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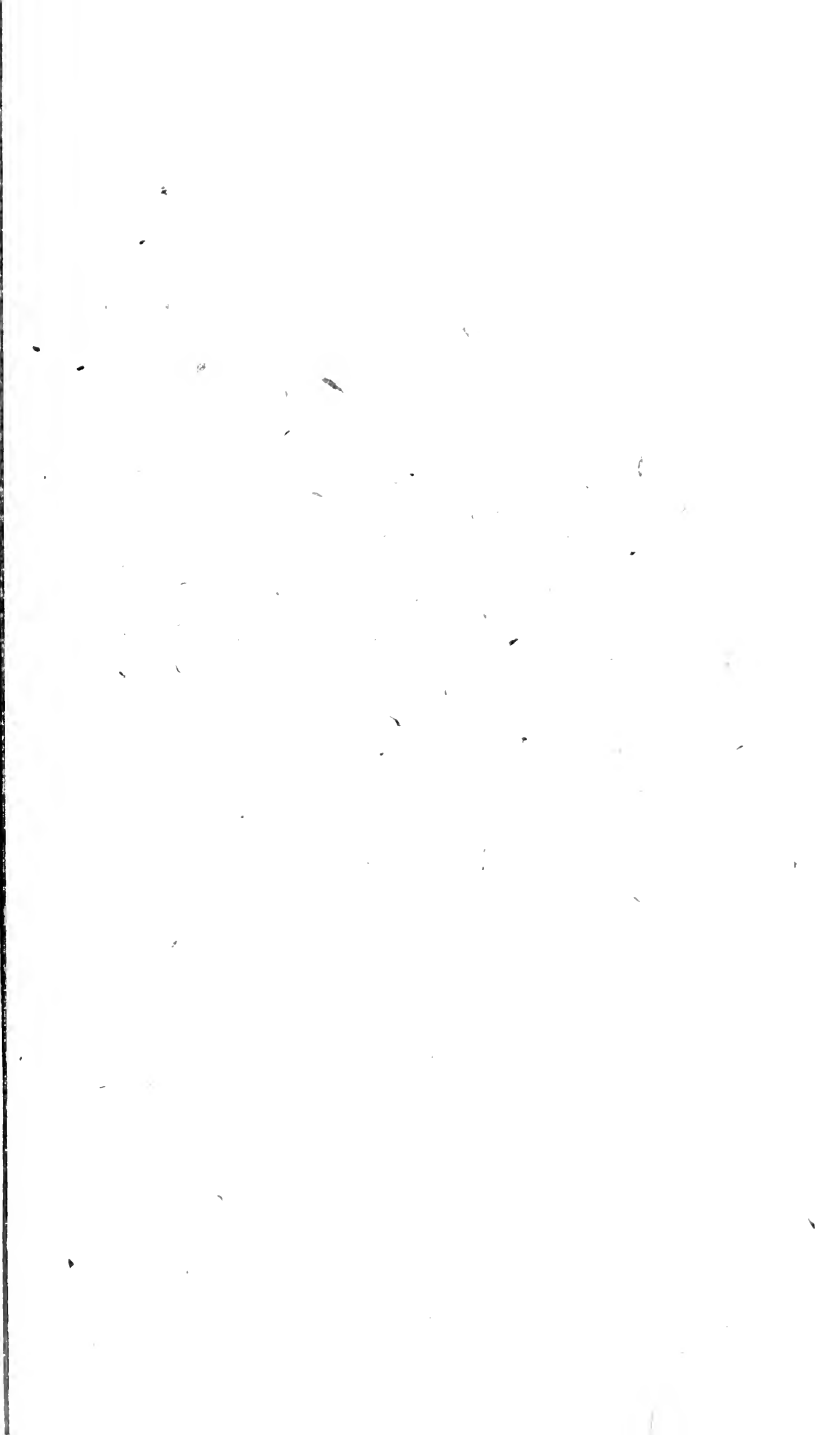
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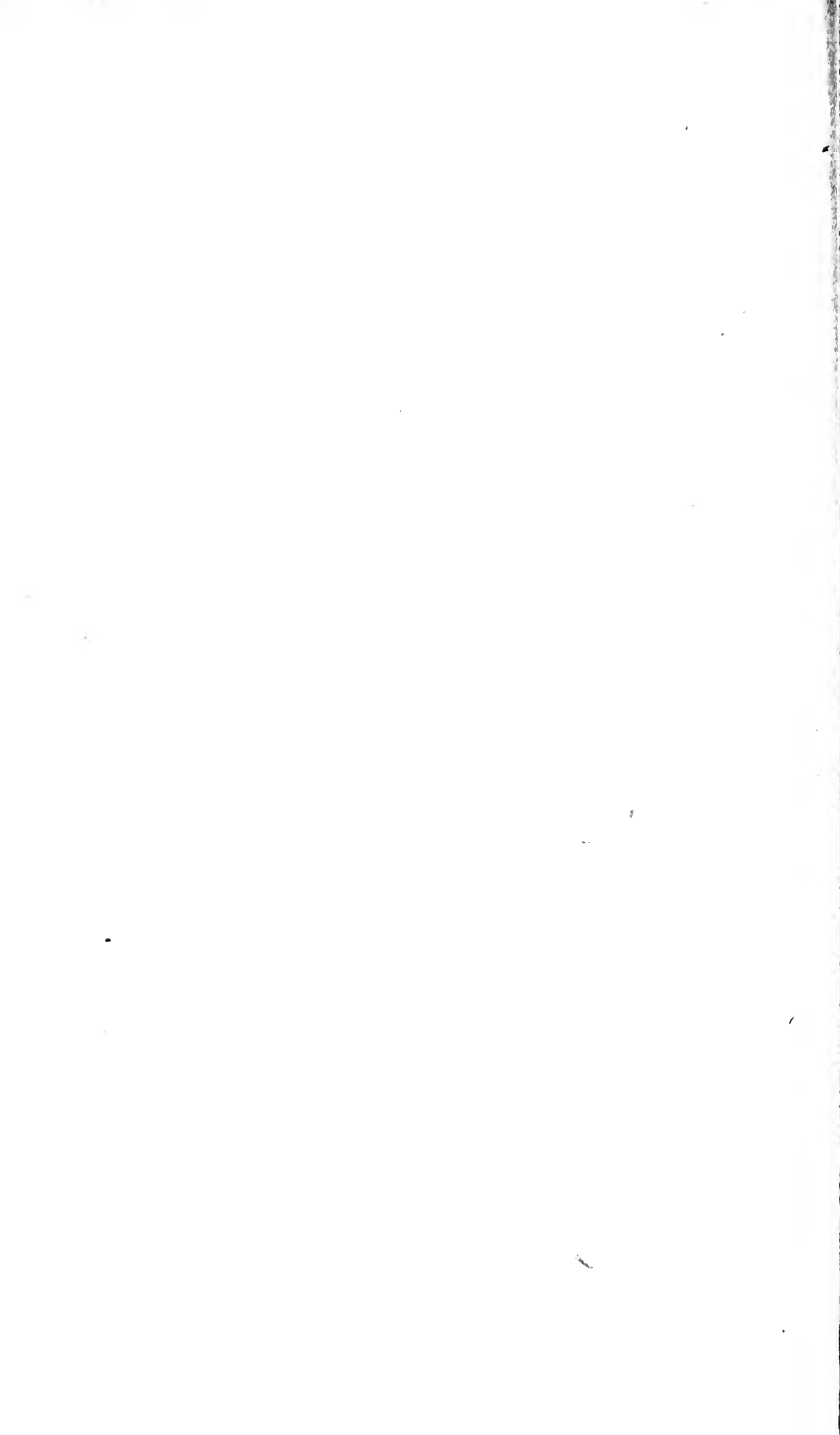
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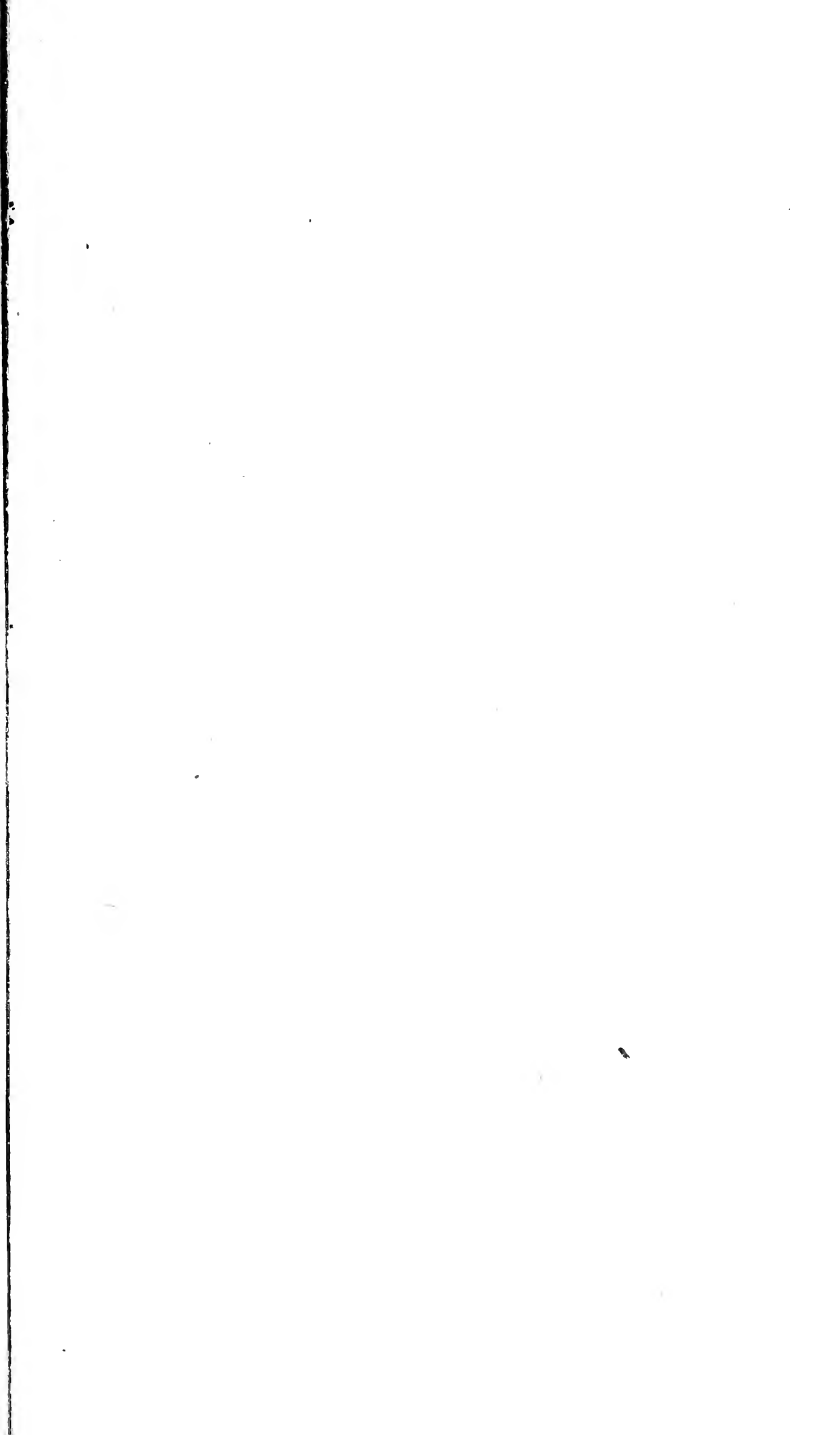
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A

VINDICATION
OF THE
DOCTRINE OF SCRIPTURE,
AND OF
THE PRIMITIVE FAITH;
CONCERNING
THE DEITY OF CHRIST:
IN REPLY TO DR PRIESTLEY'S HISTORY
OF EARLY OPINIONS, &c.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

BY JOHN JAMIESON, D.D. F.A.S. S.
MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL, FORFAR.

VOL. II.

Πως εν ετι πιστοι, η Χριστιανοι νεμιθουτε, οι μητε τοις γενησασμε-
νοις ποιουμενοι, μητε τοις γενομενοις σοιζουτες.

ATHANAS.

EDINBURGH:

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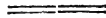
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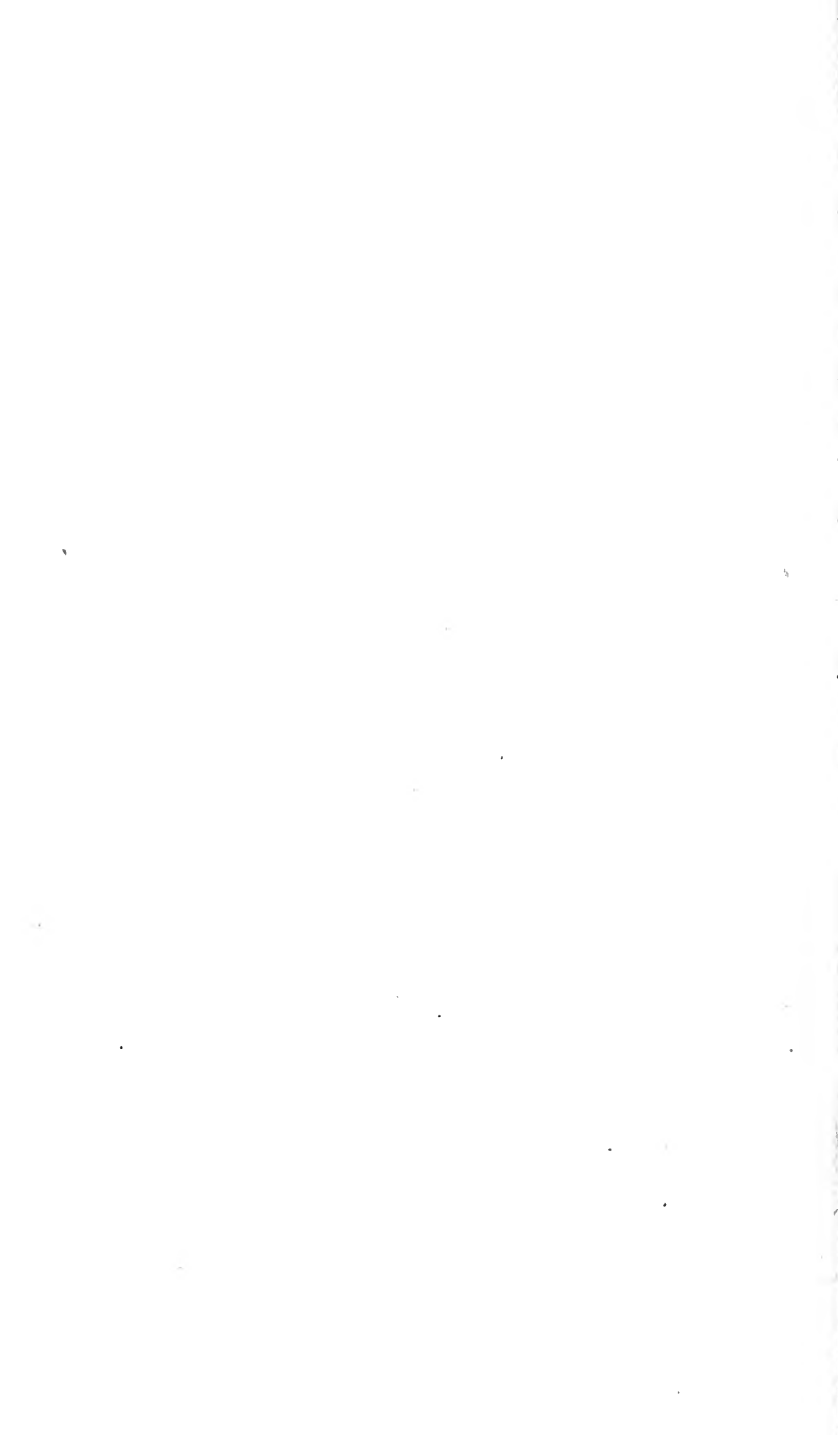
ERRATA, VOL. II.

N. B. (b) signifies *from the bottom of the page.*

- Page 36, line 4, (b.) for Βαροα read Βεροα
 — 324, line 18, after eternally existed, read was always present with the pious through all their particular generations, although secretly; with those, &c.
 — 339, line 4, (b) after fame insert time
 — 378, line 2, for case read cause
 — 403, line 19, for Unitarian read unknown
 — 438, line 18, for practised read preached.

REFERENCES.

- Page 13, note †, for αυτων read αυτων
 — 24, note *, — 529, — 521, &c.
 — 25, — *. line 2. — γνησιως
 — 53, — ***, read herefiar: hes
 — 89, — line 8, (b) for διατριβης read παρατριβης
 — 107, — *, for αναγκουντες read αναγνοντες
 — 143, — *, line 4, for σικαιοι read δικαιοι
 — 152, — †, — 1. before Hebionitæ insert hæredes
 — 302, — †, for instructiones read instructiores
 — 307, — *, line 1, for ειναι read ειναι
 — 310, — †, — 2, — σελομοθα read σελομοθα
 — 451, — †, — 2, — εσχικατες — εσχικατε
 — — — — 3, — δεμιθα — δεομιθα
 — 458, — *, — 3, — depictari — deputari,



A

VINDICATION

OF THE

DOCTRINE OF SCRIPTURE, &c.

BOOK V.

OF THE HISTORY OF THE PRETENDED UNITARIAN DOCTRINE AMONG JEWISH CHRISTIANS.

C H A P. I.

Of the Doctrine of the Apostolical Fathers.

MANY passages have been quoted from the writings of those Fathers called *Apostolical*, and urged as proofs that they believed the deity of our Saviour. But Dr P. says; "Their works are not come down to us as they wrote them, or rather, except the 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."

VOL. II.

A

Spurious

Spurious as these writings are, the Doctor avails himself of their testimony, whenever it can serve him; especially in attempting to prove that Gnostics were the only heretics in early times. Indeed, after condemning the epistles of Ignatius in the gross, and asserting that “they cannot be quoted with safety for any purpose*,” he says, “I am willing to allow, on re-considering them, that, exclusive of manifest interpolation there may be a groundwork of antiquity in them †.” Our author, perhaps, thought this recantation necessary, as, on *re-considering* his own plan, he foresaw that some passages in these writings might serve as a *groundwork* for part of his fabric; or be of some use, at least, in the progress of his labour.

But there is a saving clause wisely preserved in the very recantation. It is this;—“exclusive of manifest interpolation.” Pray, who is to judge when this interpolation is *manifest*? Unitarians only. It would be gross presumption in any Trinitarian, to claim such a privilege. Accordingly, when any passage, *undoubtedly* asserting or implying the divinity of our Saviour, is produced from these ancient writers, it is immediately condemned as a *manifest interpolation*; because, as the Doctor says, “it is hardly possible to think that it could be used by any writer so near to the time of the Apostles ‡.” It is first assumed, for it has never been proved, that the Apostles on no occasion taught the doctrine of the Deity of Christ. Thence it is inferred, that the Apostolical Fathers *could not* teach this, as they “lived so near to the time of the Apostles.” Although their writings, if they deserve to be mentioned at all, clearly shew that they *did* teach this doctrine; it is of no consequence whatsoever. For when they do so, the passage is not to be accounted genuine; because it is far

* Vol. i. p. 106.

† Ibid. p. 108.

‡ Ibid. p. 97.

far more safe to reason from *suppositions*, than from *facts*. The business of a critic, in examining the work of an ancient writer, is not to pay any regard to what *is* there, but to shew what, according to his own system, *ought to have been* there. But some may be apt to say, why should Dr P. quote these writings at all? It were better honestly to declare, that this, on either side of the question, is vain labour; as he is pre-determined to reject every passage as *spurious*, that opposes his own hypothesis.

But Unitarians have not only the privilege of judging what is to be accounted a *manifest* interpolation, but also that of *interpolating* a little themselves; at least, of doing something nearly allied to it. For the Doctor speaking of some passages in the epistles of Ignatius, which have been supposed to refer to the Ebionites, says, they “may easily be supposed to have been altered.” Supposition, indeed, is easy enough. But where is the proof? It is truly a singular one;—“because when corrected by an Unitarian, nothing is wanting to the evident purpose of the writer *.” This is, indeed, a very short process, which, could the learned be generally brought to adopt, it would greatly abridge their disputations, and free them of much perplexity. Allow me first to judge, according to my own inclinations, of *the purpose of the writer*, from whom I bring my evidence. Then, when I find any thing that varies from this, give me leave to *correct* it, so as to make it answer *my own purpose*: and I will soon prove what I wish. The Doctor, however, has not favoured the reader with those passages in Ignatius, which would be so much improved “when corrected by an Unitarian.”

While such privileges are claimed, it is almost vain to quote any passages from these writings. But Dr P. admits the genuineness of one epistle of Clemens. There is a passage in this, which has already been the subject of confi-

* Vol. i. p. 261.

derable disputation: "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 shew of pride, and arrogance, *though he could have done so*; but with humility; as the Holy Ghost had before spoken concerning him." This passage has been urged by the learned Dr Horsley, in his correspondence with our author, as a proof that Clemens believed the divinity of our Saviour. To the most of readers his reasoning will appear decisive. But to the evidence brought to prove that the *coming*, spoken of by Clemens, respects the birth of Christ, Dr P. replies, "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 †." Here the Doctor evidently changes his ground in the course of two sentences. In the first, he understands the prophecies quoted, especially Isa. liii. *only* of our Saviour's *public life* and *death*: in the second, of his *private* life also, *before he entered on* that which was *public*. It would seem that this passage needs to be *corrected*, fully as much as some of those in the epistles of Ignatius.

He further says; "The more ancient reading of Jerom 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

* Sect. xvi.

† Vol. i. p. 95.

" at

“at his baptism *.” But the learned gentleman serves himself of this ancient reading only in so far. What according to this, is *all power*, in Dr P’s application is confined to *great power*. And if Jesus was not possessed of either till *after* “the descent of the Spirit at his baptism,” how could he make any ostentatious display, “before he entered upon his public life?” How could he be said to “prefer a low condition,” when he had no other in his choice; when he had *no power* to embrace any other? If either *κατωσφδυναμενος* or *παντα δυναμενος*, have any reference to power before his public life, he did not receive *all* his extraordinary power by the descent of the Spirit.

But whatever be the particular meaning of the words of Clemens. it is denied that Jesus had it in his *power* to have come otherwise, unless he was God. For if he was a mere creature, essentially subject to the divine will, he had no power to come in any way but that in which he actually came. He could not have come “in the condition of a great prince;” for the event certainly shews that this was not the will of God. Clemens would never have said that *he could have done so*, had he not believed that Jesus had a sovereign and divine choice as to the manner of his *coming*.

It is probably the first time that the term *coming* has been thought to signify the circumstances of one’s *death*. Our Lord himself always spoke of this event under the notion of *going*. Therefore, although Clemens extends his quotation to those parts of Isaiah liii. which respect the death of Christ, his using the term under consideration shews that he especially referred to the beginning of the chapter, as respecting his birth. and perhaps. his first appearance in a public character. But there was no impropriety in extending the quotation to these predictions that respected the tenor of his life, and the circumstances of his death. For these predictions

were confirming evidences of what Clemens had already proved directly, that according to the testimony of *the Holy Ghost* he was to *come* in no other way. They also greatly enforced the exhortation to humility. For our Lord's continuance in a state of abasement shewed that he was indeed *lowly in heart*, and that he did not wish to attract the vulgar by false appearances, that by their means he might exalt himself. Besides, several circumstances mentioned in the prophecies quoted, clearly prove that he was voluntary in the whole of this humiliation. Dr P. may with as great propriety plead, that Clemens meant to extend the term *coming* to our Saviour's *exaltation*, as to the whole of his *public life* and *death*, because the prophecies quoted refer to the latter. For some of them as certainly refer to the former.

But although the Doctor had asserted, that these prophecies "describe *only* the circumstances of Christ's *life* and *death*," on *reconsidering* them he seems to retract a little; but with evident reluctance. "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 think that Clemens attended to that in particular, but to the general scope of the whole, which is evidently descriptive of his public life *only* *." This *some one circumstance* which our author has in his eye, is certainly Isaiah liii. ver. 3. I beg leave to ask, Is it a rigorous interpretation of these words, *He shall grow up before him as a tender plant*, to understand them of the birth of our Saviour? Or what other interpretation would the learned gentleman give of them? Did our Lord *grow up* in his *public life*? The word properly signifies to *shoot forth*, as it is rendered Gen. xl. 10. denoting the first appearance of a scion springing out of the earth. That this is its true meaning

* Vcl. i. p. 96.

meaning here, is evident from the words immediately following;—*and as a root out of a dry ground* *.

The Doctor indeed, seems much at a loss what to make of these prophecies. He is determined to refuse that they can be viewed, at least according to the allusion that Clemens had to them, as referring to the *birth* of Christ. Yet he is not certain how to dispose of them. He does not adhere to any one method of interpretation. For he first informs us, that they describe “*only* the circumstances of Christ’s public life *and death*.” But in the passage last quoted, he says; “The scope of the whole—“is evidently descriptive of his public life *only*.” However this is far from being the case. The fifty-third chapter of Isaiah describes the birth, life, death and exaltation of Jesus. But it is not so fully descriptive, either of his *coming*, or of his public *life*, as of his *going*, or, the circumstances of his *death* in a public character, as our Surety.

Concerning that remarkable passage, in the second section of the first epistle of Clemens, in which he speaks of *the sufferings of God*, Dr P. observes, that “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 †.” This is evidently begging the question. It may be shocking to Dr P. who does not believe *that God purchased the church with his own blood*. But this will not prove that Clemens would have been shocked at such language.

He adds the opinion of Patricius Junius, that “instead “of *παθηματα αυτης*, i. e. Θεου, we ought to read *μαθηματα αυτων*.” But the learned Grabe has long ago shewn that this is mere conjecture, not supported by any manuscript; and that it is an improbable conjecture. For besides the change of *αυτης*, which Grabe takes no notice of, he has ob-

* See also Isaiah lv. 13. Hoseah x. 8. Am. vii. 1. † Vol. 1. p. 97.

served that "there are scarcely two letters which differ more, in the best MSS. than Π and M*."

But besides these passages, there are several others in this epistle, which clearly shew that Clemens believed the deity of Christ. "Let us search," he says, "into all the ages that have gone before us; and let us learn that our Lord has in every one of them still given place for repentance to all such as would turn to him. Noah preached repentance; and as many as hearkened to him were saved. Jonah denounced destruction against the Ninevites †," &c. But how could he imagine that our Lord could have given *r. pentance* in the ages of Noah and Jonah, unless he had believed not only his pre-existence, but his title to the character of *the God of Salvation*? He declares the thirty fourth Psalm to be the language of Christ, saying, "He Himself bespeaks us by the Holy Ghost: *Come, ye children, hearken unto me,*" &c ‡. He also uses the same distinction with Paul; asserting that Jesus came of Abraham, according to the *flesh* §. But such a distinction must be an absurdity in the mouth of an Unitarian. He undoubtedly performs an act of worship to Jesus, when he says that God is "good to all, especially to those who flee to his mercy through our Lord Jesus Christ; to whom be glory and majesty for ever and ever. Amen ||." And again, speaking of pardon; "Now this blessing is fulfilled in those who are chosen by God, through Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen **."

As Dr P. gives several quotations from the Epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians, it can certainly be no more spurious to us than to him. He says indeed; "The manner in which Polycarp inscribes his epistle is that of an Unitarian; 'Mercy unto you and peace from God Almighty,

* Additions to Bull's Def chap. iii. sec. 3.

† Sect. 7

‡ Sect. 22.

§ Sect. 32.

|| Ib. sect. 20.

** Sect. 50.

‘mighty, and the Lord Jesus Christ our Saviour, be multiplied *.’ Things appeared to me in so different a light, that, before adverting to this remark of Dr P. I thought of quoting the passage as the language of a Trinitarian. For this inscription is certainly a prayer: and I did not apprehend that an Unitarian of Dr P.’s description would pray to Christ on any consideration. But the blessings of *mercy* and *peace* are undoubtedly prayed for from Christ, as much as from God. By *God Almighty* he might mean God essentially considered. Although the Father should be intended, it will not prove that the Son is excluded. For Justin Martyr often calls the Father *πατριω-κρατωρ*, thus distinguishing him from our Lord. But our author will not thence infer that *he* was an Unitarian. The language of Polycarp can no more prove that he did not reckon the Son *Almighty*, than that he did not believe the Father to be *our Saviour*. The very idea that Jesus could give *mercy* and *peace*, equally with the Father, necessarily implies that Polycarp believed him to be equally *God Almighty*.

He ascribes the work of election to Christ, as well as to God, saying that “bonds are the crowns of such as are truly chosen by God and our Lord †.” He declares that “the root of faith—brings forth fruit to our Lord Jesus Christ, who suffered himself to be brought even to the death for our sins ‡.” Is not this making the glory of Christ the *end* of religion? He further asserts that “every living creature shall worship him ||.” And as a proof of his sincerity in this declaration, he again prays for blessings from the Son, as well as from the Father. “Now the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ; and he Himself who is our everlasting High Priest, the Son of God, Jesus Christ, build you up in faith and in truth, and in all meek-
“nefs

* Vol. i. p. 265.

† Sect. 1.

‡ Ibid.

§ Sect. 2.

“ nefs and lenity,—and grant to you a lot and portion
“ among his faints *.”

A great variety of passages might be quoted from the Epistles of Ignatius, which, in the clearest and strongest manner, assert the deity of Christ. But I am afraid of losing my labour, as Dr P. claims the privilege of *correcting* them. I shall only take notice of one passage quoted and translated by himself. “ 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 †.” The Doctor says,
“ Theodoret read the passage, γεννητος ἐξ ἀγγεντης, *begotten of*
“ *him that was unbegotten ‡.*” But he might also have told us that Athanasius, who lived about a century before Theodoret, read γεννητος και ἀγγεντος||, which some have translated, *Made, and not made §.* Dr P., speaking of the correction of some passages in Ignatius, says that then nothing would be “ wanting to the evident purpose of the
“ writer.” But the correction proposed from the reading of Theodoret has not so much to recommend it; for it opposes this. Here “ the evident purpose of the writer” is to exhibit Jesus in opposite points of view. There are several parts of the sentence, about which there is no dispute, in which the contrast is obviously pointed in the strongest manner; “ Fleshly and spiritual;—of Mary and of God; “ first passible and then impassible.” But if you adopt the reading of Theodoret, the contrast is entirely lost.

2

As

* Sect. 12.

† Εἰς ἰατρος εἰν, σαρκικος τε και πνευματικος, γεννητος και ἀγγεντος, ἢ σαρκι γενομινος Θεος, ἐν ἀθανατω ζωῃ ἀληθινη, και ἐκ Μαρίας, και ἐκ Θεο, πρῶτον παθητος, και τότε ἀπαθης. Ad. Eph. f. 7.

‡ Vol. i p. 109.

|| De Synod. ep. Smithi Scholia in S. Ignat. Ep. ad Eph. Bull's Defence, chap. ii sect. 6.

§ Wake's Translation.

As the Doctor was disposed to *correct*, he might have mentioned that instead of *εν θανατω*, Athanasius, Gelasius, and even Theodoret read *εν θανατω* *. This correction has something in its favour, which the other has not. “No-thing is wanting to the evident purpose of the writer.” For the contrast is not lost. Indeed, this reading is absolutely necessary to preserve it. When the Doctor translates *εν θανατω ζωη αληθινη*, *in immortal life eternal*, he must be sensible that this is not a proper translation; for the words ought to be rendered, *True life in immortal*. But this is language without meaning: whereas the meaning is obvious, and the antithesis is strictly preserved, if we read, *True life in death*.

Dr P. adds; “In other respects this passage is neither clear nor decisive.” But there is a reason for this. He does not choose to apply his critical talents for making it *clear*. For thus it would be *decisive* against his own system.

C H A P. II.

Of Men of Eminence among Jewish Christians.

DR P., in his History of Corruptions, having asserted that the ancient Jews expected merely a human Messiah, proceeds to shew that their posterity, who embraced the Christian faith, believed in no other. “That the ancient Jewish Church must have held the opinion, that Christ was simply a man, may be concluded from its being the clear doctrine of the Scriptures, and from the Apostles having taught no other; but there is sufficient evidence of the same thing from ecclesiastical history.”

The

* Vid. Bull, ubi sup.

The first authority that he quotes is Hegesippus. The Doctor's mode of probation is indeed very singular. He proves that the ancient Jewish Church was, in his sense, Unitarian, because Hegesippus, whom he calls a *Jewish Christian*, was so. Then he proves that Hegesippus was an Unitarian, because he agreed with those "who held the same doctrine that was taught in the law, by the prophets, and by our Lord. What could this be," says our author with an air of triumph, "but the proper Unitarian doctrine, held by the Jews, and which he himself had been taught *?"

His design in calling Hegesippus a *Jewish Christian*, is to prove that he was an Ebionite or Nazarene. But it will afterwards appear that the proof is extremely deficient.

"It is particularly remarkable," he says, "that Hegesippus, in giving an account of the heresies in his time, though he mentions the Carpocratians, Valentinians, and others who were generally termed Gnostics (and who held that Christ had a pre-existence, and was man only in appearance) not only makes no mention of this supposed heresy of the Nazarenes or Ebionites, but says that, in his travels to Rome, where he spent some time with Anicetus, and visited the bishops of other sees, he found that they all held the same doctrine, that was taught in the law," &c. †.

This objection had been made by several Socinian writers in former times, and as often answered. But our author, according to the custom of this society, produces it again, without the least attention to the different answers formerly given; as if the world were indebted to him for the important discovery. Its weakness appears from various considerations.

Hegesippus, according to Eusebius, "gives an account of the beginnings of those heresies which sprung up in his
" own

* Hist. Cor. vol. i. p. 78.

† Ibid. p. 8.

“own time*.” But that there were some of the Jewish nation who called themselves Christians, and yet maintained that Jesus was a mere man, long before the time of Hegesippus, is allowed on all hands. Particularly, Cerinthus was by birth a Jew. Now, if it was the professed design of Hegesippus to relate the rise of these heresies which made their appearance in his own time, it would have been improper to have included those that appeared in an earlier age.

Although Hegesippus professed to mention the sects which sprung from the Synagogue, the Doctor himself must acknowledge that his list is not complete. For he takes no notice of the Nicolaitans, who are so particularly reprov'd by our Lord himself. Should it be said, that they preceded the age of Hegesippus; the same reason must certainly suffice for his neglect of the Ebionites.

