νομικῆς Ἰησοφικίας, ὡς μὴ ἀνὰ δια μόνης τῆς εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν πίστεως καὶ τοῦ κατ' αὐτὴν βίβι σαθῆσομενοῖς. Ἄλλοι δὲ παρὰ τῆς αὐτῆς οὐτὲς προσηγορίας, τὴν μὲν τῶν εἰρημενῶν ἐκτόπον διεδιδρασκον ἀτοπίαν, ἐκ παρθενο καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος μὴ ἀρνηθῆμενον γεγονέναι τὸν κυρίον· οὐ μὴν ἐθ' ὁμοίως καὶ ἴτοι προπαρχεῖν αὐτον, Θεὸν λόγον οὐκ αὐ καὶ σαφῆρον ὁμολογηθῆς, τῆ τῶν ἀποστόλων περιεβρεπῶλο δυσσαφείῃ· μαλίστα ἴτε καὶ τὴν σωματικὴν περὶ τὸν νομὸν λατρείαν ὁμοίως ἐκείνοις περιεπειν ἐσπῶδαζόν· ἴτοι δὲ τοῦ μὲν ἀπιστοῦ πασῶς τῆς ἐπιστάλας, ἀρνηθῆς ἡγνῶλο εἶναι θεὸν, ἀποσταλῆν ἀποκαληθῆς αὐτοῦ τοῦ νομῆ· ἐσφρατίζῶ δὲ μόνῃ τῆ καθ' Ἐβραίων λεγομένην χρωμενοῖ, τῶν λοιπῶν σμικρον ἐπιπῆντο λόγον· καὶ το μὲν Σαββαίον καὶ τὴν Ἰδατικὴν ἀλλῆν ἀγαγῆν ὁμοίως ἐκείνοις παρεφίλατον. Τῆς ὁ ἀν κηριακαῖς ἡμεραῖς, ἡμῖν τὰ παραπλήσια εἰς μνήμην τῆς τοῦ κυρίου ἀνεστῆσεως ἐπιτελῆν· ὁθεν παρὰ τὴν τσιαλῆν ἐγγχειρησῖν τῆς τσιασδε λέλογχασῖ προσηγορίας, τοῦ Ἐβιοναῖον ὀνοματός, τὴν τῆς διανοίας πτωχίαν αἰὼν ὑποφραίνοντός· ταυτῆν γὰρ ἐπιπῆν ὁ πτωχὸς παρ' Ἐβραίων, ὀνομαζέται. Hist. L. iii. C. xxvii. p. 121. (P.)

† "Si hoc verum est; in Cerinthii et Ebionis hæresim dilabimur, qui credentes in Christo, propter hoc solum à patribus anathematizati sunt, quod legis ceremonias Christi evangelio miscuerunt, et sic nova confessi sunt, ut vetera non amitterent. Quid dicam de Hebionitis, qui Christianos esse se simulant? Usque hodie per totas orientis synagogas inter Judæos hæresis est, qui dicitur Mineorum, et à Phariseis nunc usque damnatur, quos vulgo Nazaræos nuncupant, qui credunt in Christum, Filium Dei, natum de Virgine Maria, et eum dicunt esse, qui sub Pontio Pilato passus est, et resurrexit, in quem et nos credimus: sed dum volunt et Judæi esse Christiani, nec Judæi sunt nec Christiani." *Opera*, l. p. 634. (P.)

we naturally expect that he should proceed to say something concerning them, which this author most evidently does; observing, that the same people who were called *Ebionites* by the Gentiles, were called *Minei* and *Nazarenes* (by the Jews). Had he meant to describe any other class of people, he would naturally have begun his next sentence with *Est et*, or *Est alia hæresis*, and not simply *hæresis est*. As to his speaking of *heresy* in the second sentence, and not *heretics*, as in the first, it is a most trifling inaccuracy in language, the easiest of all others to fall into, and of no consequence to the meaning at all. Besides, *Jerome's* account of these two denominations of men is exactly the same; the *Ebionites* being "believers in Christ, but mixing the law and the gospel;" and the *Nazarenes* "wishing to be both Jews and Christians," which certainly comes to the very same thing.

Stress has been laid on our author's saying, that the *Ebionites pretended* to be Christians,* but *Jerome* calls them *credentes in Christo*, believers in Christ; and if they believed in Christ at all, they could not believe much less than he himself represents the *Nazarenes* to have done. It may be said, that they only pretended to be Christians, but were not, because they had been excommunicated. But what had they been excommunicated for? Not for any proper imperfection of their faith in Christ, in which they were inferior to the *Nazarenes*, but only (*solum*) because they mixed the ceremonies of the law with the gospel of Christ; which, in other words, he asserts of the *Nazarenes* also, when he says, they wished to be both Jews and Christians. And though he does not say that the *Nazarenes* were *excommunicated*, he says they were *not Christians*, which is an expression of the same import.

Had there been any foreign reason why we should suppose that *Jerome* meant to distinguish between the *Ebionites* and the *Nazarenes*, we might have hesitated about the interpretation of his meaning, easy as it is. But certainly there can be no cause of hesitation, when it is considered that in this he agrees not with *Epiphanius* only, but with the whole strain of antiquity, as is allowed by *Le Clerc*, and all the ablest critics; and to interpret his meaning otherwise is to set him at variance with all other writers.

It is asked, "Why were the *Cerinthians* omitted? *Jerome* places them with the *Ebionites* in the preceding sentence: and if the *Nazarenes* and the *Ebionites* were the same people,

* See *Mon. Rev.* LXIX. p. 218.

it may, with equal *clearness* of evidence be inferred, that they were the same people with the Cerinthians likewise."*

I answer, they were the same people, as far as *Jerome* then considered them, because they were equally zealous for the law of Moses.

It has been said, that *Austin's* answer to *Jerome* shews, that he considered them as different persons. But *Austin* only enumerates all the names that *Jerome* had mentioned, and whether the differences were real or nominal, great or little, it signified nothing to him. He himself, in his *Catalogue of Heresies*, makes a difference between the *Ebionites* and *Nazarenes*, but by no means that which makes the latter to have been believers in the divinity of Christ, and the former not. And as it was a common opinion, especially in the *West*, that there was some difference between them, (though the writers who speak of it could never be certain in what it consisted,) it was very natural in *Austin* to mention them separately, whether *Jerome* had made them the same or not.

I find that *Suicer*, in his *Thesaurus*, under the article *Ebion*, makes the same use of this passage of *Jerome* that I have done, and considers the *Nazarenes* as a branch of the *Ebionites*. *Sandius* also draws the same inference from this passage. †

That the unbelieving Jews should call the Christian Jews *Nazarenes*, is natural; because that was the opprobrious appellation by which they had been distinguished from the beginning. According to *Tertullian*, they called them so in his time. ‡ *Agobard* says they did the same when he wrote. § But it was not so natural that this should be adopted by the Gentile Christians, because they had been used to regard that appellation with more respect. When, therefore, they came to distinguish themselves from the Jewish Christians, and to dislike their tenets, it was natural for them to adopt some other appellation than that of *Nazarenes*; and the term *Ebionites*, given them likewise by their unbelieving brethren, equally answered their purpose.

The term *Minci* is from the Hebrew מנים (*minim*) which signifies *sectaries*, and is that by which the Jews, in all their writings, distinguish the Christians.

It is something remarkable, that *Justin Martyr* does not

* *Mon. Rev.* LXIX. p. 216, Note.

† *Hist. Eccles.* p. 4. (P.)

‡ "Unde et ipso nomine nos Judaei Nazarenos appellant per eum." *Adv. Marcionem*, L. iv. Sect. viii. p. 418. (P.)

§ "Quod autem Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum et Christianos in omnibus et tribus suis sub Nazarenorum nomine quotidie maledicant." *De Insolentia Judaeorum*, Opera, p. 63. (P.)

use the term *Ebionite*, or any other expressive of dislike. *Irenæus* is the first who uses it, or who speaks of the Jewish Unitarians with the least disrespect.

It is an argument in favour of the identity of the *Nazarenes* and *Ebionites*, that the former are not mentioned *by name* by any writer who likewise speaks of the *Ebionites*, before *Epiphanius*, who was fond of multiplying heresies, though the people so called were certainly known before his time. The term *Ebionites* only occurs in *Irenæus*, *Tertullian*, *Origen*, and *Eusebius*. None of them make any mention of *Nazarenes*; and yet it cannot be denied, that they must have been even more considerable in the time of those writers, than they were afterwards.

The conduct of all these writers is easily accounted for on the suppositions, that in the time of *Justin Martyr*, the Jewish Christians, though all *Unitarians*, and even disbelieving the miraculous conception, were not known by any opprobrious appellation at all; that afterwards they were first distinguished by that of *Ebionites*; and that it was not till the time of *Epiphanius*, (when such writers as he, who wrote expressly on the subject of *heresy*, made a parade of their learning by recounting a multiplicity of heresies,) that the term *Nazarenes*, by which the unbelieving Jews still continued to call the Christians among them, was laid hold of, as signifying a sect different from that of the *Ebionites*.

*Moshcim** makes a doubt whether there was such a person as *Ebion* or not. I have seen no evidence at all that any person of that name ever existed. There is no founder of a sect, of whose history *some* particulars have not been handed down to posterity; but this is *vox et præterea nihil*. The term *Ebionite* was also long prior to that of *Ebion*. They who first used this term, say nothing about the *man*, from others, and they were too late to know any thing of him themselves.

It must be more particularly difficult to account for the conduct of *Eusebius*, on the supposition either of there having been such a person as *Ebion*, or of there having been any distinction between the *Ebionites* and *Nazarenes*, since it was his business, as an historian, to have noticed both.

The opinion that the *Ebionites* and *Nazarenes* were the same people, † is maintained by *Le Clerc*, and the most

* *Commentaries* (Cent. ii. Sect. xl.) 1813, II. p. 202, Note z.

† See Vol. XVIII. pp. 9—11, 55—61, 162—172, 477; *Lardner*, VII. pp. 20, 21.

eminent critics of the last age. What Mr. Jones, (who is remarkable for his caution in giving an opinion,) says on this subject, is well worth quoting.

“It is plain, there was a very great agreement between these two ancient sects; and though they went under different names, yet they seem only to have differed in this, that the Ebionites had made some addition to the old Nazarene system. For Origen expressly tells us, *Και Εβιοναῖοι χρηματίζουσι, ὅτι ἀπο Ἰουδαίων τὸν Ἰησοῦν ὡς Χριστὸν παραδέξαμενοι*. ‘They are called Ebionites who from among the Jews own Jesus to be the Christ.’ And though Epiphanius seems to make their Gospels different, calling one *πληρῆστατον*, ‘more entire,’ yet this need not move us. For if the learned Casaubon’s conjecture should not be right, that we should read the same *ὡς πληρῆστατον*, in both places, (which yet is very probable for any thing that father Simon has proved to the contrary,) yet will the difficulty be all removed at once, by this single consideration; that Epiphanius never saw any Gospel of the Nazarenes. For though he calls it *πληρῆστατον*, yet he himself says (*οὐκ οἶδα δὲ εἰ τὰς γενεαλογίας περὶ εἰλην*) he did not know whether they had taken away the genealogy, as the Ebionites had done; that is, having never seen the Nazarene Gospel, for aught he knew, it might be the very same with that of the Ebionites, as indeed it most certainly was.”*

In my opinion, *Jerome* has sufficiently decided this last question. Could he have had any other idea than that these two sects (if they were two) used the same Gospel, when he said, “In the Gospel used by the Nazarenes and Ebionites, which is commonly called the authentic Gospel of Matthew, which I lately translated from Hebrew into Greek,” &c. †

Farther, the peculiar opinions of the *Ebionites* and the *Nazarenes* are represented by the most respectable authorities as the very same; only some have thought that the Nazarenes believed the miraculous conception, and the Ebionites not. ‡ But this has no authority whatever among the ancients.

Epiphanius says, in the middle of his second section relating to the *Ebionites*, that Ebion (whom in the twenty-

* On the Canon, I. p. 586. (P.) See Vol. XVIII. p. 16.

† “In evangelio, quo utuntur Nazareni et Ebionitæ: quod nuper in Græcum de Hebræo sermone transtulimus et quod vocatur à plerisque Matthæi authenticum.” In *Mat.* xii. 13, *Opera*, VI. p. 21. (P.)

‡ See *Lardner*, VII. pp. 20, 21.

fourth section he makes to be contemporary with the apostle (*John*) “borrowed the abomination* from the Samaritans, his opinion (*γνωμην*) from the Nazarenes, his name from the Jews, &c.” † And he says, in the beginning of the second section, “He was contemporary with the former, and had the same origin with them; and first he asserted that Christ was born of the commerce and seed of man, namely, Joseph, as we signified above,” referring to the first words in his first section, “when we said that in other respects he agreed with them all, and differed from them only in this, viz. in his adherence to the laws of the Jews with respect to the sabbath, circumcision, and other things that were enjoined by the Jews and Samaritans. He moreover adopted many more things than the Jews, in imitation of the Samaritans,” ‡ the particulars of which he then proceeds to mention.

In the same section, he speaks of the *Ebionites* as inhabiting the same country with the *Nazarenes*, and adds that, “agreeing together, they communicated of their perverseness to each other.” § Then, in the third section, he observes that, afterwards, some of the *Ebionites* entertained a different opinion concerning Christ, than that he was the son of Joseph; supposing that, after *Elcæus* joined them, they learned of him some fancy concerning Christ and the Holy Spirit. ||

Concerning the *Nazarenes*, in the seventh section of his account of them, he says, that they were Jews in all respects, except that they “believed in Christ; but I do not know whether they hold the miraculous conception or not.” ¶ This amounts to no more than a doubt, which he afterwards abandoned, by asserting that the *Ebionites* held the same opinion concerning Christ with the *Nazarenes*, which opinion he expressly states to be their belief, that Jesus was a mere man, and the son of Joseph.

As to any properly orthodox Nazarenes, that is, believers

* “With which the Ebionites held other people.” See Vol. XIX. p. 486.

† Σαμαρείων μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἐχει τὸ βδέλυγμα, Ἰουδαίων τε τὸ ὄνομα, Ὀσσηαίων δὲ καὶ Νάζωρων, καὶ Ναζωραίων τὴν γνῶμην—καὶ Χριστιανῶν βδέλυμα εἶχεν τὴν προσηγορίαν. *Hær.* xxx. Sect. i. p. 125. (P.)

‡ See Note †, p. 414, *supra*. (P.)

§ Ἐνθεν ἀρχαίαι τῆς κακῆς αὐτῆ διδασκαλίας, ὅθεν ἤρθον καὶ Νάζωροι οἱ ἀνομοὶ προσεβήσανται. Συνδάμεις γὰρ ἕτος ἐκεῖνοι, καὶ ἐκεῖνοι τῆσθε, ἕκαστος ἀπὸ τῆς ἑαυτῆ μοχθηρίας τῆ ἑτέρῃ μετέδωκε. *Hær.* xxx. Sect. ii. pp. 125, 126. (P.)

|| Φαυλάσιον τινα περὶ Χριστοῦ διηγείσαι, καὶ περὶ πνευματικῶν ἀγίων. *Ibid.* Sect. iii. p. 127. (P.)

¶ Περὶ Χριστοῦ ὅτι οὐκ ἴσα εἶπεν εἰ καὶ αὐτοὶ τῆ τῶν προσεβημένων περὶ Κηρινθῶν καὶ Μαριῶν μοχθηρίας ἀχθόντες, ψιλὸν ἀνδρῶτον νομίζουσιν, ἢ καθὼς ἡ ἀλήθεια εἶχει, διασκευασθῆναι ἀγίᾳ γεγενησθῆναι ἐκ Μαρίας, διαβεβαίονται. *Hær.* xxix. Sect. vii. I. p. 128. (P.)

in the pre-existence or divinity of Christ, I find no traces of them any where. *Austin* says, that the *Nazarenes* were by some called *Symmachians*, from *Symmachus*, who is not only generally called an *Ebionite*, but who wrote expressly against the doctrine of the miraculous conception. How then could the *Nazarenes* be thought to be different from the *Ebionites*, or to believe any thing of the divinity of Christ, or even the miraculous conception, in the opinion of those who called them *Symmachians*? *Austin*, who mentions this, does not say that they were miscalled.

Theodoret, who, living in *Syria*, had a great opportunity of being acquainted with the *Nazarenes*, describes them as follows: "The *Nazarenes* are Jews who honour Christ as a righteous man, and use the Gospel according to Peter."* This account of the faith of the *Nazarenes* was evidently meant to represent them as differing from the orthodox with respect to the doctrine concerning Christ; and is to be understood as if he had said, "they believe him to have been nothing more than a righteous man, and a divine teacher," (for, claiming to be such, he could not otherwise have been a righteous man,) "but they do not believe in his pre-existence or divinity." *Orthodox* persons, who believe these doctrines, are never described by any of the ancients as *Theodoret* has described the *Nazarenes*.

In the passage quoted from *Epiphanius*, in which he gives an account of the motives for *John's* writing his Gospel, it is evident, both that he considered the *Nazarenes* as existing at that time, and also that they stood in as much need of being taught the pre-existence and divinity of Christ as the *Ebionites*. In another place this writer compares the *Nazarenes* to persons who, seeing a fire at a distance, and not understanding the cause, or the use of it, run towards it, and burn themselves. "So these Jews," he says, "on hearing the name of Jesus only, and the miracles performed by the apostles, believe on him; and knowing that his mother was with child of him at Nazareth, that he was brought up in the house of Joseph, and that on that account he was called a Nazarene, (the apostles styling him a man of Nazareth, approved by miracles and mighty deeds,) imposed that name upon themselves." † This can never agree with

* Ἡ Ναζαρητινὴ Ἰουδαία ἐστὶν, τὸν Χριστὸν τιμῶντες ὡς ἀνθρώπου δικαίου, καὶ τὰ καθ' ἑαυτὴν ἔχοντες ἀποστόλων κτλ. ἔγραψεν. Hier. fol. L. ii. C. ii. Opera, IV. p. 210. — P. 211. — Ἡ ἰουδαία ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ τὴν Ἰερουσαλήμ, καὶ Ἰερουσαλήμ τὴν ἰουδαίαν τῶν ἀποστόλων ἔγραψεν, καὶ αὐτὰς αὐτῶν πιστεύουσι, ὅτι οὗτος ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ἐκ Ναζαρετ ἐν γαστρὶ ἑστράφηκεν, καὶ ἐν οὐκ ἴσθησαν ἀναστρέφειν, καὶ δια τούτων τὴν ἀποστολὴν ἴσθησαν Ναζα-

this writer's supposing that the Nazarenes believed in the divinity of Christ, or indeed in the miraculous conception; much less with their having an origin subsequent to the times of the apostles. And he never mentions or hints at any change of opinion in the Nazarenes.

That *Austin* did not consider the *Nazarenes* in any favourable light, is evident from his calling them, in his answer to *Jerome*, *heretics*: "As to the opinion of those heretics, who, while they would be both Jews and Christians, can neither be Jews nor Christians," &c.* It is in these very words that *Jerome* had characterized those whom he had called Nazarenes. What more could *Austin* have said of the Ebionites? Can it be supposed that he would have spoken of the Nazarenes in this manner, if he had thought them orthodox with respect to the doctrine of the Trinity; especially considering that it was in an age in which the greatest account was made of that doctrine; so that perfect soundness in that article might be supposed to have atoned for defects in other things? That *Jerome* did not consider the Nazarenes as orthodox, even if he did make them to be different from the Ebionites, is evident from his calling them *not Christians*.

If we consider the general character of the Jewish Christians in the time of the apostles, and particularly how apt they were to be alarmed at the introduction of any thing that was *new* to them, and had the least appearance of contrariety to the law of Moses, it will both supply a strong argument in favour of the truth of Christianity, and against their receiving the doctrine of the divinity or pre-existence of Christ either then or afterwards. Their rooted prejudices against the apostle *Paul*, (whose conversion to Christianity must have given them great satisfaction,) merely on account of his activity in preaching the gospel to the uncircumcised Gentiles, (though with the approbation of the rest of the apostles,) shews that they would not receive any *novelty* without the strongest evidence. Their dislike of the apostle *Paul*, we know from ecclesiastical history, continued to the latest period of their existence as a church, and they would never make use of his writings. But to the very last, their objections to him amounted to nothing more than his being no friend to the law of Moses.

επινοι καλεισθαι, ως και οι αποστολοι φασιν Ιησεν τον Ναζαραιον ανδρα, αποδεδειγμενον εν τει σημειοις και τερασι και τα εξης: τειο το ονομα επιτιθουσιν αυτοις, το καλεισθαι Ναζαραιος. Hier. xxix. Sect. v. *Opera*, I. p. 120. (P.)

* "Quid putaverint heretici, qui quum volunt et Judæi esse et Christiani, nec Judæi esse nec Christiani esse potuerunt," &c. *Opera*, II. p. 75. (P.)