It must be evident to every attentive reader, that this passage of Hegesippus is by no means accurate. For when mentioning the seven more recent sects among the Jews, he reckons the Masbotheans as of their number: and when he afterwards gives an account of the more ancient sects, they are also introduced. Besides, in this second catalogue the Samaritans are mentioned; though it is well known that they were not properly of the stock of Israel, that they were anathematized by the Jews, and that the latter *had no dealings with them*.

Instead of concluding that Hegesippus, because he does not mention the Ebionites as heretics, was himself one of them; and thence, that this name was common to all the Jewish Christians; it would be far more natural to conclude, that they were at this time a sect that made little appearance,

* Ο δ' αὐτός και των κατ' αυτον αιρεσεων τας αρχας υποτιθεται δια των των. Heresum quoque quæ etate sua exortæ sunt, initia idem scriptor exponit. Euseb. hist. lib. iv. c. 22.

appearance, compared with those which he mentions. This is probable from the very short account given of them by Irenæus. Perhaps, Hegesippus might think it unnecessary to take any particular notice of them, as he had mentioned the Carpocrations, with whom the Ebionites agreed in their doctrine concerning Christ, as they did also with the followers of Cerinthus*. For although Irenæus seems to deny this, as his language is generally expressed, the reading preferred by several learned writers agrees much better with the rest of the sentence †. It may be easily conceived that a careless transcriber might write *non similiter* instead of *consimiliter*. It is a very strong presumption in favour of the latter as the true reading, that it completes the contrast stated by Irenæus. Thus the sense of his language is; “The Ebionites *indeed* differ from Cerinthus and Carpocrates in one point; for they confess that the world “was made by God, and not by any power separate from “God, nor by angels: *but* they agree with both in those “things that concern our Lord, denying him to be born of “a virgin ‡.” If *consimiliter* be not admitted as the true reading, it cannot be denied that Irenæus mentions those articles only in which the Ebionites *differed* from the other heretics: although the structure of his language would suggest to every reader, that, as a counterpart to the first assertion, he was about to mention something in which they all *agreed*. But if we suppose him to have wrote *consimiliter*, his meaning is obvious. He compares the Ebionites with Carpocrates and Cerinthus. He first mentions an article

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* Haymo, who wrote about the year 840, says that Hegesippus wrote against Carpocrates. Pamelii Adnotat. in Tertullian. de Præscript. c. 48.

† Pearson. Ignat. Vindic. p. 2. c. 2. Bull's Judg. Cath. church, c. 2.

‡ Qui autem dicuntur Ebionæi, consentiunt *quidem* mundum a Deo factum: ea *autem* quæ sunt erga Dominum, *consimiliter* ut Cerinthus et Carpocrates opinantur. Cont. hæc. lib. 1. c. 26.

in which they did not agree. To shew that he refers to what he had said on this subject in the two preceding chapters, he marks the difference between the Ebionites and them by using the word *quidem*. When he proceeds to shew in what they did agree, he uses *autem*. He had declared in these chapters, that Carpocrates ascribed the creation of the world to Angels; and that Cerinthus assigned this work to a power greatly remote from him who is above all. In this point, says he, the Ebionites do not agree with either of these heretics; for "they indeed acknowledge that the world was made by God." But he does not explain their doctrine concerning our Lord; because they agreed with those formerly mentioned, in the great article of making him a mere man. For he had shewn that both Carpocrates and Cerinthus affirmed that he was the son of Joseph. And we know that this was the very doctrine of the Ebionites. Thus, the matter of fact requires that what we have mentioned should be the true reading.

The account given by Tertullian of the faith of Ebion, greatly confirms this view of the meaning of Irenæus. Speaking of Cerinthus, he says; "His successor was Hebion; not agreeing with Cerinthus in all respects, because he taught that the world was made by God, and not by angels*." This he evidently marks as the great article in which they disagreed. The sense of his language is evidently the same with that of the bishop of Lyons, as rendered above.

According to the same rule, by which the doctrine of Hegesippus is judged of, Justin Martyr might be ranked among Unitarians. For he mentions the same number of Jewish heretics as Hegesippus, though under different names;

but

* Hujus successor Hebion fuit, Cerintho non in omni parte consentiens quod a Deo dicat mundum, non ab angelis factum. De Præscript. c. 48.

but he takes no notice of either Ebionites or Nazarenes *. Indeed, from the manner in which Justin is treated by the Doctor, as may appear afterwards, had as little of his works remained as of those of Hegesippus, there is every reason to believe, that this omission would have been boasted as an evidence of his being an Ebionite.

Hegesippus must of necessity have believed that the Ebionites were heretics; because he held communion, for many years, with the church of Rome. But the bishops of this church held communion with Irenæus, who undoubtedly reckoned the Ebionites heretics. The Doctor acknowledges the orthodoxy of Irenæus †: and the latter gives an ample testimony to Anicetus, Soter and Eleutherus, with whom Hegesippus communicated, as adhering to the tradition delivered by the Apostles ‡. What this apostolical tradition was, he informs us in the following chapter: "That Christ, on account of his transcendent love to his own work, submitted to be generated of a Virgin, he by himself uniting man to God §."

Dr P. further observes; "That Eusebius doth not expressly say what this faith was, is no wonder, considering his prejudice against the Unitarians of his own time. He speaks of the Ebionites, as persons whom a malignant
" demon

* Dial. p. 37. See Bull's Primitive and Apostol. Trad. c. 3. f. 4.

† Hist. of Cor. vol. i. p. 37.

‡ Cum autem successisset Aniceto Soter, nunc duodecimo loco Episcopatum ab Apostolis habet Eleutherius. Hac ordinatione et successione, ea quæ est ab Apostolis in Ecclesia Traditio, et veritatis præconatio pervenit usque ad nos. Et est plenissima hæc ostensio, unam et eandem vivificatricem fidem esse, quæ in Ecclesia ab Apostolis usque nunc conservata, et tradita in veritate. Cont. Hær. l. iii. c. 3.

§ Qui propter eminentissimam ergo figmentum suum dilectionem eam quæ esset ex Virgine generationem sustinuit, ipse per se hominem adunans Deo, Ibid. l. iii. c. 4.

“demon had brought into his power *.” But the injustice of this attack on Eusebius may be easily shewn.

If he was filled with such bitterness against the Unitarians, believing Hegesippus to be one, and therefore understanding his language concerning the law, the prophets, and the doctrine of our Lord, in the same sense as our author; is it at all supposable that he would have quoted him as an authority? Must he not have published to the world, and left upon record, a most striking testimony against those very doctrines in the defence of which he was so zealous? Indeed, he expressly declares, that “he had given an account of what was transacted in the times of the apostles from the narrative of Hegesippus †.”

Is it not to deny ordinary sagacity to Eusebius, to suppose that he could entertain a single idea of imposing upon the world the testimony of Hegesippus, in support of the orthodox doctrine; while assured that he was an enemy to it, and that his works were well known in that age? For it is undeniable that this must have been the design of Eusebius, in so particularly mentioning that writer's testimony, with respect to the unity of the faith among all the bishops with whom he had conversed.

It cannot be denied that Hegesippus held communion with the Gentile churches, on his journey from Jerusalem, and that for many years he held communion with the church of Rome. This circumstance, of itself, is a sufficient evidence that he was not an Ebionite. For we have the unanimous testimony of antiquity, that the Ebionites urged the necessity of the law in order to salvation. Therefore, they had no fellowship with the uncircumcised.

But we have direct and positive evidence that Hegesippus held that faith which Eusebius accounted orthodox. For he not only commends his fidelity as an historian, say-

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ing,

* Hist. of Cor. vol. i. p. 10.

† Euf. Hist. l. iv. c. 8.

ing, that in his five books of Ecclesiastical Acts he “ had left the most accurate and full declaration of his judgment concerning the faith,” and calling his work “ a faithful history of the Apostolical preaching* ;” but he expressly commends his faith. Thus he classes him with Dionysius bishop of Corinth, Pinytus bishop of Crete, Philip, Apollinaris and Melito, Musanus, Modestus, (και επισι πασιν Ειρηναϊος) “ and above all Irenæus :” saying of them all, “ whose orthodox writings, giving an account of the apostolical tradition of the sound faith, have come down even to us.” The language is so emphatic, that it loses by any translation †. As if all this had been too slender a testimony to the orthodoxy of his opinions, according to the ideas of Eusebius, he immediately begins the next chapter with a further commendation of him. “ Hegesippus, indeed, in the five books of his commentaries, which have reached our times, hath left us the most abundant testimonies of his faith. For he writes that, on his journey to Rome, when he visited the most of the bishops, he received from them all the very same doctrine ‡.”

Should any further evidence be required, we have clear proof of the character of those with whom Hegesippus is here classed. For Eusebius relates that Dionysius wrote an epistle to the Lacedemonians, (ορθοδοξιας καταχητικη) “ containing the doctrine of the right faith §.” That this Dionysius was of the same faith with the Roman church, is evident from the character which he gives to her bishop Soter, in an Epistle addressed to that church. He calls him (ο μακκαριος) “ the blessed,” saying, that “ as a most loving Father he comforted his children with *bleffed discourses* ||.”

Eusebius

* Την απλανη παραδοσιν τη Αποστολικη κηρυγματος. Ibid.

† Ων και εις ημας της Αποστολικης παραδοσεως η της υγιους πιστεως συγγραφος καταλθων ορθοδοξια. Euf. Hist. l. iv. c. 21.

‡ Ibid. c. 22.

§ Ibid. c. 23.

|| Ibid.

Eusebius particularly commends the other writers mentioned. But it is losing time to particularize. For he has said as much of them collectively as can justly be said of any human writers. He expressly classes Hegesippus with Justin Martyr, whom he calls "a most sincere lover of the true philosophy *." And would he ever have done so, "had he reckoned that Hegesippus was under the power of a malignant demon," as he declares concerning the Ebionites?

Thus it appears, how little Socinians have to boast of the testimony of Hegesippus. Before it can be of the least avail to them, they must prove that Eusebius, instead of thinking that the Ebionites were under the power of a malignant demon, was himself an Ebionite. For if Hegesippus delivered "the written orthodoxy of the Apostolical tradition of the sound faith;" if he did so in the same manner with Irenæus, with whom he is *especially* compared; it must have been that very doctrine which was orthodox in the estimation of Eusebius and Irenæus. Hegesippus must, therefore, have been as fully persuaded as either of these, that those whom Dr P. calls Unitarians were heretics.

Not only is the learned Gentleman deprived of the support of Hegesippus; but, of consequence, the whole system of fallacy built on his profession and testimony falls to the ground. For although, with respect to the former, he is boasted of as "a Jewish Christian," it appears beyond a doubt that this same Jewish Christian agreed not only with the bishops of Rome, but held the same doctrine as Irenæus and Eusebius. His *testimony* is of as little avail to Socinians. For when he says that all the bishops, whom he conversed with on his way, "held the same doctrine that was taught—by our Lord," he must be understood as speaking of that doctrine which himself believed; and

* Ibid. lib. iv. c. 8.

we have seen that his faith was that which the church calls orthodox. If all these bishops held that which he believed to be the true faith, it must have been the same which he heard at Jerusalem. For he declares that the church there was as "a virgin till the martyrdom of Simeon*." Had he received a new faith by the way, he would have expressed himself in language very different. May we not therefore say, as to the doctrine referred to by Hegesippus, with far more justice than our author, "What could this be, but the proper Unitarian doctrine" of a three one God, "held by the believing Jews and which himself had been taught?"

Dr P. next asserts, that "Valesius, the translator of Eusebius, was of opinion that the history of Hegesippus was neglected and lost by the ancients, because it was observed to favour the Unitarian doctrine." This groundless cavil hath long ago been answered. Valesius does not once suggest a suspicion that Hegesippus was an Unitarian. Speaking of the Institutions of Clemens, he indeed says, "On account of the errors scattered through them, being neglected, they at length perished. Nor do I know any other reason why the books of Papias and Hegesippus, and other ancients, are lost †." On this it might be sufficient to repeat what the learned Bishop Bull hath said: "I know not what errors of his Valesius intends or suspects. For the ancient Catholic authors who had read his works, men whom we must believe rather than Valesius, commended them as orthodox, useful and worthy of reading ‡." If we are to form such an estimate of Hegesippus, from the circumstance mentioned, with the same propriety may we conclude that Papias was an Unitarian: whereas

* Euf. Hist. l. iii. c. 32.

† Nec alia, meo quidem judicio, causa est, cur Papiæ et Hegesippi, aliorumque veterum libri interciderunt. Not. ad Euseb. Hist. l. v. c. 12.

‡ Primit. and Apostol. Tradit. c. 3. f. 3.

whereas the ancients mention his error only as to the doctrine of a literal Millenium, and represent him as a weak and credulous writer *. An instance of so gross a mistake about the words of Valefius may satisfy the reader of the necessity of taking the testimony of a certain class of writers with a considerable reserve. It would appear, indeed, that the Doctor had not taken the trouble to consult Valefius himself. He quotes his words, just as they had been formerly perverted by Zuicker, and some other Socinian writers; without paying the least regard to the answers given them by those who have wrote on the other side of the question †.

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* Euseb. Hist. l. iii. c. 39.

† Since the preceding remarks were written, I have observed that Dr P. in his correspondence with Dr Horsley, has acknowledged that, instead of what is here asserted, he should have said that Valefius was of opinion that this history was neglected and lost "on account of the errors which it contained, and that those errors could not be supposed to be any other than those of the Unitarians:" adding, "If I had consulted the passage at that time, I certainly should have expressed myself in that more cautious manner*." But it must be evident that the learned writer is far more sparing in retracting, than in asserting. In the former work, this history is said to have been "neglected and lost by the ancients, because it was observed to favour the Unitarian doctrine." In this, that it was "on account of the errors which it contained." In the former, the whole burden is laid on Valefius. But here the Doctor takes it on his own shoulders, assuring us that no other errors could be supposed than those of Unitarians. It is still taken for granted that the Fathers did observe errors in this history, and that they neglected it on this account; although all this rests solely on the mere conjecture of a writer in the last century. It is also assumed that these could be no other than the Unitarian doctrines. In the History of Early Opinions, when this assertion appears for the third time, it is reduced a little further. The works of Hegeffippus were "neglected and lost, on account of the errors they were supposed to contain:" and "those could hardly be any other than the Unitarian doctrine †." It is to be hoped that if this History be revised by Dr P., the next step will be to throw out the passage entirely. But indeed, reasoning on mere conjecture may deserve a place in a History which in general can boast of no better a foundation.

* *Second Letters*, p. 194. † *Vol. iii. p. 229, 230.*

The Doctor adds, that the history of Hegesippus “ might be less esteemed on account of the very plain unadorned style in which all the ancients say it is written.” It is difficult to believe that Dr P. could be convinced of the justness of this inference when he deduced it. For he must have observed that in these very passages of the ancients, in which the style of Hegesippus is mentioned as being plain and unadorned, they commend it on this very account. For this reason Eusebius seems to use the expression, απλανη παραδοσις, “ a sincere history,” if we may apply the English word in this sense: and he connects it with απλαστατη συνταξει γραφης, “ the most simple style of writing.” But did this detract from his celebrity? On the contrary, Eusebius speaks of him in the highest terms, γνωριζετο *. Indeed, the natural idea suggested by the connexion is, that he had been encouraged, from this internal evidence of fidelity, to rest on the testimony of Hegesippus in the many things which, he says, he had extracted from him. Jerome also testifies that he had “ comprised his five books in as simple a style, as if he had studied to express, in the manner of his writing, the character of those whose conduct he imitated †.” Gobarus is also quoted by Photius, as declaring that Hegesippus was “ an ancient apostolical man ‡.”

Dr P., in his History of Early Opinions, goes over the same ground, with respect to Hegesippus, only his course is somewhat more circuitous.

In reply to the objection, that Hegesippus had omitted the Cerinthians, he says that he can see nothing extraordinary in “ this, 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

* Hist. lib. iv c. 8.

† Catalog. Scriptor. Eccles. in Hegesip.

‡ Ap. Bull, ubi sup.

“earliest branches, might have been very inconsiderable, perhaps extinct in his time. I do not know,” he says, “that they are mentioned by any ancient writer as existing so late as the time of Hegefippus*.” It is just as extraordinary that the Cerinthians should be omitted, as that there should be no mention of the Ebionites. Irenæus was cotemporary with Hegefippus; and while he reckons the Ebionites heretics, he gives a less particular account of them, than of the Cerinthians. According to our author’s plan, we may therefore suppose that the former were then less *considerable* than the latter.

His conjecture, that Hegefippus would be no wise alarmed at the doctrine of the deity of Christ, is certainly a most unnatural one. “That Hegefippus, 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, was that of the Gnostics; and all the eleven 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 doctrine of the Logos, as held by Justin, must have been fully as alarming to an Unitarian as any tenet of the Gnostics. For, according to his views, it must have totally changed the person of the Saviour, giving him a divine instead of a human person. It must have changed the whole frame of the Mosaic dispensation;

* Vol. iii, p. 224.

† Ibid. p. 226.

penfation; for Juftin afcribed it to the Logos. It muft have changed the very nature of worfhip, and in the opinion of an Unitarian, have introduced the adoration of more Gods than one. For Juftin exhibits the Logos as the object of worfhip. It muft have given a representation of the Divine Being entirely new, as fubfifting in three perfons, inftead of one. For Juftin maintained the deity and diftinét perfonality of the Holy Ghof. What fort of Chriftian, then, muft Hegefippus have been, who found fome who changed the perfon of the Saviour, the whole frame of the Mofaic œconomy, the nature, and the very object of worfhip; and yet gave an exprefs testimony in their favour, as retaining *the true faith*? How could he, as an honeft man, fay, that they “all held the fame doctrine which was proclaimed by *the law*, by the prophets, and by our Lord “himself?” In this cafe muft not truth and error, divinity and humanity, have been the fame in his account? Hegesippus was a *plain* writer. But would our author thence infer that he was a fool, a man fo very plain that he could not perceive the dreadful wickednefs of polytheifm and idolatry? If this was the cafe, why is the Doctor fo anxious to have the honour of his testimony?

He fuggests a doubt as to Hegesippus having fo much as heard of this doctrine. But it drops in very awkwardly at the end of a fentence, as if afhamed to make its appearance: —“if he had heard of it.” Even fuppofing this doctrine to have been introduced by Juftin, and that all Chriftians had formerly been Unitarians; it is totally incredible that they fhould not have been exceedingly and univerfally alarmed at the very mention of what, if they were fuch Unitarians as Dr P., muft have appeared to them the doctrine of a plurality of Gods. But there is no fymptom of alarm. The Doctor himfelf, as we have formerly feen, acknowledges that this is *something extraordinary**. In his
Chronology,

* See above, vol. i. p. 529.

Chronology, he does not make Hegesippus to flourish, till seven years after the death of Justin. Was the Martyr's doctrine all this time dead and buried with him?

So extremely ill-founded is the Doctor's conjecture, that Eusebius, in one place where he mentions Hegesippus, clearly intimates that he could be no stranger to the doctrine of Justin Martyr, whatever it had been. "But Pius," he says, "dying in the fifteenth year of his episcopate at Rome, Anicetus succeeded him in this office. Hegesippus relates that in his time he came to Rome, and abode till the episcopate of Eleutherus. At that time, above all others flourished Justin, under the habit of a philosopher preaching the word of God, and contending earnestly for the faith in his writings.--For at that time he dwelt at Rome*." Some have understood the last expression † as signifying that he held disputations there. This is asserted by Jerom ‡, and also by Photius §. Eusebius elsewhere informs us that he publicly disputed with Crescens, a Cynic Philosopher, who accused him to the Emperor §. But at any rate, he was a person especially distinguished at Rome. It would seem from the account given by Eusebius, that Hegesippus resided there, before the martyrdom of Justin. Thus, it is probable that they were both at Rome at the same time. However this should be, it is absolutely inconceivable that Hegesippus could be a stranger to the doctrine of a person so famous.

Before this period, the doctrine of Justin must have been well known through Asia Minor. For it was at Ephesus, the metropolis, that he had his dispute with Trypho **. The Doctor undoubtedly supposes that the church of Ephesus, which had been so lately under the care of the Apostle John,

* Hist. l. iv. c. 11.

† Catalogus in Justin.

§ Hist. l. iv. c. 16.

† *Ἐπι τῆς Ρώμης τὰς διατριβὰς ἐποίητο.*

§ Bibliotheca in Proleg. ad Op. Justin.

** Euf. Hist. l. iv. c. 18.

John, still retained its *Unitarian* orthodoxy. As Justin so fully and freely declared his sentiments to Trypho and the Jews who were with him, they could be no secret at Ephesus. Indeed, there is not the least reason to think that he would expose them to Jews, and conceal them from his Christian brethren there. If the Doctor's hypothesis be just, they must, therefore, immediately have proclaimed him a heretic, and renounced all connexion with him, as one who betrayed the cause of Christianity to its bitterest enemies, by setting up new Gods. Justin, instead of being afterwards well received at Rome, another *Unitarian* church, would have been universally shunned as a perverter of the faith, nay, as a gross idolater. Instead of being honoured as a Martyr, his name would have been branded with indelible infamy.

But Dr P. has some more conjectures in reserve for us. "Hegesippus," he says, "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."

All this is so extremely shallow, that nothing but the

absolute indefensibleness of the cause could have forced it from the pen of our learned author. If what he asserts be true, that “it does not appear that any Jew, of ancient or “modern times, ever deduced” the doctrine of the Trinity from the Old Testament; if “the Jews always interpreted “their scriptures as teaching that God is simply *one*, without distinction of persons; and that the same being, that “is person, that made the world, did also speak to the patriarchs and prophets, without the intervention of any “other beings besides angels*”; if it would have made a “prodigious change in the ideas which the Apostles entertained concerning Christ” to pass “from that of *a man like themselves*—to that of the *most high God*, or one who “was in any sense their maker or preserver †;” can it be once imagined that this supposed new doctrine would cause no alarm whatsoever to Hegesippus, a *Jewish Christian*? Must he not have known that Justin and his brethren maintained that this *Logos* subsisted from eternity; that the Father by him made the worlds; that it was he who spoke to the patriarchs, and declared himself to be the I AM, the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; that, as a person, he was *numerically* distinct from the Father ‡; that he was not an attribute, but begotten; that he was true God, and equally entitled to religious worship with the Father; that he united the divine and human natures in himself? Could Hegesippus, notwithstanding, suppose that there was not “any heresy, or much harm in it?” Would he be totally indifferent to what the Doct^r is pleased to call “the rise “of Christian idolatry §?” Assertions of this kind are so gross an insult to the human understanding, as scarcely to deserve an answer. If Hegesippus was capable of entertaining such ideas, he did not believe the unity of God in
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* Vol. i. p. 7. † Hist. Cor. vol. i. p. 2. ‡ Justin. Dial. p. 286.

§ Vol. iii. p. 2.

the Socinian sense. This certainly is the truth. He saw neither *heresy* nor *harm* in the doctrine of Justin; because, as we have proved, it was his own.

Dr P. further says; "That Eusebius and others should speak of Hegesippus with respect, (from which it hath 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 of doctrinal matters, but confined himself to the acts of the Apostles, &c.—especially as he was the only historian of that age, and had always been held in esteem*." Although it were true that they quoted him only as an historian, had he been as blind and infatuated as Dr P. supposes, he would have been unworthy of respect in this character. How could he, who perceived no harm in avowedly setting up another as the God of his fathers, one whom, he must have believed, *they knew not*, be qualified to write the history of the church, to distinguish truth from error, or know one heresy from another? Had Eusebius known him to be an Ebionite, and yet to write as he did, he never would have reckoned him worthy to be quoted.

But Eusebius does not quote him as an historian only. For, as we have seen, according to the testimony of that writer, Hegesippus "had left the most accurate and full declaration of his judgment concerning the faith." Therefore, he calls his work, in connexion with some others, "the written orthodoxy of the apostolical tradition of the sound faith." Can any attestation be stronger?

"Can it be supposed," the Doctor adds, "that Eusebius, in expressly quoting ancient authorities against those who held the opinion of the simple humanity of Christ, would
" not

* Ibid. p. 247.

“ 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 doctrine 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*.” Although it had been the case that Eusebius could not find any thing in Hegesippus expressly against the Ebionites, yet this could prove nothing as to the question in debate, for the latter was not a polemical writer. He did not enter the lists against the heretics in his time like the rest mentioned by Eusebius; but only in general declared the true faith, according to the apprehension of Eusebius. For this *plain good man* was not one of those historians who deal more in arguments, than in facts.

It may with equal propriety be asked, why Eusebius does not cite him against the Cerinthians, Nicolaitans, and others? Nay, with far more reason, why he is not quoted against the Simonians, but Justin and Irenæus only? Does not Eusebius expressly mention these heretics as in the list given by Hegesippus? Is it not, therefore, as natural to suppose that some thing particular might be found in his works against them? Yet Eusebius, though he spends a pretty long chapter against these heretics, never once alludes to Hegesippus. Why does he not quote this historian against the Marcionites, a sect particularly mentioned by Hegesippus? But Irenæus is preferred †. Why is there not

* Ibid. p. 227, 228.

† Euf. Hist. l. iv. c. 11.

not a reference to him, in the accounts given by Eusebius of the Menandrians, Carpocratians, Valentinians, Basilidians, and Saturnilians, though all these are enumerated by Hegesippus as heretics*? When the Doctor has answered these questions, he may propose the other with a better grace.

When our author says, that Hegesippus ought to have been mentioned in preference to Justin,—because he was an earlier writer; he quarrels with himself. For in his Chronology, he says that Justin *died* A. 163, and that Hegesippus *flourished* A. 170. Arguments, meant to carry conviction to the mind, demand a little more attention. When he gives it as another reason of the same thing, that Hegesippus “was one of the Jewish Christians, who are *well known not to have favoured*” the doctrine of our Saviour’s divinity, he begs what he has still to prove. And unless more substantial evidence be produced, it will never be proved to the satisfaction of any unbiassed mind.

The Doctor may plume himself as much as he pleases, on the strength of his *negative* proof. It can be of no avail in opposition to what is *positive*. And we have already demonstrated that Hegesippus, in the estimation of the Catholic church †, held the orthodox faith.

But Dr P. is not done with this article, “The manner,” he says, “in which Hegesippus quotes the gospel of the Hebrews, was such as led Eusebius to think that he was an 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

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* Ibid. l. iv. c. 7.

† It needs scarcely be mentioned, that when this phrase, *the Catholic church*, is occasionally introduced, it is not used in the sense in which it is arrogantly appropriated by the church of Rome, but in that common with early writers, as denoting the great body of Christians professionally adhering to the doctrine of our Lord and his Apostles, in contradistinction from the various classes of heretics.

“one of the Hebrew Christians *.” We may, therefore, conclude, that 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 gospel, and therefore must have quoted that of the Hebrews from choice, and not from necessity †.” The reasoning here is very singular. Hegesippus quotes some things from the Hebrew gospel; therefore, he quoted it *with respect*. Therefore, he was an Ebionite. But we deny the first consequence; and therefore, the second. His quoting it is no proof as to the design or manner of the quotation. As little is it any evidence of his being an Ebionite. For by a parity of reason, it might be urged that Ignatius was not only an Hebrew Christian, but an Ebionite; as he gives a passage from that gospel in his epistle to the church of Smyrna ‡. Had we as little of the writings of Clemens Alexandrinus as of Hegesippus, the same conclusion might be formed; for he expressly cites this gospel §. According to this rule, had we known nothing more of Jerom, than that he translated this gospel, with far more probability might it have been inferred that he was an Ebionite. For surely, the translation of a work is a much greater evidence of *respect*, than the mere quotation of it.”

But might not Hegesippus quote this gospel in regard to some circumstances not mentioned in the other gospels, as Ignatius, Clemens Alexandrinus and others have done; without giving it any preference, or even placing it on a level with them? Thus Origen quotes it; “not for authority,”

* Εκ τε τε καθ' Εβραϊως ευαγγελιου και τε Συριακου, και ιδιως εκ της Εβραϊδος διαλεκτου τινα τιθησιν, εμφανων ες Εβραϊων εαυτον πιστευου-
μενοι. Hist. l. iv. c. 22. p. 184.

† Vol. iii. p. 228. as corrected vol. iv. p. 386

‡ Vid. Grabe Spicileg. vol. i. p. 25.

§ Stromat. lib. ii. p. 278.

“thority,” as he says, “but only for the manifestation of “his present purpose *.”

If all the Hebrew Christians of that age had been Ebionites, and if Hegesippus also in his work had discovered his attachment to their doctrine, either as to the person of Christ or the ceremonial law, Eusebius would have had no occasion to mention so dubious a circumstance, as that of Hegesippus quoting the gospel to the Hebrews, as a proof of his being one of them.

If, as Dr P. insinuates, the prejudice of Eusebius “against the Unitarians of his own time” was so strong, that he did not incline to discover the peculiar persuasion of Hegesippus †, it must follow that Eusebius had not the remotest idea, that his speaking of this writer as “a Jewish Christian,” necessarily implied that he was an Ebionite. Otherwise, our author must suppose that Eusebius was so silly, as not to be able to keep his own secret, even when he wished to do it. Is it said that Eusebius could not propose to conceal the profession of Hegesippus, because it must have been as well known as his name or writings; but from his prejudice against the Ebionites, did not incline expressly to mention his connexion with them? But how did Eusebius dare to describe him as an *orthodox* writer; when every one who knew the character of Hegesippus must have had it in his power to charge Eusebius with a wilful falsehood; when he must thus have exposed his own character to eternal disgrace?

The words of Eusebius do not imply that, in his apprehension, there was any thing peculiar in the Christianity of Hegesippus. They seem only meant to express his opinion that the ancient historian, by quoting the Hebrew gospel, “shewed that he was a believer of Hebrew ex-“tract.” If any one should conclude, from the language of Eusebius, that Hegesippus also quoted from the Syriac ver-

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* Tract. 8. in Matth.

† Hist. of Cor. vol. i. p. 8.

sion of the New Testament; and thence, that he did not, like the Ebionites, confine himself to the Hebrew gospel; it might be difficult for Dr P. to prove the contrary. It is the opinion of the learned, that, before the close of the first century, or at least, during the second, there was a version of the New Testament in the Syriac language*. This indeed has been ascribed to the Apostle Thaddeus. But it may afterwards appear, that there is more direct evidence that Hegesippus acknowledged those books as canonical, which were rejected by the Ebionites.

The Doctor's last proof of the Unitarianism of this historian is thus expressed: "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 ‡." But this proves nothing as to the faith of Hegesippus himself. For whatever were the words of James, it was his duty, as an historian to relate them faithfully. Were any Trinitarian to write the history of Dr P. would it be necessary for him, in order to avoid the imputation of Heresy, when relating the Doctor's words, to give him the language of *Orthodoxy*? Some may be so severe as to insinuate that our author's own method of writing history is somewhat similar to this. But it has not yet become general. Nor has it the sanction of antiquity. If, therefore, there be any Unitarianism here, the whole charge must rest on James.

The use of this appellation, *Son of Man*, can no more prove that James was an Unitarian, than that our Lord

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himself

* Michaelis Lectures, sect. 43. 49. Spaanheim. *Histor. Christian. Saec. 2* p. 650.

† *Hist. l. ii. c. 23. p. 79.*

+ *Vol. iii. p. 229.*

himself maintained this doctrine. For there is no evidence that the Apostle denied him a superior character. Considering his purpose, it was the most proper expression that he could use. The question immediately proposed to him was; "What is the door of Jesus who was crucified?" But the design of the question appears from the preceding part of the quotation. Thence we learn, that "because many of the rulers believed, there was a tumult of the Jews, and Scribes and Pharisees, who cried out that the whole people were in danger of reckoning that *Jesus was the Christ*; that therefore, assembling together, they said to James, Restrain the people, we intreat thee, as they are deceived concerning Jesus, *accounting him the Messiah.*" Now, could there be any language more proper than that which he uses? Could there be any proof of Jesus being indeed the Messiah, more convincing than that which he gives? "Why do ye ask me concerning Jesus the Son of Man? Even he sits in heaven at the right hand of the great Power, and shall come in the clouds of heaven." He calls Jesus *the Son of Man*, because he had himself generally used this phrase to denote his incarnation; and because he was foretold, under this name, as the Messiah, Dan. vii. 13. They asked James concerning Jesus *as Messiah*; and he gives them a direct answer. To his crucifixion, mentioned by them, he opposes his exaltation, as a proof that those who *accounted him the Messiah* were not *deceived*. A mere declaration of his deity would not have been in point. But it is materially expressed in these words, "He sits at the right hand of the great Power, and shall come in the clouds." We have formerly shown in what sense the Jews understood this language. When our Lord expressed himself in this manner, before the counsel, they cried out, *Blasphemy!* Indeed, the language here ascribed to James, is nearly the same as that of our Lord.

Lord. Hereafter shall ye see the Son of Man sitting on the right hand of power, and coming in the clouds of heaven, Mat. xxvi. 64. The Jews then reckoned that Jesus was guilty of blasphemy against God. But when the same expressions and sentiments are used by one of his disciples, they are urged by a Christian teacher, as a proof that the speaker considered him as a mere man.

The argument derived from the note of Valesius has been already considered, as far as it regards Hegeffippus. But as Valesius extends his reflection to those works of Clemens Alexandrinus which are lost, our author, who, like a drowning man, grasps at every twig, endeavours to profit by this circumstance. "Though Clemens," he says "was not an Unitarian, yet he never calls Unitarians heretics; and since in his account of heretics in general, which are pretty frequent, 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 the Unitarians*." Clemens takes as little notice of the Cerinthians; though they are mentioned by Tertullian a writer of the same age. Is it not enough that Clemens, even in the judgment of our author, was not an Unitarian? Must his sincerity be doubted, merely because he does not particularly mention those as heretics, whose principles were contrary to his? His sincerity? I say; for no man can truly believe the Deity of Christ, and not reckon those heretics who deny it. Is it not enough, that Clemens maintained a doctrine as opposite to theirs as light to darkness?

That the Jews were driven out of Jerusalem before Clemens wrote, is undeniable. Now, Dr P. says; "What became of those that were driven out of the city by Adrian, does not appear.—Their numbers, we may sup-

* Vol iii. p. 230.

“pose, were gradually reduced, till at length they became “extinct*.” When our author makes such a concession, he cannot blame us, if we reckon it probable that, in the time of Clemens, they made very little figure. But merely because he does not call them heretics, it is a very strange inference, that probably he “said things directly “in their favour,” in those of his writings which are lost. The amount of this reasoning is; “It is known that his “principles were the very reverse. But as he says no- “thing *directly against them*, in one work; it is probable “that he said something *directly in their favour* in another.”

But after all, the Doctor’s assertion is contrary to fact. In the fullest list of heretics given by Clemens we find one class mentioned, which does not seem to have been generally attended to. After specifying those who are denominated from the name of their leader, as the Valentinians, Marcionites and Basilidians; “others,” says he, “receive “their name from a place, as the Peratici †.” Who these are, we shall find by tracing the Judaizing Christians after their banishment from Jerusalem. Our author says, that “it is most probable that they joined their brethren at “Pella, or *Beræa* in Syria, from whence they had come to “reside at Jerusalem †.” Here Dr P. seems to confound the city with the country in which it lay; or rather, *Peræa*, a country beyond Jordan, strictly comprehending the possessions of the tribes of Reuben and Gad, with *Barœa*, a city of Syria between Antioch and Hierapolis. The regions referred to has still been called *Peræa* by the moderns §, and in this they are supported by the authority of the

* Vol. iii. p. 232.

† Αἱ δὲ ἀπο τοῦτε, ὡς οἱ Περαιῖκοι. Stromat. lib. 7. p. 549.

‡ Vol. iii. p. 232.

§ Whitty in Matth. xxiv. 18 Univerf. Hist. vol. i. p. 311. oct.

the ancients. Dr P. himself acknowledges that Epiphanius mentions Peræa as the residence of the Nazarenes*. This region is called Peræa by Josephus, who says that Pella is its boundary on the North †. Pella was the name of the city, and Peræa of the country: for it literally signifies the country *περαν*, *beyond* the river ‡.

Nothing, therefore, can be more clear than that the *Περατικοί*, who “received their name from their situation,” were the inhabitants of *Περαία*. These, in the estimation of Clemens, were *heretics*: and our author does not refuse that they were *Ebionites*. Thus he needs not flatter himself that Clemens, in those writings which are lost might have “said things directly *in favour of* the Unitarians;” since, in those which are extant, we find something directly *against* them. Even our author finds it necessary to admit, in another place, that it may “be conjectured that “Clements meant the Ebionites by the *Peratici* §.”

In the same chapter in which Dr P. appropriates Hegesippus, he introduces Theodotion, Aquila and Symmachus, as men of eminence among Jewish Christians. Therefore, we may turn our attention a little to them. I need not say, that by calling them *Jewish Christians* he means that we should consider them as Unitarians. But although they were consigned to him, he could have no great honour by the connexion.

The Doctor informs us that, according to Epiphanius, “Theodotion was first a Marcionite, and then a Jewish con-

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“vert.”

* Hær. 29. Op. vol. i. p. 123. Earl. Op. vol. iii. p. 165.

† Η Περαία δε, πολυ μιλων, — και Πελλη μεν — προς αριστερον ζειται. De Bell Judaic. lib. iii. c. 2.

‡ Vid. Relandi Palæstina, lib. i. c. 33. p. 197. lib. iii. p. 924. Cellarii Geograph. Antiq. vol. ii. lib. iii. c. 13. p. 551.

§ Vol. i. p. 285, 286.

“vert.” He also quotes Eusebius, as saying that “Theodotion and Aquila were both Jewish profelytes, whom the Ebionites following, believe Christ to be the son of Joseph *.” But in what sense was Theodotion a “Jewish convert,” a “Jewish profelyte?” From all the account given by our author, one would conclude that he had joined the church of Christian Hebrews. But of this there is no proof. After being a Marcionite, he became a profelyte to Judaism. According to Cave, he totally abandoned Christianity †. However, he has not mentioned his authority for this assertion. Some of the later Fathers reckoned Theodotion an Ebionite. But the circumstance that seems to have given rise to this opinion, is the assertion of Irenæus, quoted by Eusebius, that the Ebionites were followers of him and Aquila. As Irenæus is giving an account of their versions, he might mean no more than that the Ebionites followed them in their translations of those passages of the prophecies which had been urged, by the generality of Christians, as proofs of the miraculous conception ‡. Jerom asserts that this translator “continued an unbeliever, although some considered him as an Ebionite §.” Elsewhere he says that he interprets with the poverty of an Ebionite ||.

Aquila, having made a profession of Christianity, was baptized. But not renouncing judicial astrology, to which he had been addicted from his youth, but devoting himself to it more and more, he was excommunicated. Rankled at this disgrace, he denied Christianity, and joined with the *unbelieving* Jews; being circumcised, and becoming a disciple

* Hist. lib. 5. c. 8. Earl. Op. vol. iii. p. 219.

† Hist. Literar. vol. i. p. 48.

‡ Iren. lib. iii. c. 24.

§ Qui utique post adventum Christi incredulus fuit: licet eum quidam dicant Hebionitam qui altero genere Judæus est. Procem. in Dan.

|| Theodotio autem vere quasi pauper et Hebionita, &c. In Hab. iii.

disciple of Rabbi Akiba, a most bitter enemy of the Christians. He applied himself with great diligence to the study of the Hebrew language; and engaged in a new version of the Old Testament, especially that he might oppose the version of the Seventy, and pervert the testimonies concerning Christ*. Although Jerom, in some instances, approves of his version, he rejects it in others, calling him “a contentious interpreter †.” As Irenæus calls both him and Theodotion *Jewish proselytes*, either he did not consider them as Ebionites, or he did not consider Ebionites as Christians. For the phrase, *Jewish proselyte*, has never been understood by any but our author, as signifying a Christian of any kind. Epiphanius, giving an account of Aquila, expressly contrasts the one expression with the other; saying, “He denied *Christianity*,—and became a *Jewish proselyte* ‡.” Jerom expressly calls him a Jew §, when, in a single instance, contrasting his interpretation with that of Theodotion and Symmachus.

The last mentioned Father seems to admit that Symmachus was an Ebionite ||. But we are informed by Epiphanius, that Symmachus was by birth a Samaritan, and instigated by ambition, left the religion in which he had been educated, and was circumcised a second time on becoming a Jewish proselyte; but afterwards renounced the circumcision, in a very peculiar manner, described on this occasion **. It is not easy to reconcile this account with the

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idea

* Hieron. in Isa. viii. Fabricii Bibliothec. Græc. lib. iii. c. 12. f. 8.

† Pammach. Epist. Tom. 2. fol. 122.

‡ Τον Χριστιανισμον ἀρνησάμενος, καὶ τὴν αὐτῆ ζῶν, προσηλυτίηται, καὶ περιτεμενεται Ἰουδαίος. De Mensur. sect. 15.

§ Judæus Aquila interpretatus est ut Christianus. In Hab. iii.

|| Loc. sup. cit.

** De Mens. et Ponder. sect. 16.

idea of his being an Ebionite; as those who bore this name reckoned circumcision necessary to salvation.

The Doctor observes that "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." Eusebius says that Symmachus became an Ebionite. But when he quotes this translator, he says that he wrote on the Gospel of Matthew, to "support the heresy formerly mentioned *". Whether he was right, or not, in calling him an Ebionite, or in what sense soever his language be understood concerning this work of Symmachus; when he tells us that the design of it was to support the heresy of the Ebionites, that interpreter cannot well be said to be quoted *with the greatest respect*, by an author who elsewhere says that the Ebionites were "under the power of a malignant demon." The version of Theodotion was much used by the orthodox, but only as it was marked with notes of censure by Origen, to point out its defects, redundancies and errors. Jerom says of these three translators, that "by a crafty interpretation, they concealed many of the mysteries of religion †." The reason of the attention paid to these versions seems to have been, the force that any argument in favour of the truth acquired, as being derived from a translation made by its bitterest enemies.

Thus it seems evident that our learned author has no claim to Aquila: and his title to Theodotion and Symmachus is liable to various objections.

CHAP.

* Hist. lib. vi. c. 17. p. 278.

† Multa mysteria Salvatoris sub dola interpretatione celarunt. Apolog. advers. Ruffin, Epist. Tom. 2. fol. 76.

C H A P. III.

The Hebrew Christians not Ebionites.

AS those who were called Ebionites denied the deity of Christ, Dr P. endeavours to prove that all the Jewish Christians were Ebionites in opinion, and that they all received this name. It is worthy of notice, that this is the very plan that Toland pursues, in his *Nazarenus*, when attempting entirely to subvert Christianity. But the falsity of this hypothesis appears from various considerations.

1. According to Dr P.'s testimony, Hegesippus was one of these Hebrew Christians. He has exerted himself to the utmost to prove that this ancient Historian was an Ebionite. He has especially endeavoured to establish this from the circumstance of his not calling the Ebionites heretics. This is the very argument used by Toland*. But we have seen, that Hegesippus believed the same doctrine with Eusebius; who has never been suspected of any attachment to the Ebionites. All the evidence, therefore, that hath been brought to prove the *orthodoxy* of Hegesippus, as Eusebius expresses it, with equal force proves that of these Hebrews who were properly called *Christians*.

2. According to Hegesippus, the church of Jerusalem was pure in doctrine till the time of the martyrdom of Simeon †. If she was pure in the estimation of Hegesippus, she must have been pure in that of Eusebius also; because their faith was the same. Therefore, so far was the church of Jerusalem from consisting wholly of Ebionites, that there were none in communion with her before this period. Of consequence, the deity of our Saviour was believed by this church

* *Nazarenus*, ap Mosheim. *Vindiciae*. p. 157.

† *Euf. Hist. lib. iii. c. 22*

church from the earliest times. But this is not merely to be inferred from the account given by Hegesippus. We have the express testimony of Eusebius himself, a testimony exhibited after the most accurate inquiry. "I never yet could find," he says, "how long these bishops presided at Jerusalem. This only have I learned from the most ancient writers, that till the Jews were besieged under Adrian, fifteen bishops have in constant succession presided over that church; all of whom are mentioned as Jews by birth, and as *lawfully holding the doctrine of Christ*, so that they were esteemed most worthy of the episcopal office, by those who were *most capable of forming a judgment* of these things*." Is it in the least degree credible that Eusebius would have spoken in this manner of these men, had he reckoned them, as he says of the Ebionites, "under the power of a malignant demon?"

3. The Ebionites were heretics in the estimation of the believing Hebrews. They were accounted such by the Gentile Christians. They are introduced in the heretical catalogue by Irenæus †, and by Tertullian ‡. But if they were accounted heretics by Gentile Christians, they could be viewed in no other light by believing Jews. For the latter held communion with the Gentile churches, as we have seen with respect to Hegesippus. But while the Gentiles accounted the Ebionites heretics, there could have been no communion between them and those of the Jewish nation, unless the latter had been of the same judgment.

4. The church of believing Hebrews did not maintain the observation of the ceremonial law to be necessary to salvation, nor impose it on Gentile converts. They believed

* Οὗς πάντας Ἑβραῖους φατίν οὐτας ἀνεκαθεν, τὴν γνῶσιν τοῦ Χριστοῦ γνησιώστ καταδέξασθαι· ὡστ' ἤδη πρὸς τῶν τοιαυτῶν ἐπιχειρεῖν δυνατόν, καὶ τῆς τῶν ἐπισκοπῶν λειτουργίας ἀξίως δοκιμασθῆναι. Hist. lib. iv. c. 5.

† Adv. haer. lib. i. c. 26. ‡ Tertullian de Praescript. c. 48.

ved that God *put no difference between* the Gentiles and them ; and that it was *tempting God*, if they *put this yoke about the neck of the disciples*, which neither their fathers nor themselves were able to bear, Acts xv. 9, 10. But the Ebionites maintained that the ceremonial law was obligatory on all, and that men could not be saved without it *. Therefore, they refused to hold any communion with those Gentiles who did not observe the law. Thus we find Justin speaking of some in his time who made a profession of Christianity : “ But of those, O Trypho, who “ are of your nation, and say that they believe in Christ, “ who force the Gentiles, believing in this Christ, in all “ respects to live according to the law of Moses, or else deprive them of communion in all mutual intercourse, in “ like manner I should reject them †.” The nature of this communion evidently appears from what he had said before. The language used seems to have been proverbial, intimating that they refused all sort of intercourse with them ‡. So far from being one body in *sacred* matters, they refused all *civil* fellowship. They treated them as if they had been formally excommunicated. The Ebionites, in their attachment to the ritual worship, carried matters so far as in some sense to adore Jerusalem. For Irenæus says ; “ They adore Jerusalem, as being the house of “ God ||.” This they did not do, merely before the destruction of that city, and of the temple ; but long after, even in the age of that writer.

If

* Δειν δὲ παντὸς αὐτοῖς τῆς νομικῆς θρησκείας, ὡς μὴ ἀνὰ διαμονὴς τῆς εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν πίστεως καὶ τῆ κατ’ αὐτὴν βίῃ ζῶθησομενοι. Euf. Hist. lib. 3. c. 27.

† Ἡ μὴ κοινωνεῖν αὐτοῖς τῆς τοιαύτης συνδιαγωγῆς αἰρῶνται, ὁμοῦ ὡς καὶ τοῦτας οὐκ ἀποδέχομαι. Dial. p. 266.

‡ Μὴδὲ κοινωνεῖν οἰκίας ἢ ἐστίας τοῖς τειχίοις. Ibid.

|| Lib. i. c. 26.

If we may presume to judge of the opinions of those Hebrews who were properly reckoned Christians, from the decree of the Synod of Jerusalem, as recorded in the language of inspiration; we shall find that they had not a very favourable idea of those who thought and acted as the Ebionites did. With respect to such as *troubled the Gentiles with words, saying, Ye must be circumcised, and keep the law*; they not only aver, that they gave them *no such commandment*, but charge them with *subverting the souls of the Gentiles*. Now, whatever Dr P. make of his beloved Ebionites, he will be at a loss to find one of them here. For the sentence of this truly venerable court, expressly prohibiting the imposition of the ceremonial law on the Gentiles, *pleased the Apostles, and elders, with the whole church, Acts xv. 22. 24.* It was the wish of a *man of eminence* among the Jewish Christians, that they were *cut off, that troubled the Galatians with the same doctrine*; whether he ever realized it or not. He accounted those, who thus troubled them, perverters of the gospel of Christ, Gal. v. 12. i. 7.

5. The Hebrew believers were not Ebionites; for the latter were not reckoned to be properly Christians. Therefore Tertullian says of Ebion, that "he proposed the law to the exclusion of the *Gospel*, and to the support of Judaism*." To the same purpose are the words of Jerom; "Why do I speak of the Ebionites, who only pretend that they are Christians?" There is one authority, which, with the Doctor's leave, we regard more than any of these. It is that of *an Hebrew of the Hebrews*, who asserts that if any were *circumcised, viz.* accounting it necessary to salvation, Christ could *profit them nothing*, he was *become of none effect* to them, they were *fallen from grace*, Gal. v. 2, 3.

6. The

* Legem etiam proponit ad excludendum Evangelium, et vindicandum Judaismum. De Præscript. c. 48.

6. The Jewish Christians received as canonical the four Gospels, and the Epistles of Paul. This is evident from the testimony of Eusebius. For after mentioning these, with the first Epistles of John, and the first of Peter, he adds; "These, indeed, are received by common consent*." But how could he say so, if the whole Jewish church rejected them all, but the Gospel of Matthew? That the Ebionites did so, we are certain from the testimony of the same historian: "They think that all the epistles of the Apostle Paul are to be rejected, calling him an apostate from the law; embracing that Gospel *only*, which is said to be according to the Hebrews, they make little account of the rest †." The same is asserted by Irenæus, with this difference only, that he calls it the Gospel according to Matthew ‡. They curtailed the only Gospel which they acknowledged. For they cut off the two first chapters; as they disbelieved the miraculous conception.

Had the Hebrew Christians in general rejected all but this Gospel, their bishops must have agreed with them. But had this been the case, would Eusebius have described them as "cordially receiving the faith of Christ?" Could these be accounted the genuine successors of the Apostles, who rejected almost all the *apostolical* writings? When the same historian speaks of the Gospel according to the Hebrews, as that "in which those of the Hebrews, who have received Christ, *especially delight* ||;" some have thought that he refers to the Ebionites. Of this opinion was Rufinus §. But although we should suppose that Eusebius speaks of the believing Hebrews in general, it is certainly
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* Hist. lib. iii. c. 25.

† Ibid c 26.

‡ Adv. Haer. lib. i. c. 26 It has been conjectured with great appearance of probability, that what is called the Gospel according to the Hebrews, was merely an interpolated copy of Matthew's Gospel in Hebrew. See Jones's Method of settling the Canon, vol. i. p. 152.

§ Hist. lib. iii. c. 25.

|| Not. Valef. in Euf. Hist. loc. cit.

most natural to think, that the Gospel in which they *delighted*, was very different from that used by the Ebionites. These heretics appear in another light, in the chapter immediately following, where he informs us that they received this Gospel *only*. We have, indeed, certain proof of the general reception of the Epistles of Paul among the believing Hebrews, from the language of the Apostle of the circumcision, 2 Pet. iii. 15, 16. unless Socinians be disposed to deny the canonical authority of this Epistle. Episcopus himself, however warmly he espoused the cause of the Socinians, renounces all connexion with the Ebionites on this very account, that “ they loaded the Apostle Paul “ with calumnies, and accused Peter of lying. Therefore,” he says, “ they appear to be the worst of men *.” If Peter calls those *unlearned and unstable*, who *wrested* the writings of his *beloved brother Paul*; if he says, that they did so *to their own destruction*; what judgment would he have passed on those who rejected them, who calumniated, nay, cursed their inspired writer?

7. The generality of professed Christians of the Jewish nation believed the deity of Christ. This is attested by Sulpitius Severus, an historian of undoubted credit. We shall have occasion to consider his testimony afterwards. I need not say that all the Ebionites asserted that Jesus was a mere man.

As these considerations may satisfy any candid inquirer, that the Hebrew believers were not Ebionites in doctrine, it may also be justly inferred from them that Dr P.'s supposition, that they all received this name, is entirely groundless. Those who accounted the Hebrew Christians sound in the faith, would never give them a designation which properly belonged to a heretical sect, whose leading doctrines were equally detested by both.

C H A P.

* Institut. Theolog. ap. Bull. vol. ii. p. 281.

C H A P. IV.

Of the Origin of the Name of Ebionites.

DR PRIESTLEY observes that “the members of the Jewish church were, in general, in very low circumstances, which may account for their having few persons of learning among them; on which account they were much despised by the richer and more learned Gentile Christians, especially after the destruction of Jerusalem, before which event all the Christians in Judea (warned by our Saviour’s prophecies concerning the desolations of that country) had retired to the north east of the sea of Galilee. They were likewise despised by the Gentiles for their bigotted adherence to the law of Moses. And on all these accounts they probably got the name of *Ebionites*, which signifies *poor* and *mean*, in the same manner as many of the early reformers from Popery got the name of *Beghards*, and other appellations of a similar nature*.” The reason why the Doctor fixes on this, as the most probable origin of the name, is obvious. If it should appear that the Ebionites received this designation from an individual, it would naturally follow that they received their doctrine also from him; and of course, that they did not constitute the body of the Hebrew Christians, but were heretics.

Dr P. is not the first who has occupied this ground. Zuicker, in his *Irenicum Irenicorum*, hath preceded him. Our author, however, if I recollect right, somewhere in his Letters to Dr Horsley, says that he had not seen Zuicker. Perhaps he may have seen Toland. There is, at least, a striking coincidence between the account given of the origin

* Hist. Corrupt. vol. i. p. 7.

gin of this name by Dr P. and that given by the Deist. He says that "they were called *Ebionites* or *beggars*. by "their adversaries, because of their poverty, just as the first "Protestants in Flanders were called *Gueux* *." But upon a candid examination of the ancient writers it will appear that there is as clear proof of the existence of such a person as Ebion, as there is of that of many other heresiarchs whose existence has never been doubted.

Dr P., indeed, says; "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* †." Toland was of the same judgment; with this difference, however, that he durst not refuse the transmission of something more than a mere *voice*. "Some "persons," he says, "equally ignorant of the Jewish lan- "guage, and of the Christian history, ridiculously invented "a certain *Ebion* (of whom they tell *formal stories*) to be "the author of the Ebionites; as they saw several other "sects had peculiar founders, of whom they derived their "appellation ‡."

Tertullian, a most accurate writer, often mentions Ebion. Illustrating these words, *God sent forth his Son, made of a woman*, he says, "That she was a Virgin is evident, al- "though Ebion denies it ||." He introduces him in the same list with Marcion, Valentinus, Appelles and Simon, who were undoubtedly real persons § Speaking of the Apostle John, he says; "But in his epistle, he especially "calls those antichrists, who denied that Christ was come "in the flesh, and who did not believe Jesus to be the Son "of God **; Marcion maintained the former, Ebion the "latter,

* Nazarenus, c. 9. p. 25. ap. Mosheim Vindiciæ, sect 1 c. 5. p. 95.

† Earl. Opin. vol. iii. p. 177.

‡ Nazarenus, Mosh. Vind. p. 183.

|| De Virgin. Veland. c. 6.

§ De Præscript. c. 10. 33.

** Ibid. c. 33.

“latter*.” After giving an account of Cerinthus, he says; “His successor was Ebion †.” He mentions him different times in his book *De Carne Christi* ‡.

Ebion is introduced by Philaster, as the disciple of Cerinthus. Marius Mercator, a writer cotemporary with Augustine, does not merely speak of Ebion, but calls him a Stoic Philosopher §. It has been also said that his name is mentioned in the Talmud **.

Jerom informs us that “John, being solicited by the bishops of Asia, wrote his gospel against Cerinthus, and especially against the opinion of the Ebionites, then making its appearance ††.” Therefore, even supposing that it made its appearance so early, can it be imagined that a writer of the learning and sagacity of Tertullian, who flourished only about an hundred years afterwards, would so often mention Ebion, if no such person had ever existed? Had he been in any doubt, would he not rather have mentioned the sect under the general name of Ebionites? Will any one undertake to prove that he had no proper opportunity of knowing the certainty of Ebion’s existence, only about a century after the time of his supposed appearance? Is it not evident, that Tertullian was well acquainted with the Christian writers who preceded him? Many of them he closely follows, and others he expressly cites, as Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Melito, Miltiades, &c. There is scarcely a heretic of his age, or of the preceding ages, that he does not mention. And when they were denominated from any accidental circumstance, he speaks of them under this general designation. But in no other instance does he mention the name of an individual, unless he was the

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founder

* De Præscript. c. 33. † Ibid. c. 48. ‡ C. 14. 18. 24.

§ In Appendice ad Contradictionem 12 Anathemat. Nestorianismi. ap. Ittig. de Haer. c. 6. f. 7.

** Mosheim Vindic. p. 188.

†† Catalog. Script. in Joan.

founder of the sect *. Whether, then, had Tertullian, or have the modern friends of this doctrine, best access to know the fact? He could have no end to serve in raising up a fictitious heresiarch; for he mentions several others who held the same opinion: but Socinians have, in their attempts to disprove the existence of Ebion. Had he been in a mistake in mentioning Ebion, it may be supposed that some of his friends would have put him right. Although it should be supposed to have gone abroad in one work, he would have guarded against it in another. Had none of his friends corrected him, some one of his enemies would. As Dr P. reckons Praxeas among Unitarians, and Tertullian wrote against him; is it not supposable that he, or his followers, would have been sharp-sighted enough to observe the consequence of one person being mentioned as the first of the party? If they knew that there never had been such a person as Ebion, and that it was a fraud of their enemies, meant to disgrace their principles; (and it is inconceivable that they should not have had abundant access to know;) would they not have accused Tertullian of falsehood? Thus, to reject his testimony, would be to renounce all faith in history.

The principal objection to what has been said, is the derivation which Origen and Eusebius have given of this name. Origen says; "We have not received these things as those beggars in understanding, the Ebionites, denominated from the poverty of their mind. For a poor man is called *Ebion* with the Hebrews †." To the same purpose is the testimony of Eusebius. "The ancients aptly called those Ebionites, who think poorly and meanly of
" Christ."

* Justin Martyr speaks as if it had been the general rule in this case to design every body of heretics from the name of their founder. Therefore, after mentioning the Marcionites, Valentinians, Basilidians, and Saturnilians, he says; "Others are called by their names; every one being denominated from the author of his opinion." Dial. p. 253.

† De Princip. lib. 4.

“Christ*.” Eusebius seems to have borrowed the idea from Origen, whom he frequently quotes; for in the close of the chapter he gives his very words.

But this is no argument against the existence of Ebion. Eusebius does not deny it; nor does he seem to have understood the words of Origen so strictly. All that he insinuates is, that this name fitly expressed their real character. As all the Jewish names had a particular meaning, it was common with that people, if the name was found to be descriptive of the character of the person, to take particular notice of it. Thus it was said of Nabal, 1 Sam. xxv. 25. “As his name is, so is he: his name is *Nabal*, and *folly* is with him †.” This has been customary also with Christian writers. Thus, Eusebius speaks of Manes, the father of the Manicheans; “Then he, who was justly called *Manes*, that is, *the madman*, who gave his name to that devilish heresy, attempted the subversion of reason ‡.” The comments on the name of Arius were of the same kind. Some derived it from *Aρης*, the name of the God of war. His followers were called *Ariomanitæ*. Mosheim justly observes, that if those who have spoken of Ebion as a person had erred, the writers who succeeded them, especially Eusebius, would have taken notice of their error ||. Mangey also, in his reply to Toland, observes with great propriety, that, had these heretics received a name expressive of their poverty, it would not have been an Hebrew, but a Syriac word; because the former was a dead language §. Even so early as the time of Ezra, it was understood by the learned only. For the people could not understand the law without interpreters.

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Epiphanius

* ΕΒΙΩΝΙΤΩΝ ΤΥΤΗΣ ΟΙΚΕΙΩΣ ΕΠΙΦΗΜΙΖΟΝ ΟΙ ΠΡΩΤΟΙ, ΠΤΩΧΩΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΑΠΕΙ-
ΩΣ ΤΑ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩ ΧΡΙΣΤΩ ΔΟΞΑΖΟΝΤΑΣ. Hist. lib. 3. c. 27.

† Bull's Judgment Cath. Church. c. 2.

‡ Hist. l. 7. c. 31.

§ Vindic. cont. Tolandum, p. 189.

§ Ibid. p. 187. 188.

Epiphanius admits that comment on the name which seems to have been invented by Origen, in his ordinary style of writing. But he makes no doubt of the existence of the person. "The first," he says, "who taught that Christ was of the seed of man, that is, the Son of Joseph, was Ebion." He also says; "Ebion, translated from Hebrew into Greek is πτωχος, (*poor*), and well might he be called poor in understanding, in hope, and in deed, who thought Christ a mere man, one who had hope in him upon a *poor* ground of faith. But they glory on this account, calling themselves *poor*, because, they say, in the times of the Apostles they sold their substance, and laid it at the feet of the Apostles, and voluntarily reduced themselves to poverty; and therefore, they say, they by all are called poor. But there is nothing of this true concerning them. But he was called *Ebion* at his birth, by prophecy I think, being poor and miserable; having received this name as an inheritance from his father and mother*." The same writer is so particular as to tell us the place of his residence. Speaking of the Christians as residing in Peræa, he says; "Thence an opportunity was given to Ebion of propagating his error, and he first, indeed, dwelt in Cocabe, &c. as the certain knowledge (*ἡ γνώσις*) reaching to us, represents matters †." Our author cannot justly allege that there are no "particulars handed down to posterity" concerning this person. He may be unwilling to sustain the testimony of Epiphanius; how much soever he endeavours to avail himself of it in some other instances. But it must be ridiculous to reject the testimony of an author, where he is so express, and to quote it for any thing else.

From

* Οὐδε γὰρ το δε ἀληθεις παρ' αυτοις, ἀλλὰ φυσει τω οντι Εβίων ἐκαλειτο, κατα προφειταιαι ομαι ο πτωχος και παλας, το ονομα εκ πατρος αυτη και μητρος αυτη κεληρωμενος. Haer. 30. f. 17.

† Haer. 30.

From what Epiphanius says, it would seem that, in later times, the Ebionites ashamed to acknowledge an uninspired man as the head of their party, wished to explain away the origin of the name. This they might the more readily attempt, because of the little figure made by their heresiarch.

Ebion is also mentioned by name in the larger copy of the Epistle of Ignatius to the Philadelphians *, by Pamphilus, in his Apology for Origen †, by Hilary †, by Theodoret ‖, by Augustin §, &c. &c.

Jerom, who was better acquainted with Hebrew learning than any of the Fathers, mentions Ebion times almost without number. He seems to have believed his existence, as much as that of any other heretic. He classes him with Photinus **, with Theodotus of Byzantium and Valentinus ††, with Praxeas, Cerinthus, and Novatus ††. He expressly calls him the successor of Cerinthus ‖‖. He indeed gives a metaphorical turn to his name; but so as to shew that he believed the existence of the person §§. He distinguishes him from all the friends of his heresy by calling him *that heresiarch* ***.

If Socinians will still deny the existence of that heretic, who is mentioned by so many writers, as the father

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of

* Sect. 6. Cotelerii Pat. vol. 2. p. 82.

† Orig. Oper. p. 858. ap. Ittig. de Hæres. sect. 1. c. 6.

‡ Lib. 2. de Trinitat. p. 19. lib. 7. p. 81, 82. ibid.

‖ Lib. 2. de Hæret. fabul. c. 1. ibid.

§ De Hæres. c. 10. ibid. Vid. etiam Mosheim Vindic. p. 186. 187.

** In Gal. i. 1. Eph. iv. Catalog. Scriptor. No. 117.

†† Adv. Helvid. †† Proœm. in Mat. Adv. Luciferian.

‖‖ Cherinthum et hujus successorem Hebionem. Adv. Luciferian.

tom. 2. f. 49.

§§ Judæi et Judaici erroris hæredes Hebionite, qui pro humilitate sensus nomen pauperum susceperunt, &c. In Esai. lxxvi. 19. Simul arat in bove et asino Hebion; dignus pro humilitate sensus, paupertate nominis sui, &c. In cap. i. 2.

*** Hebion ille heresiarchem. In Gal. iiii. 13.

of their doctrine ; if they will persist in urging the language of Origen and Eusebius, in opposition to positive evidence ; it is at least reasonable that they should confine themselves to the interpretation which these ancients give of the name. They do not extend it, as Socinians do, to their literal poverty or want of learning ; but expressly restrict it to their want of understanding. And what proofs do they give of this ? Not merely their attachment to an abolished law, but according to Eusebius at least, especially the *poverty* of their faith concerning the Saviour. But if the modern Ebionites claim a right to impose a sense of their own on this name, they renounce that very authority whence alone they can plead that it was given as a significative designation. If Origen and Eusebius are not credible witnesses as to the peculiar sense in which it was imposed by the ancients, they can deserve no credit as to the circumstance of its being imposed in any sense as a descriptive name.

Dr P. starts another objection to the existence of the heresiarch. "The term *Ebionite*," he says, "was 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*."

Here he seems to refer to Irenæus, the earliest writer now extant, who uses the term *Ebionite*. Toland gives this objection more expressly, taking particular notice of "the silence of Irenæus, concerning any such person as Ebion †." In reply to this objection, the learned Mosheim observes, that no more can be concluded, against the existence of Ebion, from the silence of Irenæus, than against that of Cerinthus, from the silence of some other writers who mention the Cerinthians only : and that it is most probable that he considered this name as derived from a particular

* Vol. iii. p. 177.

† Mosheim Vindic. p. 182.

cular person, who was the father of the heresy, because as he, almost in every other instance, calls the sects after the names of their leaders, informing his reader of this circumstance; had he not followed this method here, he would most naturally have mentioned the reason of the variation. Had the name appeared to him as having any particular meaning, it is not supposable that he would have overlooked it.

Tertullian is the first writer certainly known to have used the term *Ebion*. He indeed "says nothing about the *man* from others." But his very silence in this respect is in favour of the existence of Ebion. It shows that he considered the fact as generally known. Had he attempted to prove it, our author would most likely have inferred that, even in Tertullian's time, it was a problematical circumstance, whether such a man had ever existed. But although in what he "says about the *man*" he gives no *others* as his authority, he evidently follows the order observed by Irenæus, making Cerinthus the successor of Carpocrates, and Ebion of Cerinthus. As Tertullian was well acquainted with the writings of Irenæus, whom he calls "that most prying searcher into all doctrines*," had he imagined that the latter had omitted to mention Ebion from any doubt of his existence, he would most probably have adverted to this circumstance, at least in his own vindication.

But Tertullian wrote "too late to know any thing of *Ebion* himself." For the Doctor's objection must be primarily levelled against Tertullian, although he is kept in the shade; for he is reckoned the "first who used the term *Ebion*." A reader, who paid no regard to chronology, would naturally suppose, from our author's words, that

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they

* Omnium doctrinarum curiosissimus explorator. Adversus Valent.

they "who first used this term" had lived at least a century after the use of the other. But how long was Irenæus prior to Tertullian? According to Dr P.'s own chronology, he died just *eighteen* years before him*. Thus, "the term "*Ebionite* could not be *long* prior to that of *Ebion*." If Irenæus could have known any thing about the origin of the sect, Tertullian could not have known a great deal less. Are we to suppose that he knew less about the fact than Origen, who died *thirty-four*, or Eusebius, who died *an hundred and twenty* years after him †?

The Doctor, when afterwards speaking of the silence of Irenæus concerning the Gentile Unitarians, says; "It must always be considered that Irenæus lived in Gaul, where there were no Ebionites, and perhaps not many Unitarians ‡." Let it then be *considered* here; especially as he elsewhere attempts to shew that the majority in Africa were Unitarians. According to his own plan of reasoning, whether had Irenæus, who *lived in Gaul*, or Tertullian, who lived in Africa, surrounded, as is supposed, by Unitarians, best access to know the real origin of this sect? Whether was the former, who says so little of the Ebionites, and nothing of the Gentile Unitarians, and who is supposed to have had no trouble from them, or the latter, who wrote expressly against those whom our author calls Unitarians, — most likely to inform himself accurately on the subject?

But Dr P.'s system, with respect to the name of *Ebionites*, is so ill-compacted that he cannot himself adhere to it. In his History of Corruptions, he gives it every possible advantage. For he does not confine himself to one sense of the word; but, as we have seen, takes in a variety of senses, that if one fail, he may have recourse to another. He, indeed, overlooks that of the poverty of their ideas concern-

* Vol. iv. p. 252. 254.