The resemblance between the character of the *Ebionites*, as given by the early Christian fathers, and that of the Jewish Christians at the time of *Paul's* last journey to Jerusalem, is very striking. After he had given an account of his conduct to the more intelligent of them, they were satisfied with it; but they thought there would be great difficulty in satisfying others. "Thou seest, brother," say they to him, (*Acts* xxi. 20—24,) "how many thousands of Jews there are *who* believe, and they are all zealous of the law. And they are informed of thee, that thou teachest all the Jews *who* are among the Gentiles to forsake Moses; saying that they ought not to circumcise their children, neither to walk after the customs. What is it therefore? The multitudes must needs come together, for they will hear that thou art come. Do therefore this that we say unto thee: We have four men who have a vow on them; them take, and purify thyself with them, and be at charges with them, that they may shave their heads, and all may know that those things whereof they were informed concerning thee are nothing, but that thou thyself also walkest orderly and keepest the law." So great a resemblance in some things, viz. their attachment to the law, and their prejudices against *Paul*, cannot but lead us to imagine, that they were the same in other respects also, both being equally zealous observers of the law, and equally strangers to the doctrine of the divinity of Christ. In that age all the Jews were equally zealous for the great doctrine of the *Unity of God*, and their *peculiar customs*. Can it be supposed, then, that they would so obstinately retain the one, and so readily abandon the other?

I have not met with any mention of more than one orthodox Jewish Christian in the course of my reading, and that is one whose name was Joseph, whom *Epiphanius* says he met with at *Scythopolis*, when all the other inhabitants of the place were Arians.*

CHAPTER IX.

Of the supposed Church of Orthodox Jews at Jerusalem, subsequent to the Time of Adrian.

MOSHEIM speaks of a church of *Trinitarian* Jews, who had abandoned the law of Moses, and resided at Jerusalem,

* *Har. xxx. Opera*, l. p. 129. (P.)

subsequent to the time of Adrian. *Origen*, who asserts that all the Jewish Christians of his time conformed to the law of Moses, he says, must have known of this church; and therefore he does not hesitate to tax him with asserting a wilful falsehood. Error was often ascribed to this great man by the late fathers, but never before, I believe, was his veracity called in question. And least of all can it be supposed, that he would have dared to assert a notorious untruth in a public controversy. He must have been a fool, as well as a knave, to have ventured upon it. *

Bodies of men do not suddenly change their opinions, and much less their customs and habits; least of all would an act of violence produce that effect; and of all mankind the experiment was the least likely to answer with the Jews. If it had produced any effect for a time, their old customs and habits would certainly have returned when the danger was over. It might just as well be supposed that all the Jews in Jerusalem began at that time to speak *Greek*, as well as that they abandoned their ancient customs. And this might have been alleged in favour of it, that from that time the bishops of Jerusalem were all Greeks, the public offices were, no doubt, performed in the Greek language, and the Church of Jerusalem was indeed, in all respects, as much a Greek Church as that of Antioch. †

Mosheim produces no authority in his Dissertations ‡ for his assertion. He only says, that he cannot reconcile the fact that *Origen* mentions, with his seeming unwillingness to allow the *Ebionites* to be Christians. But this is easily accounted for from the attachment which he himself had to the doctrine of the divinity of Christ, which they denied; and from their holding no communion with other Christians.

All the appearance of authority that I can find in any ancient writer, of the Jewish Christians deserting the law of their ancestors, is in *Sulpicius Severus*, to whom I am referred by *Mosheim* in his History. But what he says on the subject is only what follows: "At this time Adrian, thinking that he should destroy Christianity by destroying the place, erected the images of dæmons in the church, and in the place of our Lord's sufferings; and because the Christians were thought to consist chiefly of Jews, (for then the church at Jerusalem had all its clergy of the circumcision,) ordered a cohort of soldiers to keep constant guard, and drive all Jews from any access to Jerusalem; which was of service

* See Vol. XVIII. p. 175.

† See *ibid.* p. 177.‡ See *ibid.* Note †.

to the Christian faith. For at that time they almost all believed Christ to be God, but with the observance of the law; the Lord so disposing it, that the servitude of the law should be removed from the liberty of the faith and of the church. Then first was Marc, a Gentile, bishop at Jerusalem.* Here the historian says, that the object of *Adrian* was to overturn Christianity, and that the Jews were banished because the Christians were chiefly of that nation. According to this account, all the Jews, Christians, as well as others, were driven out of Jerusalem, and nothing is said of any of them forsaking the law of Moses. *Eusebius* mentions the expulsion of the Jews from Jerusalem, but says not a word of any of the Christians there abandoning circumcision, and their other ceremonies, on that occasion. Indeed, such a thing was in the highest degree improbable.† Speaking of the desolation mentioned *Isaiah* vi., he says, that “it was fulfilled in the time of *Adrian*, when the Jews, undergoing a second siege, were reduced to such misery, that, by the imperial orders, they were not suffered even to see the desolation of their metropolis at a distance.”‡

Independent of all natural probability, had *Sulpicius Severus* actually written all that *Mosheim* advances; whether is it from this writer or from *Origen* that we are more likely to gain true information on this subject? *Origen*, writing in controversy, and of course subject to correction, appeals to a fact, as notorious in the country in which he himself resided, and in his own times, to which therefore he could not but have given particular attention. Whereas *Sulpicius Severus* lived in the remotest part of *Gaul*, several thousand miles from *Palestine*, and two hundred years after *Origen*, so that he could not have asserted the fact as from his own knowledge; and he quotes no other person for it. But, in reality, *Sulpicius Severus* is no more favourable to *Mosheim*'s ac-

* “Qua tempestate *Adrianus*, existimans se Christianam fidem loci injuria perempturum, et in templo ac loco dominicæ passionis demonum simulachra constituit. Et quia Christiani ex Judæis potissimum putabantur (namque tum Hierosolymæ non nisi ex circumcissione habebat ecclesia sacerdotem) militum cohortem custodias in perpetuum agitare jussit, quæ Judæos omnes Hierosolymæ aditus austeret. Quod quidem Christianæ fidei proficiebat; quia tum pene omnes Christum Deum sub legis observatione credebant, nimirum id Domino ordinante dispositum, ut legis servitus à libertate fidei atque ecclesiæ tolleretur. Ita tum primum *Marcus* ex Gentibus apud Hierosolymam episcopus fuit.” *Hist. L. ii. C. xxxi. p. 245. (P.)* See Vol. XVIII. p. 178.

† See Vol. XVIII. pp. 178, 179.

‡ Επλήρωτο δε και αυτη κατα της Αδριανη χρονος, καθ' ἣς δευτεραν ὑπομειναντες Ιουδαιοι πολιορκιαν, εις τοιο το κακον περιεσησαν, ὡς νομοις και ἠαταγμασιν αυτοκρατορικois, μηδε εἰς αποστα την ερημιαν της ἑαυτων μητροπόλεως δευρειν επιτρεπεσθαι. *Montfaucon's Collectio, II. p. 379, (P.)*

count of the matter than Origen himself; so that to the authority of both of them, of all ancient testimony, and natural probability, nothing can be opposed but a willingness to find orthodox Jewish Christians somewhere.*

The passage of *Origen*, which is a full contradiction to all that *Mosheim* has advanced concerning this orthodox Jewish church, consisting of persons who abandoned the law of Moses, at the surrender of Jerusalem to Adrian, is as follows: "He who pretends to know every thing, does not know what belongs to the *Prosopopeia*. For what does he say to the Jewish believers, that they have left the customs of their ancestors, having been ridiculously deceived by Jesus, and have gone over to another name, and another mode of life; not considering that those Jews who have believed in Jesus have not deserted the customs of their ancestors; for they live according to them, having a name agreeing with the poverty of their legal observances. For the word *Ebion*, in the Jewish language, signifies *poor*; and those of the Jews who believe Jesus to be the Christ, are called *Ebionites*." †

Can it be supposed that *Origen* would have ventured to write in this manner, (even supposing that he had no principle of integrity to restrain him from telling a wilful lie,) if he had known any such church of Jewish Christians as *Mosheim* describes? Besides, Origen's account of things agrees with what all the ancients say on the subject. *Eusebius* says, that the bishops of Jerusalem were Jews till the time of Adrian.‡ The bishops were *Jews*, because the people were so. It is natural, therefore, to suppose, that when the bishops were *Greeks*, the people were *Greeks* also. And this is what *Nicephorus* expressly asserts to have been the case; for he says, that "Adrian caused Jerusalem to be inhabited by *Greeks* only, and permitted no others to live in it." §

Origen is so far from saying, that any Jews abandoned

* See Vol. XVIII. p. 179.

† Ἄλλα μὴ ποτε ὁ παντ' ἐπαγγέλλομενθ' εἶδεναι, τὸ ἀκολοῦθαι οὐκ αἶδε κατὰ τὸν τόπον τῆς προσομοίας· τί οὖν καὶ λέγει πρὸς τοὺς ἀπὸ Ἰουδαίων πιστευόντας, κατανοήσων φησὶν αὐτοὺς κατὰ τὸν νομὸν τῶν πατρῶν νομῶν, τῆ εἰρηνηγαγησθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, ἠπατησθῆναι παντ' ἡλικίας· καὶ ἀπηρτημολεγεῖν εἰς ἄλλο ὄνομα, καὶ εἰς ἄλλον βίον. Μὴδε τοῦτο κατα- ἰησας, ὅτι δὲ ἀπὸ Ἰουδαίων εἰς τὸν Ἰησοῦν πιστευόντες οὐ κατὰ τὸν νομὸν τῶν πατρῶν νομῶν. Βίωσι τὴν κατ' αὐτὸν, ἐπανομι τῆς κατὰ τὴν εὐδωχὴν καταχέρας τῶν νομῶν γεγεννημένοι. In *Celsum*, L. ii. p. 56. (P.)

‡ Ὡς μέχρι τῆς κατὰ Ἀδριανὸν Ἰουδαίων πόλις, πεντήκοντα τὸν ἀριθμὸν αὐτοῦσι γεγεννησθαι ἐπισκοπῶν διαδοχῶν· δὲ τῆς αἰῶνος Ἑβραίων ἡσάν οὐδας· ἀνεκαθῆναι τὴν γῆσιν τῆ Χριστιανῶν κατὰ τὸν νομὸν. Hist. L. iv. C. v. p. 143. (P.)

§ Ἐλλοισι δὲ μόνως τὴν πόλιν εἶδεν, καὶ κατὰ τὸν νομὸν ἐπέδρασαν. Hist. L. iii. C. xxiv. I. p. 256. (P.)

circumcision and the rites of their religion, that he seems to say some of the Gentile Christians conformed to them.*

Having consulted *Eusebius* and other ancient writers to no purpose, for some account of these Jews who had deserted the religion of their ancestors, I looked into *Tillemont*, who is wonderfully careful and exact in bringing together every thing that relates to his subject; but his account of the matter differs widely indeed from that of *Mosheim*. He says, "The Jews converted to the faith of Christ were not excepted by the Pagans from the prohibition, to that nation, to continue at Jerusalem. They were obliged to go out with the rest.—But the Jews being then obliged to abandon Jerusalem, that church began to be composed of Gentiles, and before the death of Adrian, in the middle of the year 138, Mark, who was of Gentile race, was established their bishop."† He does not say with *Mosheim*, that this Mark was chosen by the Jews who abandoned the Mosaic rites. ‡

Fleury, I find, had the same idea of that event. He says, "From this time the Jews were forbidden to enter Jerusalem, or even to see it at a distance. The city being afterwards inhabited by Gentiles, had no other name than *Ælia*.—Hitherto the church of Jerusalem had only been composed of Jewish converts, who observed the ritual of the law under the liberty of the Gospel; but then, as the Jews were forbidden to remain there, and guards were placed to defend the entrance of it, there were no other Christians there besides those who were of Gentile origin; and thus the remains of the servitude of the law were entirely abolished."§

* "Quia non solum carnales Judæi de circumcissione carnis revincendi sunt nobis, sed nonnulli ex eis, qui Christi nomen videntur suscepisse, et tamen carnalem circumcissionem recipiendam putant: ut Ebionitas, et si qui his simili paupertate sensus aberrant." In *Gen. Hom.* iii. *Opera*, I. p. 19. (P.)

† *Hist. des Empereurs*, II. (Pt. ii.), p. 506. (P.) "Les Juifs convertis à la foi de J. C., n'avoient garde d'être exceptés, par les Payens, de la défense faite à ceux de cette nation de demeurer à Jérusalem. Ils furent obligés d'en sortir avec les autres.—Mais les Juifs étant contraints alors d'abandonner Jérusalem, cette église commença à être composée de Gentils, et dès devant la mort d'Adrien, qui arriva au milieu de l'an 138, on y établit S. Marc pour évêque, lequel l'étoit aussi des Gentils." *Histoire*, 1732, *Venice*, I., pp. 293, 294. See Vol. XVIII. p. 179.

‡ *Hist.* I. p. 172. (P.) See Vol. XVIII. p. 179, *Note* †.

§ *Hist.* I. p. 316. (P.) "Depuis ce tems il fut défendu aux Juifs d'entrer à Jérusalem, ni même de la regarder de loin. La ville, habitée désormais par des Gentils, n'eut plus d'autre nom qu'Ælia.

"Jusques-là l'Église de Jérusalem n'avoit guères été composée que de Juifs convertis, qui gardoient encore les observations légales, sous la liberté de l'évangile. Mais alors, comme il étoit défendu aux Juifs d'y demeurer, et qu'il y avoit même des gardes pour leur en défendre l'entrée, il n'y eut plus que des Chrétiens Gentils d'origine: ainsi les restes de l'ancienne servitude de la loi s'abolirent entièrement." *Histoire Ecclésiastique*, 1750, *Paris*, I. pp. 343, 344. See Vol. XVIII. p. 180.

I cannot help, in this place, taking some farther notice of what *Mosheim* says with respect to this charge of a wilful falsehood on *Origen*. Jerome, in his epistle to *Pammachius*,* says, that *Origen* adopted the *Platonic* doctrine of the subserviency of truth to utility, as with respect to deceiving enemies, &c., the same that Mr. Hume, and other speculative moralists have done; considering the foundation of all social virtue to be the public good. But it by no means follows from this, that such will ever indulge themselves in any greater violations of truth, than those who hold other speculative opinions concerning the foundation of morals. †

Jerome was far from saying, that “*Origen* reduced his theory to practice.” He mentions no instance whatever of his having recourse to it, and is far, indeed, from vindicating any person in asserting, that to silence an adversary, he had recourse to the wilful and deliberate allegation of a notorious falsehood.

Grotius also says, in the passage which I have quoted from him, that it is well observed by *Sulpicius Severus*, that all the Jewish Christians till the time of *Adrian* held that Christ was God, though they observed the law of *Moses*. But the sense in which *Grotius* understood the term *God* in this place must be explained by his own sentiments concerning Christ. As to *Sulpicius* himself, he must be considered as having said nothing more than that “almost all the Jews at Jerusalem were Christians, though they observed the law of *Moses*.” This writer’s mere assertion, that the Jewish Christians held Christ to be God, in the proper sense of the word, unsupported by any reasons for it, is not to be regarded. ‡

CHAPTER X.

Of the supposed Heresy of the Ebionites and Nazarenes, and other Particulars relating to them.

I HAVE observed, [p. 139,] that *Tertullian* is the first Christian writer who expressly calls the Ebionites *heretics*. *Irenæus*, in his large treatise concerning *heresy*, expresses great dislike of their doctrine, always representing them as believing that Jesus was the son of Joseph; but he never confounds them with *the heretics*. *Justin Martyr* makes no

* *Opera*, I. p. 496. (P.)

‡ See *ibid.* pp. 171, 172.

† See Vol. XVIII. pp. 180, 181.

mention of *Ebionites*, but he speaks of the *Jewish Christians*, which has been proved to be a synonymous expression; and it is plain, that he did not consider all of them as heretics, but only those of them who refused to communicate with the Gentile Christians. With respect to the rest, he says, that he should have no objection to hold communion with them.* He describes them as persons who observed the law of Moses, but did not impose it upon others. Who could these be but Jewish Unitarians? For, according to the evidence of all antiquity, and what is supposed by Justin himself, all the Jewish Christians were such.† It is probable, therefore, that the *Nazarenes* or *Ebionites*, were considered as in a state of excommunication, merely because they would have imposed the law of Moses upon the Gentiles, and refused to hold communion with any, besides those who were circumcised; so that, in fact, they excommunicated themselves.

This circumstance may throw some light on the passage in *Jerome*, in which he speaks of the *Ebionites* as anathematized solely on account of their adherence to the Jewish law. The *Ebionites*, at least many of them, would have imposed the yoke of the Jewish law upon the Gentile Christians. They would not communicate with those who were not circumcised, and of course these could not communicate with them; so that they were necessarily in a state of excommunication with respect to each other. This would also be the case with the *Cerinthians*, as well as the *Ebionites*; and therefore *Jerome* mentions them together; the separation of communion with respect to both arising, in a great measure, from the observance of the law of Moses; though *Jerome* might write unguardedly, as he often did, in confounding the case of the *Cerinthians* so much as he here does with that of the *Ebionites*.‡

Rufinus makes the heresy of *Ebion* to consist in its enjoining the observance of the Jewish law. § The attachment of the Jews to their own law was certainly very great. *Origen* speaks of the *Ebionites* as thinking that Christ came chiefly for the sake of the Israelites. ||

* *Dial.* p. 231. (P.)

† See Vol. XVIII. p. 187.

‡ See *ibid.* p. 187, Note.

§ "Consilium vanitatis est quod Ebion docet, ita Christo credi debere, ut circumcisio carnis, et observatio sabbathi, et sacrificiorum solemnitas, ceteraque omnes observantur secundum legis litteram teneantur." *In Symbol.* p. 189. (P.)

|| "Οὗτοι οὐκ ἀποδέχονται ἡμᾶς ἐν κοίτην ταυ ἀποσταθῶν ἀπὸ Ἰσραὴλ: οὐκ ἐλάβαν ἡμᾶς ἐν κοίτην ταυ διὰ τὴν ἑβραϊστικὴν παρανομίαν τῆς διανοίας ἐπαντρον, (Ἐβραῖοι γὰρ ἐστὶν ἡμᾶς ἐν κοίτην ταυ) ἵνα ἐπιλάτῃ ἐπὶ τῆς σαρκὸς Ἰσραηλῆταις ἀποργησῶν τῆς Νουθεσίας τοῦ μαρτυρίου. Philocelia, p. 16. (P.)

There is something very particular in the conduct of *Tertullian* with respect to the *Ebionites*. He speaks of the heresy of *Ebion* (of which he makes but the slightest mention in his treatise against heresy in general) as consisting in the observance of the Jewish ceremonies; * and yet he says, that “John in his epistle calls those chiefly antichrists, who denied that Christ came in the flesh, and who did not think that Jesus was the Son of God;” meaning, probably, a disbelief of the miraculous conception. “The former,” he says, “*Marcion* held; the latter, *Ebion*.” †

Upon the whole, the conduct of *Tertullian* very much resembles that of *Irenæus*, who, without classing the *Ebionites* with heretics, expresses great dislike of their doctrine.

It is certain, that the *Ebionites* were a very different set of persons from the *Gnostics*, and that they were utter strangers to the principles of that philosophy which were the cause of the prejudice that was entertained concerning *matter* and the *body*, and which led the *Gnostics* to recommend corporeal austerities, and abstinence from marriage. *Epiphanius* says, that “the *Ebionites*, and all such sects, were enemies to virginity and continence.” ‡

This writer’s hatred of the *Ebionites*, and of course his misrepresentation of them, are very conspicuous. But there is one thing which he lays to their charge, which, though not absolutely incredible, it is not easy to account for. For he says, that “the *Ebionites* revere water as a God.” § *Damasceñus* says the same after him. ||

Another most extraordinary and highly improbable allegation of *Epiphanius*, with respect to the *Ebionites*, is his charging them with the peculiar doctrines of the *Gnostics*, which is contrary to the testimony, I may safely say, of all other ancient writers; it being commonly said by them, that the heresy of the *Ebionites* was the very reverse of that of the *Gnostics*. He says, however, that “some of the *Ebionites* held that Adam, who was first formed, and into whom God breathed the breath of life, was Christ. But others of them say that he was from above, that he was a spirit created

* “Ad Galatas scribens iuvchitur in observatores et defensores circumcisionis et legis. Hebionis hæresis est.” *De Præscrip. Sect. xxxiii. Opera, p. 214. (P.)*

† “At in epistola eos maxime antichristos vocat, qui Christum negarent in carne venisse, et qui non putarent Jesum esse Filium Dei. Illud *Marcion*, hoc *Hebion* vindicavit.” *Ibid. (P.)*

‡ Τα νυν δε απηρηροσται παλιπασι παρ’ αυτοις παρθεντη τε και εγκρατειη, ως και παρη ταις αλλαις ημιναις ταυτη ανηροσται. *Hæc. xxx. p. 526. (P.)*

§ Το υδωσ αυτη Θεου εχεται. *Opera, I. p. 53. (P.)*

|| *De Heresibus, Opera, p. 690. (P.)*

before any others, before the angels, that he was lord of all, was called Christ, and made the sovereign of that age; that he came from thence whenever he pleased, as into Adam, and that he appeared in the form of a man to the patriarchs, to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; and that it was the same who in the latter days, being clothed with the body of Adam, appeared as a man, was crucified, rose from the dead, and ascended into heaven." *

Again, speaking of the *Ebionites* in general, he says, "They assert that there were two beings created, viz. Christ and the Devil; that Christ took the inheritance of the future age, and the Devil of the present, and that the Supreme Being made this appointment at the request of them both. On this account, they say that Jesus was born of the seed of man, and became the son of God by adoption, by Christ coming into him from above, in the form of a dove. But they say that he was not generated from God the Father, but created by him, as one of the archangels, though greater than they; for that he is lord of the angels, and of all things that were made by the Almighty; that he came and taught what is contained in their Gospel, saying, 'I am come to destroy sacrifices, and if you will not cease to sacrifice, wrath shall not cease with respect to you.' These and such like things are taught by them." †

In another passage he ascribes these doctrines not to *Ebion* himself, but to his followers. "Ebion himself," he says, "held that Christ was a mere man, born as other men are; but they who from him are called Ebionites, say that God had a superior power called his son, that he assumed the form of Adam, and put it off again." ‡

* Τίνας γὰρ ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ Ἀδάμ τὸν Χριστὸν εἶναι λεγούσι, τὸν πρῶτον πλασθέντα τε καὶ ἀναστάντα ἀπὸ τῆς τῆ Θεοῦ ἐπιπνοίας· ἀλλοὶ δὲ ἐν αὐτοῖς λεγούσιν ἀναστῆναι μὲν αὐτὰ, πρὸ πάντων ὡς κτισθέντα πνεῦμα ὄντα καὶ ὑπὲρ ἀγγέλων ὄντα, πάντων τε κριμονία, καὶ Χριστὸν λατρεύειν, τὸν εὐεστὸν ὡς αἰῶνα κεκλήρωσθαι· ἐρχεσθαι δὲ ἐν ἰανθᾷ ὅτε βελία, ὡς καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀποκάλυψι, καὶ τοῖς πατριάρχαις εἰφαιελοῦ, ἐνδυσμένῳ τὸ σῶμα, πρὸς Ἀβραὰμ εἰδῶν καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ· ὁ αὐτὸς ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν ἦλθε, καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ σῶμα τῆ Ἀδαμ ἐνεδύσας, καὶ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ ἀνθρώπος, καὶ ἐσαυρώθη, καὶ ἀνεστῆ, καὶ ἀνῆλθεν. Περ. xxx. Sect. iii. p. 127. (P.)