† Ibid. ‡ Vol. iii. p. 253.

ing the Saviour. But he supposes that they might receive this name from their want of learning, their literal poverty, and their rigid attachment to the law. When giving this explanation, he finds it necessary to suppose that this name was given them by *Gentile Christians*. But in his History of Early Opinions, he quits this ground. He tries, indeed, to represent it as the opinion of Jerom. But it is not his own. And it is by no means supposable that Gentile Christians would give these people an *Hebrew* name; unless it be primarily supposed that they had a particular excitement to this from such a circumstance as that of the founder of the sect having a name, which some of them knew to be expressive of the real character of Ebionites. In the work last mentioned, the Doctor supposes that “in the time of Justin Martyr, the Jewish Christians, though all Unitarians—were not known by any opprobrious appellation at all; and that afterwards they were first distinguished by that of *Ebionites* *.” He evidently means that they were thus *distinguished* by Gentile Christians. But he also supposes that this name was first given them “by their unbelieving brethren,” and that the Gentile Christians *adopted* it from them †. He still quotes the authority of Origen concerning the word *Ebion*, as signifying *poor* ‡. But by this new hypothesis, he not only loses the consistency of his scheme, but all the benefit, both of Origen’s explanation, and of his own. In the passage referred to, Origen says that the persons spoken of “are named from the beggarly expectation of the law ||.” But on this account they would never be thus named by *their unbelieving brethren*, who held the law in the highest estimation, preferring it to the Gospel. Nor would they call them Ebionites, because they had few people of learning among

* Vol. i. p. 176, 177.

† *Ibid.* p. 175.‡ *Ibid.* p. 166.|| *Cont. Cels. lib. ii. p. 56*

among them. Had this been the reason of a peculiar appellation, they would have preferred a term which *properly* conveyed this idea. But it is by no means a natural supposition, that a body of people should be denominated from a circumstance of this nature, when there were so many others that unbelievers would rather have fixed on. Nor would they give them this name, because of their literal poverty. For after the destruction of Jerusalem, and especially after the war of Adrian, their unbelieving brethren would be at least as much reduced as themselves. Our author will never suppose that they were called *Ebionites* for the reason assigned by Eusebius, their mean ideas of Christ. Besides those already considered, this is the only one, as far as we know, that has been mentioned by any writer ancient or modern.

I shall only add, that Dr P. himself quotes a passage from Grabe, affording a proof of the existence of Ebion, which it will not be easy for him to invalidate. His words are: "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 works, of which he gives some account in his note upon the place *." This silly parenthesis, it would seem, is all that our author can oppose to what is advanced by Grabe. He accounts his *ipse dixit* a sufficient reply to an argument from facts. But had he given the attention of any ordinary reader to this note, he would have seen that Grabe says quite another thing than what he ascribes to him. That learned writer collected this "from some fragments,"—not "of Irenæus's works," but of Ebion's. That this is his meaning appears,

* *Ipsum Ebionem ἐξηγησιν των προφητων* scripsisse, colligo ex fragmentis hujus operis, quæ ante paucos dies Parisiis accepi ex MS. Codice Collegii Claromontani descripto a viro humanissimo R. P. Michaele Lequien, inter addenda ad spicilegium hæreticorum Seculi I. suo tempore, Deo volente, publicanda. Not. ad Iren. lib. i. c. 26. ap. Auct. vol. ii. p. 218.

pears, not merely from the connexion, but from his declared design of publishing these among the additions to the *Spicilegium* of the heretics of the *first* century. But had they been "fragments of Irenæus's works," they undoubtedly belonged to the *second*. I need not say that, had this been the case, Grabe would naturally have published them along with the fragments of *other* works of Irenæus; some of which he received from the same Lequien*. The former had certainly a superior claim, had they belonged, as Dr P. supposes, to the work *against heresies*.

But while our author cannot but lament that paucity of ancient Unitarian writers which he confesses, why is he so averse to acknowledge the *venerable* Ebion as a man of learning, as an interpreter of scripture? Why does he not strain every nerve to rescue these precious remains from the ravages of time? Well does he know, that his system requires that they should be consigned to everlasting oblivion. *He*, therefore, by Ebion "*must* understand some "Ebionite." But he presumes too far in imposing the same cogent *necessity* upon his reader.

The learned editor of Irenæus does not seem to have known, that, in what he said of Ebion's interpretation of the prophets, he was supported by the testimony of Jerom. This father quotes the very words of Ebion in his view of that passage; *Cursed is every one that hangeth on a tree*. He quotes them as giving a meaning to the passage, entirely different from that imposed on it by any of the three translators who have been reckoned his followers. He quotes them in that language in which Ebion had wrote his exposition. "These words," he says, "that heresiarch Ebion, "half Christian, and half Jew, has thus interpreted, *Οτι, " &c. that is, 'He who is hanged is the object of divine*
'contempt.'

* Iren. Op. cur. Grabe, p. 471. not.

‘contempt*.’ Will our author say, that here also “we must understand some Ebionite?”

C H A P. V.

Of the Nazarenos and Ebionites, proving that they were not the same People.

S E C T I O N I.

DR PRIESTLEY, after the worthy example of Toland, is very anxious to prove that the Nazarenos and Ebionites were the same people. He flatters himself that if this point be gained, there will remain no other Christians, of Hebrew origin, to perplex him with their orthodoxy. But it is of no importance to the principal question, whether they were the same, or not. For it is evident from what we have already seen, and we hope to make it appear more fully afterwards, that there were Hebrew Christians, who believed Jesus to be the Son of God, and renounced the obligation of the law. Only, as truth is still worth contending for, we shall state what seems to deserve this name, in reply to what has been advanced by Dr P.

He endeavours to prove, that “persons distinguished by the name of Ebionites and Nazarenos were supposed to have existed in the time of the Apostles †.” “Irenæus, he says, “who gives no other name to any Jewish Christians,

* In eo autem loco ubi Aquila et Theodotus similiter transtulerunt, dicentes; Quia maledictio dei est suspensus; in Hebræo ita ponitur, &c. Hæc verba Hebion ille heresiarches, semichristianus et semijudæus ita interpretatus est: οτι υβρι: θεου ο κρεμαμενος; id est, Quia injuria dei est suspensus.—Quod apertius Symmachus transtulit dicens; Quia propter blasphemiam dei suspensus est. In Gal. iii. 13.

† Vol. iii. p. 162, 163.

“ 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 this respect.” The unlearned reader would naturally suppose that Irenæus had spoken thus of the Gnostics in general ; especially as the text seems to be supported by a marginal quotation. But he only refers to some of them, whom he calls *reliqui, the rest* ; after particularly mentioning others by name, as the followers of Valentinus and Marcion. He had formerly declared the errors of Simon Magus †, who was in the fullest sense coeval with the Apostles, and the proper father of the Gnostics. But here he speaks of those who were the followers of Menander “ the disciple of Simon.”

But had the testimony of Irenæus been in this instance conformable to our author’s wishes ; had it really appeared from him that the Gnostics in general were of late date ; had his assertion necessarily implied that the Ebionites preceded them ; what would have followed ? Nothing less than the total demolition of one principal pillar of our author’s fabric, nay, of the whole of it. For he has been at great pains to prove, that the Gnostics were the *only* heretics who gave the Apostles any trouble. But if compared with the Ebionites, they were of late date, surely they did not exist in the time of the Apostles. For it is not pretended that the Ebionites existed any earlier. Therefore, the Gnostics could not be the heretics against whom the Apostles wrote. Of consequence, they must have directed their censures

* Toland also attempted to shew that both Nazarenes and Ebionites maintained that Jesus was the Son of Joseph *. The Doctor’s plan bears as great a resemblance to his, as if he had proposed it as his pattern.

* *Nazaren. ap. Mosheim Vindic. p. 99.*

† *Haer. lib. i. c. 20.*

cenfures folety againft the Ebionites. For, befides the Gnoftics, no others have ever been mentioned as heretics in the apoftolic age.

It is aftonifhing, however, that Dr P. ventures to refer to this chapter, as if it even tacitly favoured the Ebionites. If he reckons Irenæus worthy of credit (and if not, why quote him?) he muft know that this very chapter contains a testimony, which at once defeats all his laborious attempts to fhew that the herefy of the Unitarians was the primitive doctrine. “ If,” fays Irenæus, “ there be a difpute with
 “ others about any ordinary queftion, ought we not to recur
 “ to the moft ancient churches, which had the fellowfhip of
 “ the Apoftles themfelves, and received from them what is
 “ certain and clear concerning the prefent queftion? But
 “ what if the Apoftles had not left us any writings, ought we
 “ not to follow the order of tradition, which they delivered
 “ to thofe to whom they entrusted the churches? To which
 “ method many nations of Barbarians affent, who believe
 “ in Chrift; having falvation written in their hearts by the
 “ Holy Ghoft, without paper and ink, and diligently pre-
 “ ferving the old tradition, believing in one God, the Ma-
 “ ker of heaven and earth, and all things in them, *by Jefus*
 “ *Chrift the Son of God. Who on account of his transcen-*
 “ *dent love to his own workmanfhip, fubmitted to that gene-*
 “ *ration which was of a virgin, he by himfelf uniting man*
 “ *to God.* Thofe who have believed this faith, without
 “ letters, according to our fpeech are barbarians, but with
 “ refpect to fentiment, and cuftom, and converfation, on ac-
 “ count of their faith, by which they are moft wife, they
 “ both pleafe God, and live in all righteoufnefs, chaftity and
 “ wifdom. To whom if any one were to declare thefe
 “ things which are invented by *heretics*, addreffing them in
 “ their own language, immediately fhutting their ears, they
 “ would fly farther and farther off, not having patience to

“hear the blasphemous address. Thus, *in consequence of the ancient tradition of the Apostles*, they will not even pass a thought about the subject of such monstrous discourse *.”

Is it said, that after this he mentions different kinds of Gnostics only? This is granted; but it will by no means prove that his language can apply to them alone. From this quotation, is it not evident to every candid reader, that Irenæus was perfectly assured that the doctrine, not only of the *miraculous conception*, but of the *supreme deity of Christ*, and of his being the immediate agent in creation, was that of the Apostles, delivered by them in all the churches which they planted, and still adhered to by all that were reckoned churches of Christ? Would Irenæus venture to assert this, knowing it to be false? Although he had been worse than any of the heretics confuted or mentioned by him, would he have hazarded his character in an assertion, which, if false, could have been proved to be so by all these churches to which he appealed? Must he not have known, that the various classes of heretics, whom he attacked, would have combined in detecting his falsehood? This would have been no difficult task. He wrote but a short time after the Apostolic age: and there was not a church, scarcely a single church-member, but must have known what the primitive faith was; and if there had been any change, especially in doctrines so fully entitled to the designation of fundamental? Is it in the least degree supposable, that Irenæus could be deceived as to a fact of this nature?

Therefore, according to the connexion, must not the terms, *heretics, blasphemous discourse, &c.* extend to all who, in any way, opposed the doctrines of the *miraculous conception* and *real deity* of our Saviour? These being proclaimed

* Hær. lib. iii. c. 4.

claimed as the articles of apostolic tradition, whatever particular sects are immediately mentioned by Irenæus, he cannot justly be understood as excluding others, equally enemies to these doctrines. In the very passage under consideration, Dr P. acknowledges, that “ Irenæus—*always* “ speaks of Ebionites as denying the pre-existence and divinity of Christ, and likewise the miraculous conception.” And can he be supposed secretly to have meant, that the worthy Ebionites were the only men in the world who might have denied these doctrines, without giving any offence to the apostolical churches? Would error have been less *monstrous* to them, because it came from the lips of those whom our author is pleased to canonize as the only true Christians?

Irenæus undoubtedly had the best access to know. He is generally believed to have been the disciple of Polycarp, the disciple of John the Apostle. His testimony, with respect to the primitive faith of all the churches, will weigh fully as much with the generality of readers, as the probabilities, negative proofs, and unnatural inferences of a writer in the eighteenth century. From Irenæus we learn, that the ancient heretics were far more honest than their successors. Socinians still appeal to the Apostles, as if they had been all Ebionites. But the ancient heretics, conscious that they could make no such appeal, as they paid more regard to the meaning of language, observed a different method. “ When we recall them,” says the Bishop of Lyons, “ to the Apostolic Tradition, which is preserved “ by the succession of Presbyters, they oppose Tradition, “ asserting that they, being not only wiser than the Presbyters, but than the Apostles themselves, have discovered “ the sincere truth : but that the Apostles blended the things “ of the Law with the words of our Saviour ; nay, that our “ Lord himself sometimes spoke from the Creator, some-
 I “ times

“times from a middle power, and again from the Subpreme*.” Whatever presumption there was in this language, it discovered more integrity, at least, than the conduct of those who pretend to submit to the authority of our Lord and of his Apostles, and notwithstanding torture their words out of all form, till they have deprived them of the common meaning of language.

But there is another weighty argument from the same ancient. He “gives no other name to any Jewish Christians, besides that of Ebionites.” And what, if he does not? It was his avowed design and proper work to enumerate the heretical sects, and not the particular bodies of men that adhered to sound doctrine. Is it not enough that he asserts, in the strongest language, that “all the churches of Asia,” the “most ancient churches,” held the same Apostolical tradition which himself held? But the truth is; Irenæus does not even say that the Ebionites were Jewish Christians, or that they were of Jewish origin. Shall we therefore conclude that, in his time, there were no Jewish Christians at all? This would be just as good an inference from Irenæus, as that of there being no Jewish Christians besides Ebionites.

If any further proof of the faith of all the churches, and therefore of the Hebrew Christians, be necessary, the same writer affords it in the most express terms. “For the church,” he says, “although disseminated through the whole habitable world, to the very boundaries of the earth, hath received, from the Apostle and their disciples, that faith which is in one God the Father Almighty, the Maker of heaven and earth, and of the sea, and of all things in them, and in one Christ Jesus the Son of God, incarnate for our salvation, and in the Holy Ghost, who by the Prophets hath declared the dispensations of God,

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“and

* Haer. lib. iii. c. 2

“and the advent, and the generation of a Virgin,” &c. His ideas of the sonship and incarnation of Christ must be understood according to his own faith: and surely those, who denied *the generation of a Virgin*, as the Ebionites did according to this writer, were not considered as part of the church, which he further describes as to unity of faith. “The church, having received this doctrine and faith, diligently preserves it, as if inhabitants of one house; and believes these things in the same manner, as having one soul, and one heart; and harmoniously preaches, and teaches, and transmits them, as possessing one mouth. For although the languages of the world are dissonant, yet there is but one and the same power of Tradition. And neither these churches established among the Germans have believed otherwise, or delivered otherwise; nor those among the Spaniards, nor among the Celts, nor in the East, nor in Egypt, nor in Africa, nor those established in the middle regions of the earth. But as the sun, the workmanship of God, is the same in the whole world, so also the preaching of the truth every where shines, and enlightens all men inclining to come to the knowledge of the truth. Nor is there one among the rulers of the church, who is powerful in word, that speaks other things. For no one is above his master. Nor is there one, how weak soever in speech, who diminishes the tradition. For *the faith being one and the same*, neither does he who can say more upon it, enlarge; nor he who can say least, diminish it*.”

These testimonies are so plain, full, and decisive, as to need no comment. With respect to the point immediately in hand, I shall only observe, that the Hebrew believers, though not mentioned by name, any more than Gentiles, are certainly included in one or other of these expressions,

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* Adv. Haer. lib. i. c. 2, 3.

the East, and the middle regions of the earth. It would have rather infused a suspicion, than removed it, had Irenæus, in this account, distinguished Jew from Gentile. Feu-Ardentius observes on the passage, that the Hebrews universally made Judea the middle of the earth; and that Jerom and Gregory thought that it was denominated, by the prophets, “the heart of the sea,” and “the navel of the earth.” “Philo,” he adds, “calls Jerusalem, not the metropolis of the single region of Judea, but of many nations; whence it seems to me that the blessed Irenæus here refers to the churches which then existed in Judea and Palestine*.” But although it should unreasonably be refused that there is any distinct reference to the Christian Hebrews in this account; it must either be granted, that they are included in the general description, or denied that they were accounted a part of that one church thus described.

His next proof is from Eusebius, who “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, showed their folly in denying his divinity.” But this testimony can be of no use to Dr P., as a proof that the Ebionites were coeval with the Apostles, unless he at the same time admit its force, as proving that the Apostles were enemies to this doctrine.

“Epiphanius,” he farther observes, “makes Ebion contemporary with the Apostle John,—and the Ebionites contemporary with the Nazarenes.” And afterwards; “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 †.” But our author shews how much he is at a loss for proof, when he tries to

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force

* Vid. Not. in Irenæum ad loc. cit.

† Vol. iii. p. 164, 165

force it from a writer, on that very article in which he accuses him of self-contradiction.

Modern writers, however, in the abundance of their wisdom, sometimes blame the ancients rather on slight grounds. They glance at one passage which seems to contradict another, and because they will not take time to read deliberately, boldly conclude that the ancient writer is in the wrong, without ever suspecting that this may happen to be the case with themselves. After all, it may appear that Epiphanius is "perfectly consistent," while he says in one passage, that Ebion was cotemporary with the Apostle John, and also with the Nazarenes; and yet in another, fixes their origin after the destruction of Jerusalem. For in the very place referred to by Dr P. as a proof that Ebion is made cotemporary with John *, Epiphanius informs us that this Apostle lived till the reign of Trajan. In that very section, part of which is quoted as a proof that Epiphanius made Ebion cotemporary with the Nazarenes, he declares; that "the beginning of this faction " was after the destruction of Jerusalem. For," says he, " as " at that time all the believers in Christ lived in Peræa, and " especially in the city Pella, they being removed from " their former possessions, and remaining there, occasion " was then given to Ebion †." Thus, there is a " perfect " consistence" between the one account and the other. According to the ancient writer, John lived till the reign of Trajan. But Jerusalem was destroyed long before his reign. This account also coincides with that given in the Chronicle of Alexandria, which fixes the appearance of the heresy of Ebion to the eighth year of Trajan, under Candidus and Quadratus consuls ‡. To the same period it extends

* Epiph. Hær. 30. Tom. i. p. 149.

† Hær. 30. f. 2.

‡ Vid. Petavii Annot. in Epiphan. Hær. 30.; Ittig. de Hær. sect. 1. c. 6. f. 6.

tends the life of the Apostle John* The author of this Chronicle is supposed to have been nearly coeval with Eusebius.

The Doctor quotes Sophronius as saying 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 †." But the same may be said of this testimony as of that of Eusebius. If we receive one part of the testimony of an author, we must receive another; unless it can be proved that he had a cause of knowledge as to the one, which he had not as to the other. The supposition of his telling truth in one part, and falsehood in another, when the circumstances of both must have been equally well known to him, affects his credibility in the whole. Indeed the facts narrated by a writer may be true, while his construction of them, or reasonings from them, may be false. Our author wishes to make an unparalleled use of testimony. Give him the one half of a sentence, he will grasp at it with fully as much eagerness, as if it were the language of inspiration; but reject the other, as if the writer were unworthy of the least regard. He attempts to establish a new kind of literary tribunal. He summons the most venerable and reputable witnesses, examines and cross-examines them. If they do not declare what he presumes to be the *whole* truth, he declares it for them, by making the strangest inferences from their testimony. Their very silence is sufficient evidence. If they, however obscurely, give a hint of any thing that is favourable to his views, he receives it without the least hesitation, and pronounces sentence on the ground of their testimony: although as to

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* Lampe. Prolegom. in Joan. p. 95. Dodwell Dissert. in Iren. i. f. 20.

† Vol. iii. p. 165.

the points in which he differs from them, he pays as little regard to their most express and most solemn declarations as if he had pronounced them infamous. Merely, because Cassian, a writer in the fifth century, calls Ebion "the first heretic," Dr P. avails himself of the declaration; without seeming to think that if this writer's evidence be worth contending for, there must not only have been such a person as *Ebion*, which our author refuses; but he must also have been an enemy to divine truth. But if an author err as to the very *existence* of a person, it can scarcely be presumed that he is exact as to the *time* of it.

After Dr P. has brought such powerful evidence, he subjoins; "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. And that both of them were equally believers in the simple humanity of Christ, is no less evident*."

He then proceeds to prove the last assertion, and to produce some further evidence of the truth of the second. "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 believed Jesus to be the Christ are called *Ebionites*." The testimony of Origen is not just so explicit here as in the History of Corruptions. There it is asserted "that both Origen and Epiphanius acknowledge that the Nazarenes and Ebionites were the same people, and held the same tenets †." But the Doctor has now taken the trouble to look into Origen, and finds that he does not so much as mention the Nazarenes. However, he is determined that this writer shall still be of some use to him; and as he formerly made Origen say what he never said, he now

says

* Vol. iii. p. 166.

† Vol. i. p. 6.

says for him more than that Father could himself venture to assert. "Here," Dr P. adds, "is no room left for any difference between the Ebionites and 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." Even supposing the first assertion to be a native inference from the words of Origen, where does he find the second? In the passage quoted, that Father speaks indefinitely; but he did not dare to say that "the Ebionites comprehended all the Jewish Christians." However, we shall defer the particular consideration of this passage, till we come to examine the evidence brought by Dr P. to disprove the existence of *orthodox Jews at Jerusalem, subsequent to the time of Adrian*.

In the mean while, let it be observed, that Socinians, if determined to abide by the authority of Origen, ought to take it in its proper extent. If the language of this Father be a sufficient proof that all the Jewish Christians were Ebionites; it must be equally sufficient to prove, that they were all without the communion of the church. Celsus having objected to the truth of Christianity the diversity of opinions among those who bore the Christian name; Origen, after mentioning the Valentinians and Gnostics, and declaring that they had never been Christians, adds, "Be it so, that there are others also who receive Jesus, and therefore boast that they are Christians, but yet retaining the law and choosing to live like the multitude of the Jews (as the Ebionites of both kinds—) *how can this crime affect those who constitute the church* *?"

Dr P. again introduces Eusebius to prove that the Nazarenes and Ebionites were the same people, because he

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makes

* Εστῶσαν δὲ τινες καὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἀποδέχομενοι, ὡς παρὰ τοῦτο Χριστιανοὶ εἶναι αὐχρῶντες; ἐτι δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἰουδαίων νομὸν ὡς τὰ Ἰουδαίων πληθὺν ἔβουον ἐφέλωντες; (αὗτοι δὲ εἰσιν οἱ διῆλοι Ἐβιωνῆται—) τί τοῦτο φέρει ἐγκλημα τοῖς ἀπο τῆς ἐκκλησίας; Cont. Cels. l. 5. p. 272.

makes no mention of the former. Eusebius, as translated by our author, says; "Others, whom a malignant dæmon
 " was not able entirely to turn aside from the love of
 " Christ, finding them weak in some respects, he reduced
 " into his power. These by the ancients were called E-
 " bionites, as thinking meanly concerning Christ. For
 " they reckon him a mere man, like other men, but ap-
 " proved on account of his virtue, being the son of Ma-
 " ry'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 Wis-
 " dom, were drawn into the rest of their impiety*." Though we should grant that Eusebius, in no part of his writings, referred to believing Hebrews who adhered to the law, and continued in the doctrine of our Saviour's divinity, it would only amount to a negative proof. But it may be inferred from this passage, that there *had been* at least persons of this description. The Doctor, indeed, throws his translation into such a form, as to make it appear that this second class of Ebionites set out with the denial of Christ's deity, and were afterwards "drawn into
 " the rest of their impiety," as something distinct. But this is not a just translation. The passage literally is:
 " — But others, *on their account*," or "*after them*, receiving
 " the same name, have fled from the strange absurdity of
 " the

* Άλλοι δὲ παρα τευτους της αυτης οντες προσηγορίας, την μεν των ερχλειων εκτοπον διεσίδρασκον ατοπιαν, εκ παρθειου και του Αγιου Πνευματος μη αεζουμεινοι γεγοιναι τον Κυριον ου μην εδ' ομοιως και ουτοι προϋαρχειν αυτον, Θεον λογον οντα και σοφιαν ομολογηαντες, τη των προτερων περιετρενωτο δυσσεβεια μαλισα οτε και την σωματικην περι τον νομον λατρειαν ομοιως εκεινοις περιεπειν εσπεδαζον. Hist. lib. iii. c. 27.

“ the former, not denying that the Lord was conceived of
 “ a Virgin, and of the Holy Ghost ; nevertheless, in like
 “ manner, as these (the former), not *any longer* confessing
 “ that he pre-existed as God, the Word, and Wisdom, they
 “ were carried away by the impiety of the former.”

The manner in which Eusebius expresses himself evidently implies that the latter received their name from the former ; and that they were originally distinct. His meaning in what follows clearly is, that they were so carried away by the impiety of the former, as no longer to acknowledge the divinity of Jesus. He first mentions the effect, and then the cause ; although both are in the closest connexion. But Dr P. overlooks the prior existence assigned to the class first described ; their existence under the name of E-bionites before they were joined by those who received this name from them. Then, he entirely overlooks the particle εἰ or ετι connected with ε. I need not remind the learned gentleman that these *επεια πτεροεντα*, these *winged words*, inconsiderable as they may seem, are the nerves, nay, the very soul of language. But as if he meant to make up for the omission, he in the close of the sentence throws in two words for this one,—*the rest*. As to the *omission*, it is probable that he was misled by the translation of Valesius, which takes no notice of the important particle : although it becomes an historian to trust to originals only. With respect to the *addition*, the same apology cannot be made. Dr P. perhaps wished the reader to apprehend that this second class at length denied the miraculous conception, and that this was *the rest* of the impiety of the former. But this is entirely a supplement of his own. The latter indeed continued to assert the miraculous conception. For Eusebius speaks of them as still “ not denying that Christ was conceived of a Virgin.” The *μη αρνημενοι* is applicable to them at the very same time

time with the $\kappa \epsilon \theta'$ *ομολογουντες*. Even when they ceased to confess the deity of Christ, they did not deny his miraculous conception.

Thus the passage under consideration, although its proper meaning does not seem to have been hitherto attended to, proves a great deal more than our learned author wishes. It proves that there was one class of Christian Hebrews eventually named after the Ebionites, who once acknowledged the deity of Christ, as well as the miraculous conception, but afterwards renounced the first of these doctrines. The ancient historian at the same time mentions the snare that intangled them. "They were drawn away by the impiety of the former; especially as, in the same manner with them, they contended for the strict observance of the bodily service of the law." From this account it appears that the two parties, according to Eusebius, bearing the general name of Ebionites in his time, so far from being more intimately connected in preceding ages, had been entirely distinct; because they opposed each other, not only as to the miraculous conception of our Saviour, but with respect to his deity. Even supposing that the information of Eusebius was good, this passage, instead of proving, as Dr P. imagines, that Nazarenes and Ebionites were the same people, affords a strong presumption that those of the latter class of Ebionites had formerly been called Nazarenes; but that they received the common name of Ebionites, after joining with these heretics, and adopting their leading principle. But it will be afterwards shewn, that only some of the Nazarenes can be supposed to have been thus *drawn away*.

I do not mean to enter into a particular discussion of the quotation from Jerom's letter to Austin; which is the next evidence referred to by Dr P. *. Its meaning has

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been

* Si hoc verum est; in Cherinthi et Hebionis hæresim dilabimur, qui credentes

been warmly contested already ; and it has been clearly proved by our author's learned antagonists, that Jerom as really distinguishes between the Nazarenes and Ebionites, as between the latter and the followers of Cerinthus. The generality of literary readers will still understand *simulant* as expressive of a mere pretence. The Doctor says ; " 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 of language, the easiest of *all others* to fall into, and of no consequence to the meaning at all *." But the reader will judge, whether, if Jerom meant to speak of a different class of people, it was a greater inaccuracy to say *hæresis est*, instead of *Est et*, or to connect *Hebionitis* with *est*, if he meant to speak of the same class.

Dr P. also ventures too far, especially while the reader has the quotation in his eye, in saying ; " Jerom'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 †. There is still some little difference. For
even

credentes in Christo, propter hoc solum a patribus anathematizati sunt ; quod legis cærimonias 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, quæ dicitur Mineorum, et a Pharisæis 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, et Christiani, nec Judæi sunt, nec Christiani. Opera, Vol. i. p. 634. ap. Auct.

* Vol. iii. p. 171.

† Ibid. p. 172.

even setting aside the meaning of *simulant*, *believing in Christ* is not “exactly the same” with *believing in Christ, the Son of God,—in whom we also believe*. The generality of readers will be satisfied, that Jerom means to mark a very important distinction. Though the writer had simply said, that they believed in Christ *the Son of God*, it might have been justly inferred, that they were orthodox believers; because he uniformly affixes a sense to the latter expression, totally irreconcilable to the idea of the mere humanity of Jesus; nay, elsewhere expressly contrasts it with this idea *. But when he is so very particular as to add,—*in whom we also believe*, he gives his language so determinate a meaning, as to remove every ground of cavil. Our author would not take it well, were it denied that he *believes in Christ*. He at least *pretends* to do so, as Jerom says of the Ebionites. But he will not carry the matter so far as to say, that he *believes in Christ, the Son of God,—in whom Jerom also believed*; that is, in the same sense. For undoubtedly, *in quem et nos credimus*, is equivalent to *similiter ut nos credimus*; denoting that these Nazarenes had the *same* views of the person of Christ as Jerom and the rest of the orthodox †.

But if Jerom does not introduce another class of heretics, he has committed a greater mistake than any of these mentioned. Why give the Ebionites new names? According to our author, indeed, Jerom “observes that the same
“ people

* Illud de Judæis dictum sit et hæreticis qui spem habent in homine, in Christo videlicet suo: quem non *filium Dei*, sed *purum hominem* putant esse venturum. In Jer. xvii. 5.

† Jerom uses the same kind of language in another place, about the meaning of which there can be no dispute. Explaining the prophecy of Malachi concerning the harbinger of Christ, he says; Convertat cor patrum ad filios, Abraham videlicet, et Isaac, et Jacob, et omnium patriarcharum; ut credant posteris eorum in Dominum Salvatorem, *in quem et illi crediderant*. Abraham enim vidit diem Domini et lætatus est. Comment. in Mal. iv. 6.

“ people who were called Ebionites (by the Gentiles) were called *Minei* and *Nazarenes* by the Jews.” Does Jerom really *observe* this? “ I have not said so,” may the Doctor reply, “ for I have put these words, *by the Gentiles*, in a “ parenthesis.” But has Jerom given any reason to suppose that this was his meaning? Not the most distant insinuation. Can it be believed that Dr P. really understood him in this sense? This is entirely beyond the limits of probability. Surely, then, this parenthesis implies that our author himself believes, that his predecessors received the name of *Ebionites* from the *Gentiles*. This is equally incredible. Could he have forgot the pains he had taken, but a few pages before, to prove, from Origen and Eusebius, that this is an Hebrew word, signifying *poverty*? Could he have forgot his interpretation of that phrase *οι πρωτοι*, used by Eusebius to denote those who first imposed this name; “ by whom,” Dr P. says, “ he must have meant the Apostles *?” Had he no recollection of what he had addressed to Dr Horsley on this subject? *viz.* that “ the unbelieving Jews called all those “ of their race, who were Christians, by the name of Ebionites, in the time of Origen :” and that “ Origen’s own “ words are too express to admit any doubt of this †.” We cannot suppose that there was any defect of memory. For in the fourth page after that in which he gives Jerom’s *observation*, he informs us that the term *Ebionites* was “ given them by their unbelieving brethren ‡.” Why, then, does Dr P. give a meaning to the language of Jerom, for which he must know there is not the least foundation? Why does he materially make him say what no ancient has ever dreamed, what he would not himself have believed, although Jerom had said it? The reason is obvious. Were it not for this useful parenthesis (*by the Gentiles*), the whole of his exposition of Jerom must fall to the ground.

* P. 162.

† First Letters, p. 18.

‡ Vol. iii. p. 175.

For the most careless reader would instantly inquire ; “ How
 “ can it be supposed that Jerom, after describing these people
 “ as called *Ebionites*, would proceed to tell us that they
 “ were called *Minæi* and *Nazarenes* by *the Jews* ; when
 “ we know that it was from the Jews that they received
 “ the name of *Ebionites* ? Nay, how could he say that
 “ they were *commonly* called *Nazarenes* by the Jews, when
 “ we are assured, from the proofs brought by Dr P. that
 “ this very people commonly called them *Ebionites* ?” One
 who writes in this way, may prove any thing.

It had been justly objected to the Doctor’s view of this
 passage, that “ if the Nazarenes and Ebionites were the
 “ same people, it may with equal clearness of reason be in-
 “ ferred that they were the same people with the Cerin-
 “ thians likewise ; because the Cerinthians are placed with
 “ the Ebionites in the preceding sentence.” Our author,
 having mentioned the objection, says ; “ I answer, they
 “ were the same people as far as Jerom considered them,
 “ because they were equally zealous for the law of Moses *.”
 This is questionable, however. It would seem that the
 Cerinthians were not so zealous for the law, as the Ebio-
 nites. For they did not ascribe it to the Supreme Being,
 but to angels, or some power inferior to God †. But, even
 supposing the truth of what Dr. P. says, it destroys that
 absolute identity of Ebionites and Nazarenes, which he
 has all along been attempting to demonstrate. It is redu-
 ced to a mere similarity in one point. For if this passage
 only proves that Cerinthians were the same people with
 Ebionites, as to *the law* ; undoubtedly it can prove nothing
 more with respect to the Nazarenes.

But it is a singular circumstance that, in this reply, our
 author has adopted the very reasoning of Dr Horsley against
 his theory. Because Jerom says that “ Ebion and Cerin-
 “ thus,—

* P. 173, 174.

† Tertull. Præscript. c. 48.

“ thus,—believing in Christ, on this account only had been
 “ anathematized by the Fathers, that they blended the ce-
 “ remonies of the law with the gospel ;” Dr P. had argued,
 that they were not excommunicated “ on account of their
 denying “ the divinity of Christ, but *only* on account of
 “ their rigid observance of the Mosaic law *.” To this his
 learned opponent had justly replied : “ This being said of
 “ both without distinction, must be said of either in some
 “ sense in which it may be true of both ; and if it acquits
 “ the Ebionites of heresy, except in the single article of
 “ their Judaism, it equally acquits the Cerinthians.” But
 this learned writer gives it as his opinion, that Jerom here
 speaks of their agreement as to the law, and seems to think
 that this was the only point which he then had in his eye.
 For he says ; “ The Judaic superstition was a thing so cri-
 “ minal in the judgment of the primitive Christians, as to
 “ constitute by itself one very sufficient reason for the ex-
 “ communication of the sects which were addicted to it †.”
 Our author undoubtedly admits the justness of his oppo-
 nent’s reasoning ; and thus withdraws the only ground of
 his assertion, at least as far as Jerom is concerned, that “ the
 “ doctrine of the simple humanity of Christ was not
 “ thought deserving of excommunication in early times ‡.