† Δὲν ἔστι τινος, ὡς εἶρηγ, συνίτωσιν ἐκ Θεοῦ τεταλμμένης, ἕνα μὲν τὸν Χριστὸν, ἕνα δὲ τὸν Διάβολον καὶ τὸν μὲν Χριστὸν λεγούσι, τὸ μέλλοντ' αἰῶνος εἰληφέναι τὸν κληρον, τὸν δὲ διαβόλον τὸν παρῆναι τὸν αἰῶνα, ἐκ προσαγωγῆς ὄθεν τοῦ παντοκράτορος καὶ αὐτῶν ἑκατέρων αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ἑκείνα Ἰησὺν γεγεννημένον ἐκ σπερματὸς ἀνδρὸς λεγούσι, καὶ ἐπιλεχθέντα, καὶ ἄτα καὶ ἐκλογῆν ἵσον Θεοῦ κληθέντα, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνοθεν εἰς αὐτὸν ἦκοντ' Χριστὸν ἐν αἰῶνι περισσεύσας οὐ φασκεῖσι ὅτι ἐκ Θεοῦ πατρὸς αὐτὸν γεγεννησάσαι, ἀλλὰ ἐκτισθᾶν, ὡς ἕνα τὸν ἀρχαγγέλιον, μείζονα ἢ αὐτῶν ὄντα, αὐτὸν δὲ κυριεύειν, καὶ ἀγγέλων καὶ πάντων ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνοθεν αὐτοῦ πεποιημένον, καὶ εἰδῶντα καὶ ὑφηγησάμενον, ὡς τὸ παρ' αὐτοῖς εὐαγγέλιον κλημένον περιεχει, ὅτι ἦλθον καὶ αἰῶνας τὰς ἡσυχίας, καὶ εἰ μὴ παύσῃσθε τοῦ θυεῖν, οὐ παραίτηται ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν ἡ ὄρη· καὶ ταῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτα τινὰ ἐσὶν τὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐπιτηδεύματα. Ibid. Sect. xvi. p. 140. (P.)

‡ Πᾶσι μὲν ὁ αὐτὸς Ἐβίων λέγειν ἐκ παρατριβῆς φίλων ἀνθρώπων αὐτοῦ γεγεννησάσαι

That this representation, which is wholly *Epiphanius's* own, is founded on some mistake, cannot be doubted; and I think it most probable, that he has confounded the doctrines of the *Ebionites* with those of the *Cerinthians*, who agreed with them in some things, especially in Jesus being a mere man, born as other men are. But he most grossly misrepresented both the *Ebionites* and the *Cerinthians*, in saying that they rejected sacrifices, and taught that Christ preached against them. For according to the testimony of all antiquity, both these sects insisted on the observance of the Jewish law.

This is all that I have been able to collect concerning the *heresy* of the *Ebionites*, excepting that *Optatus* charges them with maintaining that “the Father suffered, and not the Son.”* But it was no uncommon thing to charge all *Unitarians* with being *Patricians*. † No early accounts of the *Ebionites* say any such thing of them. Their doctrine was simply, that Christ was a man, but *a man approved of God by signs and wonders, and mighty deeds, which God did by him.*

I must here remark, that no person, I should think, can reflect upon this subject with proper seriousness, without thinking it a little extraordinary that the Jewish Christians, in so early an age as they are spoken of by the denomination of *Ebionites*, should be acknowledged to believe nothing either of the divinity, or even of the pre-existence of Christ, if either of those doctrines had been taught them by the apostles. Could they so soon have deserted so important an article of their faith, and so lately “delivered to the saints;” and having once believed Christ to be either the Supreme God, or a super-angelic spirit, have, contrary to the general propensity of human nature, (which has always been to aggrandize, rather than to degrade a lord and master, because it is in fact to aggrandize themselves,) come universally to believe him to be nothing more than a mere man, and even the son of Joseph and Mary?

ἀλλοτε δε δι' αυτη Εβιοναιοι, ανω δυναμιν εκ Θεου κερτησθαι υιον, και τειρον κατα καιρον τον Λθαρμ ενδυεσθαι τε και εκδυεσθαι. Hær. xxx. Sect. xxxiv. p. 162. (P.)

* “Ut Hebion, qui argumentabatur Patrem passum esse, non Filium.” L. iv. p. 91. (P.)

† “Beausobre,” on the followers of *Noetus*, “suspects that ‘this was not the opinion of those persons, but a consequence, which the orthodox drew from their principles.’—A passage of Augustine will confirm the supposition; for he argues and affirms, ‘that all who are of that opinion, that the same is Father, Son, and Spirit, must also say, that the Father suffered.’ This seems to shew, that he had no proof from their own writings, or expressions, that the Sabellians, and others, whom he charges with that opinion, were *Patricians*, but he inferred it from their doctrine concerning the unity and simplicity of the Deity.” *Lardner*, III. p. 15.

CHAPTER XI.

Of the Sacred Books of the Ebionites.

THE *Ebionites* being Jews, and in general acquainted with their own language only, made use of no other than a *Hebrew Gospel*, which is commonly said to have been that of *Matthæw*, originally composed in their language, and for their use. This I think highly probable, from the almost unanimous testimony of antiquity. But this is a question which I shall not make it my business to discuss.*

“The *Ebionites*,” says *Irenæus*, “make use of the Gospel of *Matthæw* only.”† *Jerome* had seen this Gospel, and translated it from *Hebrew* into *Greek*, and, without giving his own opinion, says, that “it was by most persons called the authentic Gospel of *Matthæw*.”‡ *Theodoret* says concerning both the kinds of *Ebionites*, that they received no other Gospel than that of *Matthæw*.§

But it is evident from *Epiphanius*, that the *Ebionites* did not consider the two first chapters of *Matthæw’s* Gospel as belonging to it; for their copies were without them, beginning with the third chapter. The Gospel of the *Ebionites* began thus: “It came to pass in the days of Herod, king of Judea, in the time of Caiaphas the high-priest, a person whose name was John came baptizing with the baptism of repentance in the river Jordan.”|| Here, however, there must be some mistake, as it was not in the time of Herod, king of Judea, but of Herod the *Tetrarch*, or king of Galilee; and the inaccuracy is probably to be ascribed to *Epiphanius* himself. That this writer quoted only from his memory, and inaccurately, is evident from his giving the beginning of this Gospel in another place somewhat differently, as follows: “It came to pass in the days of Herod king of Judea, John came baptizing with the baptism of repentance, in the river Jordan; who was said to be of the race of Aaron the

* See *Lardner*, VI. pp. 60—65.

† “*Ebionitæ etenim eo evangelio quod est secundum Matthæum solo utentes.*” I. iii. C. xi. p. 220. (P.) See *Lardner*, II. p. 358.

‡ In *Matt. C. xii. Opera*, VI. p. 21. (P.)

§ *Αὐτὸς δὲ τὰς τρεῖς ἀρχαίους, τὴν αὐτὴν ἐπισημῶν ἔχοντα Ἐβιωνίταις γὰρ καὶ ἄλλοις τρισυαχρησάσαι τα ἄλλα μὴ ἀπὸ αὐτοῦ συνουμολογεῖ τοῖς προτέροις, τὸν δὲ σὺντα καὶ κερὶν ἐν πρώτῳ γεγονήσθαι φησὶν ἐναγγέλιον δὲ τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον κερχρηταί μιν. Her. Fab. I. ii. C. i. IV. p. 328, ed. Halæ. (P.)*

|| *Ὁς ἐγενεῖτο, φησὶν, ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Ἰησοῦ βασιλεως τῆς Ἰουδαίας, ἐπὶ Δουχίρειος Καναθα ἦλθε τις Ἰωάννης ὀνοματι βαπτίζων βαπτισμα μετάνοιας ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ Ἰορδάνῃ, καὶ τα εἰς. Her. xxx. Opera, I. p. 138. (P.) See *Lardner*, II. p. 143.*

priest, the son of Zacharias and Elizabeth; and all men went out to him.*

This writer, who was fond of multiplying sects, and who makes that of the *Nazarenæ* to be different from that of the *Ebionites*, † says concerning the latter, that “he did not know whether they had cut off the genealogy from the Gospel of Matthew.” ‡ Meaning, perhaps, the whole of the introduction, as far as the third chapter. It must be observed, however, that in the copy of this Gospel which *Jerome* translated, there was the second chapter, if not the genealogy. For in this Gospel there was, “Out of Egypt I have called my son,” and “he shall be called a Nazarene.” § This I am willing to explain in the following manner: Originally the Jewish Christians did not believe the doctrine of the miraculous conception. Both *Justin Martyr* and *Irenæus* represent them as disbelieving it, without excepting any that did. *Origen* is the first who has noticed two kinds of *Ebionites*, one believing the miraculous conception, and the other denying it. Probably, therefore, their original copies of the Gospel had not the two first chapters, which contained that history; but after some time, those of the Jewish Christians who gave credit to the story, would naturally add these two chapters from the *Greek* copies; and it might be a copy of this kind that *Jerome* met with.

Epiphanius likewise says, that “the *Ebionites* made use of the travels of *Clement*.” || This being an Unitarian work, they might be pleased with it; but it is not probable that they would read it in the public offices of their churches, or consider it in the same light with one of the books of Scripture.

It is agreed on all hands that the *Ebionites* made no use of the Epistles of *Paul*, because they did not approve of the

* ‘Οτι εγενετο εν ταις ημεραις Ηρωδη τε βασιλευς της Ιουδαίας, ηλθεν Ιωαννης βαπτιστων βαπτισμα μελανιας εν τη Ιορδανη ποταμω, ος ελεγετο ειναι εκ γενεης Λαρων του ιερωε, τωις Σαχαριη και Ελισαβετ, και εξηρχηθη προς αυτον παντες Ηαer. xxx. Sect. xiii. p. 138. (P.)

† See Vol. XVIII. p. 167. (P.)

‡ Εχρησι δε το κατα Ματθαιον ευαγγελιον πληρησατον ‘Εβραισι’ παρ’ αυτοις γαρ σαφες ετο, καθως εξ αρχης εγραφη ‘Εβραικις γραμμασιν επι σωζεται’ ουκ οίδα δε ει και τας γενεαλογιας τας απο τη Αβρααμ περιειλον. Ηαer. xxix. l. p. 124. (P.)

§ “Mihī quoque à Nazaræis, qui in Bæræa, urbe Syriæ, hoc volumine utuntur, describendi facultas fuit, in quo animadvertendum quod ubicunque evangelista, sive ex persona sua, sive ex persona Domini salvatoris, veteris scripturæ testimonium utitur, non sequatur Septuaginta translatorum auctoritatem, sed Hebraicam, à quibus illa duo sunt: Ex Ægypto vocavi filium meum, et Quoniam Nazaræus vocabitur.” *Catalogus Scriptorum, Opera*, I. p. 267. (P.)

|| Χρωται δε και αλλοις τισι βιβλίοις, οθεν ταις περιόδοις καλημενοις Περρω, ταις δια Κλημεντη γραφεταιις. Ηαer. xxx. *Opera*, I. p. 139. (P.)

slight which he seemed to put upon the law of Moses, which they held in the greatest possible veneration.

Epiphanius says farther concerning the *Ebionites*, that “they detest the prophets.”* This, however, I think altogether as improbable as what he says of their revering water as a god. He is the only writer who asserts any such thing, and as far as appears from all other accounts, the *Ebionites* acknowledged the authority of all that we call the canonical books of the *Old Testament*. *Symmachus*, whose translation of the Scriptures into *Greek* is so often quoted, and with the greatest approbation, by the learned fathers, was an *Ebionite*; and *Jerome* says the same of *Theodotion*. They both translated the other books of the *Old Testament*, as well as the *Pentateuch*, and, as far as appears, without making any distinction between that and the other books; and can this be thought probable, if they had not considered them as entitled to equal credit? Besides, our Saviour’s acknowledgment of the authority of the whole of the *Old Testament* is so express, that I cannot readily believe that any Christians, Jews especially, acknowledging his authority, would reject what he admitted.

Lastly, the authority of *Epiphanius* is, in effect, contradicted by *Irenæus*, who says, that “the *Ebionites* expounded the “prophecies too curiously.” † *Grabe* says, that *Ebion* (by which we must understand some *Ebionite*) wrote an exposition of the prophets, as he collected from some fragments of *Irenæus*’s work, of which he gives some account in his note upon the place. ‡

CHAPTER XII.

Of Men of Eminence among the Jewish Christians.

THOUGH it is probable, that the *Jewish Christians* in general were poor, and therefore had no great advantage of liberal education, which might be one means of preserving

* Αὐτῶν (Κληρικῶν) γὰρ ἐγκωμιάζει Πίλιον, καὶ Δαβὶδ, καὶ Σαμψὼν, καὶ πάντας τοὺς προφητάς, ὡς ἄντι θεοδωτικῶν. *Har.* xxx. p. 139. (P.)

† “Quæ autem sunt prophetica curiosius exponere nituntur.” *L. i. C. xxvi. p. 102.* (P.)

‡ “Ipsum Ebionem ἐξηγήσιν τῶν προφητῶν scripsisse, colligo ex fragmentis hujus operis, quæ ante paucos dies Parisiis accepi, in MS. codice collegii Claromontani descripto, à viro humanissimo, R. P. Michaele Loquien, inter addenda ad specilegium hæreticorum sæculi i. suo tempore, Deo volente, publicanda.” *Ibid.* (P.) See Vol. XVIII. pp. 166, 167.

their doctrine in such great simplicity and purity; yet it appears that there were some men of learning among them. *Jerome* mentions his being acquainted with such during his residence in Palestine; and there are three persons among them who distinguished themselves by translating the *Old Testament* from Hebrew into Greek, viz. *Aquila*, *Theodotion*, and *Symmachus*; though the last of them only was a native of Palestine, and born a Samaritan. *Eusebius* says, that “Theodotion and Aquila were both Jewish proselytes, whom the Ebionites following, believe Christ to be the son of Joseph.”* According to *Epiphanius*, Theodotion was first a *Marcionite*, and then a Jewish convert.† Aquila is said to have flourished about the year 130, Theodotion about 180, and Symmachus about 200. Whatever was thought of the religious principles of these men, the greatest account was made of their versions of the Hebrew Scriptures by learned Christians of all parties, especially that of Symmachus, which is perpetually quoted with the greatest respect by *Origen*, *Eusebius*, and others. *Jerome*, speaking of *Origen*, says, that “besides comparing the version of the Septuagint, he likewise collated the versions of Aquila of Pontus, a proselyte, that of Theodotion, an Ebionite, and that of Symmachus, who was of the same sect; who also wrote commentaries on the Gospel of Matthew, from which he endeavoured to prove his opinion.”‡ In so great estimation was *Symmachus* held, that *Austin* says the *Nazarenes* were sometimes called *Symmachians*. §

I reserve the account of *Hegesippus* to the last, because it has been asserted that, though he was a Jewish Christian, he was not properly an *Ebionite*, but orthodox with respect to his belief of the Trinity. But that he was not only a Jewish Christian, but likewise a proper Ebionite, or a believer in the simple humanity of Christ, may, I think, be inferred from several circumstances, besides his being a Jewish Christian; though, since *Origen* says that none of them

* Ὁς Θεοδοτίαν ἤρμηνευσεν ὁ Ἐφεσῖος, καὶ Ἀκυλάς ὁ Ποντικός, ἀμφότεροι Ἰουδαῖοι προσήλυτοι· εἰς καὶ ἀκαθάρτησαντες δι' Ἐβιωναίαι, ἐξ Ἰωσήφ αὐτῶν γεγεννησῆναι φασκεσι. Hist. L. v. C. viii. p. 221. (P.)

† Θεοδοτίαν τις Ποντικῆς ἀπὸ τῆς διδοχῆς Μαρκίωνος τοῦ ἀρχισιάρχου τῆ Σινοπίτου. De Mensuris, Opera, II. p. 172. (P.)

‡ “Aquila scilicet proselyti, et Theodotionis Hebionici, et Symmachi ejusdem dogmatis, qui in evangelium quoque κατὰ Ματθαίου scripsit commentario, de quo et suum dogma confirmare conatur.” *Catalogus Scriptorum, Opera*, I. p. 294. (P.)

§ “Et tamen si mihi Nazarcorum objiceret quisquam quos alii Symmachianos appellant.” *Contra Faustum Man., Opera*, VI. p. 342. (P.)

believed the divinity of Christ, we ought to have some positive evidence before we admit that he was an exception.

That *Hegesippus* was an *Ebionite*, may be inferred from his giving a list of all the heresies of his time, in which he enumerates a considerable number, and all of them *Gnostics*, without making any mention of the *Ebionites*.

He being a Jewish Christian himself, could not but be well acquainted with the prevailing opinions of the Jewish Christians, the most conspicuous of which, it cannot be denied, was the doctrine of Christ's being a mere man. Now can it be supposed, that if he himself had been what is now called an orthodox Christian, that is, a Trinitarian, or even an *Arian*, he would wholly have omitted the mention of the *Ebionites* in any list of heretics of his time, had it been ever so short a one; and this consists of no less than eleven articles? Also, can it be supposed that *Eusebius*, who speaks of the *Ebionites* with so much hatred and contempt, would have omitted to copy this article, if it had been in the list?

Their not being inserted in the list by such a person as *Eusebius*, must, I think, satisfy any person, who has no system to support, with respect to this article. A stronger negative argument can hardly be imagined. As to *Hegesippus* himself, we must judge of his feelings and conduct as we should of those of any person at this day in a situation similar to his. Now, did any subsequent ecclesiastical historian, or did any modern divine, of the orthodox faith, ever omit *Arians*, or *Socinians*, or names synonymous to them (who always were, and still are, in the highest degree obnoxious to them) in a list of heretics?

Had the faith of the early Christians been either that Christ was true and very God, or a superior angelic spirit, the maker of the world, and of all things visible and invisible under God; and had *Hegesippus* himself retained that faith, while the generality, or only any considerable number of his countrymen, had departed from it, it could not but have been upon his mind, and have excited the same indignation that the opinions of the *Arians* and *Socinians* excite in the minds of those who are called orthodox at this day. Nay, in his circumstances, such a defection from that important article of faith in his own countrymen, after having been so recently taught the contrary by the apostles themselves, whose writings they still had with them, must have excited a much greater degree of surprise and indignation, than a

similar defection would have occasioned in any other people, or in any later times.

It is said to be as remarkable that *Hegesippus* should have omitted the *Cerinthians* as the *Ebionites*. But I see nothing at all extraordinary in the omission of the *Cerinthians* in this list of heretics by *Hegesippus*, as they were only one branch of the *Gnostics*, several of whom are in his list; and it is not improbable that these *Cerinthians*, having been one of the earliest branches, might have been very inconsiderable, perhaps extinct in his time. I do not know that they are mentioned by any ancient writer as existing so late as the time of *Hegesippus*; and as they seem to have been pretty much confined to some part of *Asia Minor*, and especially *Galatia*, which was very remote from the seat of the *Ebionites*, he might not have heard much about them. Whereas the *Ebionites* were at that very time in their full vigour; and though their opinions (being then almost universal in what was called the *Catholic Church*) had not begun to give offence, they were afterwards the object of the most violent hatred to the other Christians, and continued to be so as long as they subsisted.