If Dr P. infer, from the language of Jerom, that the
 Ebionites were anathematized *solely* on account of their
 adherence to the law, he must also grant that the Cerin-
 thians were subjected to the same censure for no other
 reason. Now, as he allows that the Cerinthians were the
 first Gnostics, all his trouble to prove that Gnosticism was
 the

* First Let. to Dr H. p. 34.

† The learned and judicious Bishop Bull has clearly proved, that Jerom
 did not mean that Cerinthus and Ebion, in the opinion of the Fathers,
 held no other heresy ; but that although they had been orthodox in other
 respects, this error alone would have been accounted a sufficient ground
 for an anathema. Judg. Cath. Church. c. 2. f. 13.

‡ First Let. to Dr H. p. 33.

the *only heresy* in early times, must be lost. For it necessarily follows, that the circumstance of Cerinthus being a Gnostic was of no weight whatsoever in subjecting him to excommunication; and that he would not have been cast out of the church, had he not adhered to the law.

But from the general strain of this epistle, it is evident that Jerom, in speaking of Ebion, Cerinthus, and the Nazarenes, had at this time no other heresy in his eye but that of *Judaism*. Augustine had given him great offence by some things that he had written to him on this subject. Therefore he says; "What Christian can hear with patience what is contained in your epistle? 'Paul was a Jew, but having become a Christian, he did not abandon the sacraments of the Jews, which that people properly and lawfully observed: and therefore he observed them, even when an Apostle of Christ, that he might teach that they were not hurtful to those who inclined to retain them as they had received them from their fathers?' Again, I beseech you, that you will indulge me in expressing my grief.—Behold, I may on the contrary say, and although the whole world should cry out against me, freely declare, that the ceremonies of the law are both hurtful and deadly to Christians; and that whosoever shall observe them, whether Jew or Gentile, is fallen into the snare of the devil." His mind is evidently rankled, so that he can attend to nothing but this single article. For he previously expresses his fear, lest such explanations as Augustine had given, should "again introduce most villanous heresy into the church;" adding, "But if it were incumbent on us to receive the rites of the Jews; and lawful for them to observe, in the churches of Christ, these things which they have performed in *the synagogues of Satan*: I will say what I think,

“ think, they would not become Christians, but they would “ make us Jews *.”

The Doctor takes notice of the argument founded on Austin's answer to Jerom, as shewing that he considered them as different sects. “ But Austin,” he says, “ only “ enumerates all the names that Jerom had mentioned, and “ whether the differences were real or nominal, great or “ little, it signified nothing to him †. If Austin had really enumerated *all* the names mentioned by Jerom, the other assertion would have been rather more specious. But here our author is mistaken. For Austin omits Cerinthus. He omits the *Minei*. But the truth of the observation, founded on this supposed enumeration, is highly questionable. For had Jerom mustered a parcel of names without any real distinction, Austin might justly have objected to his conduct, as discovering a strong propensity to blacken his character. In the heat of controversy, which evidently appears in the course of this correspondence, it is not likely that he would have overlooked such a circumstance. It would have given him an handle for representing, either

the

* Neque enim ejusdem est criminis. in explanatione Scripturarum diversas majorum sententias ponere, et hæresim sceleratissimam rursus in Ecclesiam intraducere. Sin autem hæc nobis incumbit necessitas, ut Judæo cum legitimis suis suscipiamus; et licebit eos observare in ecclesiis Christi, quod exerceerunt in synagogis Sathanæ; dicam quod sentio, non illi Christiani fient, sed nos Judæos facient. Quis enim hoc Christianorum patienter audiat quod in tua Epistola continetur: *Judæus erat Paulus; Christianus autem factus, non Judæorum sacramenta reliquerat, quæ convenienter illi populus, et legitimo tempore, quo oportebat, acceperat; ideoque suscepit celebranda ea, cum jam Christi esset Apostolus; ut doceret non esse perniciosas iis, qui ea vellent, sicut a parentibus per legem acceperant custodire?* Rursum, obsecro te, ut pace tua meam dolorem audias.—Ego è contrario loquar, et reclamante mundo, libera voce pronunciem, ceremonias Judæorum et perniciosas esse, et mortiferas Christianis: et quicumque eas observaverit, sive ex Judæis, sive ex gentibus, eum in barathrum diaboli devolutum. Hieron. Augustino, Opera Aug. vol. ii. p. 21.

† Vol. iii. p. 174.

the violence of Jerom, or his ignorance on that very subject with respect to which he discovered so much zeal against him. The very words of his answer demonstrate his persuasion that the Nazarenes as *really* differed from the Ebionites, as either of these from any other heresy. "If this be so," he says, "we do not fall into the heresy of Ebion, or of those whom they commonly call Nazarenes, or any other ancient heresy, but into I know not what new one*." Had he viewed these as the same people, he could not have said that they were *commonly* called Nazarenes. For Dr P. grants that their common name was that of Ebionites. But, after all this evasion, he finds it necessary to acknowledge that Austin distinguishes them. This will appear, when we more directly consider the testimony of that Father.

Dr P. infers from Tertullian, that "the unbelieving Jews called the Christian Jews Nazarenes."—"According to Tertullian," he says, "they called them so in his time †." One would naturally suppose from this, that Tertullian had expressly mentioned those whom our author calls *Christian Jews*, and declared that they were peculiarly denominated in this manner. For unless, according to Tertullian, the designation was confined, or at least chiefly applied to *Hebrews* professing Christianity; there could be no propriety in appealing to him. But the meaning of that ancient writer is entirely different. He declares this to have been the name given by Jews to Christians; clearly signifying that they gave it to all, whether Jews or Gentiles. It would have been more *plausible*, had it answered the present purpose as well, to have inferred from his words,

that

* Hoc si ita est; non jam in hæresim Hebionis, vel eorum quos vulgo Nazaræos nuncupant, vel quamlibet aliam veterem, sed nescio in quam novam delabimur, &c. Opera, vol. ii. p. 29.

† Vol. iii. p. 175.

that he had Gentiles *only* in his eye. For he says; “ By “ this name the Jews call *us* Nazarenes from him (Christ). “ For *we* are they of whom it is written, *The Nazarites “ were whiter than snow*; who, *viz. in times past* were dis- “ coloured by the spots of iniquity, and blackened by *the “ darkness of ignorance* *.” This language undoubtedly applies with far greater force to Gentile, than to Jewish believers. He seems to allude to the phraseology of the Apostle Paul when addressing the Gentiles; *Ye in times past have not believed*, Rom. xi. 30. *Ye were sometimes darkness*, Eph. v. 8. The language of Agobard also, even as quoted by our author, evidently respects Christians in general, as cursed by the Jews under the name of Nazarenes †.

If, as Dr P. says, “ the unbelieving Jews called the “ Christian Jews Nazarenes,” if, *according to Tertullian*, they called them so in his time; how can our author assert, in the very next page, that “ 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?” Did not Tertullian write before Epiphanius? Does he not speak of the Ebionites? Does he not also, according to Dr P. mention the Nazarenes *by name*, when he tells us that “ the unbelieving Jews called the Christian Jews *Nazarenes*?” Has not this somewhat of the appearance of that ornamental figure, ycleped Self-contradiction?

F 2

Dr

* Nazareus vocari habebat secundum prophetiam Christus creatoris. Unde et ipso nomine nos Judæi Nazareos appellant per eum. Nam et sumus de quibus scriptum est: Nazaræi exarbiti sunt super nivem. Qui scilicet retrò luridati delinquentiæ maculis, et nigrati ignorantie tenebris. Adv. Marcion. lib. iv. c. 8.

† Quod autem Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum et Christianos in omnibus orationibus suis sub Nazarenorum nomine quotidie maledicant. De Insolentia Judæorum, Oper. p. 63. sec. Auc̄t.

Dr P. pays particular attention to the testimony of Epiphanius. This writer asserts that the Ebionites and Nazarenes “communicated of their perverseness to each other.” But he was uncertain as to the extent of the faith of the latter with respect to the Saviour. Most probably he heard the same thing asserted of them, which is mentioned by Eusebius, that, through their connexion with the Ebionites, they had departed from their former doctrine as to the deity of Christ. But observing that the societies were still separate, he was at a loss whether he should charge all the Nazarenes with this apostacy. He expresses himself thus; “But concerning Christ, I have not information to say, if they also, carried away by the perverseness of the Cerinthians and Merinthians formerly mentioned, call him a mere man; or affirm, as the truth is, that he was begotten of Mary by the Holy Ghost.” Dr Horsley has clearly shewn, that to affirm this, *as the truth is*, must have been to acknowledge his deity; because this was the *true* affirmation of his miraculous conception, according to Epiphanius. Indeed, no one can *truly* affirm the miraculous conception, without at the same time acknowledging the divinity of Jesus; because this conception was a manifestation of his essential dignity, of his infinite separation from sinners. *Therefore, that holy thing*, born of the Virgin was to *be called the Son of God*; because his supernatural way of receiving our nature was a necessary consequence, and striking proof of his being really and properly a divine Person. We may add, that as Epiphanius opposes the phrase *mere man*, to his miraculous conception; this must have been his meaning. For he knew that if Jesus had only been miraculously conceived, without having had a previous existence as God; he must, notwithstanding, have been still a *mere man*. For this expression
does

does not refer to the *manner* of receiving human nature, but to the *want* of a superior nature.

The meaning of Epiphanius further appears from the sentence preceding that which we have quoted. There he affirms, that “ in this *only* they differed from Jews and “ Christians. They agreed not with Jews, because they “ believed in Christ: and they did not concur in opinion “ with Christians, because they still adhered to the law *.” Here their adherence to the law is mentioned as the only difference between them and Christians. Immediately after, he makes an exception as to the miraculous conception, expressing his doubt about this from want of information. But if he had not meant this doctrine in its proper extent, as including the divinity of the person, he must have made another exception; especially with respect to a doctrine of such magnitude.

Dr P., indeed, avails himself as much as possible of this language. “ This,” he says, “ 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 †.” I will not go so far as to adopt the language of our author’s learned opponent, that “ it amounts “ to the unwilling confession of a base accuser, who had “ not the liberality to absolve in explicit terms, when he “ found himself unable to convict.” To me it seems to have proceeded from the circumstance already mentioned, of some of the Nazarenes being detached from their origi-

F 3

nal

* Εν τωτω δε μονον προς Ιουδαις διαφερονται και Χριστιανς· Ιουδαιοις μεν μη συμφωνοντες, δια το εις Χριστον πεπιστευκειν· Χριστιαν-οις δε μη ομολογουντες, δια το επι νομω πεπεδησθαι. *Haer.* 29. f. 7. vol. i. p. 123.

† Vol. iii. p. 182.

nal principles, by intercourse with the Ebionites, connected with that of his not being fully informed as to the extent of this apostasy. At the same time it is granted that, as Epiphanius still exhibits the heretics in the worst point of view, his very hesitation, although we had nothing else, would be a strong presumption that they were sound as to this doctrine. His language amounts to a declaration, that he had *no reason* to say, or even to think, that they denied the divinity of Christ. He mentions no ground for this doubt. He does not so much as insinuate that he ever heard their orthodoxy called in question; while he expresses himself without the least hesitation as to the heterodoxy of the Ebionites, on this point. If Dr P. had as much on his own side, he would be apt to say that "a negative proof could not well be stronger than this." He informs the world, that Dr Horsley is entirely mistaken in thinking that only the smallest part of Dissenters, in England, continue to adhere to the doctrines called *Calvinistic*. If it be true that a man of Dr Horsley's erudition and information, although he has spent his life in that country, is so exceedingly mistaken as to a matter of fact, respecting the present state of religion; need we be surprized that Epiphanius, a man of no deep research, should be at a loss to know whether the Nazarenes held the doctrine of our Saviour's divinity, or not; especially as he might never be in that country in which he places them?

Dr Horsley has justly observed, that our author has not proved that Epiphanius abandons this doubt. As the learned Gentleman, in his Second Letters to Dr Horsley, made no direct reply to what had been opposed to his view, it seemed as if he had *abandoned* it. But, in his History of Early Opinions, he brings it forward again; and although candour required that he should have stated and answered the objections, he does not take the least notice of them.

Had

Had not this been the case, it would scarcely have been necessary to have offered any thing further on the subject. But the History may be read by many, who will not think of looking back to the correspondence. Therefore, it may not be improper fairly to exhibit the whole disputed passage. This, as much as any thing, will tend to illustrate the very slender grounds on which Dr P. proceeds.

¶ I. "Ebion," says the ancient writer, "from whom *are* " the Ebionites, following next in order, and thinking in " the same manner with these, (the Nazarenes described " in the preceding chapter) in himself expressing the figure " of a multiform monster, and so to speak, the form of the " serpentine Hydra fabled with many heads, rose again " into life; existing indeed from their school, but teaching " and declaring other things than *are declared* by them. " For, as if any one should form to himself an ornament of " different precious stones, and a covering of a parti-co- " loured garment, and should adorn himself in a splendid " manner; even so also this person, on the other extreme, " indifferently embracing and receiving every thing hor- " rible, destructive and abominable, shapeless and absurd, " from each heresy, conformed himself to them all. For " indeed he has the abomination of the Samaritans, the " name of the Jews, the plan * of the Ossæans, the Na- " zarenes, and the Nasaræans, the form of the Cerinthians, " the perverse manners of the Carpocratians, and he in-
F 4
" clines

* We scarcely need to investigate the meaning of particular words, where an author seems to have multiplied them, merely to represent the heresy in the blackest colours. But if we are to look for any distinction, *γνομν* cannot properly be understood here as denoting *doctrine*, because *γνομν* is afterwards used in a different sense from it. *γνομν* has often the same meaning with *consilium*: and here it may signify that *scheme* or *plan* of adherence to the law, which Ebion borrowed from these Jewish or Judaizing sects.

“clines to have his name from the Christians. For truly, he has not the practice, and plan, and doctrine of the gospels, and of the Apostles; nor their consistency with respect to faith. But being, as I may say, the middle of all, in a comparative point of view he is nothing: but what is written is fulfilled of him, *I was almost in all evil in the midst of the church, and of the synagogue.* Being therefore, indeed, by reason of his abominable perverseness, a Samaritan, he denies the name. And confessing himself to be a Jew, he opposes the Jews, although agreeing with them in part; as, through divine assistance, shall be afterwards shewn, in the things which we have to offer concerning him, and when we enter on the confutation of them.

2. “For this Ebion was indeed cotemporary with these (different classes of heretics), and in common with them derived his origin from them (the Jews). And first, he asserted that Christ was born of the commerce and seed of man, namely of Joseph. And as we have just now * premised that in all things he agreed with the others, in this alone he differed; in embracing the Jewish law with respect to the Sabbath, circumcision, and all other things which are fulfilled by Jews and Samaritans. But this person did still more than the Jews, by imitating the Samaritans,” $\text{E}^{\text{C}} \dagger$.

To

* Ηδη, απαρτι. Suidas. Mox, Scapul.

† Εβίων, αφ' ηπερ Εβιοναιοι, καθιξης ακολουθων, και τα ομοια τετοις Φρονητας, πολυμορφον τερασιον, και ως ειπεν της μυθεομενης πολυκεφαλη Γιδρας οφιαδη μορφην εν εαυτω ανατυποσαμενος, παλιν επανεση τω βιω, εκ της τετων μεν σχολης υπαρχων, ετερα δε παρα τετες κηρυτων και υφηγημενος. ως γαρ ει τις συναξειεν εαυτω εκ διαφορων λιθων τιμιων κοσμον, και ποικιλης εσθητος ενδυμα, και διαφανως εαυτον κοσμησει, ετω και ετος το αναπαλιν παν οτινυ δεινον και ολεοτηριον

To do justice to our learned author, I shall also exhibit his translation of the last paragraph, in which he finds Epiphanius *abandoning his doubt*. “ He was cotemporary 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, re- “ ferring to the first words of 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, circum- “ cision, and other things that were enjoined by the Jews “ and

τηριον και βδελυκτον κηρυγμα, αμορφον τε και απιθανον, κζηλιας εμπλεων παρ' εκαστης αιρεσιως λαβων, εαυτον ανευτυπωσεν εις απασας. Σαμαρειτων μιν γαρ εχει το βδελυρον, Ιουδαιων δε το ονομα, Οσοσιων δε και Ναζωραιων και Νασαραιων την γνομην, Κηρινθιανων το ειδος, Καρποκρατιανων την κακοτροπιαν, και Χριστιανων βαλιται εχειν την προσηγοριαν. υ γαρ δηπηθεν την τε πραξιν και την γνομην, και την γνωσιν, και την των Ευαγγελιων και Αποστολων περι πιστεως συγκαλιθεσιν. μεσος δε, ως ειπεν, απαντων τυγχανων, εδεν πιφυκει, αλλα επ' αυτω πληρωται το γεγραμμενον· παρ' ολιγον εγενομη εν παντι κακω, μεσον εκκλησιας και συναγωγης. Σαμαρειτης μιν εν ων δια της βδελυριας, τενομα αρνειται. Ιουδαιον δε εαυτον ομολογων, Ιουδαιοις αντικειται, καιτοι συμφωνων αυτοις εν μερει, ως υπερον εν ταις περι τωτη αποδειξει, και τε κατ' αυτων ελεγχθ παρασσηομεν, Θεισ επι βωθηεντος.

Ουτος γαρ ο Εβραιων, συγχρονος μιν τωτων υπηρχεν, απ' αυτων δε συν αυτοις ορμαται. τα πρωτα δε εκ διατριβης και σπερματος ανδρος, τωτεςτι τε Ιωσηφ, τον Χριστον γεγενησθαι ελεγεν, ως και ηδη ημιν προειρηται, οτι τα ισα τοις αλλοις εν απασι φρονων, εν τωτω μονω διεφερετο, εν τω, τω νομω τε Ιουδαισμεν προσανεχεν κατα σαββατισμον, και κατα την περιτομην, και κατα τα αλλα παντα οσα περ παρα Ιουδαιοις και Σαμαρειταις επιτελειται. ετι δε πλειω υτος παρα τω Ιουδαισμο ομοιωσ τοις Σαμαρειταις διακρωατληται. Haer. 30. sect. 3, 2.

“and Samaritans. He moreover adopted many more things than the Jews, in imitation of the Samaritans*.”

Although Dr P. should be indulged with his own view of this contested passage, he cannot support it. For if *τῶν*, in the beginning of this section, “refer to the first words of “the former;” the reference undoubtedly can include no more than what Epiphanius had asserted, either in these first words, or in what preceded them. But does he really assert, in the *first words*, that Christ was *of the seed of man*? There is not a vestige of such an assertion. All that he says is, that “Ebion thought in the same manner with these,” *viz.* the Nazarenes. But it will by no means follow that the ancient writer meant to say, that the Nazarenes thought in the same manner with the Ebionites. His meaning undoubtedly is, that Ebion adopted the distinguishing characteristic of the Nazarenes, in their adherence to the law. But he immediately proceeds to shew that the former went a great way farther than the latter. Has Epiphanius asserted, that this was the opinion of the Nazarenes concerning Christ, in any place preceding these first words? In vain do we search for it in the foregoing chapter, which wholly respects their heresy. We have seen that all the length he goes, is to inform the reader, that he could not say what was their doctrine on this subject.

It appears that the learned Gentleman cannot support his view of the reference, as exclusively respecting the Nazarenes; for he drops it before he has got to the end of the sentence, by translating these words, *ταῖς ἄλλοις ἐν ἀπασὶ φροσῶν*, “in other respects he agreed with them all.” These *all* are undoubtedly, in our author’s idea, all the heretical sects before mentioned. But here he breaks the unity of the whole. For the persons referred to are certainly the same meant by the word *τῶν*. They must necessarily be the

* Vol. iii. p. 180, 181,

the same; because their agreement in certain things, with a single exception, is the very circumstance to which he refers as formerly mentioned. These words, however, ought to be rendered; "He agreed with the other (heretics) in all respects."

Dr P., according to his own view of this passage, can infer as little from it for proving the identity of the Nazarenes and Ebionites, or even their agreement in denying the pre-existence of Christ, as he can from another passage with respect to the Nazarenes, in which he asserts their agreement with the Cerinthians. "They held," he says, "the same opinions*."

Indeed, if our author's view of the passage be just, all that it can amount to, is to set aside the testimony of Epiphanius entirely. For if a writer, in one chapter, devoted to the consideration of a particular subject, assure us that he is not informed as to a certain point; yet, in the chapter immediately following, assert without hesitation what he had just before spoken of as unknown to him, without such a reference to the former as to prevent mistakes; no man of sense can hesitate to affirm that his testimony is not worth contending for.

But Dr P.'s view is liable to many considerable objections. 1. It is a part of his system, that Ebionites were strictly cotemporary with the Nazarenes. Epiphanius could not mean this, because in "the first words of his first section," he says that "Ebion followed them next in order." But if we understand *τατων* as referring to the different heretical sects, Ebion might, in a lax sense, be said to have been cotemporary with them, as signifying that all these parties existed when he made his appearance. 2. There is too great a distance between the relative and that to which it is supposed to refer. 3. New circumstances are mentioned,

* Ομοια κειτηται τα φρονηματα. Haer. 29. sect. 1.

tioned, which break the connexion. In the beginning of the first section, Epiphanius asserts Ebion's agreement with the Nazarenes, *viz.* in some general character. But he immediately subjoins, that although he " derived his existence from their school, he taught and declared other things than what are declared by them." Then he proceeds particularly to shew wherein he differed from the Nazarenes. He illustrates this difference, by declaring his agreement with several other heretical sects. It is a very unnatural supposition, that, after stating his resemblance to so many, he should return to one; especially after not only declaring that Ebion materially differed from that one, but shewing his agreement with others as a proof of the extent of this difference. 4. According to our author's translation of *τα ισα τοις αλλοις εν απασι φρονων*, the relative *τρωτων* cannot respect " the first words of the first section;" because there Epiphanius has *not* signified that he agreed with them *all*, but with the Nazarenes only. 5. The Doctor offers violence to the language of Epiphanius. For his translation of the words last mentioned is inadmissible. *εν απασι* must certainly be understood as denoting, not the *persons*, but the respects in which they agreed: and *τοις αλλοις* the *persons*, that is, the various sects referred to. But this unnatural version seems to have been adopted from a wish to make it appear that, according to Epiphanius, Ebion agreed with the Nazarenes, in asserting that " Christ was born of the commerce and seed of man," and that in other respects *only* he agreed with all the heretics formerly mentioned. But we are certain that the Cerinthians and Carpocratians, who are among their number, held this impious doctrine. It is, therefore, inconceivable, that Epiphanius should intend to exclude them. 6. He has *not* " signified above," that the Nazarenes held Christ to be the son of Joseph.

It appears that the only sense which can be made of this passage,

passage, is to understand *τῶν* as referring in general to the different heretical bodies before-mentioned. This agrees best with what immediately follows;—“ and in common “ with them he derived his origin from *them*, that is, from the Jews, who are particularly referred to in the close of the preceding section. Thus, we can rationally and consistently account for his immediately introducing the doctrine of Ebion with respect to the mere humanity of Christ. This was a doctrine of the infidel Jews. Cerinthus had borrowed it from them; and Ebion from the Cerinthians. For Epiphanius had declared that he could not, on good information, charge the Nazarenes with it. In this manner he shews the resemblance of Ebion to the Cerinthians, one of the sects referred to by *τῶν*. Having mentioned this doctrine, he puts the reader in mind of what he had already said, that Ebion “ agreed with the others in all “ things.” Not one of the expressions used is meant to denote a strict and perfect agreement, but merely a conformity to each of these in some one respect or other. He does not refer to “ the first words of the first section,” but to these preceding the names of the different parties;— “ he conformed himself *εἰς ἀπαντας*, to all.”

But it might seem, that this general assertion was contradicted by the *last* words of the first section;—that while he “ confessed that he was a Jew, he opposed himself to the “ Jews.” Therefore, before proceeding to prove his assertion, that Ebion conformed himself to all the other heretical sects, he shews in what sense this exception, with respect to the Jews, was to be understood. It was in this, that although Ebion “ embraced the law of Judaism, he “ went a great deal farther than the Jews, in his imitation “ of the Samaritans.” Thus he “ opposed the Jews,” by adopting the practices of a people with whom they would
have

have no intercourse. In this, indeed, he differed from all the other sects, by mingling the rites of both.

He illustrates this difference nearly to the end of the second section. As a proof that he meant to shew, in the beginning of it, the conformity of Ebion, in particular instances, to the other sects formerly mentioned; he, in the beginning of the third, returns to what he had entered on, as to the conception of our Saviour. He afterwards proceeds to show what Ebion borrowed from the Ossæans, Elcesaites, and Gnostics.

It is worthy of observation, that Grotius, although undoubtedly a Socinian, had too much candour and good sense, to avail himself of the doubt expressed by Epiphanius. He says; “ Epiphanius doubts whether these also (the Nazarenes) asserted that Christ was a mere man, &c. and also declares that he knew not, whether they cut off the genealogy. But others do not plainly ascribe any thing peculiar to them, besides the observation of the Hebrew rites. As Irenæus makes no mention of them in his account of heresies, we are to judge favourably of them; and so much the more that Augustine, *who consulted more ancient writers*, expressly affirms that the Nazarenes confessed Christ to be the Son of God*.” This learned man does not seem to have entertained a single idea as to the pretended identity of Nazarenes and Ebionites.

It appears to me, indeed, that Epiphanius “ abandoned
“ his

* Et cum dubitet Epiphanius, an hi quoque *ψιλον ανθρωπον* (hominem merum) Christum dicerent, &c. Sed et nescire se dicat an abscondant genealogias ab Abrahamo usque ad Christum. Alii verò nihil planè illis tribuant proprium præter Hebræorum rituum observationem. Irenæus verò nullam eorum mentionem facit in recensu heresæu, in partem meliorem de illis judicandum est, eòque magis, quod Augustinus, qui vetustiores scriptores consuluit, discretè affirmat confiteri Nazaraeos Christum esse Dei Filium. Annot. in Matth.

“ his doubt” in a manner directly the reverse of what Dr P. represents as the fact. The ancient writer has divided his work into volumes. To every volume he has prefixed an index, expressing the names of the heresies described in it, their number, and the principal features of each heresy. These summaries have evidently been written after the work was finished *. In that prefixed to the second volume, which contains the account of the Nazarenes, he says of them ; “ They confess that Jesus is the Christ, the “ Son of God, *but* live in all respects according to the “ law †.” It is evident that the only thing that he here finds blameworthy in them is their Judaism.

Epiphanius, in the close of the second section, speaks of οἱ Ναζαρηνοὶ οἱ ἀνομοί, “ the *lawless* Nazarenes.” This Dr Horsley understands of that Jewish sect said to have borne this name. But as the existence of this sect is very doubtful, although the expression should be understood of the Christian Nazarenes, it is no evidence that the writer had a bad opinion of their faith and practice. *Ἀνομοί* may be merely a parody on the word *νόμος*, by which the writer might mean to signify that, by their obstinate attachment to the Mosaic *law*, they were *without law* ; because, in this instance, they renounced the authority of Christ, and separated from his church. I shall only add, that, although Epiphanius had never abandoned his doubt, it could be of no weight in this controversy. For, as will be fully proved afterwards, it was entirely groundless.

Dr P. refers to Austin as saying, “ 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.

* Epiph. Responf. ad Epist. Acacii.

† Ναζωραῖοι, οἱ Χριστὸν ομολογῶντες Ἰησοῦν υἱὸν Θεοῦ, πάντα δὲ κατὰ νόμον παλιταυομένων. Op. vol. i. p. 53.

“conception. How then,” he says “could the Nazarenes
 “be thought to be different from the Ebionites?—Austin
 “—does not say that they were miscalled*.” The Doc-
 tor seems to refer to a passage in Austin’s work against
 Cresconius: and in the use of this argument he has the
 honour of following the footsteps of Toland †. But Austin
 does not say that these heretics were called Symmachians,
from Symmachus. Nor does he even say, that “*the Na-*
 “*zarenes* were by some called Symmachians.” Let the
 good man speak for himself: “And now there are cer-
 “tain heretics, who call themselves Nazarenes, but by
 “some they are denominated Symmachians; and they re-
 “tain the Jewish circumcision, and the Christian bap-
 “tism ‡.” This is not, indeed, the only place in which
 we find the same language. Faustus, the Manichæan, ha-
 ving said in his work, “If any of the Nazarenes, whom
 “others call Symmachians, shall object,” &c. Austin,
 speaking of the decree of the synod of Jerusalem, replies,
 “This temperate management of the Holy Spirit working
 “by the Apostles, as it displeased some believers of the
 “circumcision, who did not understand these things, they
 “continued in their perverseness, so as to force the Gen-
 “tiles to judaize. These are they whom Faustus has
 “mentioned under the name of Symmachians or Naza-
 “renes, who continue to our own time, although their
 “number is very small ||.” Whoever these heretics were,

2

“they

* Vol. iii. p. 183.

† Nazaren. c. 20. ap. Mosheim Vindic. p. 148.

‡ Et nunc sunt quidam hæretici, qui se Nazarenos vocant, a nonnullis
 autem Symmachiani appellantur, et circumcisionem habent Judæorum, et
 baptismum Christianorum. Cont. Cresconium, lib. i. p. 168.

|| *Et tamen hoc si mihi Nazæeorum objiceret quisquam quos alii
 Symmachianos appellant, quod Jesus dixerit, non se venisse solvere legem,
 &c. Faust.*—Hoc igitur temperamentum moderamenque spiritus sancti
 per apostolos operantis, cum displicuisset quibusdam ex circumcisione
 credentibus,

they were undoubtedly the same referred to in his work against Crefconius.

But the description given is that of Ebionites. It is most probable that these heretics, unwilling to acknowledge a name which evidently implied that they had their origin from a particular herefiarch, wished to be called Nazarenes, in common with those to whom this name properly belonged; especially as both parties adhered to the law. Thus they might hope to pass with some for the genuine successors of those who were first called Nazarenes. The learned Valefius, to whose opinion our author at times pays great respect, fupposes that "the Ebionites were, in later ages, called Symmachians, from Symmachus, who strenuously supported their doctrines*." The account given of them is fuch as applies to Ebionites only. For Ambrose fays that "the Symmachians, after the manner of Photinus, assert that Christ is not God and man, but man only †." The manner in which Austin speaks of the name *Nazarenes* is a strong presumption that he had the Ebionites in his eye. For he speaks as if these heretics, had only *wished* to be called *Nazarenes*. They took this name to themselves. But it does not appear that it was generally given them by others. How different is this from his language concerning the true Nazarenes, as evi-

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dently

credentibus, qui hæc non intelligebant, in ea perversitate manserunt, ut et gentes cogerent judaizare. Ii sunt, quos Faustus Symmachianorum vel Nazaræorum nomine commemoravit, qui usque ad nostra tempora jam quidem in exigua, sed adhuc tamen vel in ipsa paucitate perdurant. Cont. Faust. l. 19. c. 18.

* Porro ab hoc Symmacho Ebionæi postea dicti sunt Symmachiani, eo quod Symmachus dogma illorum validissime afferuisset. Annot. in Euf. Hist. l. 6. c. 17. p. 278.

† Sicut et Symmachiani qui ex Phariseis originem trahunt, qui servata omni lege Christianos se dicunt, more Photini Christum non Deum et hominem, sed hominem tantummodo definientes. Prol. Comment. in Galat. Ibid.

dently distinguished from Ebionites? We have seen, from his reply to Jerom, that he describes them as those “ who are commonly called Nazarenes *.”

But although Austin had expressly said that the Nazarenes were the same people with the Symmachians, we could not have justly inferred that they were the same with the Ebionites. For in his treatise on heresies, he particularly distinguishes the Nazarenes from the Ebionites. Now, whether ought we to pay most regard to a transient expression in a work, in which the author is not particularly treating concerning the peculiar doctrines of these heretics, or to an express distinction in another work, undertaken for the purpose of accurately distinguishing between different heresies? Austin's book concerning heresies is evidently written far more concisely than most of his other works. He discovers no inclination to swell it by making unnecessary distinctions. He declares, in the Preface, that it had cost him much thought, and expresses the greatest anxiety for giving just accounts. It was also posterior to those works in which he speaks of the Symmachians. Therefore, if there be any error, we are to correct them by it, and not it by them.

Dr P. further observes: “ That Austin did not consider “ the Nazarenes in any favourable light, is evident from his “ calling them *heretics* †.” But this is away from the point. For the question is not, Whether Austin considered the Nazarenes as heretics? but, Whether he viewed them as the same with the Ebionites? Because he calls them heretics, must we conclude that he reckoned them chargeable with the worst of heresies? If the Nazarenes were not formally excommunicated, they virtually excommunicated themselves,

* Vel eorum, quos vulgò Nazaræos nuncupant. Opera, vol. ii. p. 29.

† Vol. iii. p. 185.

themselves, by adhering to the law, after the observation of it was generally accounted unlawful. Now, it is undeniable that, in the time of Austin, all who did not communicate with the Catholic church, were without distinction called heretics. But our learned author is never at a loss. He can turn his argument either way. He contends that, in the opinion of Irenæus, the Ebionites were *not heretics*, because, how much soever he says against them, he does not expressly use the word *heretics* or *heresy*. But because Austin uses this language with respect to the Nazarenes, he must have considered them as the *worst* kind of heretics that the church, in his time, knew. "What more," says he, "could Austin have said of the Ebionites?" Had he thought that nothing but strong language could mark the peculiar grossness of one heresy, in comparison with another, he could have said, as Epiphanius had done before him, that "they indifferently received and embraced every thing horrible, destructive, and abominable, shapeless and absurd from other heresies." But he did not think of a gradation of titles, according to the supposed enormity of the heresies. He preferred a plan fully as good. He pointed out the doctrines of each heretical sect.

But Dr P. adds; "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 this article may be supposed to have atoned for defects in other things?" To this I reply; Did not Austin account the Donatists heretics, although their *soundness* in the faith was never suspected? Can it be supposed that he would have spoken of the Nazarenes, as "confessing that Christ is the Son of God," if

he had thought them *beterodox* with respect to the doctrine of the Trinity? Did Austin account any thing a confession of Christ as the Son of God, but a confession that he was of the same essence with the Father? Did he write "in an age, in which the greatest account was made of this doctrine;" and would *he* make so little account of it as to say that those "confessed Christ to be the Son of God," who, according to his persuasion, held damnable doctrines in direct opposition to this most important article of faith? For this is his language: "The Nazarenes though they confess Christ to be the Son of God, nevertheless observe all the old law, which Christians have learned, by Apostolical tradition, not to observe carnally, but spiritually*." Nothing can be more evident than that their belief with respect to Christ is not introduced in the dark side of their character; which, had it been false, would undoubtedly have been the case, especially "in an age in which the greatest account was made of this doctrine." Indeed, if there be any propriety in Austin's language, any force in the opposition stated between *cum* and *tamen*, this must be viewed as a concession in their favour.

After this account of the Nazarenes, Austin immediately adds; "The Ebionites say that Christ is no more than a mere man. They observe the carnal commandments of the law †," &c. It would be an insult on the reader's understanding to inquire, if, according to the ideas of Austin, there be no difference between "confessing Christ to be the Son of God," and "saying that he is man only?"

Dr

* Nazareni, *cum* Dei Filium confiteantur esse Christum, omnia *tamen* veteris legis observant, quæ Christiani per Apostolicam traditionem non observare carnaliter, sed spiritualiter didicerunt. De Hæres. c. 9. vol. 6. p. 7.

† Hebionei Christum etiam tantummodo hominem dicunt. Mandata carnalia legis observant, &c. Ibid. c. 10.

Dr P., indeed, says that Austin, "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 *." But leaving the reader to judge for himself, I shall only ask, if Austin does not express the faith of the Nazarenes on this point, in the very same language in which he would have expressed his own? But as the Doctor, notwithstanding, grants that Austin makes a difference between these heretics, while he himself makes none, how does he evade the force of his testimony in this respect? The process is entertaining. He admits that "it was a common opinion, especially in the West, that there was some difference between them." He infers that "it was very natural in Austin to mention them separately, whether Jerom had made them the same or not." If this opinion was *common* in that age, why does Dr P. adopt a different one in this? His reason seems to lie in the following exception;—"Though the writers who speak of it could never be certain in what it consisted." But though this were true, the circumstance of its being a *common* opinion would be a strong presumption that there was a real difference; unless it be supposed that we in the eighteenth century have better access to know the truth concerning these people, than those who lived while they continued to exist.

But Dr P. can produce no proof that these writers were *not* certain as to the difference. Perhaps, he has Epiphanius in his eye. But he declares his uncertainty as to *one* circumstance only, while he speaks with the greatest certainty as to *many* others. With respect to Jerom and Austin, our author may, if he please, assert, that they erred as to the difference stated by them. However, he cannot truly say, that they speak with any hesitation. But why does

* Vol. iii. p. 174.

he make this opinion *especially* common in the *West*? I can conceive no reason for this, but that these heresies had their seat in the *East*. He removes the patrons of this opinion to as great a distance as possible; in order to infuse a suspicion, that they were too distant to know the truth. Austin, indeed, lived in Africa, which is undoubtedly west from Peræa. Jerom was born in Dalmatia. But he resided four years in the deserts of the Syrians and Hagarines, at no great distance, as would seem from the country inhabited by these sects. He afterwards passed the greatest part of his life in Palestine, where he died. Nay, he was personally acquainted with some of both parties. Epiphanius was born and educated in Palestine, and spent many years there in the *monastic* life; and was afterwards bishop of Constantia in the Isle of Cyprus.

It has been said that Philastrius, who wrote before Austin on this subject, does not charge the Nazarenes with any heresy concerning the person of Christ *. But Dr P. avails himself of the testimony of Theodoret, who “living in Syria,” he says, “had a good opportunity of being acquainted with the Nazarenes.” He describes them as follows: “The Nazarenes are Jews who honour Christ as a righteous man, and use the gospel according to Peter †.” But Mosheim has clearly shewn, that his testimony is of no weight in this matter. He was not only later than any of the writers already mentioned; but the rest of his account of the Nazarenes is such as shews that, whatever *opportunity* he had of *being acquainted with* them, he had not improved it. He says, that they used the gospel according to Peter.

* Bull's Judg. Cath. Church, chap. 2. s. 13. Ittig. de Heres. sect. 1. c. 7.

† Οι δε Ναζωραίοι Ιουδαίοι εἰσι, τὸν Χριστὸν τιμῶντες ὡς ἀνθρώπον δίκαιον, καὶ τὸ καλωμένῳ κατὰ Πέτρον εὐαγγελίῳ πεχρημένοι. Hæg. Fab. l. 2. cap. 2. ap. auct. vol. iii. p. 183.

Peter. But this was never used by the Nazarenes, but by the *Docetæ*, those Gnostics whom our Author sets in the most direct opposition to them, as maintaining that Christ was man in appearance only *.

Theodoret also gives it as the testimony of Eusebius, that these heretics made their first appearance in the reign of Domitian. But that historian does not, as far as we know, once mention the Nazarenes: and he gives the Ebionites no earlier date than the reign of Trajan †. Theodoret also asserts that Justin Martyr, Irenæus and Origen wrote against the Nazarenes; while their very name is mentioned by none of these fathers. As Justin wrote against all heresies, it may be supposed that Theodoret had seen this work, although it is now lost. But it is not at all likely, that he should have been acquainted with a work unknown to Eusebius ‡. Either Theodoret speaks without any ground in what he asserts concerning these fathers; or, if Justin really wrote against the Nazarenes, they were accounted heretics in his time. If the first be true, the testimony of Theodoret goes for nothing; if the second, it is supported at the expence of the Doctor's own system. For those whom the church accounted heretics so early as the age of Justin Martyr, could not be the genuine successors of the apostles.

It has been urged by Mosheim as a strong presumption, of Theodoret's not being satisfied that the Nazarenes denied the divinity of Christ, that when he afterwards musters up almost all the heretics who did so, he omits the Nazarenes. "But the Ebionites, and Theodotians, and Artemonites, and Photinians, have asserted that Christ is a
"mere man born of a virgin §." However, I do not think that much stress can be laid on this. It is a further proof of his inaccuracy: as he speaks of the Ebionites, without distinction, as believing the miraculous conception.

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Dr

* Euf. Hist. l. 6. c. 12. p. 270.

† Ibid. l. 3. c. 27.

‡ Vid. Mosheim. Vindic. p. 107.—111. § Ibid. p. 111.

Dr P., before closing this chapter, goes a little farther back, in order to prove the lawful descent of his ancient friends from the first Hebrew Christians. "The resemblance," he says, "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. 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 their 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 upon them; them take and purify thyself with them,—that all may know that those things whereof they were informed concerning thee are nothing, but that thou thyself also walkest orderly, and keepst the law." Here the Doctor stops short; adding, "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 *"

But why does the learned Gentleman break off at the verse immediately following what he has quoted? He had, indeed, sufficient reason for this. He must have known that it would spoil the *resemblance*. For the Ebionites had a distinguishing feature which these Hebrew Christians wanted.

Dr

* Vol. iii. p. 187.—189.

Dr P. elsewhere acknowledges what he found it impossible to deny; that "the Ebionites, at least *many* of them, would have imposed the yoke of the " Jewish law upon the Gentile " Christians, and would not communicate with those who " were not circumcised *." There is not the least reason for the exception. For according to the unanimous voice of antiquity, this was the principle of *all* of them. Was it because Paul taught that the *Gentiles* were not bound by the law of Moses, that these *many thousands* were offended? There is not the least evidence of this, from the words quoted. The only ground of offence mentioned, is that he taught the *Jews* who were *among the Gentiles*, to *forsake* Moses. The conformity advised by the Apostles, was only meant as a proof that Paul *himself*, being a Jew, *kept the law*; and therefore, that he could not be supposed to entice others to *forsake* it. But the words immediately following the quotation, shew that they had no wish to constrain the Gentiles to observe the law: *As touching the Gentiles who believe, we have written and concluded, that they observe no such things, save only that they keep themselves from things offered to idols, and from blood, and from strangled, and from fornication, ver. 25.* This decree was in full force. The observation of the ceremonial law by the Gentiles was, not only not required, but prohibited by the Synod of Jerusalem. Had this decree been opposed by the multitudes, they would have been rebels against the Apostles, nay, against the Holy Ghost (chap. xv. 28). But we are under the necessity of concluding that it was agreeable to them, if we grant the truth of the history of the Acts. For it pleased, not the Apostles and elders only, but *the whole church*, ver. 22. These many thousands of Hebrew believers, though zealous for the law themselves, and urging its observation on all of their own nation, left the Gentiles at liberty, except in the things mentioned. Therefore, they were not Ebionites.

And

* Vol. iii. p. 202.

And since they did *not* resemble them in this respect, although we had no other evidence, we might conclude, according to our author's own plan of reasoning, that "they were *not* the same in other respects."

He concludes this chapter with these words; "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."

It is evidently our author's wish as much as possible to reduce the number of orthodox Hebrews. Had he been as anxious to *meet with* those of this description, as with Unitarians, he might have found that this Joseph had many brethren. Had he only looked into the fifth section of the same chapter, he must have observed that there was, in that very place, another, a certain young man, "an orthodox believer from among the Hebrews*," who secretly visited Epiphanius and his company. Had he only *looked through* the same section in which Joseph is first mentioned, he must have found that the Patriarch Eliel, the descendent of Camaliel, when dying, embraced Christianity. It is evident, that he also was an orthodox Hebrew Christian. For Epiphanius says, that when he was baptized by the Bishop of Tiberias, he was "initiated into holy mysteries." Now, in justice, this language must be understood according to the persuasion of the writer.

It is strange, that Dr P. should speak exclusively of Joseph, when he had the very same evidence of the existence of other orthodox Christians, of Hebrew origin, as of his. For in the very page in which Epiphanius enters on his account of Joseph, he informs us that the Gospel of John, and the Acts of the Apostles, were translated into Hebrew, and most

* Από Εβραίων ορθώς πιστευόντων. Epiph. Har. 30.

most secretly preserved in the treasuries of the Jews at Tiberias; adding, that some of those converted from Judaism had most accurately declared this to him. Nay, he further says, that “these Jews, who made this declaration to him, “acknowledged that by this means they had believed on “Christ*.”

Our learned author, if he paid the least respect to the connexion, could not but observe that these persons, whatever their number might be, were of the same faith with the orthodox Joseph. For in this manner Epiphanius begins to describe him: “But Joseph was one of them,” &c. It is at any rate undeniable, that the Ebionites rejected both the Gospel of John and the Acts of the Apostles.

Epiphanius himself was a Jewish Christian. He was not only born a Jew, but educated in that religion. In his life, said to be written by John, one of his disciples, it is asserted that after his father’s death, one Tryphon a Jew took him under his care, and “diligently taught him all “things pertaining to the law and the Hebrew elements; “and that Epiphanius grew in age, and in the wisdom of “the Hebrews †.” Dr P. entertains no doubt of the orthodoxy of this *Jewish Christian*.

I have already made some remarks on that passage in Jerom, which has been generally brought to prove, that he did not consider the Nazarenes and Ebionites as the same people. But I have met with many other passages in his works, which although they do not seem to have been attended to in respect to the question at issue, shew in the clearest manner, that he viewed them as entirely distinct. This father has a greater claim to our regard than any other

* Ως και απο τουτου τους αναγκαστας τους Ιουδαιους ημιν υφηγηταμενους εις Χριστον πιστευειναι. Ην δε τις αυτων Ιωσηπος, &c. Hæc. Her. 30. sect. 5. vol. i. p. 129.

† Vita Epiph. sect. 5. vol. ii. p. 321.

ther writer who has mentioned these sects; because he was much better acquainted with them. He does not speak from report, but from personal knowledge. The passages referred to especially deserve our attention, because they express the sentiments of the writer, when he is not agitated by the heat of controversy, but coolly commenting on the language of inspiration.

Although, on one occasion, when alarmed at the idea of the introduction of heresy into the church, and irritated by opposition, we have heard him refuse that the Nazarenes were either Jews or Christians; he generally represents them in a more favourable light. Referring to one of these people, he calls him "an Hebrew of the Nazarene sect*." He says that "they so receive Christ, as not to renounce the legal observances †;" and seems to consider this as the only difference between them and other Christians. He gives them the moderate epithet of *errantes*; producing no other evidence of its justness than their "endeavouring to preserve the abolished rites ‡." Quoting these words, *No man putteth new wine into old bottles*, "Such are the Nazarenes," he says, "who attempt to adapt the observation of the old law to the grace of the gospel ||." In a word, he gives the very same account of them as of those Christians, for whose sake, he says, Matthew wrote his gospel in Hebrew §. But he exhibits the

Ebionites

* Legi nuper in quodam Hebraico volumine, quod Nazarenæ sectæ mihi Hebræus obtulit, Hieremiæ apocryphum, &c. In Mat. xxvii. 9.

† Nazaræi, qui ita Christum recipiunt, ut observationes legis veteris non amittant. In Esai. cap. viii. 14.

‡ Nec juxta errantes Nazaræos, abolitis sacrificiis inservient, sed spirituum cultum sectabuntur. In Hierem. cap. iii. 14.

|| Tales sunt Nazaræi, qui veteris legis observantiam, evangelicæ gratiæ aptare conantur. In Ezek. xvi. 16.

§ Primus omnium Matthæus est,—qui evangelium in Judæa Hebræo sermone ædidit: ob eorum vel maxime causam, qui in Jesum crediderant

Ebionites in a very different light. He frequently classes them with Photinus *; while he characterizes him and Samofatenus as accursed †. He calls the Ebionites “ heirs of the error of the Jews ‡; and even considers them as “ denying that Christ came in the flesh ||.”

While he admits, without any reserve as to this point, that the Nazarenes believe in Christ, he denies this with respect to the Ebionites. For, speaking of the ambiguous interpretation of a passage, he says; “ It is no wonder that “ those have given a wrong interpretation of it, who were “ unwilling to say any thing to the honour of Christ, in “ whom they did not believe; I mean the Jews or Semi- “ Jews, the Ebionites §.” The denial of faith in Christ must extend to the latter, as well as to the former.

Even when he associates the Nazarenes with the Ebionites, he exhibits them as different sects. Explaining these words, *Who hath required this at your hands?* he says; “ Let the Ebionites give ear, who think that the abolished “ law is to be observed, even after the passion of our Lord. “ Let the associates of the Ebionites hear, who conclude that “ these things are to be observed only by the Jews, and by those “ of

ex Judæis: et nequaquam legis umbram, succedente evangelii veritate, servabant. Proœm. in Mat.

* Hebionis et Photini etiam hinc hæresis retundenda, quod Dominus noster Jesus Christus Deus sit. In Gal. i. 1.

Ex hoc loco Hebionis et Photini dogma conteritur, &c. In Gal. i. 11.

† Paulus autem Samofatenus et Fotinus—maledicti erunt spem habentes in homine. In Hierem. xvii. 5.

‡ Judæi et Judaici errores Hebionitæ. In Esai. lxvi. 19.

|| Hæreticorum semina pullularent Cherinti, Hebionis, et cæterorum, qui negant Christum in carne venisse. Proœm in Mat.

§ Non mirum cur male interpretati sunt, nec voluerunt de Christo gloriosum quid dicere, in quem non credebant: videlicet ut Judæi aut Semijudæi, id est Hebionitæ. In Esai. ii. 22.

“of the flock of Israel*.” Whom can he mean but the Nazarenes? But while he calls them *associates* or *allies* of the Ebionites, they are exhibited as distinct. They are also represented as connected with each other, merely in regard to the law. Nay, even when he declares their connexion in this single instance, he does it so as to mark a very important difference in the same respect. For he evidently means that the Ebionites considered the law as of universal obligation, but that their *allies* viewed it as binding *only* on the natural posterity of Abraham.

While he seems to have been an entire stranger to any Ebionites who believed the miraculous conception, he in many places represents this as the doctrine of the Nazarenes. He frequently quotes that strange expression which their Gospel ascribes to the Saviour; “My mother, the Holy Spirit, just now laid hold upon me.” But the very manner in which he quotes it, contains a proof of his favourable opinion of them. Instead of exposing them to ridicule, he apologizes for the singularity of the expression. “No one,” he says, “ought to be offended on this account; because “the Jews express the Spirit in the feminine gender, while “in our language it is masculine, and neuter in Greek. “For in the deity there is no sex. Therefore, in the three “principal languages, in which the title of our Lord’s passion was written, it is expressed in the three different genders, that we may know that it is of no particular gender †.” He does not write like one who considered them

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* Audiant Hebionici; qui post passionem Christi abolitam legem putant esse servandam: Audiant Hebionitarum focii: qui Judæis tantum et de stirpe Israelitici generis hæc custodienda decernunt. In Esai. i. 12.

† Sed in evangelio quod juxta Hebræos scriptum, Nazaræi lætitant, Dominus loquitur: Modo me tulit mater mea, Spiritus sanctus. Nemo autem in hac parte scandalizari debet, quod dicatur apud Hebræos spiritus genere fœminino, cum nostra lingua appelletur genere masculino, et

as heretical with respect to the doctrine of the Spirit; as he must have done, had he believed that they viewed this adorable Person as a mere attribute.

From the manner in which he quotes this Gospel, with respect to the descent of the Spirit, he evidently considers the Nazarenes as believing Jesus to be a divine Person. Illustrating these words, *In him it pleased that all fullness of the Godhead should dwell bodily*; “By no means partially,” he says, “as in other saints;” but according to their Gospel, “which, being wrote in Hebrew, the Nazarenes read, the ‘whole fountain of the Holy Spirit descended on him.’—“Besides, in the Gospel which we have mentioned above, “we find these things written; ‘But it came to pass, when ‘the Lord ascended from the water, that the whole fountain ‘of the Holy Spirit descended and rested on him, and said ‘to him, My Son, I have waited for thy coming during the ‘ministry of all the prophets, that I might rest upon thee. ‘For thou art my rest; thou art my first-begotten, who ‘reignest for ever.’ Which Spirit of the Lord is also called “the Spirit of Wisdom. For *all things were made by him, “and without him was nothing made which was made.*—And “the Apostle writes; *Christ the power of God, and the “wisdom of God.* And it is written in the Proverbs; *The “Lord by wisdom hath founded the earth; by understanding “hath he established the heavens.* And how the same Word “of God is called Light, and Life, and Resurrection,” &c*.

When

Græco sermone neutro. In divinitate enim nullus est sexus. Et ideo in tribus principalibus linguis, quibus titulus dominicæ scriptus est passionis, tribus generibus appellatur: ut sciamus nullius esse generis quod diversum est. In Esai. xl. 6. Vide etiam in Ezek. xvi. 13.

* In ipso complacuit omnem plenitudinem divinitatis habitare corporaliter: nequaquam per partes ut in cæteris sanctis: sed juxta evangelium eorum quod Hebræo sermone conscriptum legunt Nazaræi: Descendit super eum omnis fons Spiritus Sancti. — Porro in evangelio, cujus supra supra

When Jerom asserts that *all the fullness of the Godhead dwells in Christ*, he asserts it *according to the Gospel of the Nazarenes*. He evidently applies the quotation from this Gospel, as illustrating the doctrine of our Saviour's divinity. But he would never have acted this part, had he not known that it was thus understood by the Nazarenes themselves. As he was personally acquainted with many of them, as it was from them that he had the use of this Gospel in order to his translating it *, as he discovers a thorough knowledge of their tenets in other respects, although of far less importance; no one can doubt that he had the best access to know what they believed on this head. Had not Jerom understood the passage quoted as a clear declaration of the faith of the Nazarenes, his not merely quoting it in this light, but his confirming the doctrine supposed to be contained in it, by a variety of passages from Scripture, in his judgment fully establishing the divinity of Christ, must have been the height of absurdity. Indeed, it would be a very poor compliment to the reason of these Christians, to suppose that they believed a finite subject capable of receiving the *whole fountain* of the divine Spirit.

From the manner in which both Jerom and Epiphanius, who were cotemporary, express themselves concerning the miracu-
raculous

supra fecimus mentionem, hac scripta reperimus: Factum est autem cum ascendisset Dominus de aqua, descendit fons omnis Spiritus Sancti, et requievit super eum; et dixit illi: Fili mi in omnibus prophetis expectabam te ut venires et requiesceram in te. Tu es enim requies mea: tu es filius meus primogenitus qui regnas in sempiternum. Qui Spiritus Domini appellatur et Spiritus sapientiae: Omnia enim per ipsum facta sunt. Et in Psalmis canitur; Quae magnificata sunt opera tua, Domine; omnia in sapientia fecisti. Et Apostolus scribit; Christus Dei virtus, et Dei sapientia. Et in Proverbiis legitur; Deus in sapientia sua fundavit terram, et paravit caelos in prudentia. Et quomodo idem sermo Dei vocatur lux, et vita, et resurrectio, &c. In Esai. cap. xi. 1.

* Mihi quoque a Nazaræis, qui in Beræa urbe Syriæ hoc volumine utantur, describendi facultas fuit. Catalog. Scriptor. in Matth.

raculous conception, it would appear that they had no idea of any holding this doctrine in the proper sense of language, but those who believed that Jesus was God. For, as we have seen, when Epiphanius mentions his *doubt* with respect to the Nazarenes, he opposes the doctrine of the *mere* humanity of Christ, to “acknowledging, as the truth is, that he “was begotten by the Holy Ghost.” Some of the Gnostics had entertained the wild idea of the body of Christ passing through Mary as through a pipe. But they did not believe that he was conceived of Mary.

Nothing can be more evident than that Jerom was acquainted with Hebrews, who held, not only the doctrine of the miraculous conception, but that of the divinity of Christ. For, commenting on these words, *God came from Teman* (or the south), *and the Holy One from mount Paran*, he says; “I myself heard an Hebrew explain this passage in the following manner; ‘The Lord shall come from the south, that is, shall be born in Bethlehem; and hence shall he arise. And because he, who is born in Bethlehem, formerly gave the law in mount Sinai, he is the Holy One who came from mount Paran. For Paran is in the neighbourhood of mount Sinai. And what follows, *Selab*, that is, *always*, signifies that he who is born in Bethlehem, and who gave the law in Sinai, that is, in mount Paran, is always the author and bestower of all benefits, past, present, and future*.”

VOL. II.

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* *Audivi ego Hebræum istum locum ita differere: Quod Bethlehem sita sit ad Austrum, in qua natus est dominus atque salvator: et ipsum esse de quo nunc dicatur: Dominus ab Austro veniet: hoc est, nascetur in Bethlehem, et inde consurget. Et quia ipse qui natus est in Bethlehem, legem quondam dedit in monte Sinai: ipse est sanctus qui venit de monte Pharan: Pharan quippe vicinus est locus monti Sina. Et quod inferitur, Diapsalma, id est, semper, habere sensum, ipse qui natus est in Bethlehem; et qui in Sina, id est, in monte Pharan, legem dedit: semper in universis beneficiis præteritis et præsentibus, et futuris author est et largitor. In Hab. iii. 3.*

It will be afterwards proved, that the Ebionites were greatly attached to washings. On this account Epiphanius compares them to the Scribes and Pharisees*. But the character of the Nazarenes, as given by Jerom, is directly the reverse. They rejected the traditions of the elders, and seem to have had a peculiar antipathy at the abettors of them. On these words, *He shall be for a rock of offence to both houses of Israel*, he says; “The Nazarenes, who so receive Christ as not to renounce the observances of the old law, understand this language as descriptive of the two families of Sammai and Hillel, from whom sprung the Scribes and Pharisees. Sammai and Hillel made their appearance in Judæa, not long before the birth of our Saviour. The former is interpreted *The scatterer*, and the latter *Profane*; because, by their traditions and additions, they have dissipated and defiled the precepts of the law: and they assert that these are the two houses which did not receive the Saviour, who was to be for destruction, and for offence †.”

In the same manner do they apply the words that follow, *And when they shall say unto you, Seek unto them that have a familiar spirit, &c.* “But the Nazarenes,” he says, “have thus explained this passage: ‘When the Scribes and Pharisees shall say to you, that you ought to hearken to them, who do all for the sake of the belly, and who, after the manner of magicians make a murmuring noise in their incantations,

* Haer. 30. sect. 21.

† Nazaræi (qui ita Christum recipiunt ut observationes legis veteris non amittant) duas familias interpretantur, Sammai et Hillel; ex quibus orti sunt Scribæ et Pharisei.——Sammai igitur et Hillel non multo prius quam Dominus nasceretur, orti sunt in Judæa, quorum prior dissipator interpretatur, sequens prophanus: eo quod per traditiones et *deuteronomice* suas legis præcepta dissipaverint atque maculaverint. Et has esse duas domus quæ salvatorem non receperint; qui factus sit eis in ruinam et in scandalum. In *Estai*. viii. 14.

‘ incantations, that they may deceive you, you ought to
 ‘ give them this answer. It is no wonder that you follow
 ‘ your traditions, when every nation consults its idols.
 ‘ Therefore, we ought not to ask counsel of you, who are
 ‘ dead, concerning *the living*; especially as God hath given
 ‘ us his law, and the testimony of scripture, which if you
 ‘ are unwilling to follow, you shall have no light, but be
 ‘ still covered with darkness, which shall pervade your
 ‘ land and your doctrine; so that, when those who are de-
 ‘ ceived by you shall perceive that they are in error, and
 ‘ subjected to a famine of the truth, they shall then be grie-
 ‘ ved or enraged, and shall curse you, whom they formerly
 ‘ considered as their *gods* and *kings*. And in vain shall
 ‘ they look to the heaven, or to the earth; as they will be
 ‘ always in darkness, and will not be able to escape from
 ‘ your snares *.”

Commenting on that passage, *At first be lightly afflicted the land of Zabulon and Naphtali*:—*The people who sat in darkness*. &c. he says; “The Nazarenes, whose opinion I
 “ have formerly mentioned, endeavour to explain this place
 “ in the following manner: ‘ Upon the coming of Christ,
 ‘ and shining of the light of the gospel, the lands of Zabulon

H 2

‘ and

* Cæterum Nazareni locum istum ita edisserunt: Cum dixerint ad vos Scribæ et Pharisei, ut eos audiatis qui omnia ventris causa faciunt; et in morem magorum stridunt in incantationibus suis, ut vos decipiant; hoc eis respondere debetis: Non mirum si vos vestras traditiones sequamini; cum unaquæque gens sua consulat idola. Ergo et nos a vobis mortuis de viventibus consulere non debemus; magis nobis Deus legem dedit, et testimonia scripturarum; quæ si sequi nolueritis, non habebitis lucem; sed semper caligo vos opprimet; quæ transibit per terram vestram atque doctrinam: ut cum decepti a vobis se in errore perspexerint, et sustinere famem veritatis, tunc contristentur, sive irascantur, et maledicant vobis; quos quasi deos suos et reges putabant. Et frustra ad cælum terramque respiciant; cum semper in tenebris sint; et non possint de vestris avolare insidiis. In Esai. viii, 19—22.

‘ and Naphtali were first delivered from the errors of the
 ‘ Scribes and Pharisees; and shook off from their necks the
 ‘ very oppressive yoke of Jewish traditions *.”

They also meet with the votaries of tradition in that prophecy; *The terrible one is brought to nought, and the scorner is consumed, and all that watch for iniquity are cut off; who make a man an offender for a word, &c.* “What
 “ we understand,” says Jerom, “ of the Devil and his An-
 “ gels, the Nazarenes consider as directed against the Scribes
 “ and Pharisees, because the teachers of traditions are *brought*
 “ *to nought*, who formerly deceived the people by their ex-
 “ crable traditions, and watched day and night for destroy-
 “ ing the simple; who made men to sin in the word of God,
 “ that they might deny Christ the Son of God †.”

I have fully quoted these different passages concerning the zeal of the Nazarenes against the Scribes and Pharisees, because they exhibit a striking feature in the character of the former, which, as far as I know, has not been observed in later times.

These extracts throw considerable light on what Jerom says of the Nazarenes, in that passage which has been so much disputed: *Et a Phariseis nunc usque damnatur.* Not simply, “ now condemned by the Pharisees;” as Dr P. renders it. For the expression also implies, that they had *all along* condemned them. It is a singular circumstance, that
 Jerom

* Nazaraei, quorum opinionem supra posui, hunc locum ita explanare conantur: Adveniente Christo et prædicatione illius corrumpente; prima terra Zabulon, et terra Neptalim, Scribarum et Phariseorum est erroribus liberata; et gravissimum traditionum Judaicarum jugum excussit de cervicibus suis. In Esai. ix. 1, 2.

† Quæ nos super diabolo et angelis ejus intelleximus, Nazaraei contra Scribas et Phariseos dicta arbitrantur, quod defecerint *δευτεροται*, qui prius illudebant populo traditionibus pessimis; et ad decipiendos simplices die nocteque vigilabant; qui peccare faciebant homines in verbo Dei, ut Christum Dei filium negarent. In Esai. xxix. 20. 21.

Jerom should mention the Pharisees in particular, as thus testifying their hatred of the Nazarenes; and without knowing their sentiments concerning the Pharisees, we should be apt to conclude that this had been written at random. But there had been an hereditary aversion on both sides. Therefore, the Pharisees would naturally single out the Nazarenes from other Christians, as the objects of their resentment. On the other hand, we may suppose that they would be partial to the Ebionites, who were as much attached to some of the traditions as themselves.

With this account that of Epiphanius corresponds. For even while he says that “the Nazarenes are rather Jews than any thing else,” he adds; “But they are inveterate enemies to the Jews. For the descendants of the Jews not only hate them. but thrice a-day, at morning noon and evening, when engaged in prayer in their synagogues, they load them with curses, saying that God curses the Nazarenes*.” If Epiphanius supposed that these curses were confined to this particular sect, he was certainly mistaken. For Jerom speaks of the Jews cursing Christians in general, thrice a day, under the name of *Nazarenes* †. But from what the same writer says of the Pharisees. as condemning the sect which peculiarly bore this name, taken in connexion with what is asserted by Epiphanius, it may be inferred that, while they extended their anathemas to all Christians, they particularly marked out the Nazarenes. Though these ancient writers had not spoken so expressly,

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it

* *Ἰουδαῖοι μᾶλλον, καὶ ὕδεν ἕτερον· πανυ δε ὕτοι ἐχθροὶ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ὑπαρχουσιν· ὃ μόνον γὰρ οἱ τῶν Ἰουδαίων παιδὲ τρὶς τῆς κεντηντα ἑξῆς, ἀλλὰ ἀνισάμενοι ἰσῶθεν, καὶ μεση ἡμερας. καὶ περὶ τὴν ἑσπεραν, τρὶς τῆς ἡμερας ὅτε εὐχὰς ἐπιτελοῦσιν ἐν ταῖς αὐτῶν συναγωγαῖς, ἐταρῶντα τοῖς, καὶ ἀναθεματιζουσι, φασκοντες, ὅτι ἐπικαταρασαι ὁ Θεὸς τῆς Ναζαραιῶς.*
Hæc. 29. sect. 9.

† In Esai. v. 17. xlix. 5. lii. 4.

it might naturally have been supposed that they would especially hate them; not merely as apostates, but as the keenest enemies of their traditions.

It is granted on all hands, that the Ebionites rejected Paul. This was well known to Jerom. "The Ebionites," he says, "while they receive the other Apostles, reject Paul as a transgressor of the law*." He was equally assured that the Nazarenes acknowledged him. For in giving their view of the prophecy, concerning the diffusion of the gospel through the land of Zabulon and Naphtali, formerly quoted, he adds, as a continuation of it: "But afterwards, by the gospel of the Apostle Paul, who was the last of all the Apostles, the preaching was increased and multiplied, and the gospel of Christ diffused its splendor through the boundaries of the nations, and through all the sea-coasts. In fine, the whole world, which formerly walked or sat in darkness, and was held captive in the fetters of idolatry and death, hath beheld the glorious light of the gospel †." This is the counterpart of what they had said of the Scribes and Pharisees. Can any reasonable person suppose, that Jerom believed these to be the same with those who "rejected Paul as a transgressor of the law?"

It may be observed that, in this place, Jerom mentions Hebrews

* —Hebionitas, qui cum cæteris recipiant apostolos, Paulum quasi transgressorem legis repuliant. In Mat. xii. 2.

† Nazaræi, &c. — *prima* terra Zabulon, et terra Neptalim, Scribarum et Phariseorum est erroribus liberata: et gravissimum traditionum Judaicarum jugum excussit de cervicibus suis. *Postea* autem per evangelium apostoli Pauli, qui novissimus apostolorum omnium fuit, ingravata est, id est, multiplicata prædicatio: et in terminos gentium et viam universi maris Christi evangelium splenduit. Denique omnis orbis qui ante ambulabat vel fedit in tenebris, et idololatriæ ac mortis vinculis tenebatur, clarum evangelii lumen aspexit. In Esai. ix. 1.

brews believing in Christ, as distinct from the Nazarenes*. Most probably he means those who had renounced the bondage of the law, and who, although in a state of fellowship with Gentiles, were known to be of the Hebrew race. They were not Nazarenes, for Jerom not only distinguishes the one from the other, but their view of the passage is very different from that of the Nazarenes, which is immediately subjoined. I cannot think that they were Ebionites. For Jerom every where else designs these heretics in quite another way. This passage, at any rate, affords an incontrovertible proof that he knew at least two classes of Hebrews professing Christianity.

SECTION II.

Reflections concerning the Nazarenes. Of this being used as a peculiar name.

IT is evident, from the history of the Acts of the Apostles, that the unbelieving Jews contemptuously bestowed the name of Nazarenes on all Christians, in allusion to the place where they supposed that our Saviour was born. It was in common use with them, when Tertullian wrote. In the time of Agobard, they daily cursed the Christians under this name. Nay, it seems to be still retained by them. For, it is said, that “ there is nothing to this day

“ more common than to call Jesus by the title of the

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“ *Notzri*

* Hebraei credentes in Christum, hunc locum ita edisserunt: Primo tempore hæ duo tribus, &c. *Ibid.*

“*Notzri* (*i. e.* Nazarene), and his followers *Notzerim*, or “*Nazarenes* †.”

There is no evidence that the first Christians, whether of Jewish or Gentile origin, took this name to themselves. They might consider it as reproachful, because it proceeded on a false supposition. Though, in addressing the Jews, they often spoke of Jesus in that very language used by them, and inscribed on his cross, as testifying that they were not ashamed of it; yet it seems to have been their wish to be designed from the name of their master, rather than from that of the place where he was falsely said to have been born. Thus, although all the writers of the New Testament were Jews, we have no example of their acknowledging this appellation: nor is there any instance of it in their discourses recorded in the Acts. Even when writing to believing Hebrews, they call them *Christians*, 1 Pet. iv. 16. Jam. ii. 7.