That *Hegesippus*, though an *Unitarian* himself, should speak as he does of the state of opinions in the several churches which he visited, as then retaining *the true faith*, is, I think, very natural. The only heresy that disturbed the apostle *John*, and therefore other Jewish Christians in general, was that of the *Gnostics*; and all the eleven different kinds of heresies, enumerated by this writer, are probably only different branches of that one great heresy. If, therefore, the churches which he visited were free from *Gnosticism*, he would naturally say that they retained the true faith. For as to the doctrine of the personification of the *logos*, held then by *Justin Martyr*, and perhaps a few others, it was not, in its origin, so very alarming a thing; and very probably this plain man had not at all considered its nature and tendency, if he had heard of it. The author of the *Clementine Homilies*, though contemporary with *Hegesippus*, and unquestionably an *Unitarian*, makes no mention of it.

Hegesippus, as an *Unitarian*, believed that all the extraordinary power exerted by Christ was that of the Father residing in him, and speaking and acting by him; and he might imagine that these philosophizing Christians, men of great name, and a credit to the cause, held in fact the same thing, when they said that this *logos* of theirs was not the *logos* of the *Gnostics*, but that of *John* the evangelist, or the

wisdom and power of God himself. And though this might appear to him as a thing that he could not well understand, he might not think that there was any heresy, or much harm in it. Had he been told, (but this he could only have had from inspiration,) that this specious personification of the Divine logos would, about two centuries afterwards, end in the doctrine of the perfect equality of the Son with the Father, this plain good man might have been a little startled.

That *Eusebius*, and others, should speak of *Hegesippus* with respect, (from which it has been argued that he could not possibly have been an *Ebionite*,) appears to me nothing extraordinary, though it should have been known to them that he was one, considering that they quote him only as an historian; and supposing, what is very probable, that he did not treat particularly of doctrinal matters, but confined himself to the Acts of the Apostles, and other historical circumstances attending the propagation of the Gospel; especially as he was the only historian of that age, and had always been held in esteem. A man who is once in possession of the general good opinion, will not be censured lightly, especially by such men as *Eusebius*.

Can it be supposed also that *Eusebius*, in expressly quoting ancient authorities against those who held the opinion of the simple humanity of Christ, would not have cited *Hegesippus*, as well as *Irenæus*, *Justin Martyr*, and others, if he could have found any thing in him for his purpose? This may be considered as a proof that there was nothing in his work unfavourable to the doctrines of the *Ebionites*. A negative argument can hardly be stronger than this.*

Had there been any pretence for quoting *Hegesippus* as a maintainer of the divinity of Christ, he would certainly have been mentioned in preference to *Justin Martyr*, or any others in the list; not only because he was an earlier writer, but chiefly because he was one of the Jewish Christians, who are well known not to have favoured that opinion.

The manner in which *Hegesippus* quotes the Gospel of the *Hebrews* was such as led *Eusebius* to think that he was a Hebrew Christian. "He quotes some things from the Gospel according to the Hebrews and the Syriac, and especially in the Hebrew tongue, shewing that he was one of the Hebrew Christians." † We may, therefore, conclude, that

* See Vol. XVIII. pp. 13—15.

† Εν τοις τε καθ' Ἑβραίων εὐαγγελίῳ καὶ τῇ Συριακῇ, καὶ ἰδίως ἐκ τῆς Ἑβραϊκῆς διαλεκτῆς τὰς λέξεις, εὐφραντὸν ἐξ Ἑβραίων ἱερέων περιτρεχόμενον. Hist. L. iv. C. xxi. p. 151. (P.)

he quoted it with respect; and this was not done except by those who were *Ebionites*, or who favoured their opinions. As *Hegesippus* wrote in *Greek*, he must have been acquainted with the *Greek Gospels*, and therefore must have quoted that of the *Hebrews* from choice, and not from necessity.

Lastly, the manner in which *Hegesippus* speaks of *James the Just*, is much more that of an *Unitarian*, than of a *Trinitarian*.—"James the Just," says *Eusebius*, "is represented by *Hegesippus* as saying, Why do you ask me concerning Jesus the son of man?"* This looks as if both *James* and the historian were *Unitarians*; the phrase *son of man*, being probably synonymous to a *prophet*, or a person having a divine commission, and certainly not implying any nature properly divine.

Valsius, the learned commentator on *Eusebius*, has intimated a suspicion, that the works of *Hegesippus*, as well as those of *Papias* and the *Hypotyposes* of *Clemens Alexandrinus*, were neglected and lost, on account of the errors they were supposed to contain.† This I cannot help thinking highly probable, and those errors could hardly be any other than the *Unitarian* doctrine, and the things connected with it. Indeed, there were no errors of any consequence ascribed to that early age besides those of the *Gnostics* and of the *Unitarians*. The former certainly were not those that *Valsius* could allude to with respect to *Hegesippus*, because this writer mentions the *Gnostics* very particularly as heretics. Though *Clemens Alexandrinus* was not an *Unitarian*, yet he never calls *Unitarians* heretics; and since, in his account of heretics in general, which are pretty frequent in his works, he evidently means the *Gnostics* only, and therefore virtually excludes *Unitarians* from that description of men; it is by no means improbable but that, in those writings of his which are lost, he might have said things directly in favour of *Unitarians*.

In this passage *Valsius* also mentions the writings of *Papias*, as having, in his opinion, been lost for the same reason. Now *Papias* has certainly been supposed to be an *Ebionite*. Mr. Whiston has made this very probable from a variety of circumstances.‡ In the same tract he gives his reasons for

* Τι με ερωτατε περι Ιησθ τα υιου του ανδρατου; Hist. L. ii. C. xxiii. p. 79. (P.)

† "Porro ii Clementis libri continebant brevem et compendiarium utriusque testamenti expositionem, ut testatur Photius in bibliotheca. Ob errores autem quibus scatebant, negligentius habiti, tandem perierunt. Nec alia, meo quidem iudicio, causa est, cur Papiæ et Hegesippi, aliorumque veterum libri intercederint." In *Euseb. Hist.* L. v. C. xi. (P.)

‡ See his *Account of the Ceasing of Miracles*, p. 18. (P.)

supposing *Hegesippus* to have been an Ebionite, and he expresses his wonder, “that he should have had the good fortune to be so long esteemed by the learned for a Catholic.”* In this Mr. Whiston may be supposed to have been sufficiently impartial, as he was an *Arian*, and expresses great dislike of the *Ebionites*, as indeed *Arians* always have done.

It is to be lamented that we know so very little of the history of the Jewish Christians. We are informed, that they retired to *Pella*, a country to the east of the sea of Galilee, on the approach of the Jewish war, that many of them returned to Jerusalem when that war was over, and that they continued there till the city was taken by Adrian. But what became of those who were driven out of the city by Adrian, does not appear. It is most probable that they joined their brethren at *Pella*, or *Peræa*, in Syria, from whence they had come to reside at Jerusalem; and indeed what became of the whole body of the ancient Christian Jews, (none of whom can be proved to have been *Trinitarians*;) I cannot tell. Their numbers, we may suppose, were gradually reduced, till at length they became extinct. I hope, however, we shall hear no more of them as an evidence of the antiquity of the *Trinitarian* doctrine. †

A few of the *Nazarenes* remained, as *Epiphanius* says, in the *Upper Thebais* and *Arabia*. He also speaks of the *Ebionites* as existing in his own time, and joined by the *Ossens*. ‡ *Austin* says that they were in small numbers even in his time. §

CHAPTER XIII.

Unitarianism was the Doctrine of the primitive Gentile Churches.

HAVING proved, as I think I may presume that I have done, to the satisfaction of every impartial reader, that the great body of *Jewish* Christians always were, and to the last continued to be, *Unitarians*; believing nothing concerning

* *Account of the Ceasing of Miracles*, pp. 21, &c. (P.)

† See Vol. XVIII. p. 189.

‡ Μερὸν δὲ τινῶν ἐν σπηλαίᾳ εὐρισκάναι, ἣ πῶν εἰς, ἣ ὄνο Νασαρηνοῦ ὑπὲρ τὴν ἀνω Θεβαΐδα, καὶ ὑπερὶ τῆς Ἀραβίας. *Hæc. xx. Opera*, I. p. 46. (P.)

§ “H sunt quos Faustus Symmachianorum vel Nazarenorum, nomine commemoravit, qui usque ad nostra tempora jam quidem in exigua, sed adhuc tamen vel in ipsa, paucitate perdurant.” *Contra Faustum Man., Opera*, VI. p. 351. (P.)

the pre-existence or divinity of Christ, it may with certainty be concluded, that the *Gentile* converts were also universally Unitarians in the age of the apostles, and that, of course, the great majority of the common people must have continued to be so for a very considerable time. There is no maxim, the truth of which is more fully verified by observation and experience, than that great bodies of men do not soon, or without great causes, change their opinions.* And the common people among Christians, having no recollection of the apostles having taught the pre-existence or divinity of Christ, would not soon receive such strange doctrines from any other quarter.

In what manner the speculative and philosophizing Christians came to receive these doctrines, and what plausible arguments they used to recommend them, I have fully explained. But such causes would affect the learned long before they reached the unlearned; though, in time, the opinions of those who are respected for their knowledge, never fail to diffuse themselves among the common people, as we see to be the case in matters of philosophy, and speculation in general.

Actual *phenomena*, I shall undertake to shew, correspond to this hypothesis, viz. that the *Gentile* Christians were at first universally *Unitarians*; that for a long time a majority of the common people continued to be so, being, till after the Council of *Nice*, pretty generally in communion with the *Trinitarians*, without abandoning their own opinion. It will also appear, from the most indisputable evidence, that the *Arian* hypothesis, which makes Christ to have been a great pre-existent spirit, the maker of the world, and the giver of the law of Moses, was equally unknown to the learned and to the unlearned, till the age of *Arius* himself. As to the opinion of Christ having been a pre-existent spirit, but either not the maker of world, or not the giver of the law, it is quite modern, being entirely unknown to any thing that can be called antiquity.

SECTION I.

Presumptive Evidence that the Majority of the Gentile Christians in the Early Ages were Unitarians.

BOTH the strongest *presumptions*, and the most direct *positive* evidence, shew that the common people among the

* See Vol. XVIII. p. 204.

Gentile Christians, were *Unitarians*, at least between two and three hundred years after the promulgation of Christianity.

1. That *Unitarians* must have been in communion with what was in early times called the *Catholic Church*, is evident from there being no *creed*, or formulary of faith, that could exclude them. And we have seen [p. 145], that a *creed* was formed for the express purpose of excluding the *Gnostics*, who, of course, could not, and we find did not, join the public assemblies of Christians, but formed assemblies among themselves, entirely distinct from those of the *Catholics*.

There was no *creed* used in the Christian church, besides that which was commonly called *the Apostles'*, before the Council of *Nice*, and even after that there was no other generally used at baptism. This *creed*, as has been seen, [p. 148,] contains no article that could exclude *Unitarians*; and there was nothing in the public services that was calculated to exclude them. The bishops and the principal clergy, zealous for the doctrine of the Trinity, might, of their own accord, harangue their audiences on the subject, or they might pray as *Trinitarians*; but if the *Unitarians* could bear with it, they might still continue in communion with them, there being no law or rule to exclude them.

Accordingly, we find that all the *Unitarians* continued in communion with the *Catholic Church* till the time of *Theodotus*, about the year 200, when it is possible that, upon his excommunication, some of his more zealous followers might form themselves into separate societies. But we have no certain account of any separate societies of *Unitarians* till the excommunication of *Paulus Samosatensis*, about the year 250, when, after him, they were called *Paulians*, or *Paulianists*. Others also, about the same time, or rather after that time, formed separate societies in Africa, on the excommunication of *Sabellius*, being, after him, called *Sabellians*.

2. The very circumstance of the *Unitarian Gentiles* having *no separate name*, is, of itself, a proof that they had no separate assemblies, and were not distinguished from the common mass of Christians. Had the *Unitarians* been considered as heretics, and of course formed *separate societies*, they would as certainly have been distinguished by some particular name, as the *Gnostics* were, who were in that situation. But the *Gentile Unitarians* had no name given them till the time of *Epiphanius*, who ineffectually endea-

voured to impose upon them that of *Alogi*. * As to the terms *Paulians*, *Sabellians*, *Noctians*, or *Artemonites*, they were only names given them in particular places from local circumstances.

When bodies of men are formed, distinguished from others by their opinions, manners, or customs, they necessarily become the subjects of conversation and writing; and it being extremely inconvenient to make frequent use of periphrases, or descriptions, particular names will be given to them. This is so well known, that there can hardly be a more certain proof of men not having been formed into separate bodies, whether they were considered in a favourable or an unfavourable light, than their never having had any separate name given them; and this was indisputably the case with the *Gentile* Unitarians for the space of more than two hundred years after the promulgation of Christianity. The *Jewish* Unitarians using a different language, and living in a part of the world remote from other Christians, had little communication with the Gentiles, and therefore, of course, had assemblies separate from theirs; but for that reason they had a particular name, being called *Ebionites*.

The name by which the *Gentile* Unitarians were sometimes distinguished before the separation of any of them from the Catholic church, was that of *Monarchists*, which was probably assumed by themselves, from their asserting the monarchy of the Father, in opposition to the novel doctrine of the divinity of the Son. Had it been a name given them by their enemies, it would probably have been of a different kind, and have implied some reproach.

As to the term *Alogi*, given to the Unitarians by *Epiphanius*, it may be safely concluded, that it was imposed on a false pretence, viz. their denying the authenticity of the writings of the apostle *John*, and their ascribing them to *Cerinthus*, for which there is no evidence besides his own; and he does not pretend to have had it from the Unitarians themselves. It is sufficiently evident that there could not have been any Christians who rejected all the writings of *John* before the time of *Eusebius*, who considers very particularly the objections that had been made to the genuineness of all the books of the *New Testament*. And that the same people should reject these books after the time of *Eusebius*,

* Φασκεσι τοις δι Αλογι ταύτην γαρ αυτοις τιθημι την επωνυμιαν απο γαρ της δευρα ετης κληθησονται. Hæc. li. Opera, l. p. 423. (P.)

and not before, is highly improbable. *Epiphanius* himself ascribes this rejection to the *Alogi* in general, and not to those of his time only; and he supposes "the heresy of *Alogi* to have been an old one, of which that of *Theodotus* was a branch."*

The proof that *Origen*, *Chrysostom*, and the Fathers in general, give of their not being heretics, is, that they had no particular name, besides that of Christians. All, therefore, that *Chrysostom* and others could allege, as a proof that themselves and their friends were of the orthodox faith, and no heretics, might have been alleged by the whole body of Unitarians before the time of *Theodotus*.

3. This argument will have double force, if we consider how exceedingly obnoxious the sentiments of the Unitarians must have appeared, if they had been different from those of the generality of Christians at that time. In what light they would have been regarded then, may be easily judged of by the treatment which they receive at present, wherever the Trinitarian doctrine is established, and that of the Unitarians is professed by the smaller number. In these circumstances, it is a fact which no person can deny, that Unitarians have, in all countries, been regarded with the greatest possible abhorrence, and treated as impious blasphemers. It is considered as a great stretch of moderation to tolerate them at all. There are many instances in which even *Arians* would not allow that the Unitarians were Christians. This now would certainly have been the case in the primitive times, if the Unitarians had been in the same situation; that is, if they had been the *minority*, and Trinitarians, or even *Arians*, the *majority*. For, human nature being the same, the influence of the same circumstances will likewise be the same, as universal experience shews. For no sooner were the Trinitarians the majority, and had the favour of government, than they took the severest measures against those who openly avowed themselves to be Unitarians. The same also was their treatment from the *Arians*, when they were in power, as the history of *Photinus* testifies.

It is well known with what severity *Calvin* proceeded against *Servetus*, † when the doctrine which he defended

* *Αποστ. κατά Θεοδοίου της απιστίας υπάρχον εκ της προειρημένης Αλογη αίρεσεως.* H. v. iv. *Origen*, l. p. 162. (P.)

† See Vol. V. pp. 299. &c. Eight years after the death of *Servetus*, his misjudging persecutor still gloried in this severity. *Voltaire* quotes *Calvin's* "letter, written to the King of England," and is still preserved in the Castle of Bastie Roland, near Montclair. It is directed to the Marquis de Poet, high-chamberlain of the king

was far from being novel, and Calvin himself was exposed to persecution. Even in these circumstances he thought that to write against the doctrine of the Trinity was a crime for which *burning alive* was no more than an adequate punishment; and almost all the Christian world, not excepting even the meek *Melancthon*, justified his proceedings. Now, since the minds of men are in all ages similarly affected in similar circumstances, we may conclude, that the Unitarian doctrine, which was treated with so much respect when it was first mentioned, was in a very different predicament then, from what it was at the time of the Reformation. The difference of *majority* and *minority*, and nothing else, can account for this difference of treatment.

4. Another, and no inconsiderable argument in favour of the antiquity of the proper *Unitarian* doctrine among Christians, may be drawn from the *rank* and *condition* of those who held it in the time of *Tertullian*. He calls them *simplices et idiotæ*, that is, common or unlearned people; and such persons are certainly most likely to retain *old* opinions, and are always far less apt to innovate than the learned, because they are far less apt to speculate. Whenever we endeavour to trace the oldest opinions in any country, we always inquire among the *idiotæ*, the common people; and if they believe one thing, and the learned another, we may conclude with certainty, that whichever of them be *true*, or the more probable, those of the common people were the more *ancient*, and those of the learned and speculative the more *novel* of the two.*

In most cases the more novel opinions are most likely to be true, considering the gradual spread of knowledge, and the general prevalence of prejudice and error; but in some cases the probability is on the side of the more ancient opinions; and it is evidently so in this. The true doctrine concerning the person of Christ must be allowed to have been held by the apostles. They, no doubt, knew whether their Master was only a man like themselves, or their Maker. Their immediate disciples would receive and maintain the same doctrine that they held, and it must have been some time before any other could have been introduced, and have spread to any extent, and especially before it could have become the

of Navarre." Speaking of "zealous scoundrels who stir up the people to revolt," *Calvin* says, "Such monsters should be exterminated, as I have exterminated Michael Servetus, the Spaniard." See *Wright's Apology for Servetus*, 1806, p. 256.

* See Vol. XVIII. p. 23; *Belsham's Calvin Inquiry*, 1814, pp. 419, 420.

prevailing opinion. We naturally, therefore, look for the *genuine* doctrine of Christianity, concerning the person of Christ, among those who, from their condition and circumstances, were most likely to maintain the old opinion, rather than among those who were most apt to receive a new one. Surely, then, we have a better chance of finding the truth on this subject among these *idiotæ*, the common and unlearned people, than with such men as *Justin Martyr*, who had been a Heathen philosopher, *Irenæus*, or any other of the learned and speculative Christians of the same age. *

On the contrary, supposing the Christian religion to have been gradually corrupted, and that, in a long course of time, the corrupt doctrine should become the most prevalent among the common people; the reformation of it, by the recovery of the genuine doctrine, is naturally to be looked for among the learned and the inquisitive, who, in all cases, will be the *innovators*. This is remarkably the case in the present state of things. The common people in the *Roman Catholic* countries are bigots to the old established faith, while the learned are moderate, and almost Protestants. In Protestant countries the common people still adhere most strongly to the doctrine of their ancestors, or those which prevailed about the time of the Reformation, while the learned are every where receding farther from them; they being more inquisitive and more enlightened than the uninquiring vulgar. But still, if any man should propose simply to inquire what were the opinions most generally received in this country a century ago, (which was about the space that intervened between *Victor* and the time of the apostles,) we should think him very absurd, if he should look for them among the learned, rather than among the common people. We have experience enough of the difficulty with which the bulk of the common people are brought to relinquish the faith of their ancestors. †

Dissenters in England are well situated for judging of the truth of the general maxim, that large bodies of men do not soon change their opinions. Notwithstanding the Dissenters have no legal bonds, but are perfectly free to adopt whatever opinions they please; yet, as they were universally *Calvinists* at the time of the Reformation, they are very generally so still. The ministers, as might be expected, are the most enlightened, and have introduced some reformation

* See Vol. XVIII. pp. 23, 24.

† See *ibid.* p. 24.

among the common people ; but a majority of the ministers are, I believe, still Calvinists.*

No person at all acquainted with history can entertain a doubt with respect to the general maxim, that great bodies of men do not soon change their opinions. It appeared when our Saviour and the apostles preached the gospel with all the advantage of miracles, and it appeared in the Christianizing of the Gentile world. How long did the ignorant country people, in particular, continue *Pagans*, a word borrowed from their being chiefly the inhabitants of villages ! Does not the history both of the corruption and of the reformation of Christianity prove the same thing ? How many yet believe the doctrine of Transubstantiation ! And, what I think as much a case in point, how many yet believe the doctrine of the Trinity ! †

Is it then at all probable, that when the doctrine of the simple humanity of Christ is acknowledged to have been held by the *idiotæ* or *common people*, and who are expressly said to have been the greater part of the believers, (*major credentium pars*,) this should not have been the general opinion a century before that time ; but, on the contrary, that of the deity of Christ, which was held by *Tertullian* and other learned Christians, and who speak of the common people as being shocked (*expavescent*) at their doctrine ? Sufficient cause may be assigned why the learned in that age should be inclined to adopt any opinion which would advance the personal dignity of their Master ; and the same causes would produce the same effect among the common people, but it would be more slowly, and acquire more time, as appears to have been the fact. ‡

It may be said that the testimony of *Tertullian* is expressly contradicted by *Justin Martyr*, who, (in giving an account of the circumstances in which the *Platonic* philosophy agreed, as he thought, with the doctrine of Moses, but with respect to which he supposed that *Plato* had borrowed from Moses,) mentions the following particulars, viz. the power which was after the first God, or the *logos*, “ Assuming the figure of a cross in the universe, borrowed from the fixing up of a serpent (which represented Christ) in the form of a cross in the Wilderness ; and a third principle, borrowed from the Spirit which Moses said moved on the face of the water at the creation ; and also the notion of some *fire* or

* See Vol. XVIII. pp. 173, 174.