There is no reason to think that any particular body of Christians were distinguished by the name of Nazarenes before the publication of Adrian's Edict against the Jews. Great darkness, it must be acknowledged, overclouds the origin of this name, as peculiar to one body of believing Hebrews. I have sometimes been inclined to think, that it might be given them by their brethren who renounced the obligation of the law; and that thus they might endeavour to distinguish themselves from those who adhered to it, lest the Romans should still consider them as disregarding the imperial edict. It has appeared favourable to this supposition, that the Hebrew Christians, who renounced the law, must have known that this term had a double meaning; that it might not only be viewed as referring to the supposed place of our Saviour's nativity, but as signifying *separation* or *purity*, whether real or pretended, and that they might consider

† Kidder's Demonstrat. Part. 2. c. 3.

consider its peculiar meaning as a sufficient reason for affixing the name to those who, from pretended purity and ill-grounded zeal, separated from their Christian brethren.

But upon the most mature deliberation I am capable of, it appears more natural to suppose that they took this name to themselves. The testimony of Epiphanius, the first writer who particularly mentions them, is express to this purpose. He declares this no less than three different times. If we receive his testimony as at all sufficient on the subject, we are not justifiable in rejecting it in this instance, without such reasons as clearly prove that it ought not to be received. This is not the case here. For his account of matters is liable to less objection than any hypothesis that can be substituted in its place. "These indeed," says that writer, "have not taken to themselves the name of Christ, nor the name of Jesus, but of Nazarenes. For at that time all Christians were called Nazarenes *,—knowing that—he was called in the Gospel *Jesus of Nazareth*, as the apostles also speak, *Jesus of Nazareth, a man approved, &c.* they imposed on themselves the name of *Nazarenes*, not of *Nazarites*, which term signifies *holy persons* †." And again; "But these heretics, omitting the name of Jesus, have not called themselves *Jesseans*, nor have they retained the name of the Jews, nor have they designed themselves *Christians*, but *Nazarenes*, from the name of that place called *Nazareth* ‡."

If

* Ουτοι γαρ εαυτοις ονομα επεδεντο υχι Χριστη, ουτε αυτο το ονομα τω Ιησω, αλλα Ναζωραιων* κη παντες δε χριστιανοι Ναζωραιοι τοτε ωσπυτως εκαλυοντο. Haer. 29. f. 1.

† Γνοντες δε αυτον—εν τω ευαγγελιω Ιησον τον Ναζωραιον καλεισθαι, ως κη οι Αποστολοι φασιν, Ιησον τον Ναζωραιον ανδρα αποδειγμενον—τητο το ονομα επιτιθεσθαι αυτοις, το καλεισθαι Ναζωραιους, υχι δε Ναζωραιους, το ερμηνευομενον ηγιασμενης. Ibid. f. 5.

‡ Ουτοι δε οι προειρημενοι αιρεσιωται, —παρεντες το ονομα τω

Ιησω

fies *sectaries*. They were also still anathematized by the Pharisees. Thence, as we have seen, it may be inferred that the unbelieving Jews viewed those Nazarenes with greater hatred than the Ebionites. A sufficient reason for this would be their persuasion of the deity of One whom they had crucified. But the hatred of the Pharisees must have been greatly increased by the inveteracy of the Nazarenes against their beloved traditions.

Toland has pretended that, after the empire became Christian, the Jews, afraid of falling under the lash of the civil power for their imprecations against the Christians in general, imposed upon Jerom, by telling him that they meant only a sect of their own, called Nazarenes or Minæans*. But this invention carries its own confutation along with it. It is, indeed, true that they cursed all the Christians. But this will not prove, that they did not distinguish those who might be most offensive to them, by the supposed impiety of their doctrine concerning Christ as the Son of God, as well as by their opprobrious rejection of tradition; and whose vicinity would be an additional excitement to peculiar bitterness. Their circumcision would be accounted worse than uncircumcision. For they would reckon their observation of the law an insult to it; while, in their apprehension, they blasphemed the lawgiver, by deifying a man. There is no reason to suppose, that Jerom would be thus imposed on. He knew abundantly well, as has been already seen, that they gave this name to Christians in general, and that they cursed them all.

In this manner might they have imposed on Toland, or, on some of his respectful followers. But Jerom could not have been their dupe. He was certainly better acquainted with Hebrew than any of the ancient Christian writers: and, according to the judgment of Erasmus, was by far the
 most

* Nazarenus ap. Mosh. Vindic. p. 163.

most learned of them all *. His knowledge of the original appears from what remains of his version of the Old Testament. So versant was he even in that dialect, in which the the Gospel of Matthew was written, as used by the Hebrews, that he translated it. He was well acquainted with Hebrews of every description. Jerom would have been the last of all the fathers to have swallowed such a deception. Dr P. observes that the term *minei* is from the Hebrew מִינֵי , *minim*, which—is that by which the Jews, in “all their writings, distinguish the Christians †.” From the account given by the Jews themselves of the meaning of this name, it is evident that they have not merely extended it to Christians in general, but to heathens, especially to the Epicureans. But it is equally evident, that they have especially pointed it against those who acknowledge the Deity of Christ. For they number five classes to which the name belongs. The first consists of those who deny that there is a God, and a Governor of the world. The other four are formed by those who assert the Deity of Christ; “who maintain that the Governor of the world is not one, “but two and more; or that there is but one Lord of the “world, but that he assumed a body, and is possessed of a “human form; or that this only Lord is not the first, and “the creator of all things; or who worship another God “beside him, that he may be a mediator between them and “the Lord of all ‡.” There is not the most distant insinuation

* Epist. lib. 5. ep. 19. apud. Cave Hist. Literar. vol. i. p. 219.

† Vol. iii. p. 176.

‡ *Quinque sunt qui vocantur Minim* (hæretici); nempe, 1. qui negat esse Deum, et gubernatorem universi, 2. qui dicit esse gubernatorem mundi, et non unum solum, sed duos et plures, 3. qui dicit dari unum tantum rerum omnium Dominum, sed illum assumpsisse corpus, atque esse externa visibili specie præditum, 4. qui dicit eum solum non esse primum, et creatorem omnium, denique, 5. qui colit Deum alium præter ipsum, ut sit mediator inter ipsum atque Dominum universi. Quilibet horum vocatur Min, hæreticus. Maimonid. Hilch. Avoda Sara, p. 277.

tion that the Jews extended the character of *heretics* to those who held the doctrine of Ebion; notwithstanding all the particularity used in distinguishing the friends of the Deity of Christ into so many classes.

The great objection to the appropriation of the name of Nazarenes to one sect of Hebrew Christians, is founded on the silence of every writer, with respect to this circumstance, before Epiphanius. But many of the productions of the period intervening between their formation as a distinct body and the appropriation of this name, have fallen a sacrifice to the ravages of time. After Irenæus, he is also the first writer extant, who professedly treats of the different heresies. It may well be supposed that, for a considerable time, this designation was topical; especially as these Christians had no intercourse with their Hebrew brethren who had forsaken the law, nor, as far as we know, with Gentile believers. Although this intercourse had been agreeable to them, their situation would have greatly prevented it; as they had their principal seat on the borders of the desert Arabia. It is also probable, that they were not numerous.

The same name being given by unbelieving Jews to Christians in general, its peculiar sense might more readily pass unnoticed, especially with Gentile writers. They would necessarily be better acquainted with the Ebionites, the grossness of their doctrine attracting more attention. Some Gentiles, also, in different periods, adopted their impiety concerning Christ. This would put the churches more on their guard against them. The Gentiles, knowing that the Ebionites, with whose principles they were best acquainted, rigidly adhered to the law, might, without sufficient enquiry, conclude that all who did so agreed with them in the rest of their errors.

But although the Nazarenes had been early known to Gentile writers, there was far less occasion to refer to them than

than to the Ebionites, because they do not seem to have been distinguished from other Christians by any other doctrine than that concerning the law of Moses. As there never was a Gentile sect that urged the observation of this, there was no occasion to appeal to the Nazarenes. The different versions of the Old Testament by learned Ebionites, or those accounted such, would likewise make that party better known.

For some time after their separation, they might not be generally denominated heretics, either by believers of their own nation or by Gentiles. Although Justin seems to describe the Nazarenes, in his Dialogue with Trypho, this of their distinctive name being applied by unbelieving Jews to Christians in general, might be a sufficient reason with him for not using it, when addressing an unbelieving Jew. It is Dr P.'s opinion that Justin speaks of the Ebionites *with respect*. But according to the principles of that ancient writer, there is far more reason for supposing, that he would be actuated by motives of regard and tenderness towards the Nazarenes, who agreed with him in fundamental doctrines; and that he would not wish to stigmatize them as heretics, by giving them a peculiar name; as he might hope that time would convince them of their folly.

Let us even suppose, that both the believing Hebrews, who renounced the law, and Gentile Christians were provoked at their obstinacy, it is not probable that they would, for a considerable time, call them *Nazarenes*. For it very rarely happens that the opponents of separatists agree to give them that name which they choose for themselves. At first, especially if all hopes of a reconciliation are gone, they generally give them a name expressive of contempt or dislike. It is not till they view their principles and conduct with more coolness than is commonly discovered at

first, that they begin to distinguish them by that name which they have taken to themselves. It was far more natural for other Christians, when they considered the Nazarenes as obstinate in their error, to class them with Ebionites; because the name given to this sect was expressive of contempt; whether it was understood as derived from a particular heretic, or as denoting *poverty*. It would prevent other Christians from calling these separatists *Nazarenes*, even after it was known that they thus distinguished themselves, that they seem to have claimed this name as the proper descendants of the first who bore it. Others would therefore refuse to give it, lest they should appear to acknowledge the justness of their pretensions, to their own exclusion.

Dr P. supplies us with another idea in confirmation of this hypothesis. Speaking of the name *Nazarenes*, which he wishes to be understood as peculiarly applicable by unbelieving Jews to believers of that nation, he says; "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*—equally answered their purpose *." He asserts, indeed, that the latter name was "also given them by their unbelieving brethren." But he will find it difficult to prove this. It is not improbable that they would eventually apply it to those who denied the deity of Christ, knowing that they were thus denominated by other Christians; especially as it is said that they make mention of Ebion in their Talmud.

Epiphanius, the first who acknowledges the Nazarenes by the name which they assumed, was a Jew by birth and
education,

* Vol. iii. p. 175.

education, and lived in the vicinity of their principal seat. He has evidently paid more attention to them than any preceding writer, whose works are known to us. Although not thoroughly informed on the subject, his distinguishing them by a particular name, and ascribing principles to them, different from those professed by the Ebionites, would naturally excite greater attention in succeeding writers. By the time that he wrote, indeed, the name seems to have been confirmed to them by common consent. For we have seen that Jerom, his cotemporary, frequently uses it, as a distinctive appellation generally known. In the same manner is it used by Austin.

Other Christians then gave them this name without any scruple; the reasons for refusing it at first being forgotten, or having lost their influence. It also deserves our notice, that although Jerom and Austin were acquainted with the work of Epiphanius concerning heresies, they both speak with certainty as to that point about which he expresses his hesitation. He honestly acknowledges that he was *not informed* as to this. But Jerom, particularly, not only asserts what he *did* know; but leaves the reader satisfied as to the grounds of his knowledge.

However, though the name of *Nazarenes* was generally given to one body of Judaizing Christians, it does not seem to have been extended, even in Austin's time, to all who claimed it. For those who were certainly Ebionites, are pointed out by him as only *calling themselves Nazarenes*, while by others called *Symmachians*; whereas he says of those, whom he particularly distinguishes from Ebionites, that they were *commonly called Nazarenes*. Those of this sect, who lived in the East, where they had their principal seat, finding that the name of *Ebionites* was fixed on them by general consent, put the best face on it possible. They made a merit of what was meant as a reproach. For Epi-

phanus says; "They glory on this account, calling themselves *poor*, because they say that in the times of the Apostles they sold their substance, and laid it at their feet, voluntarily reducing themselves to poverty: and therefore, according to their account of matters, they by all are called *poor* *."

But it would seem that those who straggled to the west, where they might suppose that their proper name would be less familiar, endeavoured to pass for Nazarenes; conscious, perhaps, that the name of Ebionites necessarily implied their derivation from a particular heretic. Their claim, however, was not recognized. Both in Africa and Italy, they received the name of *Symmachians*. Their attachment to the version of Symmachus was well known, and they most probably often appealed to him as a *man of eminence* among them. Hence it was natural to give them his name. This designation does not seem to have had its rise in the east. For it is not mentioned by Epiphanius: and Austin flourished so soon after him, that, had it originated there, it could scarcely have escaped the author of the *Panarium*. But in the west, these heretics were not simply distinguished from Nazarenes by the name of Symmachians; but while this name was given them, they were singled out by one trait in their character, which, it was well known, could never apply to the Nazarenes. For Ambrose, who, in a passage formerly quoted, calls them Symmachians, at the same time declares, that they derived their origin from the *Pharisees*.

Petavius was of opinion that all who adhered to the law were, by some writers, in a more general sense called Ebionites; how much soever they differed as to the doctrine of the divinity of Christ †. Spencer agrees with him ‡. The

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* Haer. 30. f. 17.

† Annot. in Epiphanius, haer. 30.

‡ Annot. in Orig. cont. Cels. lib. ii. p. 33.

learned Grotius espouſes the ſame opinion. “Origen,” he ſays, “when in his diſpute againſt Celfus he makes two kinds of Ebionites, uſing the name more largely, deſcribes the Nazarenes, as would ſeem, under the former character,” viz. as confeſſing that Chriſt was born of a virgin *. Voffius is mentioned as adopting the ſame hypotheſis †.

Although Origen does not mention the Nazarenes, he ſpeaks of two kinds of Ebionites. “There are ſome,” he ſays, “who receive Chriſt, and on this account boaſt themſelves to be Chriſtians : but they ſtill incline to live according to the Jewish law, like the great body of the Jews. And theſe are Ebionites of two kinds ; either confeſſing that Jeſus was born of a virgin, *in the ſame manner with us* ; or that he was not born in this way, but like the reſt of men ‡.”

It is favourable to the opinion already mentioned, that, while Origen gives no other name than that of *Ebionites* to thoſe of Jewish extract who believed in Chriſt, he aſſigns no other reaſon for the name than their attachment to the law. He is the firſt writer who ſeems to have deviated from the original ſenſe of the term *Ebionites*, as ſimply ſignifying the followers of *Ebion*. Finding that the name of this heretic had, in the Hebrew language, a meaning correſpondent to his doctrine, it ſuited the genius of Origen to make a handle of it. Nay, it was very natural for him to extend the designation to all who agreed with Ebion in his *beggarly* ideas concerning the obligation of the law ;

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* Origenes, cum duplices facit Ebionæos, in diſputatione contra Celfum,—Ebionæorum nomine laxus abutens, ſub priore illa nota Nazareæos, ut credibile eſt deſcribat. Annot. in Matth. ap. Poli Synopſ. vol. iv. p. 6, 7.

† Spencer Annot. ut ſup.

‡ Cont. Celf. lib. v. p. 272.

to which he confines its meaning. It was a later improvement on this discovery, which does not appear to have been made before the time of Eusebius, to apply it to the poverty of their ideas concerning Christ. Had Origen been satisfied that, in this sense, it could have been extended to *all* the Ebionites, it is by no means supposable that he would have overlooked this circumstance. To him it would have been a far more fertile topic than their Judaism.

It is most probable that it was about his time that other Hebrew Christians, believing the miraculous conception, connected themselves, in some degree, with the Ebionites. For he is the first who mentions two classes of them. It does not appear, whether he was acquainted with a circumstance particularly mentioned by Eusebius, and implied in what is said by Epiphanius, that of those who constituted his first class being formerly quite distinct from the Ebionites properly so called. It is, however, natural enough to suppose that he might not know whether all the Hebrew Christians, adhering to the law, had connected themselves with the Ebionites, or what sacrifices they made, as to religious principles, in forming this connexion. Dr P. indeed quotes a passage from Origen's Commentary on Matthew, in which he speaks of those Jews, who believe that Christ was born of a virgin, as not believing this, "with the theology concerning him *." But his not mentioning this in his work against Celsus, which was later than the other, and generally accounted the most accurate of all his works, although in different places he mentions both classes, is no inconsiderable presumption that he was not fully satisfied on this head, or, at least, that although he knew that some of his first class denied this doctrine, he was not certain if this was the case with all whom he seems to have included in the general designation of E-

* Edit. Huet. vol. i. p. 427. ap. auct. vol. iii. p. 167.

bionites. His language, indeed, is scarcely such as a Trinitarian would use in describing those who believed that Jesus was a mere man: "confessing that Jesus was born of a virgin *in the same manner with us* *." For it was the faith of Origen and his brethren, that Jesus was *so* born of a virgin as to be thus manifested to be truly and properly *the Son of God*. His language is nearly allied to that of Jerom, in describing the Nazarenes:—"Who believe in Christ, the Son of God,—*in whom we also believe.*"

Those Hebrews who believed the miraculous conception might, on account of their national relation, the poverty of their understanding in adhering to the law, their vicinity to the great body of the Ebionites in Peræa, and some communications of a religious kind, receive the name of Ebionites in a laxer sense, or by some be really confounded with them. But this name could not with propriety apply to them, according to its original use, its constant sense till the time of Origen, or the proper principles of that sect. For it is allowed on all hands, that the original Ebionites denied the miraculous conception. Now, those who believed this doctrine must either have used a different gospel, or received the two first chapters of Matthew, while the other class rejected them. Supposing the latter only to have been the case, how could they be viewed as the same people?

It has been seen, that Epiphanius does not, like the writers who preceded him, speak of any Ebionites who held the miraculous conception. This is a strong presumption that Nazarenes and Ebionites were nominally confounded before his time; and that those called Ebionites, who believed the miraculous conception, were a branch of the Nazarenes who had deviated in so far from their original principles to meet the Ebionites, but could not go all lengths with

* Ομολογῶντες ὁμοίως ἡμῖν. Cont. Cels. loc. sup. cit.

with them. Epiphanius indeed says; "Since the time of Ebion to this day, those who have followed his error, having their minds carried away into absurdity and confusion, declare some one way, and some another, concerning Christ." But when he proceeds to explain their notions, he says, that "some asserted that Christ was that Adam first formed by God, that others said he came from heaven, and was created before all; and (like the Cerinthians) that the Spirit entered into him, which is the very Christ, and was clothed with him who is called Jesus. But," he adds, "great is the darkness among them, as they state their opinions concerning Christ in a great variety of ways *." None of these notions, however, have the least resemblance to the doctrine of the miraculous conception.

But in proving that the Nazarenes were different from the Ebionites, there is no absolute necessity for supposing, that Origen meant to include all who made a profession of Christianity, and yet adhered to the law, under the general name of Ebionites. Although it should be thought, that what he says concerning the denial of the theology by those who believed the miraculous conception, were unexceptionable; it cannot be inferred that he knew no other Hebrew Christians besides these two classes. For it will afterwards be seen, that he speaks of some Christians who retained the law *with interpretations*, as distinct from those who adhered to the *letter only*. If the former were not Nazarenes, we are certain they were not Ebionites.

The learned and judicious bishop Bull has quoted a passage from Justin Martyr's Dialogue, as a proof that there were Hebrew Christians who believed the Deity of Christ, and yet adhered to the law. Trypho says; "Shall those who have lived according to the law enjoined by Moses, live in the resurrection of the dead, in the same manner

* Haer. 30. f. 3.

“ as Job, Enoch, and Noah, or not?” To this Justin replies; “ In that law the things which are naturally excellent, and pious, and just, are required to be performed by those who are obedient; as other things were also enjoined on account of the hardness of the hearts of that people, which those performed who were under the law. For those who did these things which are universally, naturally and eternally good, are acceptable to God, and shall be saved by *this* Christ, in the resurrection as well as their righteous ancestors, Enoch, Noah and Job, or any others, together with those who acknowledge the Christ *this* Son of God, who was before the morning star and the moon; and being incarnate by that virgin of the family of David, condescended to be born, that by this dispensation the serpent, the original cause of evil, and his angels, conformed to him, might be subdued,” &c.

Justin, having declared that those would be saved who conscientiously lived according to their light under the Old Testament, and classed them with those under the New, who believe in the deity and miraculous conception of Christ; Trypho, perhaps apprehending that he meant to exclude all professed Christians who did not renounce the law of Moses, proposes the following question to him: “ But if some, even now, incline to live, observing these things enjoined by Moses, and believe on *this* * Jesus who was crucified, acknowledging that he is the Christ of God, and that to him is entirely given the judgment of all, and that his kingdom is everlasting, can these also be saved?” After a little disputation concerning those legal institutions that could be observed after the destruction of the temple, Trypho repeats his question, and Justin replies:

* ΤΩΤΟΥ, according to its ordinary and proper meaning, certainly includes all the preceding description given of the Saviour by Justin; therefore, his deity and miraculous conception.

replies : “ As it appears to me indeed, Trypho, I assert, “ that such a person can be saved, if he strive not by all “ means to persuade other men (I presently speak of those “ who, from among the Gentiles, have been circumcised by “ Christ from error) to observe the same things with him, “ asserting that they cannot be saved, unless they do so ; “ in like manner as thou hast done in the commencement “ of this discourse, shewing that I could not be saved, with- “ out observing these things.” Then Trypho ; “ Accord- “ ing to what you have said, as I understand it, such a one “ shall be saved. But are there any who assert that such “ shall not be saved? There are, I replied, O Trypho, and “ who dare not have any fellowship with such, either in “ conversation, or in eating : with whom I do not agree. “ But if they, by reason of weakness of mind, incline to “ observe all the Mosaic institutions that are now in their “ power, which we know were commanded on account of “ the obduracy of the people, together with hope in *this* * “ Christ, and the acts of justice and piety which are eter- “ nally and naturally incumbent, and choose to live toge- “ ther with believing Christians, as I have said before, not “ persuading them either to be circumcised like them, or “ to observe other things of the same nature, it evidently “ appears necessary both to receive these, and to hold com- “ munion with them as men of the same bowels, and “ brethren †.”

Here Justin Martyr seems to speak of the Nazarenes. He does not name them, indeed. But it cannot be pre- tended that they were Ebionites. For they did not force the law on the Gentiles, which, it is undeniable, the Ebionites did. Therefore, they were not *the same people* with

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them.

* ΤΥΤΟΥ. He carefully preserves a reference to the account formerly given of that faith in the Son of God, which he reckoned necessary to salvation.

† Dial. p. 263.—266.

them. It will not be said that they were Gnostics. For they discover none of their opinions. If, then, Dr P. refuse that they were Nazarenes, according to our ideas of that people; it is incumbent on him to shew who they were.

It can be no valid objection, that Justin speaks hypothetically. For when he says that some assert that those who themselves observe the law, but do not force it on others, *shall not be saved*, adding, *with whom I do not agree*; he clearly shews the real existence of such believing Hebrews. For how would any one think of judging of their state, if there were no such persons? Indeed, the description given by Justin of these converts, as “choosing to live together “with” Gentiles, “without persuading them to be circumcised,” &c. exactly corresponds with the account of the Christian Hebrews given in the Acts. When Peter returned to Jerusalem, after his intercourse with Cornelius, *they that were of the circumcision contended with him, saying, Thou wentest in to men uncircumcised, and didst eat with them. But Peter rehearsed the matter from the beginning. When they heard these things, they held their peace, and glorified God, saying, Then hath God also to the Gentiles granted repentance unto life*, ch. xi. 2.—16. Had there been any Ebionites here, they would not have *held their peace*.

From the preceding quotation from Justin, the following things are evident; that he accounted faith in the deity of Christ necessary to salvation; that he had no hope of the salvation of the Ebionites, and reckoned them heretics, because they tried to force the law on the Gentiles; that there were other Hebrew Christians, believing as he did concerning Christ, and themselves observing the law, but not persuading the Gentiles to observe it; and that some thought that even these could not be saved, and held no communion with them, although Justin himself was of a different opinion.

As far as we know, it is not asserted by any of the writers who have mentioned the Nazarenes, that they attempted to impose the law on Gentile Christians. Those who first bore the name did not, with whom those described by Justin entirely agreed. They communicated with those Gentile believers who did not reject them. As *some* objected to this fellowship, they would afterwards find it necessary to withdraw. Even those who at first dealt tenderly with them, from a persuasion that they might at length discover the folly of their attachment to an abrogated law, perceiving that they continued obstinate, would also refuse them communion. From this circumstance, many of them seem to have made considerable approaches to the Ebionites.

Thus alone can we rationally account for the appearance of a new class of Ebionites in the third century. It is beyond all probability, that any of the proper Ebionites should borrow a doctrine from the Gentile Christians whom they hated, rise in their ideas concerning the Saviour, and make an addition to their Gospel. Though it should be supposed that a few individuals should have made such a transition, we cannot imagine that this would have been done by a body so considerable as to appear in history as a distinct class. Irenæus speaks of the Ebionites, without any exception, as in his time following Theodotion and Aquila, that is, attempting to support their doctrine of Christ being the son of Joseph from the versions of these translators. Did a great part of them, let us suppose the one half, renounce their friends and supporters, and embrace a doctrine diametrically opposite to theirs, in the course of half a century? In what manner can this extraordinary, and, all circumstances considered, unparalleled change be accounted for?

If we suppose that these were not Ebionites, originally
at

at least, we have a rational solution of the difficulty. Eusebius greatly assists us, in the account which he gives of those called Ebionites, who believed the miraculous conception. For, as we have seen, he evidently speaks of them as being "carried away with the impiety of the former, so as not any longer to confess that Christ was God, the Word and Wisdom *." This language plainly implies that formerly they were totally distinct from the rest, who bore the name of Ebionites. He is an unexceptionable witness, as to this previous circumstance: for he could have no end to serve in making this latter class originally better than the former. As Dr P. charges Eusebius with "prejudice against the Unitarians," he cannot suppose that he would have said any thing in their favour, unless a regard to truth had absolutely required it.

This passage of Eusebius, justly viewed, throws great light on what is asserted by Epiphanius concerning the Ebionites and Nazarenes, that "they, drawing near the one to the other, communicated their perverseness to each other †." He makes this observation, after mentioning their residence in the same country. As they thus lived together; as both parties were of Hebrew origin; as both adhered to the law; as both were in a state of separation from the great body of the faithful; as they were equally exposed to reproach for their attachment to *beggarly elements*; it is very natural to suppose, though we had no authority for it, that many of the Nazarenes would desert to the Ebionites, or, at least, gradually draw nearer to them than they were immediately after they left the communion of the church. Even the faith of the Nazarenes in the divinity of Christ would, to many, eventually prove but a slender obstacle to this approximation. For their very adherence to shadows, that were done away,

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* See above, p. 72, &c.

† Haer. 30.

was a partial apostacy from the substance. They had received, from the Spirit of inspiration, a solemn warning to *take heed lest there should be in any of them an evil heart of unbelief in departing from the living God.* It is evident from the connexion that this character is here given to Christ. And as the great design of the Epistle to the Hebrews was to shew, that the ceremonial law was abrogated, as being fulfilled in him; an obstinate adherence to it was unquestionably that great temptation to apostacy, which the inspired writer had in his eye. It is natural to think that many, who only partially rejected this solemn warning, by mingling the law with the gospel, would go further; as those engaged in courses of error generally *wax worse and worse, deceiving and being deceived.*

But we are far from meaning that the great body of the Nazarenes renounced the doctrine of the deity of Christ. Though it were uncharitably supposed that none were actuated by a superior principle, many would adhere to it from the prejudices of education, and from zeal for the doctrine of their fathers. And from the testimonies of Jerome and Austin, we know that whatever were their motives, they continued to confess Christ as the Son of God. Epiphanius himself, even while he speaks of the mutual communications of these heretics, describes them as distinct bodies.

SECTION III.

Of the points in which the Nazarenes differed from the Ebionites.

THE learned Jones could perceive very little difference between these sects *. But had he paid the same attention to this subject, as to some others, he must have seen that they differed widely.

1. The

* Method of settling the Canon, vol. i. 385, 386.

1. The Nazarenes believed the miraculous conception. Those properly called Ebionites never did.

2. The Nazarenes confessed that Christ was the Son of God. The Ebionites asserted that he was man only*.

3. The Nazarenes acknowledged all the Old Testament as inspired †. It does not appear that the Ebionites did so. Epiphanius asserts that they “held the prophets in abhorrence ‡.” This our author reckons improbable, because both Symmachus and Theodotion translated the Old Testament §. But the argument is not conclusive, unless it can be proved that every translator has believed the inspiration of that work on which he has bestowed his labour. Although Epiphanius is, perhaps, the only ancient writer who speaks of their rejection of the prophets in such strong language, it cannot be doubted that they were very early chargeable with some error on this head; and that this was a striking line in their character. For Irenæus, in the very short account he has given of them, says, that they “attempted to explain the prophetic writings in too curious a manner §.”

One would think that, if the testimony of Epiphanius be worthy of credit in any one instance, it is when he speaks of the Ebionites as rejecting the prophets. He is so particular, that we can scarcely suppose that he erred, unless he had done so wilfully. For after insinuating their rejection of all the Old Testament, except the five books of Moses he adds; “But neither do they receive the Pentateuch entire, but reject certain sayings. For if you object that concerning animal food, requiring why Abraham

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* Just. Mart. p. 265, 266. Hieron. Ep. ad Aug. In Esai. i. 12. xi. 1. xl. 6. Ezek. xvi. 13.—August. de Hær. ut sup.

† Haer. 29. c. 7.

‡ Haer. 30. p. 139.

§ Vol. iii p. 217.

§ Quæ autem sunt prophetica, curiosius exponere nituntur. Adv. Hær. l. i. c. 26.

“ham set down a calf, with milk, to the angels? or why
 “Noah fed in this manner, and received the divine com-
 “mand to slay and eat? and how Isaac and Jacob offered
 “sacrifice to God, and also Moses, in the desert? they indeed
 “disbelieve these things, saying; ‘Of what necessity is
 ‘it for me to acknowledge what is in the law, when the
 ‘gospel is come?’” On the contrary, the same writer ex-
 pressly testifies of the Nazarenes, that they received all the
 Jewish scriptures †. But, besides what is asserted by Ire-
 næus and Epiphanius on this head, Methodius, bishop of
 Tyre, an accurate writer who flourished about the year
 290. says that the Ebionites “contended that the prophets
 “spake of their own motion;” that is, they refused that
 the prophets *spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost*.
 The learned Fabricius, who does not seem to have recol-
 lected that this charge had been exhibited against the Ebi-
 onites in general, those at least who were properly so called,
 says; “I wonder what kind of Ebionites these were, who,
 “according to Methodius, denied the inspiration of the scrip-
 “tures †.” It has been asserted by different writers, that,
 among the manuscripts in a certain library at Constanti-
 nople, there is an interpretation of the Old Testament
 scriptures, ascribed to Symmachus. If such a work be ex-
 tant, and at the same time genuine, were it brought to
 light, it would shew whether he was really an Ebionite;
 and if he was, illustrate the peculiar ideas of that people
 with respect to the prophetic writings ||.

But

* Haer. 30. s. 18.

† Haer. 29. s. 7.

‡ *Miror quoque qualis fuerint Ebionæi qui Methodio teste, in Con-
 vivio decem Virginum, p. 133. Scripturas a Spiritu S. inspiratas nega-
 bant, εξ ιδίας κινήσεως τους προφητας λελαληκεναι φιλονεικουντες.* Fabric.
 Biblioth. Græc. l. 4. c. 5. p. 130. n. 130.

|| In Catalogo MSS. Constantini Varini C. Politani quem Possévinus
 ad calcem Apparatus sacri, et ante Possévinum Verderius ad calcem Bibl.
 edidit,

But we receive considerable light on this subject from a work, acknowledged by Dr P. to be that of an Unitarian. For when Epiphanius charges the Ebionites with rejecting the prophets, he appeals to the best authority. He refers to what was then called, *The Travels of Clemens*; now the *Recognitions* *. “There are other books,” he says “which they use, viz. *The Travels of Peter by Clemens*, having left in this a few things true, while the rest is adulterated.” Speaking of the faith of Clemens, as expressed in his Epistles, he adds; “He commends Elias, and David, and Samson, and all the prophets; whom they detest †.” Here our author observes; “This 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 ‡.” But had Dr P. been willing to receive proofs of the truth of this assertion, his favourite work, the *Clementines*, would have amply supplied him. He gives a considerable extract from *the very page*, in which one of the clearest proofs appears.

The writer makes Peter expressly assert, that “the Scripture has received many lies against God ||.” After enumerating a great many expressions under this impious notion, as when God is said to *tempt*, to *repent*, to *harden*, to *deceive*, to *create evil*, &c. he charges the historical parts of Scripture with falsehood, not excepting the *Pentateuch*, saying; “I neither really believe the things mentioned in

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edidit, memoratur *Symmachi Hebræi interpretatio in Psalterium David,*
et ejusdem interpretatio in omnia volumina veteris divinæ Scriptura.
Sed opus ipsum nemo fuit hæcenus, qui in lucem proferret. Fabric. Bibl.
Græc. vol. ii. p. 338.

* Origen, Philocal. c. 22. p. 81 82. † Epiph Haer. 30. p. 139.

‡ Vol. iii. p. 217.

|| Πολλα γαρ ψευδη κατα τα θεω προσελαβον αι γραφαι. Hom. 2. f. 38. p. 631.

“ the law, against God, nor against the just ; presuming
 “ that the opinion would be impious. For I cannot per-
 “ suade myself that Adam, who was produced by the
 “ hand of God, was a transgressor ; nor that Noah, who
 “ was found more just than all the world, was drunken ;
 “ nor that Abraham had at one time three wives,” &c*.
 He ridicules that passage which refers to the tree of life,
 and the history of the fall. “ How could he have any ne-
 “ cessity for touching the tree of life, that he might know
 “ good and evil. But they believe these things, who are
 “ destitute of judgment, who think that the brute animal
 “ (the serpent) was more powerful than God who made
 “ them and all things †.” How could such men be said
 to “ acknowledge the authority of all—the Old Testa-
 “ ment ?”

3. The Nazarenes had the Hebrew Gospel of Matthew
 entire : but that used by the Ebionites was imperfect. The
 last is not denied. The first has been doubted ; but as
 would seem, not on sufficient grounds. It has, indeed,
 been said that the testimony of Epiphanius is of no account,
 because, although he calls this *more entire*, he acknowledges
 that he had never seen it, and was uncertain whether it had
 the genealogy, or not. He calls it *πληρῆσατον*, not *more*, as
 Dr P. gives it from Jones, but *most entire*. But Epipha-
 nius, by adding this single exception with respect to the
 2 genealogy.