† See *ibid.* p. 174.

‡ See *ibid.* p. 24.

conflagration, borrowed from some figurative expressions in Moses, relating to the anger of God waxing hot. These things, he says, we do not borrow from others, but all others from us. With us you may hear and learn these things from those who do not know the form of the letters, and who are rude and barbarous of speech, but wise and understanding in mind, and from some who are even lame and blind, so that you may be convinced that these things are not said by human wisdom, but by the power of God.”*

But all that we can infer from this passage is, that these common people had learned from Moses that the world was made by the power and wisdom (or the *logos*) of God; that the serpent in the Wilderness represented Christ; and that there was a spirit of God that moved on the face of the waters: in short that these plain people had been at the source from which *Plato* had borrowed his philosophy. It is by no means an explicit declaration that these common people thought that the *logos* and the spirit were persons distinct from God. *Justin* was not writing with a view to that question, as *Tertullian* was, but only meant to say how much more knowledge was to be found among the lowest of the Christians, than among the wisest of the Heathen philosophers.

Besides, *Justin* is here *boasting* of the knowledge of these lower people, and it favoured his purpose to make it as considerable as he could; whereas, *Tertullian* is *complaining* of the circumstance which he mentions; so that nothing but the conviction of a disagreeable truth could have extorted it from him. The same was the case with respect to *Athenasius*.

That the common people in *Justin's* time should understand his doctrine concerning the personification of the *logos*, is in itself highly improbable. That this *logos*, which was originally in God the same thing that reason is in man, should, at the creation of the world, assume a proper personality, and afterwards animate the body of Jesus Christ, either in addition to a human soul, or instead of it, is not only very absurd, but also so very *abstruse*, that it is in the highest degree improbable, *a priori*, that the common people should have adopted it. The Scriptures, in which they were

* Οὐ τα αὐτὰ οὖν ἡμεῖς ἀλλοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς, ἀλλ' ἀπαντὶς τα ἡμεῖτερα μνησθέντι λεγέσθαι παρ' ἡμῶν οὖν ἐστὶ γὰρ ἀκαταίτη καὶ μαθεῖν παρὰ τῶν οὐδὲ τρεῖς χαρακτῆρας τῶν σοφιστικῶν ἐπισημασμένων, διὰ τῶν μὲν καὶ βραχέως τὸ φθεγγόμενον, σοφῶν δὲ καὶ τισῶν τῶν νεῶν οὐδ' ἂν, καὶ πῶρ' ἂν καὶ χερσὶν τῶν τῶν οὐκ ἐστὶν ἀδύνατον, οὐ σοφῶν ἀνθρώπων ταῦτα γινώσκοντες, ἀλλὰ ἀκαταίτη λεγέσθαι. Apol. p. 88. (P.)

chiefly conversant, could never teach them any such thing, and they could not have been capable of entering into the philosophical refinements of Justin on the subject. Whereas, that the common people should have believed, as *Tertullian* and *Athanasius* represent them to have done, viz. that there is but one God, and that Christ was a man, the messenger or prophet of God, and no *second* God at all, (the rival as it were of the first God,) is a thing highly credible in itself, and therefore requires less external evidence.

5. Another ground of presumption, that the *Unitarians* were not considered as heretics, or indeed in any obnoxious light, and consequently of their being in very great numbers in early times, is, that no treatises were written against them. As soon as ever *Gnostics* made their appearance, they were censured with the greatest severity, and express treatises were written against them. Whereas the Unitarians were first mentioned without any censure at all, afterwards with very little; and no treatise was written expressly against them before *Tertullian's* against *Praxeas*, with whom he was, on other accounts, much offended. About the same time, it is supposed that *Caius* wrote the treatise called "The Little Labyrinth," quoted by *Eusebius*. Before this time there were some voluminous writers among Christians, and several treatises were written expressly against heresy, but all the heresies then noticed were those of the Gnostics. *Irenæus's* treatise against heresy shews, that the Gnostics only were considered as coming under that description. The *Ebionites* indeed are censured in it, but no mention is made of the *Gentile* Unitarians, though they were the majority of the common people among Christians a long time after this.

His censure of *Gentile* Unitarians is, at least, indirect, as they held the same doctrine concerning Christ that the *Ebionites* did; and it must always be considered, that *Irenæus* lived in Gaul, where there were no Ebionites, and perhaps not many Unitarians, as they abounded most in those countries in which Christianity was first planted.

Theophilus of Antioch, about the year 170, wrote against heresies, but only his book against Marcion is mentioned by *Eusebius*.* He also mentions many of the works of *Melito*, bishop of Sardis, but none of them were against the Unitarians.† *Rhodon*, he also says, wrote against the *Marcionites*.‡

* *Hist. L. iv. C. xxiv. p. 187. (P.)*

† *Ibid. C. xxvi. p. 188. (P.)*

‡ *Ibid. L. v. C. xiii. p. 225. (P.)*

We have also the first book of a large work of *Origen's* against heresy ; and it is very evident, as I have observed, from his introduction, that he had no view to any besides the *Gnostics*. Can it be doubted then, but that there would have been treatises written expressly against Unitarians long before the time of *Tertullian*, if they had been considered in any obnoxious light, or had not been a very great majority of the Christian world ?

6. That the *Unitarian* doctrine was very prevalent, even among learned Christians, in the age which followed that of the apostles, and was then supposed to be that which was taught by them, may, with considerable probability, be inferred from the *Clementine Homilies*, and *Recognitions*, of which some account was given, pp. 63, 64. What is particularly remarkable relating to this work (for the two were originally the same) is, that, though it was written by a philosopher, and upon subjects which related to the doctrine concerning the person of Christ, it contains no mention of that doctrine which made so great a figure afterwards, and which in time bore down all before it, viz. that of the personification of the logos. No person, I should think, could peruse that work with care, without concluding, that the orthodoxy of the subsequent period had made but little progress then. The same questions are discussed, and the same objections are answered, but on quite different principles, and without taking the least notice of any different principles.

If we cannot infer from this circumstance, that such a system as that of *Justin Martyr*, or the orthodoxy of the third century, did not exist, or was not much prevalent, so as to have attracted much notice, in the second ; it must at least be allowed, as I observed before, that the writer of this work, being indisputably a man of genius and learning, would ascribe to *Peter* and *Clement* such opinions, and such a mode of answering the *Gnostics*, as he thought would pass for theirs. And as the work was probably a very popular one, from the different editions and modifications of it, (being published afterwards with *Arian*, and again with *Trinitarian* adulterations,) and used, as *Epiphanius* says, by the *Ebionites* as a sacred book, we may likewise infer, that the theological doctrines of it were generally thought to be those of the apostolic age, though with such additions as the philosophy of the times could supply. A man must have had less knowledge and less judgment than the writer of this work was evidently possessed of, to have put into the mouths of *Peter* and *Clement*, Unitarian doctrines, and Unitarian

modes of answering the *Gnostics*, if it had not been supposed that Peter and Clement, though no philosophers, were at least Unitarians.

To the passages quoted from this work before, I shall here add another, in which, contrary to the orthodox doctrine of the world not having been made by God himself, but by the *logos*, and without noticing any such doctrine, he gives a fine enumeration of the attributes of the one true God, and represents him as the *demiurgus*, the immediate maker of the world, and all the several parts of it, the heavens and the heavenly bodies, the earth and water, mountains and seas, fountains and fruits, &c. &c. *

Dr. Lardner observes, that the *Clementine Homilies* and *Recognitions* “may deserve a more particular examination than has yet been given them.”† And, indeed, in the view in which I have mentioned them, and also in many others, they are justly entitled to it; as they contain a particular account of the opinions of those times, especially of the manner in which Christianity was treated and defended by philosophers. More may be learned concerning the theology and philosophy of those times, from this single work, than from many others. It is true that the philosophical doctrines in it are absurd enough; but the age afforded no better, and they are exhibited in a very pleasing dress.

SECTION II.

Direct Evidence in Favour of the Gentile Christians having been generally Unitarians.

BUT there is no occasion to argue in this manner from circumstances and the nature of the thing, since it appears from the evidence of all history, so as never to have been questioned by any writer of reputation, that the *Unitarians* had not any places of worship separate from those of other Christians in early times. It was allowed by *Mosheim*, a

* Διο, ω τεκνον Κλημης, επεχε, μη αλλο τι φρονησης περι το Θεου, η οτι αυτος μονος εστιν Θεος, και κρις, και πατηρ, αγαθος και δικαιος, δημιουργος, μακροδικμος, ελεημων, τρυφεις επιεργειης, φιλανθρωπιαν νομιλευων, ανγενειαν συμβηλειων, ανωις, ιωνιας ποιων, ασυγκριτος, ταις των αγαθων ψυχαις οικιζομενος, αχαρητος και χαρημενος, ο εν απειρη τον μεγαλον ανοια ως κεντρον τηξας, ο ηρανον εφαπλωσας, και γην αλωσας, υδαρ ταμιωσας, αστρα εν ηρανη διαδεις, τηγας ηης βρυσας, καρπες εκφισας, ορη υψωσας, θαλασσαν περιηρισας, ανεμης τε και πνευμαλα διαλαθας: ο το περιεχον σωμα εν απειρη πελαγει πνευμαλι βελης ασφαλως ασφαλισαμενος. Hom. ii. Sect. xlv. p. 632. (P.)

† *Credibility*, II. p. 804. (P.) *Works*, II. pp. 358, 359.

zealous Trinitarian, who says, "However ready many have been to embrace this erroneous doctrine, it does not appear that this sect formed to themselves a separate place of worship, or removed themselves from the ordinary assemblies of Christians."* But does it not also follow from the same fact, that these Unitarians were not expelled from Christian societies by others, as they certainly would have been, if they had been considered as heretics?

"In former times," says *Nicephorus*, "all who were called Christians, though they held different opinions, being considered in the same light by the Gentiles, and suffering from them, made little account of their differences, while they were exposed to equal hardships, on which account they easily joined in the common assemblies; and having frequent intercourse, while they were few in number, did not divide into parties."† In these circumstances, however, the *Gnostics* held separate assemblies, and as the violence of persecution did not make the orthodox receive *them* into their assemblies, so neither would they have admitted the Unitarians, if they had been at all obnoxious to them.

That Unitarians were included among those who, holding different opinions, were considered by the orthodox as *fellow-christians*, is evident from the following passage of *Origen*; but it will be more evident from other passages which I shall have occasion to quote from him hereafter. It is only to be observed, that the Unitarians are here described as being *Patripassians*; but these were only the more philosophical of the Unitarians, as I shall shew in its proper place. "It is allowed," he says, "that as in the great multitude of believers, who admit of difference of opinion, there are some who say that the Saviour is God over all; but we do not say so, who believe him when he said, 'My Father is greater than I?'"‡

Eusebius, describing two sorts of heretics, one of whom denied the humanity of Christ, and the other his pre-existence and divinity, says, that the former were *out of the*

* *Eccles. Hist.* I. pp. 190, 191. (P.) *Cont.* ii. Pt. ii. Ch. v. Sect. xx.

† Ετι μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἀναχρονῶν ὅστωι ἀλῆθει Χριστὸς ἐστὶν κληθεὶς, εἰ καὶ διαίροισι ταῖς δοξαῖς ἦσαν, ἴσθι πάντες πρὸς τὸν τὰ Ἑλλήνων θανατοζόντων ἐνομιζόντιο· καὶ κακῶς ἐξ ἐκείνων πᾶσι- χροῖτες, ἀπὸ τῆς πραγματικῆς τῆς ἀναγνωστῆσαι ἐκείν, κινῶν ὀφθαλμοῖσι συμφορᾶς· διὰ τὴν καὶ ἄλλα κατὰ ἑαυτῆς σπουδαῖες, ἐκκλησιαζόντων πικρῆν τε τὴν ὀμίλιαν ἐχρόντες, εἰ δὲ ὀλιγοὶ ἦσαν, ἡμῶς ἀκείναις πολλὰ διέλελυθσαν. *Hist.* I. viii. C. lii. l. p. 661. (P.)

‡ Εἴπω δὲ, τινὰς ὡς ἐν πλῆθει πιστευόντων, καὶ δεχόμενων διαφωρίαν, διὰ τὴν προπέθειαν ἀποτιθέσθαι τὸν σωτήρα εἶναι τὸν ἐπὶ πάντι Θεὸν· ἀλλ' οὕτω γὰρ ἡμεῖς τοιούτων, οἱ περὶ ὁμοῦ ἐπι- ατῆ ἡμεῖς, Ὁ πατὴρ, ὁ πατὴρ μὲ, μείζων μὲ ἐστίν. *Ad Celsum*, I. viii. p. 387. (P.) See Vol. XVIII. p. 197. (P.)

church; but he is so far from saying the same of the latter, that he particularly complains that *Marcellus*, one of them, even presided in it, being then bishop of *Ancyra*.*

That *Chrysostom* considered almost all the Christians as being *Unitarians* in the age of the apostles has been shewn already [p. 429]; and yet he says, that “in their time there was no heresy.”† This, however, could not be strictly true, because there were *Gnostics* in the time of the apostles; but they were few compared with their numbers afterwards. On this account, it is said by several of the ancients, that heresy began in the time of *Adrian*, when the most distinguished of the *Gnostics* made their appearance. *Cyprian* says, that “the worst of the heresies did not arise till after the time of the apostles.”‡

That the common people among Christians were actually *Unitarians* in the early ages, and believed nothing of the pre-existence or divinity of Christ, before the Council of *Nice*, we have as express a testimony as can be desired in the case. These sublime doctrines were thought to be above their comprehension, and to be capable of being understood and received by the learned only. This we see most clearly in the general strain of *Origen's* writings, who was himself a firm believer and a zealous defender of the pre-existence and divinity of Christ.

“This,” says he, “we ought to understand, that, as the law was a shadow of good things to come, so is the gospel as it is understood by the generality. But that which John calls the everlasting gospel, and which may be more properly called the *spiritual*, instructs the intelligent very clearly concerning the Son of God. Wherefore the gospel must be taught both corporeally and spiritually, and when it is necessary, we must preach the corporeal gospel, saying to the carnal, that we know nothing but Jesus Christ and him crucified. But when persons are found confirmed in the spirit, bringing forth fruit in it, and in love with heavenly

* Τὸν γὰρ ἑτεροδόξαν, ὃς μὲν, μὴ πρῆναι μὴδὲ προϋπαρχειν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ φανίης, ἀνθρώπων εἶναι αὐτὸν τοῖς λοιποῖς ὅμοιον ὑπόθεμενοι ἐξ ἀνθρώπου, ὑπόθεσις τελειμηθεῖσαι αὐτὸν εἶπασαν, καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως, ἀθανάτου καὶ ἀειδουσίῃου αὐτῆς τιμῆς καὶ δόξης καὶ βασιλείας αἰωνίου ἀμολογήσαν· ὃς δὲ τὸν ἀνθρώπων ἀρησάμενος υἱὸν εἶναι Θεοῦ, Θεοῦ προῦπα ἀφῆρησαν· ἀλλ' ὃς μὲν τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀλλοτριῖ, μεχρὶ τὸσούτῃς πλάνης ἐλάσαν· ὃ δὲ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸσούτοις καθήρησάμενος χρόνοις, τὴν ὑπαρξὴν ἀναίρει τὸ εἶναι τὸ Θεοῦ τῆς αὐτῆς λειψήσας ἑυσιασθηρῖ. *Contra Marcellum*, I. p. 33. (P.)

† Τὸτε τοίνυν, ἤνικα ἐκηρύττον αὐτοὶ κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμενὴν πᾶσαν, αἵρεσις ἐδεμα ἦν. *Ser. lxi. Opera*, V. p. 809. (P.)

‡ “Et hoc, cum nondum hæreticæ pestes acriores prorupissent.” *Epist. i. Opera*, pp. 211, 219. (P.)

wisdom, we must impart to them the logos returning from his bodily state, in that he was in the beginning with God.”*

“Some are adorned with the logos itself, but others with a logos which is a-kin to it, and seeming to them to be the true logos; who know nothing but Jesus Christ and him crucified, who look at the word made flesh.”†

“There are,” says he, “who receive the logos which was from the beginning, the logos that was with God, and the logos that was God, as Hosea, Isaiah, and Jeremiah, and others who speak of the logos as the logos of the Lord, and the logos that was with Him; but there are others who know nothing but Jesus Christ and him crucified, the logos that was made flesh, thinking they have entirely embraced the logos when they acknowledge Christ according to the flesh. Such is the multitude of those who are called Christians.”‡

Again, he says, “The multitudes” (that is, the great mass or body) “of believers are instructed in the shadow of the logos, and not in the true logos of God, which is in the open heaven.”§

But nothing can be more decisive than the evidence of *Tertullian* to this purpose, who, in the following passage, which is too plain and circumstantial to be misunderstood by any person, positively asserts, though with much peevishness, that the Unitarians, who held the doctrine of the divinity of Christ in abhorrence, were the greater part of Christians in his time.

“The simple, the ignorant, and unlearned, who are always

* Και τῆσδε εἶδεναι ἐχρην, ὅτι ὡσπερ ἐστὶ νομῶσκιαν παρεχων των μελλουτων αγαθων, ἔπο τῆ κατ’ ἀληθειαν καταγγελλομενη νομῆ δηλημενων, ἔτω και ευαγγελιον σκιαν μυητριων Χριστῆ διδασκει, το νομιζομενον ὑπο παντων των εντυγχανουτων νοεισθαι. Ὁ δε φησιν Ἰωαννης εὐαγγελιον αιωνιον, οικειως αν λεχθησθημενον πνευμαλικον, σαφως παριστησι τοις νοησι τα παντα ενωπιον περι υἱε τῆ Θεου.—Διοπερ αναγκαιον πνευμαλικως και σωμαλικως Χριστιανιζειν και ὅπη μεν χρησὶ το σωμαλικον κηρισσειν ευαγγελιον, φασκουῖα μηδεν εἶδεναι τοις σαρκικως ἠ Ἰησῆν Χριστον και τῆσδε εσαυραμενον, τῆσδε ποιησειν επαν δε ἐνρεθῶσι καληρτισμενοι τῶ πνευματι, και καρποφορητιες εν αυτῶ, ερωτιες τῆ θρανιη σφισιας, μεταδῶσειν αυτοις το λογον, επανελθουσιν απο του σεσαρκωσθαι, εφ’ ὃ ην εν αρχῆ προς του Θεου. Comment. in *Johan.* II. p. 9. (P.) See Vol. XVIII. p. 198.

† Ὅτι μεν γαρ αυτῶ τῶ λογῶ κεκοσμηται. Ὅτι δε παρακεμενη τινι αυτῶ, και δοκοντι εἶναι αυτῶ τῶ πρῶτῶ λογῶ, ὁ μηδεν εἶδοις, εἰ μη Ἰησῆν Χριστον, και τῆσδε εσαυραμενον, ὁ του λογου σαρκῶ θρανιες. Comment. in *Johan.* II. p. 49. (P.)

‡ Οὕτω τινιν ὁ μεν τινες μετεχρῶσιν αυτου του εν αρχῆ λογου, και προς του Θεου λογου, και Θεου λογου, ὁσπερ Ὡση και Ἰσαιας και Ἰερεμιας, και εἰ τις ἕτερος ταιῶν ἑαλιον παρεσθῆσιν ἄς του λογου κηρι, ἢ του λογου γενεσθαι προς αυτον ἕτεροι δε ὁ μηδεν εἶδοις εἰμη Ἰησῆν Χριστον και τῆσδε εσαυραμενον, του γενεμενον σαρκῶ λογου, το σταν νομιζουτιες εἶναι τοι λογου Χριστον κατὰ σαρκῶ μονου γνωσκεισιν τῆσδε ὁ εἰσι το πληρῶσ των πεπιστευκεναι νομιζομενων. Ibid. p. 49. (P.) See Vol. XVIII. pp. 198, 199.

§ Τα δε πληρῶσ των πιστευκεναι νομιζομενων τῆ σκιῶ του λογου, και ουχι τῶ ἀληθινῶ του Θεου εἰ τῶ εὐαγγελῶ κατὰ τῶ κηρι, μαρτυρεται. Comment. in *Johan.* II. p. 5. (P.)

the greater part of the body of Christians, since the rule of faith," meaning, probably, the Apostles' Creed, "transfers the worship of many gods to the one true God, not understanding that the unity of God is to be maintained but with the œconomy, dread this œconomy; imagining that this number and disposition of a Trinity is a division of the Unity. They, therefore, will have it that we are worshippers of two, and even of three Gods, but that they are the worshippers of one God only. We, they say, hold the monarchy. Even the Latins have learned to bawl out for the monarchy, and the Greeks themselves will not understand the œconomy."*

It is hardly possible in any words to describe the state of things more clearly than *Tertullian* here does. It is the language of strong feeling and complaint, the clearest of all proofs that he did not mis-state things on that side, as it would have been for the purpose of his argument to have represented the Unitarians as being inconsiderable on account of their numbers, as well as despicable on account of their want of learning.

Whoever *Tertullian* meant by the *simplices* and *idiotæ*, for any thing that appears, he meant the whole body of them. His language is general and unlimited. However, I am far from being willing to construe him rigorously, and am ready to allow that some of the simple and unlearned persons he describes might profess to believe the doctrine of the Trinity, though he says nothing of it. But, making all reasonable deductions on this account, he asserts a palpable falsehood, and against himself, if a very great majority of them were not Unitarians.

On the whole, it is impossible not to infer from this passage, that, in the time of *Tertullian*, the great body of unlearned Christians were *Unitarians*. Common sense cannot put any other construction on this passage, and *Tertullian* is far from being singular in this acknowledg-

* "Simplices enim quippe, ne dixerim imprudentes et idiotæ, quæ major semper credentium pars est, quoniam et ipsa regula fidei à pluribus diis seculi, ad unicum et Deum verum transfert; non intelligentes unicum quidem, sed cum sua œconomia esse credendum, expavescent ad œconomiam. Numerum et dispositionem Trinitatis, divisionem præsumunt Unitatis; quando unitas ex semetipsa derivans Trinitatem, non destruat ab illa, sed administretur. Itaque duos et tres jam jactitant à nobis prædicari, se vero unius Dei cultores præsumunt.—Quasi non et unitas irrationabiliter collecta, hæresim faciat, trinitas rationaliter expensa, veritatem constituat. Monarchiam, inquit, tenemus. Et ita sonum vocaliter expriment etiam Latini, etiam Opici, ut putes illos tam bene intelligere monarchiam, quam enunciant. Sed monarchiam sonare student Latini, œconomiam intelligere nolunt etiam Græci." *Ad Praxeam*, Sect. iii. p. 502. (P.) See Vol. XVIII. p. 191.

ment. It is made, in different modes, by several of the fathers, even later than the age of Tertullian.*

* Some of my friends think that the evidence I have produced, in order to prove that the bulk of common Christians in the early ages were simply *Unitarians*, is not sufficient for the purpose. They think that "the passage from Tertullian (quoted p. 487) proves only that the major part of Christians in his time were offended with the new and unintelligible notions then introduced, not of Christ's pre-existence, but of an *economy* and *trinity*, which they could not reconcile to the supremacy and unity of the Deity. The like," they say, "is true of the passages from Origen, in pp. 485, 486.

But, with respect to this, I would observe, that if there was any evidence whatever, presumptive or positive, of any Christians in those ages believing the pre-existence of Christ, and not believing either with the *Gnostics* that he was a pre-existent spirit superior to the creator of the world, or with the *Platonizing* fathers, that he was the uncreated *logos* of the Father, their objection might have some weight. But there is no trace of any such thing, either among the learned or the unlearned.

As to the *common people* of Tertullian and Origen, they certainly were not *Gnostics*, but of a character the very reverse of them; the one rude in their conceptions, and the other too refined. On the other hand, they certainly did not relish the notion of Christ being the uncreated *logos*; for that was part of the same system with the *economy* and *trinity*, at which they were so much shocked; and there is no mention whatever of any intermediate kind of pre-existence, such as that of a *created logos*, till a much later period.

As to the *writers* that have come down to us, (if we omit the author of the *Clementines*, who was an Unitarian,) they were all, without exception, from Justin Martyr to Athanasius, Platonizing Trinitarians.

In the whole of that period, all who held the pre-existence of Christ either believed him to be the creator of the world, or a being superior to the creator of it. But the *rude and simple faith*, which the learned complained of, was evidently that which they were supposed to have derived from the primitive *Jewish* converts, which was merely founded on the consideration of the miracles and resurrection of Christ, by which he was only declared to be "a man approved of God, by wonders and signs, and mighty deeds which God did by him."

The *pre-existence*, no less than the divinity of Christ, was an article of faith which all the fathers say, the first Christian converts were not prepared to receive, which it required much caution to teach, and the enforcing of which was not seriously attempted by any of the apostles before the writing of *John's Gospel*, in the very latest period of the apostolic age. According to this, the idea that the Jewish Christians must necessarily have had of Christ, was the same that they had been taught to entertain concerning the *Messiah*, which never went beyond that of his being a *man*. The first Gentile converts would naturally adopt the same opinion; and, considering how numerous the Christians were, and how they were dispersed over all the Roman empire, before the publication of *John's Gospel*, can it be supposed that they should have passed in the time of Tertullian and Origen, from this simple faith, to the doctrine of Christ having been the creator of the world; and so completely as that this opinion should have been universal even among the common people, without our being able to trace the progress of this prodigious change?

Besides, it cannot be doubted but that the *simple and ignorant* people of Tertullian and Origen, were the same with those that were complained of by Athanasius, as persons of *low understanding*; and these were the disciples of Paulus Samosatensis, or proper Unitarians. They must also have been the same with the *grex fidelium* of Facundus, in a much later period; who are represented by him as having no higher opinion of Christ than that of Martha, Mary, and others of his disciples at that time, who, he says, were *imperfect in faith*, but not *heretics*. From the nature of the thing, the case could not have been otherwise.

Moreover, Artemon, Theodotus, and Praxeas, against whom Tertullian wrote the very treatise in which he speaks of the *majority of the common Christians*, were contemporary with him, as Beryllus was with Origen; and Noctus, Sabellius, and Paulus Samosatensis followed within twenty years. As the disciples of all these

That *Tertullian* considered the more simple and unlearned people as those among whom the Unitarian doctrine was the most popular, is evident from his saying, that “the tares of Praxeas grew up, while many slept in the simplicity of doctrine.”*

That the word *idiota* in Latin, or *ἰδιωτης* in Greek, signifies a man simply *unlearned*, and not a *fool*, would be an affront to the literature of my readers to attempt to prove. †

Athanasius also, like *Tertullian*, acknowledged that the Unitarian doctrine was very prevalent among the lower class of people in his time. He calls them the *οἱ πολλοί*, *the many*, and describes them as persons of low understanding. “It grieves,” he says, “those who stand up for the holy faith, that *the multitude*, and especially persons of low understanding, should be infected with those blasphemies. Things that are sublime and difficult are not to be apprehended, except by faith; and ignorant people must fall, if they cannot be persuaded to rest in faith, and avoid curious questions.” ‡

This being the language of *complaint*, as well as that of *Tertullian*, it may be the more depended on for exhibiting a state of things very unfavourable to what was called the orthodoxy of that age. And it was not the doctrine of *Arius*, but that of *Paulus Samosatensis*, that *Athanasius* is here complaining of.

These *humble Christians* of Origen, who got no farther than *the shadow of the logos*, the *simplices* and *idiote* of *Tertullian*, and the *persons of low understanding* of *Athanasius*, were probably the *simplices credentium* of *Jerome*, who, he says,

persons were proper Unitarians, it is morally impossible that *Tertullian* or *Origen* should refer to any other. These must have been considered as far more *simple* and *ignorant* than those who held the doctrine of pre-existence.

The acknowledgments that *John* was the only apostle who taught with clearness and effect the *difficult* and *sublime* doctrines (as they were then called) of the pre-existence and divinity of Christ, began with *Origen*, and continued without interruption to the latest period. And if these writers had not made these acknowledgments, (which they certainly would not have done without very good reason,) the Scripture History alone would prove the fact, on the supposition that a sight of the miracles and resurrection of Christ could teach nothing more than that he was “a man approved of God,” and the *Messiah*. For neither in the Gospels, nor in the book of *Acts*, are there any traces of higher doctrines being taught. (P.) *Appendix*, 1786.

* “Fructificaverant avenæ Praxeanæ hic quoque superseminatæ, dormientibus multis in simplicitate doctrinæ.” *Ad Praxeam*, L. i. p. 511. (P.)

† See Vol. XVIII. pp. 191, 192.

‡ Ἄπειθε δὲ καὶ νῦν τοὺς ἀντεχομένους τῆς ἁγίας πίστεως, ἢ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν βλαφημίων διακτῶσα τοὺς πολλοὺς· μάλιστα τοὺς ἠλατρωμένους περὶ τὴν συνέσιν. Ὅτι γὰρ μέγαρα καὶ ἠδὲ καταλαβῆτα τῶν πραγμάτων πιστεῖ τῇ πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν λαμπρῶντα. Ὅθεν ἡ περὶ τῶν ἁγίων ἀδυνατῶν ἀπιστίπιστα, εἰ μὴ πείσθῃεν ἐμμενεῖν τῇ πίστει, καὶ τὰς περιεργὰς ἡγήσεις ἐκτρέψῃσι. *De Incarnatione Verbi, contra Paulum Samosatensem*, *Opera*, l. p. 591. (P.)

“did not understand the Scriptures as became their majesty.” For had these simple Christians (within the pale of the church) inferred from what *John* says of the *logos*, and from what *Christ* says of himself, that he was, personally considered, equal to the Father, *Jerome* would hardly have said, that “they did not understand the Scriptures according to their majesty,” for he himself would not pretend to a perfect knowledge of the mystery of the Trinity. “For these simple Christians,” he says, “the earth of the people of God brought forth hay, as for the heretics it brought forth thorns.”* For the intelligent, no doubt, it yielded richer fruits. †

From all these passages, and others quoted before, I cannot help inferring, that the doctrine of Christ being any thing more than a man, the whole doctrine of *the eternal logos*, who was *in God*, and who *was God*, was long considered as a more abstruse and refined principle, with which there was no occasion to trouble the common people; and that the doctrine of the simple humanity of Christ continued to be held by the common people till after the time of *Athanasius*, or after the Council of *Nice*. And if this was the case then, we may safely conclude, that the Unitarians were much more numerous in a more early period, as it is well known that they kept losing, and not gaining ground, for several centuries.

CHAPTER XIV.

An Argument for the Novelty of the Doctrine of the Trinity, from the Manner in which it was taught and received in early Times.

THE subject of this chapter properly belongs to the Twelfth, as it relates to a *circumstance* from which it may be *inferred*, that the Unitarian doctrine was held by the majority of Christians in the early ages; but I reserved it for a distinct consideration in this place, because it requires a more particular discussion, and will receive much light from

* “Quod dicitur super terram populi mei, spinæ et fenum ascendent, referre potest et ad hereticos, et ad simplices quosque credentium, qui non ita scripturam intelligunt ut illius convenit majestati. Unde singula singulis coaptavimus, ut terra populi Dei hereticis spinas, imperitis quibusque ecclesie fenum afferat.” *Jerome, in Isaiah xxxii. 20, Opera, IV, p. 118. (P.)*

† See Vol. XVIII. p. 199.

what was advanced both in the Twelfth and Thirteenth chapters.

One proof of the *antiquity* of a doctrine is its being found among the common people, in preference to the learned; the former being the least, and the latter the most apt to innovate; so that from the doctrine of the simple humanity of Christ being held by the common people in the time of *Tertullian*, *Origen*, and *Athanasius*, it may be concluded with certainty, that it was the doctrine which they had received from their ancestors, and that it originated with the apostles themselves.

There is also another mark by which we may distinguish what opinions are *new*, and what are *old*, whenever they are apprehended to be of much consequence; and that is by the manner in which they are advanced by the patrons of them, and that in which they are received by those who disapprove of them. The innovator will be timid and modest, and the asserter of an old opinion will be bold and confident. A new opinion will alarm and terrify; but an old one will be treated with respect. This maxim we see exemplified every day, and in no case more remarkably than with respect to these very doctrines of the pre-existence and divinity of Christ.

If we look back into the state of things in this country about a century, or half a century ago, we shall find the *Trinitarians* shocked at the doctrine of the humanity of Christ, and endeavouring to bear it down with the greatest confidence and violence.* On the other hand, all the defences of what is called the *Socinian* doctrine, were written with the greatest modesty, and with the air and manner of an apology. Let us now, by this maxim, judge how things stood with respect to this very doctrine in the time of *Justin Martyr*, *Origen*, and *Tertullian*.

As the doctrine of the humanity of Christ was then chiefly held by the common people, who were not writers, and as no work of any *Unitarian*, written after the controversy was started, has been preserved to us, we labour under great disadvantages in this respect. But notwithstanding this, circumstances enow may be collected from the writings of the *Trinitarians*, to enable us to judge how both themselves, and the *Unitarians*, thought and felt with respect to it; and circumstances furnished in this indirect manner by adversaries, are often the least suspicious intimations of the real state of things.

* See Vol. V. pp. 83—85; X. pp. 359—362, 525—527

On this principle, it will, I think, sufficiently appear, that it was with great difficulty that the generality of Christians were reconciled to the doctrine of the deity of Christ, and that of the Trinity in any form. It is evident, that the lower class of Christians was much staggered by it, and exceedingly offended when they *did* hear of it; which could never have been the case if it had then been supposed to have been the doctrine of the apostles, and to have been delivered by them as the most essential article of Christian faith, in which light it is now represented. Such terms as *scandalizare, expavescere, &c.*, used by *Tertullian, Novatian, &c.*, and *ταρασσειν, &c.*, by *Origen*, can only apply to the case of some *novel* and *alarming* doctrine, something that men had not been accustomed to. We may, therefore, take it for granted, that it had not been much heard of among the common people at least; and if so, that it had never been taught by the apostles.

Admitting that the apostles had taught any doctrines of a peculiarly sublime nature, (which the fathers pretend to have been the case with respect to the pre-existence and divinity of Christ.) yet, as all their teaching was in public, and there were no secrets among them, (*Paul*, for instance, having solemnly assured “the elders” of *Ephesus*, [*Acts* xx. 27,] that he had “not shunned to declare unto *them* all the counsel of God,”) the common people must at least have heard of these sublime doctrines, and have been accustomed to the sound of the language in which they were expressed. And had they known that those doctrines had been taught by the apostles to any of their body, though not to themselves, they would have learned to respect what they did not understand, and was not meant for their use. They could never have been *offended* and *staggered* at things which they and their fathers before them had always been in the hearing of.

I shall not recite in this place all the passages which shew how much the common people were offended at the doctrines of the pre-existence and divinity of Christ. Many of them have already passed before the eye of the reader, and many others will be produced in different connexions. It will be found, that even at and after the Council of *Nice*, the Unitarians continued to speak their sentiments with the greatest freedom, and always exclaimed against the prevailing doctrines, as no less *new* than *absurd*. Little were those writers who have inadvertently recorded these circumstance aware of the value of the information which they were hereby giving to posterity. Had *Tertullian Origen*, and others, thought

more highly than they did of the common people, we should probably never have known from them what their opinions and feelings were. But, happily for us, these writers thought meanly of the common people, and speaking of them with contempt or pity, have, without design, given us very useful and valuable lights into this very important circumstance in the history of their times.

I shall now give an account of the manner in which the doctrines of the pre-existence and divinity of Christ were first proposed by the most learned and distinguished persons of their age; and we shall find that it was with much diffidence, and the air of an *apology*, as if they were sensible that the doctrines were *new*, and might not easily recommend themselves. For this purpose I shall, in the first place, produce an extract from the writings of *Justin Martyr*, who was probably the first who publicly maintained these doctrines.

He represents *Trypho* as saying concerning the doctrine of the incarnation, “It is so extraordinary, that it can never be proved. That this Christ was a God, existing before the ages, and then born a man, is not only extraordinary, but ridiculous. To this I answered, I know that this doctrine appears strange, and especially to those of your race,”* that is, to the Jews. It is evident from this passage, that *Justin* thought that this doctrine would appear strange to others, besides the Jews; and, as he proceeds, it will appear that he took care not to lay too much stress on this new doctrine, lest he should not be able to prove it satisfactorily.

“It will not follow that he is not the Christ, though I should not be able to prove that he pre-existed as God, the son of Him that made all things, and that he became a man by the virgin; it being proved that he is the Christ, the Son of God, whoever he was; though I should not prove that he pre-existed, but was a man of the same passions with ourselves, having flesh, and being subject to his Father’s will. It will be right to say, that in this only I have been mistaken, and not that he is not the Christ, though he should appear to be a man born as other men are, and to be made Christ by election. For there are some of our race, who acknowledge him to be Christ, but hold that he was a man

* Παραδοξος τις γαρ ποτε και μη δυναμεν ὁ ἄλλως ἀποδειχθῆναι δοκει μοι εἶναι το γαρ ἄνθρωπος, πρὶ ἰσχυρῶν Θεοῦ ἰσχυρῶν πρὸς ἅπαντα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, εἰς ἃ καὶ γεννηθῆναι καθ’ ἑαυτὸν ἀνεμῶν ἐπιμειναι, και ὅτι οὐκ ἀνθρώπος εἴς ἀνθρώπου, οὐ μὲν ἰσχυρῶν δοκει μοι εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ μωροῦ. Κἀγω πρὸς ταῦτα εἶρη, ὡς ὅτι παραδοξὸς ἔστιν ὅτι δοκει εἶναι, και μακάριον καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν γενῶν ἕμαν. Dial. pp. 232, 233. (P.)

born like other men. With them I do not agree, nor should I do so, though ever so many, being of the same opinion, should urge it upon me; because we are commanded by Christ himself, not to obey the teachings of men, but what was taught by the holy prophets and himself." *Trypho* says, "They who say that he was a man, born like other men, and that he became Christ by election," that is, the appointment of God, "seem to hold a doctrine more credible than yours. For all of us expect that Christ will be a man, born like other men, and that Elias will come to anoint him. If, therefore, this person be the Christ, he must by all means be a man born like other men."*

This diffidence of *Justin's* agrees remarkably well with the supposition, that the *Unitarians* were originally no less than the whole body of Christians, and that the *Trinitarians* were the innovators, appearing at first modest and candid, as was natural while they were a small minority, though they grew bold and imperious when they became the majority.

Independently of any nice construction of this passage, we may safely say, that if the doctrine of the simple humanity of Christ had not been at least a *very general* opinion in the time of *Justin*, he would never have spoken of it with so much tenderness and respect as he has done, considering how very different it was from his own opinion, his defence of which has sufficiently the appearance of an apology. He even intimates some degree of doubt with respect to his opinion, when he says that, if he should not be able to prove it, the fundamental doctrine of Christianity, viz. that of the messiahship of Jesus, would not be affected by it. Why should he provide this retreat, if he had not had some secret suspicion of the ground on which he stood? He calls the *Unitarians some*, as if they were the minority; but the term is indefinite, and may apply to the majority; and from the

* Οὐκ ἀποδέχεται το τοιαῦτα εἶναι Χριστὸν τὸ Θεοῦ, εἰν ἀποδείξει μὴ δύναμαι ὅτι καὶ προῦ-
 ζειν, ὡς τοῦ πατρὸς τῶν ἰσῶν Θεοῦ ἂν, καὶ γεγενῆσθαι ἀνδρῶσ ποί τῆσ παρθενῆ. Ἀλλὰ
 οὐκ ἀποδέχονται μὲν ὅτι ἄποσ εἰν ὁ Χριστὸς ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὅσποσ ἑῖοσ εἰσται, εἰν δὲ μὴ ἀπο-
 δέχονται τὸ εἶναι ἄποσ ἄποσ γεγενῆσθαι ἀνδρῶσ ὡσ ἡμεῖσ ἀποδέχεται ἡμεῖσ, παρὰ τὸ εἶναι, καὶ ὅτι τῆσ τε
 πατρὸσ καὶ πατρὸσ, εἰ τῶσ ἀποδέχονται μὴ μὲν λέγειν ὁμοίωσ, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀποδέχονται
 τῆσ εἶναι ὁ Χριστὸσ, εἰν φρασεῖν ὡσ ἀνδρῶσ ὡσ ἐξ ἀνδρῶτων γεγενῆσθαι, καὶ ἐκλογῆ γεγενῆσθαι
 ὁ Χριστὸσ εἰν ἀποδέχεται. Καὶ γὰρ εἰσὶ τῶσ, α φίλοσ ἐλεῖν, ἀπο τῆσ ἡμεῖσ γε-
 γενῆσθαι ὡσ ἰσῶσ Χριστὸσ εἰν, ἀνδρῶτων δὲ ἐξ ἀνδρῶτων γεγενῆσθαι ἀποφαινομεναι. Ὅσοσ οὐ
 μὲν δὲ τῶσ, ἀδ ἂν πῶσποσ τῶσ μὴ ὁδοῦσαντες εἴπωσ, εἰπειν οὐκ ἀνθρωποειὸσ διδασκασι
 μελέτωσθε ὅσ ἀπο τῆσ Χριστὸσ πειθεσθῆσ, ἀλλὰ τοῖσ εἰν τῶν μακαριῶτων προφητῶων κηρυ-
 χῶων καὶ ὅσ ἀπο τῶσ ἀποδέχεται.

Καὶ ὁ Ἐπίσκοπὸσ, εἰν ἡμεῖσ ἀπο τῶσ, εἰπεν, ὅσ λεγόμεσ ἀνθρωποὸσ γεγενῆσθαι ἡμεῖσ, καὶ κατ'
 ἡμεῖσ ἀποδέχεται, καὶ Χριστὸσ γεγενῆσθαι, πῶσποσ εἰν ἡμεῖσ λέγων, τῶν τοιαῦτα ἄποσ φησ
 ὡσ ἡμεῖσ ἀποδέχεται τῶσ ἡμεῖσ τῶσ Χριστὸσ ἀνδρῶτων ἐξ ἀνδρῶτων ἀποδέχεται γεγενῆσθαι, καὶ
 ὡσ ἡμεῖσ ἀποδέχεται ἡμεῖσ ἀποδέχεται, εἰν ὅσ φρασεῖν ὡσ ὁ Χριστὸσ, ἀνθρωποὸσ μὲν ἐξ ἀνθρωποῶτων
 ἡμεῖσ ἀποδέχεται πῶσποσ ἀποδέχεται. Dial. p. 263. (P.) See Vol. V. pp. 21, 22.

complexion of the whole passage, I have no doubt but that *Justin* was aware that it was so, and that with a view to this, he added, that he should not be influenced by that consideration.

That *Justin's* language is that of a man who knew that he was advancing a *new* opinion, is evident, as I said, from the general air and complexion of it; and the more we attend to it, the more sensible we shall be of the justness of this construction.

1. Let it be considered, that in this place, as well as in his writings in general, he *labours* the proof of the pre-existence of Christ, shewing that it is consonant to the principles of *Platonism*, and also deducible from the writings of Moses, and other parts of the Jewish Scriptures, without referring to any other writer in support of what he advances.

2. He does not use a single acrimonious expression against those who differed from him with respect to it, which is just as any man would do who should write in defence of a novel, or not very prevalent opinion, and one, of which himself was the principal abettor.

3. He talks of not being overborne by the authority of any number of men, even his fellow-christians, but would adhere to the words of Christ, and the sense of Scripture: which is a style almost peculiar to those whose opinions are either quite novel, or at least not very prevalent.

4. The phrase, "neither do I agree with the majority of Christians, who may have objected to my opinion," which is nearly the most literal rendering of the passage (though I would not be understood to lay much stress on that circumstance) will naturally be construed to mean that the majority actually did make the objection, or that *Justin* suspected they might make it.

When I consider these circumstances, and also how apt all persons are to make their own party more numerous than it really is, I am inclined to think that even, if the passage might bear such a construction as that *Justin* meant to insinuate that the majority were with him, yet that it would not be the most natural construction, or a sufficient authority to conclude that such was the fact. I therefore think that, upon the whole, the passage has all the appearance of an apology for an opinion different from that which in his time was commonly received on the subject.

I am, no doubt, influenced in my construction of this particular passage by the persuasion that I have, from other independent evidence, that the *Unitarians* were in fact,

the majority of Christians in the time of *Justin*; that he therefore knew this to be the case, and could not mean to insinuate the contrary. Another person having a different persuasion concerning the state of opinions in that age, will naturally be inclined to put a different construction upon this passage. In this case I only wish that he would suspend his judgment till he has attended to my other arguments, and afterwards he may perhaps see this passage in the same light in which I do.

The word $\gamma\epsilon\gamma\omicron\tau\omicron$ I think, refers to natural descent; and I therefore conclude that *Justin* here meant not Christians in general, but *Gentile* Christians in particular; because, as he is opposing the opinion concerning Christ, which made him to be a *man born of men*, not to the doctrine of the miraculous conception, but only to his pre-existence, (though I think it probable, that most, if not all, who believed in the *simple humanity*, were also in that age believers in the *natural birth* of Christ,) the only idea that he had in his mind, and to which he attended, was that of his *simple humanity*, and we have positive evidence that this was the doctrine of all the Jewish Christians, so that he could not speak of some of them holding it, and others not. Whereas the Gentile Christians were divided on that subject; and some of them, even later than this, viz. in the time of *Origen*, held that, in the strictest sense of the expression, Jesus was a man born of man, being the son of Joseph as well as of Mary. I therefore think that *Justin* meant the *Gentile* Christians, omitting the *Jewish* Christians, whose sentiments he might suppose to have been well known to the learned Jew, with whom he was conversing.* It was as if he had said, Not only do those Christians who are of *your race*, viz. Jews, believe Christ to be a mere man, born as other men are, but there are also some of *our race*, viz. Gentile Christians, who hold the same opinion.

I shall conclude this article with observing, that, without attending to minute criticisms, it is quite sufficient for my purpose, that these ancient *Unitarian* Christians, whether they held the miraculous conception or not, whether they were Jews or Gentiles, or whether *Justin* meant to represent them as, strictly speaking, the majority of Christians, or otherwise, were not treated by him as *heretics*.† From this circumstance alone, it may be concluded, that they were very numerous, because, whenever Unitarians have not been very

* See Vol. XVIII. pp. 522, 523.

† See Vol. V. pp. 21, 22; XVIII. pp. 16—20, 128—133, 521—524.

numerous, and have not made a respectable figure among Christians, they have always been considered with great abhorrence, and have been cut off from communion with those of the orthodox persuasion.

With what rancour does *Eusebius* treat this class of Christians both in his *History* and in his *Treatise against Marcellus of Ancyra*, when we know from *Athanasius* and other authorities, that they were at that time very numerous, (though among the lower classes of people,) and probably in all parts of the Christian world!

When these things are duly considered, it can hardly be imagined but that, let this passage in *Justin* be construed in any manner that the words can possibly bear, it will be sufficiently to my purpose, and authorize all the use that I have ever made of it. But I can very well spare the passage altogether, thinking that I have evidence enough of my general position without it. *

If we consider the time in which *Justin* wrote, viz. about A.D. 140, that is, about eighty years after the time of the apostles, and compare it with the account that *Tertullian* and others give of the state of opinions among the Jews and Gentiles in their time, we can hardly doubt, (whether *Justin* confesses it or not,) that the doctrine of the simple humanity of Christ must have been the prevailing one in his time. According to the ancient fathers, the Jews, meaning the Jewish Christians, were so fully persuaded concerning the simple humanity of their *Messiah*, that the apostles did not choose to inform them, except in an indirect manner, that Christ was any thing more than a man, and the Gentiles were drawn by the Jews into the same opinion; † and though *John* was supposed to speak more plainly, we find no effect from it.

Since, therefore, it was only an indirect evidence of the divine and superangelic nature of Christ, that the Jewish Christians (by whom the Gospel was communicated to the Gentiles) were ever favoured with; can it be thought probable, so highly averse as the account itself states the Jews to have been to the idea of any super-human nature in Christ, that they should, by their own reasoning alone on the subject, have generally abandoned their favourite doctrine in so short a time as fourscore years? Or, if from some most unaccountable cause, and without any person of great authority to lead them to it, (for no such authority can we trace,)

* See Vol. XVIII. p. 524.

† See *ibid.* p. 17.

they should have abandoned their original and favourite doctrine, is it probable that they would have been so extremely active and successful in the propagation of their new opinion, and withal have found the Gentiles so very pliant as to have been able to induce the generality of them to make the same change, when at the same time they are known to have had but little connexion, and indeed but little respect for each other? Is a period of eighty years naturally sufficient for these two successive changes?

But if we take another well-authenticated circumstance, we shall be obliged to reduce this short space (too short as it already is for the purpose) to one still shorter. *Hegesippus*, as explained by *Valesius*, in his notes on *Eusebius's* Ecclesiastical History, says, that the church of Jerusalem continued a virgin, or free from heresy, till the death of Simeon, who succeeded James the Just, that is, till the time of *Trajan*, or about the year 100, or perhaps 110; for his reign began A. D. 98, and ended A. D. 117. Knowing, therefore, from other circumstances, what this purity of Christian faith was, and what *Hegesippus* must have known it to be, we have only the space of forty, or perhaps thirty, years for so great a change. So rapid at that particular period must have been that movement which we find by experience to be naturally one of the very slowest in the whole system of nature, viz. the revolution of opinions in great bodies of men. Can it then be thought probable that, considering the Jewish and Gentile Christians as one body, the generality of them should have abandoned the doctrine of the simple humanity of Christ, in the time of *Justin Martyr*?

On the contrary, it is certainly not at all improbable, that the more learned and philosophical of the Christians, beginning to be ashamed of a crucified man for their Saviour, and firmly believing the doctrine of the pre-existence of all souls, and of their descent into human bodies, should have begun to fancy that Christ must have had some origin superior to that of other men; that this should first of all produce the opinions of the *Gnostics*, who thought that the Christ, who came down from heaven, was quite distinct from the man *Jesus*, and felt nothing of his pains or sorrows; or that these opinions being rejected through the authority of the apostles, the generality of Christian teachers or bishops (many of whom were educated in the *Platonic* school at Alexandria) should afterwards apply the Platonic doctrine of the *logos* to the same subject, and that by their influence, opinions leading to the deification of Christ should gradually gain ground

among the common people. But this must have been a work of *time*, so that the majority of Christians could hardly have been infected with these principles so early as the time of *Justin Martyr*.*

Irenæus, who wrote forty years after *Justin*, makes no mention of any Gentile Unitarians, in his works against heresy, but only of the *Ebionites*;† and what he says of them is a very small proportion of the whole of his work. And almost all the orthodox fathers, both before and after the Council of *Nice*, make laboured apologies for their seeming to teach the doctrine of *more Gods than one*. This circumstance is a sufficient indication that the *Trinitarians* were then the minority; as their violence and insolence afterwards shews, that, if they were not the majority, at least they had the advantage of *power* in their favour.

As the advocates for the doctrines of the pre-existence and divinity of Christ, advanced them with caution and with apology, as being sensible that they were not likely to be well received; so, on the other hand, it appears that the Unitarians did express the greatest *dread* of them, as the introduction of *polytheism*. Several instances of this have been produced already, and others will appear in different connexions, especially when I shall shew the zeal with which the ancient Unitarians defended their tenets. But I shall in this place introduce a few others.

Origen says, “Because it is probable that some will be *offended* with our saying, that the Father being called the only true God, there are other Gods besides him partaking of his divinity”—‡ *Novatian* speaks of the Unitarians as “*scandalized* at the doctrine of the divinity of Christ.”§ And the state of things was not different about the time of the Council of *Nice*. *Eusebius*, in his controversy with *Marcellus*, says, “If they are *afraid* of making two Gods”—|| “Some, for *fear* of introducing a second God, make the Father and the Son the same.”¶ “*Marcellus*, for fear of saying there

* See Vol. XVIII. pp. 18, 19.

† See *ibid.* pp. 187, 188.

‡ Ἀλλ' ἐπει εἰκὸς προσκοπεῖν τινὰς τοῖς εἰρημενοῖς, ἑνὸς μὲν ἀληθῶν Θεοῦ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀπαγγελόμενου, παρὰ δὲ τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ Θεοῦ Θεῶν πλείονων τῆ μείσχη τοῦ Θεοῦ γινόμενων. Comment. II. p. 47. (P.)

§ “Sed quia oblectantes adversus veritatem semper hæretici sinceræ traditionis, et catholice fidei controversiam solent trahere, scandalizati in Christum quod etiam Deus et per scripturas adseratur, et à nobis hoc esse credatur, merito à nobis, ut omnis à fide nostra auferrî possit hæretica calumnia, de eo quod et Deus sit Christus, sit est disputandum, ut non impediât scriptura veritatem.” *Œap.* xxx. p. 155. (P.)

|| Εἰ δὲ φόβον αὐτοῖς ἐμπόει, μὴ πῶ ἀρα δύο Θεοὺς ἀναγορευεῖν δοξᾷ. Ec. Theol. L. i. C. ii. p. 69. (P.)

¶ Ὅτι δὲ, φόβῳ τὴ δακεῖν δευτέρου εἰσηγείσθαι Θεοῦ, τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι πατέρα καὶ ἱόν ἰσχυμένῳ. *Ibid.* C. iii. p. 62. (P.)

are two Gods, denies the Son to be a separate person.* And again, "But you are *dreadfully afraid* lest you should be obliged to acknowledge two hypostases of the Father and Son."†

In short, it appears that the ancient *Unitarians* entertained the same *dread* of the doctrine of the divinity of Christ, that the *Trinitarians* of this day do of that of his simple humanity; a proof that each of them had been brought up in the persuasion of the opinions they held, being the doctrine of their ancestors, and of the apostles. In this the ancient *Unitarians* could not be mistaken, but the *Trinitarians* of the present age may very well be so. Whether, therefore, we consider the feelings of the *Unitarians*, or those of the *Trinitarians* of the early ages, we perceive evident traces of the former maintaining an *old* opinion, and the latter a *new* one.

CHAPTER XV.

OBJECTIONS TO THE PRECEDING STATE OF THINGS CONSIDERED.

THAT I may conceal nothing from my readers that can tend to throw any light on this subject, I shall fairly state every objection that I have yet met with, to any part of the evidence that I have produced.

SECTION I.

Of the Testimony of Eusebius to the Novelty of the Unitarian Doctrine.

It is alleged that *Eusebius*, the historian, or rather *Caius*, (who is supposed to be the author he quotes, and who, Photius says, ‡ wrote *The Little Labyrinth*, which is thought to be the work that *Eusebius* copied from,) is so far from confirming this account of the great antiquity of the *Unitarians*, that he expressly asserts that they were a modern sect. That this charge, with the evidence, may be fairly before the

* Ομοσεύει, δει τε μη δυ Θεος ειπειν, την αρνησιν τε υιου προβαλλειν, την υποστασιν εδιδουσαν. Ec. Theol. C. x. p. 69. (P.)

† Μηδ' ομηριως μη δυ Θεος αναγκη παραδεχασθαι τον δυ υποστασεις πατρος και υιου αναιδραλογησαι. Ibid. L. ii. C. vii. p. 109. (P.)

‡ Επειδ ουκ εστιν προστιθετον εν Ρο μη διακριτον οτι, ον φρασι συνλαξαι και τον λαβερυνδον — τον λαβερυνδον τινος επιγραφαν Ωριγηνος, επι Γαιου εστι ποιημα. Bib. Sect. xlvi. p. 109. (P.)

reader, I shall quote the passage in which it is contained at full length.

“Artemon made Christ a mere man. They who hold this doctrine pretend that it is very ancient; for they say, that all the primitive Christians, and the apostles themselves, received and taught it, and that the truth was preserved till the time of Victor, the thirteenth bishop of Rome from Peter, but that it was corrupted in the time of his successor Victorinus. This might appear probable, if, in the first place, the sacred Scriptures were not against it; and if there were not writings of Christians now extant, older than the time of Victor, which they wrote against the Heathens and against heresies. I mean those of Justin, Miltiades, Tatian, Clemens, and many others, in all of which Christ is spoken of as a God. Who is unacquainted with the writings of Irenæus, Melito, and others, speaking of Christ as God and man? How many psalms and hymns also are there, written by Christians from the beginning, in which Christ is celebrated as a God!—How were they not ashamed to speak thus falsely of Victor, knowing very well that Victor excommunicated Theodotus, the leader and father of that God-denying heresy, who first said, that Christ was a mere man?”*

In these passages we have an account of the claims of the ancient Unitarians to the high antiquity of their doctrine. And it has been seen that, by the general acknowledgment of the fathers, and of *Eusebius* himself, among the rest, that the first doctrine that was taught by the apostles, was that of the simple humanity of Christ; and that his divinity was very little known till it was published by *John*, after the death of the other apostles. *Eusebius*, therefore, denying it in this case, is not at all to be regarded, since it is contrary to all

* Την γὰρ τὴν ἀδελφωμένην αἵρεσιν, ψιλὸν ἀνδρῶν γινεσθαι τὸν σωτῆρα φησικῶσαν, οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ κατέρριπτεσαν διεδύσαν. Ἐπειδὴ σεμνυνεῖν αὐτὴν ὡς ἀν ἀρχαίαν δι ταύτης ἡθελῶ εἰρηγήσαι. Φασὶ γὰρ τῆς μὲν προτεροῦς ἀπικανίας καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς ἀποστόλης παρεῖληφεναι τε καὶ δεδιδάχεναι ταῦτα, ἃ νῦν ἔτι λεγούσι καὶ τεύρησθαι τὴν ἀληθειαν τὴ κηρυγματος μετρί των Βικτορος χρόνων, ὅς ἦν τρισκαίδεκατος ἀπο Πέτρου ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐπίσκοπος· ἀπο δὲ του ἡγουμένου αὐτῶ Ζεφυρίνου, παρακεχαρίζεται τὴν ἀληθειαν· ἦν δ' ἀν τυχὸν πῖθανον το λεγόμενον, εἰ μὴ πρῶτον μὲν ἀνεπιπίον αὐτοῖς αἱ δεῖται γραφαί· καὶ ἀδελφῶν δὲ τινῶν ἐστὶ γραμματεῖα πρὸς τῆσδε των Βικτορος χρόνων, ἃ ἐκείνοι πρὸς τὰ ἔθνη ὑπερ τῆς ἀληθείας, καὶ πρὸς τὰς τοῖε αἵρεσεις ἐγραψαν· λέγοντες Ἰουστίνῳ καὶ Μιλτιάδῳ καὶ Τατιανῇ καὶ Κλημενίῳ καὶ ἕτερον πολλῶνων ἐν δις ἀπασὶ θεολογεῖται ὁ Χριστὸς· τὰ γὰρ Εἰρηναῖου τε καὶ Μελέτιωνος καὶ των λοιπων τῶν ἀρχαῶν βιβλία, Θεὸν καὶ ἀνδρῶν καταγέλλουσι τὸν Χριστὸν; Ψαλμοὶ δὲ ὅσοι καὶ ῥοδαὶ ἀδελφῶν ἀπαρχῆς ὑπὸ πίπτω γραφείσαι, τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸν Χριστὸν ὕμνησι θεολογούσιντες.

Πᾶς οὖν οὐκ αἰθεναὶ ταῦτα Βικτορος κατὰφειδεσθαι· ἀκριβῶς εἰδότες, ὅτι Βικτωρ τὸν σκευτεῖα Θεοῦ τὸν ἀρχηγὸν καὶ ταῖσδε ταύτης τῆς ἀρνησῖθεν ἀποστασίας, ἀπεκκήρυξε τῆς κοινωσίας, πρῶτον ἐπιτοῖα ψιλὸν ἀνδρῶν τὸν Χριστὸν; Εἰ γὰρ Βικτωρ κατ' αὐτῆς ἔτως ἐφρονεῖ ὡς ἡ τῶν ἡδαστικῶν βλασφημία, πῶς ἀν πεβαλλε Θεοῦ τὸν τῆς αἵρεσεως ταύτης ὑρέτην. Hist. L. v. C. xxviii. p. 252. (P.)

other evidence, and also to the reason of the thing, as I have abundantly proved, unless he had brought some sufficient proof to counteract that evidence. What he has offered of this kind I shall distinctly consider, after I have produced a passage from *Theodoret*, in which he also mentions the claim of the Unitarians to the antiquity of their doctrine. “Artemon,” he says, “taught that Christ was a mere man, born of a virgin, and excelling the prophets in virtue. This, he says, the apostles taught, perverting the sense of the sacred Scriptures, but that those who came after them made a God of Christ, who was not God.”* It appears also from *Eusebius’s* answer to *Marcellus*, that he also charged his opponents with holding a new doctrine, and scrupled not to call that doctrine *heresy*.†

The first argument of *Eusebius* is, that the sacred Scriptures are against the Unitarians. This, however, is a matter of *opinion*, in which he might be, and I doubt not was, mistaken. He then mentions the writings of some persons who held the doctrines of the pre-existence and divinity of Christ, viz. *Justin*, *Miltiades*, *Tatian*, and *Clemens*. But of these, *Justin* was the oldest, and it is not denied that he *did* hold those doctrines, being probably the first who advanced them. Who the *Clemens* is that he mentions, he does not say; but had it been *Clemens Romanus*, it is probable that he would have placed him first, the rest being named in the order of time in which they flourished; and besides, there is nothing in the epistle of *Clemens* that is in the least favourable to those doctrines. Consequently, it must have been *Clemens Alexandrinus* that he intended, and therefore the highest antiquity of the doctrine of the divinity of Christ that *Eusebius* could prove, is that of *Justin*.

Pearson makes no difficulty of contradicting *Eusebius* in this case. His opponent, M. Daillé, having said, “If that account be true,” he replies, “He knew very well that, strictly speaking, it was not true; for he knew many others, long before *Theodotus*, and not a few even before *Ignatius*, who taught the same heresy, a catalogue of whom may be seen in *Epiphanius*,”‡ and whom he proceeds to mention.

* Του θεου κρις Ιησους Χριστος ανθρωπος ειπε ψιλον, εκ παρθενου γεγεννημενον, των δε προφητων υμνηση κρειττονην ταυτα δε και της αποστολης ελεγε κειρημενα, παρερημεσαν των υμων γραφιαν την θιασικαν, της δε μετ’ εκεινης δευλογησαι τον Χριστον, ουκ οντα θεον. Hist. Fab. l. ii. c. iv. Opera, IV. p. 220. (P.)

† Ψιλον γαρ και τριανταετηριον λογησιν υμους, ουχι δε υιον αληθως ζωντα και υφεστα, τον Χριστον οντα υμολογησιν εβραει, και επειδη ταυτην ειπε επιρωσεισθαι νυν αιρεσιν, &c. Contra Marcellum, l. i. p. 19. (P.)

‡ “Theodotum novisse rursus pernego. Dallæus ipse dubitanter hæc proponit, sive verum, inquit, quæ Caus, sive alius apud Eusebium scriptor vetustissimus

Eusebius's reply to *Marcellus's* charge of novelty is equally unsatisfactory, as he only, in a general way, refers to writings older than those of *Origen*, in all of which he says he found the same faith. *

As to the *hymns* used by Christians, and said by *Eusebius* to have been "from the beginning," no inference can be safely drawn from them, because *divinity* may be ascribed to persons in very different senses, and some of them very innocent ones, especially in the language of poetry; and as to the antiquity of these hymns, as the historian has not mentioned the age of them, it is very possible, for any thing that appears to the contrary, that they might have been those very hymns which were rejected by *Paulus Samosatensis* on account of their novelty.

It is likewise alleged, that *Pliny* says, that "the Christians on a certain day, before it was light, met to sing a hymn to Christ as to God (or a God)." † But as to this writer, if he had been told that hymns were sung by Christians in honour of Christ, being himself a Heathen, he would naturally imagine that they were such hymns as had been composed in honour of the Heathen gods who had been men. He would be far from concluding from that circumstance, that Christ was considered by his followers either as the supreme God, or as a pre-existent spirit, the maker of the world under God.

SECTION II.

Of the Excommunication of Theodotus by Victor.

THE argument that is urged with the most plausibility against the antiquity of the Unitarian doctrine, is that which is drawn from the excommunication of *Theodotus* by *Victor*, bishop of Rome, about the year 200; as it may be said, that this bishop, violent as he was, would not have proceeded to

dicat, Theodotum primum scilicet asseruisse Christum fuisse nudum hominem: ipse enim optime novit hæc, si striete sumatur, vera non esse: novit alios quamplurimos diu ante Theodotum, non paucos etiam ante Ignatium, eandem hæresin promulgasse, quorum catalogus apud Epiphanium legitur. *Vindiciae*, L. ii. C. ii. p. 24. (P.)

* Εγω δε και Ωριγενες παλαιότερων ανδρων, πλειστοις δοσις εκκλησιαστικις συγγραμμασιν εντελεχηκα, επισκοπων τε και συνόδων επιστολαις, προπαλαι γραφεισας, δι' αν εις και αυτος ο της πιστεως χαρακτηρη αποδεικνυμαι ου αρθως αρα διαβεβηκεν, ειπων επινοεισθαι την νυν αιρεσιν υπο των διαβαλλομενων. *Contra Marcellum*, L. i. p. 20. (P.)

† "Affirmabant autem hanc fuisse summam vel culpe suæ vel erroris, quod essent soliti stato die, ante lucem convenire; et carmenque Christo, quasi Deo, dicere." *Epist.* xcvi. (P.) See Vol. XVIII. p. 21.

the public excommunication of a man whose opinions were not generally obnoxious.

I wish that we had a few more particulars concerning this excommunication of *Theodotus*, as it is the first of the kind that is mentioned in history. It is to be observed, that it is not *Caius*, the writer quoted by *Eusebius*, who says that he was excommunicated on account of his being an Unitarian, but *Eusebius* himself;* so that, considering the writer's prejudices, there may be some room to doubt whether he *was* excommunicated on that account.

The Unitarians, it has been seen, said that *Victor* favoured their doctrine, and this we find asserted in the Appendix to *Tertullian's* Treatise, *De Præscriptione*, which, whether written by *Tertullian* himself or not, is probably as good an authority as that of *Eusebius*. He says that, after the two *Theodotuses*, "Praxeas introduced his heresy into Rome, which *Victorinus* endeavoured to strengthen. He said that Jesus Christ was God the Father omnipotent, that he was crucified, suffered, and died," &c. † "Victorinus," in this passage, *Beausobre* says, "it is agreed, should be *Victor*;" ‡ and it cannot be supposed, that he would have patronized in *Praxeas* the same doctrine for which he had before excommunicated *Theodotus*. The probability, therefore, is, *Theodotus* was excommunicated on some other account than that of his being an Unitarian.

Theodotus having been excommunicated as an Unitarian, is hardly consistent with that general prevalence of the Unitarian doctrine in the time of *Tertullian*, (which was also that of *Victor*,) which we have seen that *Tertullian* expressly asserts. However, the account of *Eusebius*, though improbable, may be admitted without denying that of *Tertullian*, when the circumstances attending them are duly considered.

Tertullian lived in Africa, where there seems to have been a greater inclination for the Unitarian doctrine than there was at Rome; as we may collect from the remarkable popularity of *Sabellius* in that country, and other circumstances. *Atha-*

* Ήσαν ἑὲς ἑτοι ἀμφὶ Θεοδοτῶ τῆ σκευτῶς μαθηταί, τῆ πρώτῃ ἐπι ταύτῃ τῇ φρονήσει μᾶλλον ἢ ἀφροσύνῃ, ἀφροσύνην τῆς κωνσταντίας ὑπὸ Βικίτιου ὡς εἶπεν, του τότε ἐπισκόπου. Hist. L. v. C. xxi. p. 254. (P.)

† "Sed post hos omnes etiam Praxeas quidam hæresim introduxit, quam Victorinus corroborare curavit. Hic Deum Patrem omnipotentem Jesum Christum esse deit; hunc crucifixum passumque contendit et mortuum." *Ad Finem*, p. 223. (P.)

‡ *Histoire de Manichéisme*, l. p. 533, Note 5. (P.) "On convient que ce Victorinus est Victor." *Ibid.* See Vol. XVIII. pp. 524—526.

utsius also, who complains of many persons of low understanding favouring the same principle, was of the same country, residing chiefly in Egypt; though he had seen a great part of the Christian world, and was, no doubt, well acquainted with the state of it.

We should likewise consider the peculiarly violent character of *Victor*, who was capable of doing what few other persons would have attempted; being the same person who excommunicated all the eastern churches, because they did not observe Easter at the same time that the western churches did, for which he was much censured by many bishops even in the west.*

Such an excommunication as this of *Theodotus* was by no means the same thing with cutting a person off from communion with any particular church, with which he had been used to communicate. *Theodotus* was a stranger at Rome, and it is very possible that the body of the Christian church in that city did not interest themselves in the affair; the bishop and his clergy only approving of it, for I readily grant that, though there were some learned Unitarians in all the early ages of Christianity, the majority of the clergy were not so.

Theodotus, besides being a stranger at Rome, was a man of science, and is said by the Unitarians to have been well received by *Victor* at first; so that it is very possible that the latter might have been instigated to what he did by some quarrel between them, of which we have no account.

Upon the whole, therefore, though *Victor* excommunicated this *Theodotus*, who was a stranger, and had, perhaps, made himself conspicuous, so as to have given some cause of umbrage or jealousy to him, it is very possible that a great proportion of the lower kind of people, who made no noise or disturbance, might continue in communion with that church, though they were known to be Unitarians.

There is no instance, I believe, of any person having been excommunicated for being an Unitarian before *Theodotus*. Whereas, had the universal church been *Trinitarian* from the beginning, would not the first Unitarians, the first broachers of a doctrine so exceedingly offensive to them, as in all ages it has ever been, have experienced their utmost indignation, and have been expelled from all Christian societies with horror?

* See Vol. VIII. pp. 158—160. "The Asiatics answered his lordly summons by the pen of Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus, who declared in their name, and that with great spirit and resolution, that they would by no means depart, in this matter, from the custom handed down to them by their ancestors. Upon this, the thunder of excommunication began to roar." Mosheim's *Eccles. Hist.* (Cb. ii. Pt. ii. Sect. xi.), 1758, I. pp. 169, 170.

SECTION III.

Of the Part taken by the Laity in the Excommunication of the early Unitarians, and other Considerations relating to the Subject.

It is particularly remarkable, that, except *Theodotus*, we read of none of the *laity* having been excommunicated on account of their Unitarian principles, which they were well known to hold. And whenever any of the bishops were deposed on this account, it is also remarkable, that the common people appear to have been their friends. None of the laity were excommunicated along with *Noctus*, about A. D. 220; with *Sabellius*, about A. D. 255;* *Paulus Samosatensis*, A. D. 269; or *Photinus*, A. D. 341, &c. After the bishops had deposed *Paulus Samosatensis*, it is observable, that only sixteen signed the condemnation; † and he could not be expelled from the episcopal house till the aid of the emperor *Aurelianus* was called in; and *he* may be supposed to have been offended at him for his having been in the interest of his rival *Zenobia*. This could not have been necessary, if the majority of his people had not been with him, and, therefore, if his deposition had not, in fact, been unjust.

Besides, the prosecution of *Paulus Samosatensis*, as *Dr. Lardner* has observed, was vehemently urged by his “presbyter *Melchion*,” who had a quarrel with him. Having been dissatisfied, he “could not be satisfied till his bishop was removed.” ‡ “He wrote, says *Jerome*, the large epistle in the name of the council. *Paul* had many friends and admirers among the bishops and presbyters of the neighbouring churches and villages, and was much beloved and admired by others.” § He could not be expelled in the first council, in 261, when *Firmilian of Cappadocia* and *Gregory of Neocæsarea* were present; and *Firmilian* was dead at the time of the second council, in 269 or 270. ¶ *Dr. Lardner’s* account of *Paulus Samosatensis*, is as follows:

“As we have not now before us any of *Paul’s* writings, and have his history from adversaries only, we cannot propose to judge distinctly of his talents, nor draw his character at length. However, from the several particulars before put

* See *Lardner’s* *Credob.* IV. p. 593. (*P.*) *Works*, III. p. 72.

† *Eccl. Hist.* I. vii. C. xxx. p. 599. (*P.*)

‡ *Credob.* IV. p. 624. (*P.*) *Works*, III. p. 85.

§ *Credob.* IV. p. 649. (*P.*) *Works*, III. p. 92.

¶ *Credob.* IV. p. 641. (*P.*) *Works*, III. p. 47.

down, and collected from divers authors, some things may be concluded. And I apprehend that, laying aside for the present the consideration of his heterodoxy, we shall not mistake much if we conceive of him after this manner. He had a great mind, with a mixture of haughtiness, and too much affection for human applause. He was generally well respected in his diocese, and by the neighbouring bishops, in esteem with the great, and beloved by the common people. He preached frequently, and was a good speaker. And from what is said by the fathers of the council, of his rejecting, or laying aside, some hymns, as modern, and composed by moderns, it may be argued, that he was a critic, which is a valuable accomplishment at all times, especially when uncommon.*

He adds, in a note, "A learned writer among the moderns, (viz. *Garner*,) whom I did not think of when I drew the above character, confirms almost every part of it; for he allows Paul to have possessed the third see in the church, and to have had the patronage of a great princess, an appearance of piety, reputation for learning, flowing eloquence, and the favour of the multitude." †

As to *Photinus*, he was so popular in his diocese, that his solemn deposition by two councils, could not remove him from his see. "He defended himself," says *Tillemont*, "against the authority of the church, by the affection which his people had for him, even to the year 351, though his heresy began to appear as early as 342, or 343, according to Socrates; and the Eusebians condemned it in one of their confessions of faith, in 345." ‡ At length the Emperor *Constantius*, a zealous *Arian*, thought it necessary to interfere, and to get him banished, in a council held at *Sirmium* itself. § Had the body of Christians in those times been generally Trinitarians, the common people would, no doubt, have been ready enough to take an active part against their heretical bishops.

* *Credib.* IV. p. 644. (P.) *Works*, III. pp. 93, 94.

† "Ex altima sortis homine factus est Antiochenus episcopus, et tertium ecclesie thronum iisdem artibus conscendit, quibus hæretici solent, femine principis potentia, specie pietatis, doctrine fama, dicendi facilitate, et multitudinis factione: gratia. *Dissert.* i. de *Hær.* et L. i. *Nestor.* C. iii. § iii. p. 307." *Lardner*, III. p. 94.

‡ *Hist. of the Arians*, I. p. 116. (P.) "Photin se défendit même par l'affection que son peuple avoit pour lui, contre l'autorité de l'église, jusqu'en 351, quoique son hérésie ait commencé à paroître des 342, ou 343, selon Socrate: et que les Eusebiens le condamnent dans un de leurs formulaires—en 345." *Hist. Ecles.* (1704), VI. p. 330.

§ See Vol. VIII. p. 349.

As to *Eusebius's* charging heretics with teaching *new doctrines*, he is remarkably inaccurate and inconsistent with himself in that respect, and so, indeed, are all the other ecclesiastical historians. No Unitarian is mentioned, but he is said to have been the *first* to have taught the Unitarian doctrine. This language is held even with respect to *Photinus*, the very last of the celebrated Unitarians. But it is possible, as I have observed before, that by *novelty* these writers might sometimes mean nothing more than *heresy*.

The charge of teaching the Unitarian doctrine as a novelty, is first advanced against *Beryllus*, bishop of Bostra in Arabia, who, perhaps, was the first who *wrote* in defence of the doctrine, that of the divinity of Christ beginning at that time to be prevalent. *Eusebius* says of him, that he introduced things *new* and *strange* to the Catholic faith; having dared to assert, that our Lord and Saviour did not pre-exist in his own distinct person before his incarnation, that he had no proper divinity of his own, but that of the Father only abiding in him.*

Sozomen also says, that *Marcellus* introduced a new doctrine, that "the Son of God had his beginning with his birth of Mary;" and yet, in the same section, he says of him, that he adopted the opinion of *Paulus Samosatensis*. †

The same writer calls *Photinus* the introducer of a new heresy, when, in the same chapter, he says, that he held the same opinion with *Sabellius* and *Paulus Samosatensis*. ‡

Photinus is also charged with being the author of his own opinion by *Socrates*; § and yet he had before mentioned him as a disciple of *Marcellus*. ||

As to the general testimony of *Eusebius*, and other writers, who were themselves believers in the pre-existence and divinity of Christ, that the primitive church was orthodox in their sense of the word, it is not, as I said, to be regarded,

* Βερέλλῳ ὁ μικρὸν πρότερον δηλοποιηθῆναι Βοστράν της Αραβίας επισκοπῶν, τον εκκλησιαστικὸν παρεκτροπὸν κανὼνα, ἕνα τινα της πιστεως παρεισφερειν επειρατοῦ τον σωτήρα και κεινον ἦσαν λεγειν τὸν μη προφθεταται κατ' ἰδιαν θειας περιγραφην, προ της εις ἀνθρωπος εσθισης, μηδε μη ἰσθητα ἴσαν ἔχειν, ἀλλ' ἐμπολιτευομενην αὐτῷ μονην την αὐτῶν. Hist. L. vi. C. xxx. p. 297. (P.)

† Εὐ σε το τοῦ και Μαρκέλλου Ἀραβίας επισκοπου της Γαλατων, ὡς καινων δογματων ἀσθηρῶν, και τον ἕνα τῶ θεου λεγοντα εκ Μαρίας την αρχην εισηφεναι.—Εἰς την Παυλε τε Σαματαίως ἐξελικασθη ὁσων. Hist. L. ii. C. xxxiii. pp. 91, 92. (P.)

‡ Ημερῶν τῶν καινοῦ ἡμερῶν ἀσθηρῶν γεννηται.—Ὡς τε Σαβέλλου και Παυλε του Σαματαίως φρονουσα. Hist. L. iv. C. vi. p. 135. (P.)

§ Τὸτε οὐ και φασκεται ὁ της και ἐκκλησιας πρῶτος, το παρευρεθεν αὐτῷ δογμα φανερωθῆναι ἐξεθρῶσαι. Hist. II. p. 123. (P.)

|| Φασκεται γὰρ τον και ἐκκλησιας πρῶτος, γενος της μικρας Γαλατίας, Μαρκέλλου τε του ἡμερῶν μαθητης, ακολούθησαν τῶ ἰδίουσκησει, φησιν ἀνθρώπων τον ἕνα ἰσογματισε. Hist. L. ii. C. xxx. II. p. 95. (P.)

unless they bring some sufficient proofs of their assertion. They were, no doubt, willing to have it thought so, and, without considering it very particularly, might presume that it was so. But the facts which they themselves record, and the account which they give of the apostles in divulging the orthodox doctrine with so much caution, make it impossible to have been as, in general terms, they assert. I am even surprised that any person should lay the least stress on the mere assertion of a writer in this case, when it is so common for men to represent the opinions of those whose authority they know to be great, as being the same with their own. Every man should be heard with caution in such a case, and what he says on one occasion, should be compared with what he says on another, and especially with what he drops, as it were, accidentally, and when he was off his guard.

This may certainly be said in favour of the Unitarians, that they did not contradict themselves on this subject, but uniformly maintained, that theirs was the ancient doctrine, transmitted to them from the apostles; whereas *Eusebius* manifestly contradicts himself. He certainly knew that *Justin Martyr* had not only mentioned Unitarians, as existing in his time, but had also treated them with much respect; and, to say nothing of his own testimony to the apostle John having been the first who taught with clearness, and consequently with effect, the doctrine of the divinity of Christ, he himself speaks of the *Ebionites* as contemporary with *Cerinthus*, who by his own account lived in the time of the apostle John.*

That *Eusebius* should take so violent a part, as he always does, against the ancient Unitarians, is not difficult to be accounted for. He was himself strongly suspected of *Arianism*, at a time in which the *Athanasian* doctrine was prevalent, and though a learned man, he was not of the firmest tone of mind. In these circumstances, he would naturally make the most of such pretensions to orthodoxy as he had, and would be inclined to shew his zeal by invectives against those who were more heretical than himself. This we see illustrated every day. This was the cause why many of the reformers from Popery joined with the Papists, in the persecution of those who were desirous of carrying the Reformation farther than themselves. This might, in some measure, contribute to produce the zeal of the *Calvinists* against the *Arminians*, that of the *Arminians* against the

* *Hist. L. iii. C. xxvii. xxviii. pp. 121, &c. (P.)*

Arians, that of the *Arians* against the Socinians, and that of *Socinus* himself against *Francis David*. *

It may be said, that if the great majority of Christians in early times were *Unitarians*, why did they not excommunicate the innovating *Trinitarians*? I answer, that the doctrine of the Trinity was not, in its origin, such as could give much alarm, as I have already explained; and it was not obtruded upon the common people as an article of faith necessary to their salvation, or indeed as a thing which they were at all concerned to know. And before it became very formidable, there was a great majority of the learned and philosophizing clergy on its side. However, that it did give very great alarm, as it began to unfold itself, I have produced the most undeniable evidence.

* See Vol. X. p. 356. *Chaupefié's* "Life of Servetus," translated by *Yair*, 1771, pp. 201, 202.

END OF VOLUME VI.

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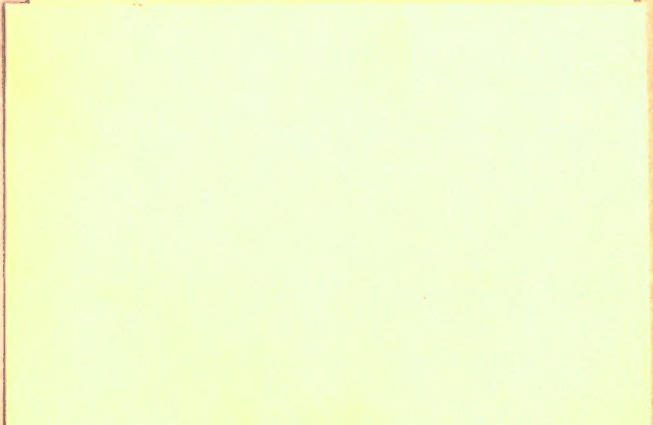
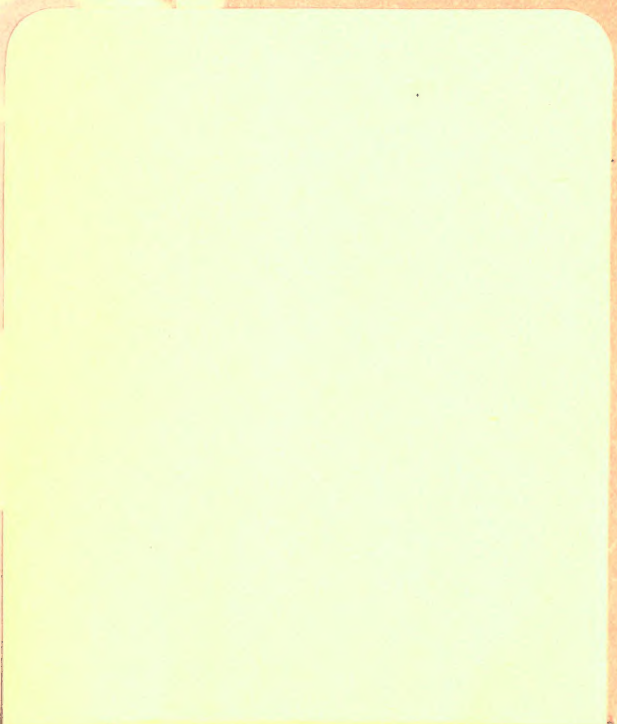


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