* Οὐκ ἐνευλογῶς ἕτε κατὰ τὰ θεῶν πίστευω, ἕτε κατὰ τῶν ἐν τῷ
 νόμῳ ἀναγραφέντων δικαίων, ἀσπίδως φρονεῖν προλαμβάνων· ὡς γὰρ
 πεπεισμαι ἕτε Ἀδάμ παραβάτης ἦν, ὁ ὑπὸ τῶν τῶ θεοῦ χειρῶν κυ-
 φορηθείς· ἕτε Νῶς μεθύσης ἦν, ὁ ὑπὲρ πάντα τὸν κόσμον σικαίος εὐρε-
 θεῖς· ἕτε δὲ Ἀβραὰμ τρισὶν ἀμὰ συνῆς γυναίξῃ, &c. Hom. 2.
 sect. 52. p. 634.

† Δι’ ὅπως ἐτι φύτις χρεῖαν εἶχε προσλαβεῖν, ἵνα τι ποτε ἐσὶν ἰδῆ κα-
 λὸν ἢ κακόν ; ἀλλὰ ταῦτα πίστευσιν οἱ ἀκριτοί, οἱ ἀλογὸν θηρίον,
 θεῶν τὰ κτισάντος αὐτῆς τε καὶ τὰ πάντα ἐξεργετικώτερον γεγενῆσθαι
 αἰθρίας. Hom. 3. sect. 21. p. 638.

genealogy, means to express his certain information that it was *most entire* in other respects; and to contrast it with that of the Ebionites, which, he certainly knew, wanted the genealogy, and to which he refuses this character, because it was not only *μηρωτηριασμενω mutilated*, but *νεωθευμενω adulterated*. The truth of the last assertion he immediately proceeds to illustrate by some instances*. Simon †, Olearius ‡, and Fabricius ||, were satisfied that these were different Gospels, although they might have one name. It is remarkable that the learned Grabe, though he at first thought that they were the same, afterwards, on a careful comparison of the fragments of both, changed his opinion, and candidly acknowledged his mistake §.

But we shall ask no other evidence that they used different Gospels, than what our author himself affords. He grants that, “in the Gospel which Jerom translated, there was *the second chapter*, if not the genealogy;” because it had these words, *Out of Egypt have I called my Son*; and, *He shall be called a Nazarene*. “This,” he adds, “I am willing to explain in the following manner. Originally the Jewish Christians did not believe the doctrine of the miraculous conception.—Origen is the first who noticed two kinds of Ebionites, one believing the 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 Jerom met with*.”

* Haer. 30. f. 13. p. 137.

† Hist. Crit. de N. T. c. 7.

‡ Observ. in Matth. x. p. 94.

|| Cod. Apocryph. N. T. P i. p. 360.

§ Not. in Irenaeum, l. 3. c. 11. p. 220. ap. Mosheim Vindic. p. 112.

** Vol. iii. p. 215, 216.

Dr P. is uncommonly liberal in his concessions here. He seems so to feel the force of that evidence which opposes his system, that he wishes to compound on as reasonable terms as possible. But although he be "willing to explain in this manner," he will find few to join him. He has granted too much for his own hypothesis. Call these "two kinds of Ebionites," or what you please; they could not have been the same people. The Doctor, surely, does not suppose that they all admitted of this addition. Those who disbelieved the miraculous conception, would never assent to such an innovation. Religious bodies, how strict soever their former agreement, when they begin to differ, instead of being so complaisant, generally become warmer in their attachment to the point in dispute, than before. This would be, in history, a solitary instance of moderation, as to a point of this nature; indeed, as to almost any article of faith or practice. This addition, therefore, as the Doctor himself seems to grant, would be found in some copies only. But was not the Gospel read and explained in their churches? The question, then, must have been, which of them should be read? If the *new* Ebionites thought this a point of such importance that, on account of it, they made an addition to their Gospel; would they consent that this should be omitted in the Lecture? This is totally incredible. Would the *old* Ebionites submit to hear a thing read as the language of inspiration, which taught a doctrine that they are said to have denied for more than two centuries? This is equally incredible. Therefore, we cannot suppose them to have had different gospels, even as to this single point, without separate assemblies. But if they had, they were really different sects.

Thus, our author has himself proved the very point which he so strenuously opposes. From his own concessions, it appears almost to a demonstration, that those, whose

Gospel had the genealogy, were indeed the Nazarenes. It will naturally occur to the reader, that the difference between their copies of Matthew's Gospel was not owing to an addition in a later age, but that they were originally different; or rather, that the true Ebionites were the only innovators. For indeed, it has the consent of antiquity, that they *cut off* the genealogy.

What, then, are we to make of Jerom, when he speaks of "the gospel used by the Nazarenes and Ebionites?" Dr P., quoting these words in a preceding chapter, declares that "Jerom has sufficiently decided the question," and could have had no "other idea than that these two sects "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. But, by his concessions on this occasion, he ruins the force of Jerom's *decision*. The copy which he translated had the second chapter, "if not the genealogy †," as Dr P. observes; and we certainly know that the one used by the Ebionites *wanted both* †. It is therefore evident, that Jerom had translated the Gospel, only as it was preserved among the Nazarenes. Of this he himself assures us ‖. But still he might speak of it as also used by the Ebionites; because
their

* In evangelio quo utuntur Nazareni et Ebionitæ, quod nuper in Græcum de Hebræo sermone transfulimus, et quod vocatur a plerisque Matthæi authenticum, &c. In Matth. xii. 13. ap. Auct. vol. iii. p. 180.

† Ibid. p. 181.

‡ This is undoubtedly admitted by our learned author. For he says; "It is evident from Epiphanius that the Ebionites did not consider the *two first* chapters of Matthew as belonging to it; for their copies were "without them, beginning with the third chapter." Ibid. p. 213.

‖ Mihi quoque a Nazaræis qui in Berœa urbe Syriæ hoc volumine utuntur, describendi facultas fuit. Catal. vir. illustr. in Matth.

their edition, though *mutilated* and *corrupted*, was originally the same as that of the Nazarenes. His language does not necessarily imply that this gospel was used by both in the same *form*. It is observable that, in every other place, he speaks of the Nazarenes only as using it.

By looking into a passage of Grotius, I find that he materially admits the truth of all that is here asserted. As he was a Socinian, nothing but the force of truth could have made him express himself as he does. His candid declaration certainly deserves our author's particular attention. "There are some," he says, "who think that the Gospel of the Nazarenes also was mutilated: but of this I do not find any sufficient witness. For Epiphanius asserts the contrary, that these, *viz.* have the Gospel most entire. I know very well that Jerom quotes the Hebrew copy of Matthew, in such a manner that he may seem to make it common to Nazarenes and Ebionites. But it is my judgement, that it was common to them, just as the Gospel of Luke had formerly been to Marcion and the Catholics; a few things, which displeased Marcion, being altered. In like manner, the Ebionites *deleted* the whole of the Genealogy, and what follows to that place where we have an account of Christ being baptized by John, just as Marcion erased the first chapters of Luke. But the Ebionites acted this part for their own purpose, because they wished it to be believed that Jesus was the son of Joseph. But there was not the least reason for the Nazarenes doing so, as it is not proved that they differed from other Christians in what concerns faith, although they observed the Jewish ceremonies *. The author of the *Clementine Homilies* affords a striking proof of the truth of the

K 2

charge

* Sunt qui putant et mutilatum fuisse Evangelium Nazaræorum, cujus rei nusquam idoneum reperio testem. Nam Epiphanius contrarium dicit,

charge exhibited by Epiphanius against the Ebionites, as to *adulterating* the Gospel of Matthew; while it is a further evidence of the light in which they considered the Old Testament. For that passage, *Ye do err, not knowing the scriptures, nor the power of God*, is thus expressed by him; *Ye do err, not knowing the true parts of scripture, whence ye are also ignorant of the power of God*. He at the same time observes, that Christ “spoke this to those who were “deceived by false scriptures, properly pointing out the “cause of the deception.”

4. The Nazarenes, although they adhered to the law themselves, did not impose it on Gentile Christians; but the Ebionites did. The latter is acknowledged by Dr P †. He also admits that there were Hebrew Christians who did not urge the necessity of the observation of the law by Gentiles. “Justin Martyr,” he says, “makes no mention “of Ebionites, but he speaks of the *Jewish Christians*, “which has been proved to be a synonymous expression; “and

eos nempe habere Evangelium *πληρესατον* (*plenissimum*). Non ignoro Hieronymum ita Hebræum Matthæi exemplar citare, ut id commune videatur facere Nazaræis et Ebionitis. Sed commune illis arbitror fuisse, sicut olim Catholicis commune fuit cum Marcione Evangelium Lucae, paucis scilicet mutatis, quæ Marcioni displicebant. Ita et Ebionitæ *deleverant* totam Genealogiam, et quæ sequuntur, ad eum locum ubi Christus a Johanne baptizatur, plane sicut Marcio prima Lucae capita induxit. Fecerunt hoc autem Ebionitæ, pro suo instituto, ut qui Jesum credi vellent natum ex Josephi concubitu.—Hoc autem cur Nazaræi facerent nihil erat causæ, qui non probantur in fidei negotio a ceteris Christianis discrepasse, quanquam ritus Judaicos observabant, &c. Annot. in Matth.

* Και τοις απο των ψευδων γραφων πλαναμενοις, οικειως της πλαωνης εξεφανε την αιτιαν, λεγων* διο τωτο πλανασθε, μη ειδυτες τα αληθη των γραφων* 8 εινεκει αγνοειτε και την δυναμιν τς θες. Hom. 2. sect. 51. p. 633. 634.

† Vol. iii. p. 202.

“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 in communion with them. He describes them as persons who observed the law of Moses, but did not impose it on others. Who could these be but Jewish Unitarians*?” Here Dr P. grants that there were two kinds of Hebrew Christians: one, that did not impose the law on the Gentiles; another, that did. In the latter class he, indeed, includes the Nazarenes as well as the Ebionites; but without any proof, nay, in opposition to sufficient proof to the contrary. For it has been already shewn from this very passage of Justin, that these, whom he describes as not forcing the law on the Gentiles, were entirely different from Ebionites, not only in their practice, but in their faith. For they believed that “Christ, the Son of God, was before Lucifer and the moon †.” Who could these be but Nazarenes, as it appears from a variety of other evidence that this was their faith. But at any rate, our author grants that there were two kinds of Jewish Christians. As the one communicated with the uncircumcised, and the other did not, it certainly follows that they would not communicate with each other. For, as things which agree in one third, agree with each other; the reverse of this axiom has always appeared in the history of the church. Those who have differed as to communion with a third party, have not agreed to communicate with each other. Dr P. may insist to give the name of Ebionites, or of Nazarenes, to both these bodies of Hebrew Christians. But in what way soever they were denominated, it is obvious that they were not *the same people*.

5. The Ebionites rejected, hated and cursed Paul as an
K 3
apostate

* Vol. iii. p. 201, 202.

† See above, p. 133, &c.

apostate from the law *. Nothing of this kind has been charged against the Nazarenes. It is evident that the first who bore this name received him. Surely we cannot judge more safely of the faith of the primitive church, than from the Apostles. But James, Cephas and John, *perceiving the grace of God that was given unto Paul, gave him the right hand of fellowship*, Gal. ii. 9. Nay, it was after that Paul, together with Barnabas, had been *received of the church, and of the apostles and elders*, after they had declared to all the multitude what God had wrought among the Gentiles, that the sentence recorded Acts xv. 4. 12. was unanimously passed. It has been incontestably proved from Jerom, that the later Nazarenes paid the greatest respect to the Apostle of the Gentiles.

6. It does not appear that the Ebionites received any part of the New Testament, but their mutilated and corrupted copy of the Gospel of Matthew. Dr P., in that very chapter in which he treats of the *Sacred books of the Ebionites*, mentions no other. It is no where said that the Nazarenes rejected the rest of the New Testament. As the Gospel of John, and the Acts, were found at Tiberias, translated into Hebrew, it is most probable that this was done by Nazarenes. The words of Epiphanius clearly imply that they received, not only the Gospel of Matthew, but the rest of the canon. "They use," he says, "*not only the New Testament, but also the Old in the same manner as the Jews †.*" Mosheim conjectures that they might even admit the Epistles of Paul, using a forced interpretation, as many others have done. There were some, indeed, who *wrested* them very early. A little ingenuity might

* Euf. Hist. l. 3. c. 26. Epiphani. Hær. 30. f. 16. Hieron. in Mat. xii. 2.

† Χρῶνται δὲ οἱ αὐτοὶ ἕκαστοι καὶ διαθήκη, ἀλλὰ καὶ παλαιὰ, καθάπερ καὶ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι. Haer. 29. § 7. p. 122.

might enable a man as easily to shew that Paul was no enemy to the obligation of the law on *Hebrew* Christians, as that he did not believe the dignity of our Saviour. Origen, as we shall afterwards see, has exercised his ingenuity in the former respect, in his interpretation of those words, *Do ye not bear the law?* But as it has been proved that the Nazarenes acknowledged Paul as an Apostle, it is not conceivable that they should reject his epistles.

We have already seen that the other parts of the canon, although rejected by Ebionites, were received by the genuine Hebrew Christians. Would James, and Cephas, and John acknowledge those as brethren, who rejected their own writings? Nay, can any reasonable man suppose that those would pretend to submit to the authority of these Apostles, who would not read their writings? Even, for a moment, setting aside the idea of their inspiration, is the supposition admissible? Would those, in our own time, be accounted genuine Unitarians, who would reject all the writings of Dr Priestley, Mr Lindsey, &c. who as Paul speaks, *seem to be pillars?* What would be thought, if they should notwithstanding pretend that they were their only genuine disciples? The very narrow limits of the *canon* of the Ebionites is, of itself, a sufficient proof that they were from the beginning obstinate heretics.

7. The Ebionites believed the doctrine of a *Millenium*. I do not mean, that it was believed among them, as among Christians in general. It was not an opinion adopted by one individual, and rejected by another. It was one of the articles of their creed, peculiarly characteristic of the sect. They borrowed it from the synagogue; and, in this instance, incorporated into their scheme of Christianity almost all the ideas of the Jews with respect to their Messiah, and his future temporal kingdom. Some Gentile Christians have entertained very carnal ideas on this subject.

Among these we may reckon Papias and Irenæus*. But it cannot be supposed that any of them went so far as the Ebionites. For they retained so much of their original Judaism as to believe that the Gentiles would be obliged to submit to circumcision and the other ceremonies of the law; and that they would be admitted into the church, only by becoming servants of the Jews †.

While Jerom expressly declares that these were the sentiments of the Ebionites, he no where ascribes them to the Nazarenes. This he certainly would have done, had they been chargeable with them, considering his zeal against the Millenarian scheme. This was so great, that he takes every opportunity of introducing it, and cannot suffer Irenæus himself to pass without censure ‡. The Nazarenes could not believe this doctrine, in the sense of the Ebionites. For they considered the Gentiles as true converts to Christianity ||, who, because of their not submitting to the law of Moses, were accounted heretics by the Ebionites.

8. The Ebionites were not only attached to the rites of the Pharisees, but blended the opinions and practices of the Samaritans with their Judaism. Epiphanius is so particular as to the latter, that without rejecting him entirely as a witness,

* Iren. adv. Hær. lib. 5. c. 32, 33.

† Judæi et Judaici erroris Hebionitæ,—omnesque mille annorum delicias præstolantes; equos et quadrigas, et rhedas, et lectucas, sive basternas, et dormitoria, mulosque et mulas, et carrucas, et diversi generis vehicula, sic intelligunt, ut scripta sunt. Quod videlicet in consummatione mundi, quando Christus Hierusalem regnaturus advenerit; et templum fuerit instauratum, et immolatæ Judaicæ victimæ, de toto orbe reducantur filii Israel:—occurentibus sibi cunctis gentibus, quæ eorum servituti fuerint preparatæ. Hieron. in Esai. lxvi. 19, 20. Sperant—circumcisionis injuriam. In cap. liv. 11. Proœm. in lib. xviii. Comment. in Esai.

‡ Proœm. sup. citat.

*|| In Esai. ix. 1. sup. cit.

witness, we cannot well refuse his testimony. He says of Ebion: "But this man, by his imitating the Samaritans, goes far beyond the Jews." Then he proceeds to mention particulars, which may be seen in his work *. But he exhibits no such charge against the Nazarenes, though evidently no wise partial to them. Of them he says; "They are entirely Jews, and nothing besides †."

As Epiphanius is so clear and explicit in his testimony against the Ebionites, Dr P. wishes to impress his reader with an idea of the partiality of this writer. "There is one thing," he says, "which he lays to their charge, which though absolutely incredible, it is not easy to account for. For he says that 'the Ebionites revere water as a God †.'" But in our author's conduct we may discern the operation of the same principle which he ascribes to Epiphanius, although in the other extreme. His determination to believe nothing to the prejudice of the Ebionites, renders him incapable of investigating the truth. For this charge is neither incredible, nor hard to be accounted for. Epiphanius himself accounts for it. In the sentence immediately following, he says; "They constantly wash themselves in water, in summer as well as in winter, for the sake of purification in the same manner as the Samaritans §." Afterwards he observes, that "in the *Travels of Peter*, a work corrupted by the Ebionites, they represent him as washing every day, for the purpose of purifying

* Hær. 30. f. 2.

† Τα παῖλα δὲ εἰσὶν Ἰουδαῖοι, καὶ ἕδεν ἕτερον. Hær. 29. f. 7.

‡ Vol. iii. p. 205. 206.

§ Το ὕδωρ αὐτῆ Θεοῦ ἔχουσιν. — συνεχῶς δὲ βαπτίζονται ἐν τοῖς ὕδασι, θερινῆ τε καὶ χειμῶνος, εἰς ἀγνῆσιον ὄψιν, ὡσπὲρ οἱ Σαμαριταῖται. Opera, vol. i. p. 53.

“fying himself, as they were themselves wont to do*.” We have the same work, as to the substance of it, in the *Recognitions* and *Homilies*; according to our author, the only remnants of the learning of early Unitarians: and in both this conduct is ascribed to Peter. He is represented as washing before eating †, as washing before prayer ‡, nay, “that he might pray §,” as washing every day, when he found abundance of water, either in the sea or elsewhere ||; the very thing that Epiphanius asserts of the Ebionites **. Peter is made to say that “all things are generated from the water ††,” that “the water produces all things,” and that “water is first begotten †‡.”

Thus, it appears that the charge may not only be accounted for, but that it is not in itself incredible. For Epiphanius evidently means that the Ebionites seemed to think that there was something *divine* in water. He limits the sense of his strong language, when exhibiting the same charge against the Sampseans or Elcesaites, with whom he says the Ebionites were connected: “They have a great veneration for water. For they almost account it a God, asserting that it is the source of life §§.” They also exhibit

* —Ως αυτη καθ' ημεραν βαπτιζομενη αγνισμα ενεκεν,—ως και ετοι. Hær. 30. sect. 15.

† Recog. lib. 4. f. 1. lib. 5. f. 36. Hom. lib. 8. f. 2.

‡ Recog. lib. 8. f. 1. lib. 10. f. 1.

§ Ο Πετρος εγερθεις,—εξιει εις το υδροχοιον, οπως λουσαμενος ευζηται. Hom. xi. f. 1.

|| Hom. x. 1. xi. 1. ** Hær. 30. f. 2.

†† Omnia gignuntur ex aquis, Recog. lib. 6. f. 8.

‡‡ Τα παντα το υδωρ ποιει.—Πρωτογονω υδατι, Hom. xi. f. 24.

§§ Τειμεται δε και το υδωρ, και τωτο ως Θεον ηγνεται σχεδον, Φασκοντες ειναι την ζωνη εκ τωτου. Hær. 53. p. 461.

bit the most striking resemblance of the Hemerobaptists*.

We have already seen how bitter the Nazarenes were in their opposition to the Pharisaical rites, and to the traditions of the elders. Is it, then, in the least degree supposable, that they would join in communion with those who urged daily washing as a necessary mean of mental purification?

9. The Ebionites adopted various errors of the Gnostics †. No insinuation of this has been given, by any writer, concerning the Nazarenes. But as our learned author is very anxious to prove, that the Ebionites were at the greatest distance from the Gnostics, I shall afterwards consider this article by itself.

Dr. P., having, as he apprehends, done such great things, hopes that he “shall hear no more of the Nazarenes as an “evidence of the antiquity of the Trinitarian doctrine ‡.” But after what we have seen concerning the *soul-subverting* Ebionites, we have certainly much more reason to express our hope, that we shall hear no more of them as the genuine Hebrew Christians.

It appears from what we have seen, indeed, that the dispute between Dr P. and the orthodox comes to a very narrow point. He believes that the Ebionites were the only genuine Hebrew Christians, who immediately received the doctrine of our Lord, and of his Apostles. Thence, he pleads for the rejection of the doctrine of our Saviour's divinity, as it was not acknowledged by them. But if the argument be good here, it must be equally good in other respects.

* Epiph. hæ. 17. vid. Annot. Petavii. Euseb. Hist. l. 4. c. 22. Apost. Constitut. l. 6. c. 6. Recog. Clement. l. 1. c. 54. Cotelerii Pat. vol. i. p. 499.

† Epiph. hæ. 30. f. 3.

‡ Vol. iii. p. 232

¶ Vol. iii. p. 192.

respects. To be consistent with himself, he ought to believe that they were the proper judges of the sacred canon. But as he does not pretend that they received any part of the New Testament, but the Gospel of Matthew, why does he receive any other? He adopts the system of Toland. But why does he not carry it all its proper and natural length? The infidel had greatly the advantage of our learned author. By narrowing the limits of what he pretended to call the Gospel, he gave himself a great deal less trouble. Did Dr P., after the example of the Ebionites, and of this worthy forerunner, observe the same plan, he would easily get rid of a great many troublesome texts, *ill-digested stories*, and *inconclusive reasonings*.

The true disciples of Jesus, and of the Apostles, as Dr P. believes, rejected Paul. He receives him, indeed, with an evident grudge, which looks as if it were hereditary. For the *reasonings* which he reckons *often inconclusive* are those of Paul. But why does he pretend to receive him, or quote him at all? If rejected by the genuine members of the primitive and apostolic church, he must have been an *impostor*. Let our author plainly tell us, if he thinks that Paul was *an Apostle of man*, and *by man*? If he does not, he virtually rejects the Ebionites as heretics. For those must have been heretics, and accounted such by the primitive church, who rejected him who was *an Apostle of Jesus Christ, and by the will of God*. If our author really agree with them, he ought certainly to reject Paul, for the same reason, because he was an enemy to the law of Moses. If he fix on any other, he renounces the only pretence they had for rejecting Paul, and denounces them as, in this instance, rebels against divine authority. If he rest in this reason, I would beg leave to ask the learned Gentleman, why he does not, like them, use the necessity of observing the law. For if they did not rebel against God, in rejecting him
 who

who laid claim to a divine revelation, with respect to the freedom of the Gentiles from that yoke, Paul was indeed a mere pretender. As it is undeniable that the Ebionites asserted that the law of Moses was binding on all, Gentiles as well as Jews, in order to salvation; if they were the genuine Hebrew Christians, this must have been the doctrine of the Apostles, and therefore of divine authority. If so, it ought to be ours. Let Unitarians set the pious example. They cannot be accounted consistent in pretending that the Ebionites were the genuine disciples of the Apostles, until they *teach the brethren, and say, Except ye be circumcised after the manner of Moses, ye cannot be saved*, Acts xv. 1. But this is not enough. A practical submission to this Jewish rite will be far more winning to their fellow confessors of the *unity*, than any mere conformity of doctrine. No *letters to the Jews* will be so acceptable, as those written in the blood of the Gentiles.

C H A P. VI.

That there were Orthodox Jews at Jerusalem, subsequent to the Time of Adrian.

S E C T I O N I.

Testimonies of Origen, Sulpicius Severus, &c.

DR PRIESTLEY next proceeds to examine what has been asserted with respect to the existence of a church of Jews at Jerusalem, believing the divinity of our Saviour, after Adrian had published his severe edict against the Jews. "Mosheim," he says, "speaks of a church of Trinitarian Jews, who had abandoned the law of Moses, &c*." Our author

* Vol. iii. p. 190.

author expresses great dissatisfaction with him for saying that "Origen must have known of this church," and for "taxing him with asserting a wilful falsehood." The passage from Mosheim is not quoted in this work. But that writer, in his *Vindiciæ*, at least, does not speak of a *church* of orthodox Jews, but only of "a church chiefly composed of Jews *." The passage referred to in Origen, is that in which he describes the Jewish Christians, without distinction, as called *Ebionites*, and as not forsaking the law of their fathers.

But as to what is really asserted by Origen in this place, it would appear that we ought to lay very little stress on his testimony. Much has been already written on this point. But after the most impartial examination of the subject, the charge exhibited against Origen, first by Mosheim, and of late by the learned Dr Horsley, seems to me too well-founded. For indeed, Origen reasons like a man determined to oppose his adversary at all points, and to grasp at any apparent advantage in the argument; though the truth, to say no worse, should be concealed. A translation of the passage, in its connexion, will be the fairest mode of trial, and afford the most decisive evidence. It will be remembered that Celsus, in the work to which Origen replies, introduces a Jew as the speaker.

Origen expresses himself in this manner: "Let us therefore attend to what he says to those who from among the Jews believe. He asserts that 'they who have abandoned the law of their fathers, have been allured in their minds by Jesus, entirely and ridiculously deceived, and that they have made a transition to another name, and to another

† Cæstum anne Hierosolymitanum ignorabat, qui quum e Judæis maximam partem collectus esset, statim tamen patrum cærimonis dudum nuntium nalerat?— Ego huic testi, etiam jurato, fidem habere me non posse profiteor. Cap. 7. l. 9. p. 204, 205.

“ther mode of life?” But this he did not understand, that
“those of the Jews who have believed in Christ, have not
“left the law of their fathers. For they live according to
“it; being named after the beggarly expectation of the
“law. For a poor man is by the Jews called *Ebion*; and
“those of the Jews, who have received Jesus as Christ, are
“called *Ebionites*. And even Peter for a long time seems
“to have observed the Jewish rites, according to the law
“of Moses, as not having learned from Jesus to ascend from
“that which is according to the letter to that which is spi-
“ritual: as appears from the Acts of the Apostles.”

Here he gives an account of the embassy of Cornelius, and of Peter's vision, Acts x. 9.—15. adding: “Observe
“here, what plan Peter approves, yet adhering to the
“Jewish rites, with respect to things clean and unclean.
“And from what follows, it appears that he had need of
“the vision, that he might communicate the words of the
“faith to Cornelius, who was not an Israelite according to
“the flesh, and to those with him, (Peter) himself being
“yet a Jew; and as he lived according to the Jewish tra-
“ditions, despising those who lived without Judaism. Also,
“in the epistle to the Galatians, Paul shews that Peter, be-
“ing yet afraid of the Jews, refrained from eating with
“the Gentiles. James having come down to him, he with-
“drew himself from them, being afraid of those of the
“circumcision. And even the rest of the Jews, and Bar-
“nabas, acted the same part. And the consequence was,
“that the Apostles of the circumcision did not apostatize
“from the Jewish customs, when *those who seemed to be pil-
“lars gave the right hand of fellowship to Paul and Barnabas,
“that they might go to the Gentiles*; themselves departing
“to the circumcision. But why do I speak of the mini-
“sters of the circumcision withdrawing and separating
“themselves from the Gentiles, when Paul himself to the

“ Jews became a Jew, that he might gain the Jews? Wherefore, as it is written in the Acts of the Apostles, he also brought an offering to the altar, that he might persuade the Jews that he had not apostatized from the law.

“ Had Celsus known all these things, he would not have introduced a Jew thus addressing those who had been converted from Judaism: ‘ What have ye undergone, O citizens, that ye have forsaken the law of your fathers, and being enticed by him, of whom ye have now spoken, have been thoroughly and ridiculously deceived, and fled from us to another name, and to another manner of living?’ Since I have already mentioned Peter, and those who preached the Christian doctrine to the circumcision; it seems not improper in this place to produce a certain saying of Jesus from the Gospel according to John, and its interpretation. *I have yet many things to say to you, but ye cannot bear them now. Howbeit, when he, the Spirit of truth is come, he will guide you into all truth: for he shall not speak of himself; but whatsoever he shall hear, that shall he speak.* And here we inquire, what were these many things which Jesus had to say to his disciples, which they were not then able to bear? To the Apostles, who were Jews, and educated according to the letter of the Mosaic law, perhaps he had to say what the new law was, and of what symbols and shadows of heavenly things the Jewish worship consisted, and of what good things to come, the law concerning meats and drinks, and feasts and new-moons, and sabbaths, contained a shadow.”

After some illustration, and giving it as his opinion that this was the truth which the Holy Spirit was to teach, Origen adds: “ And according to the promise of Jesus, the Spirit of truth came upon Peter, saying to him, concerning the four-footed beasts and reptiles of the earth, *Arise*

“*Peter, slay and eat.* And it came to him while yet un-
 “der the power of superstition. For he even says to the
 “heavenly voice, *Not so Lord; for I have never eaten any*
 “*thing common or unclean.* And he taught him the doc-
 “trine concerning true and spiritual meats in these words;
 “*What God hath cleansed, call not thou common.* And
 “from the time of that vision, the Spirit of truth, leading
 “Peter into all truth, said many things to him which he
 “could not bear, when Jesus conversed with him according
 “to the flesh. But indeed, we shall have another oppor-
 “tunity of enlarging on these things which respect the ac-
 “ceptance of the law of Moses. It is now proposed to
 “demonstrate the ignorance of Celsus, who makes the Jew
 “say to his fellow-citizens of Israel believing in Jesus:
 ‘On account of what sufferings have ye left the law of
 ‘your fathers?’ and what follows. But how have they
 “left the law of their fathers, who in these words chal-
 “lenge those who do not hear it; *Tell me, ye who acknow-*
 “*ledge the law, do ye not bear the law? For it is written*
 “*that Abraham had two sons, and downwards to, Which*
 “*things are an allegory, and so on.* And how have these
 “forsaken the law of their fathers, who, in their discourse,
 “are constantly speaking of their paternal concerns? and
 “saying; *Saith not the law these things also? For it is writ-*
 “*ten in the law of Moses, Thou shalt not muzzle the ox that*
 “*treadeth out the corn. Doth God take care for oxen?*
 “*Or saith he it altogether for our sakes? For our sakes, no*
 “*doubt, this is written; and so forth.*”

And how confusedly does the Jew, “introduced by Cel-
 “sus, speak, when he had it in his power to have said
 “with more appearance of truth; ‘Some, indeed, have
 ‘renounced our customs under the pretext of interpreta-
 ‘tions and allegories: and others also interpreting, as you
 ‘profess, spiritually, while ye nevertheless observe the

‘ customs of the fathers; and others of you, without any
 ‘ interpretation, incline both to receive Jesus as foretold,
 ‘ and to observe the Mosaic law, according to the custom
 ‘ of your ancestors; as having all the mind of the Spirit in
 ‘ the letter.’ But how could Celsus clearly distinguish these
 ‘ things, who, in the progress of his discourse, has made
 ‘ mention of heresies the most impious and foreign to the
 ‘ doctrine of Jesus, and of others renouncing the Maker of
 ‘ the world: but did not know that the Israelites, believing
 ‘ in Jesus, had not left the law of their fathers? For it was
 ‘ not his intention, with a sincere love to the truth, to exa-
 ‘ mine all these things in their proper order, that if he found
 ‘ any thing useful, he might receive it: but as an enemy,
 ‘ and wholly bent on perverting what he heard, he wrote
 ‘ such things. With him, the Jew goes on, addressing the
 ‘ believers of that nation? ‘ Yesterday, and the day before,
 ‘ even when we suffered punishment from that person who
 ‘ drove us away like beasts, ye apostatized from the law of
 ‘ your fathers:’ while, as we have shewn, he knows nothing
 ‘ exactly concerning these things of which he speaks*.”

Origen's

* ———Και ως συγκεχυμένως γε ταυτ' ε παρα τω Κελσω Ιουδαίαις
 λέγει, δυναμένος πιθανώτερον επειν, οτι τινες μεν ημων καταλειποι-
 πασι τα εθη, προφασει διηγησεων και αλληγοριων* τινες δε και διηγη-
 μνοι, ως επαγγελεσθε, πνευματικως, εθεν ητιον τα πατρια τηρειτε*
 τινες, δε, εδς διηγημενοι, βηλεσθε και τον Ιησυν παραδειξασθαι ως προ-
 φητεύθεντα, και τον Μωυσεως νομον τηρσαι, κατα τα πατρια* ως εν
 τη λιξι έχοντες τον παντα τω πνευματος νομ. αλλα γαρ ποθεν Κελσω
 τα κατα τον τοπον τρανωσαι, ος και αιρεσεων μεν αθειων, και τω
 Ιησυν πανη αλλοτριων, εν τοις εξης εμνημονουσε, και αλλαν κατα-
 λειπτων τον δημιουργον* εκ οιδε δε και Ισραηλιτας εις Ιησυν πιστευω-
 τας, και η καταλιποντας τον πατριον νομον; ———ετα λεγει ο παρ²
 αυτω Ιουδαίος προς τας απο τη λαβ πιστευσαντας* “ οτι χθεις και
 “ πρεην, και οπηρικα τυτον εκολαζομεν βυκολωντα υμας, απεσησε
 “ ετ

Origen's avowed design in this passage, is to prove the falsity of the charge brought by Celsus against the Hebrew believers, that they deserted the law. As Celsus had calumniated Jesus, Origen, while he proved the groundlessness of the accusation, might think himself excusable in taking an artful, and even a disingenuous method. Therefore, as Celsus had exhibited his charge without any exception, Origen first avails himself of this circumstance, by flatly denying it. To support his negative, he produces *particular* instances of the contrary of what the heathen writer had asserted; as if these had been sufficient to disprove the charge as to *all*. Nay, he not only seems to have no scruple about reasoning from a particular to an universal; but when he introduces the Ebionites, it is in such a manner as if he wished it to appear that they were the only believers of Jewish extract; although he afterwards acknowledges the contrary. Celsus having personated a Jew, one would think that Origen had reckoned it the best way of answering him, to speak in the person of an Ebionite. For no one who disowned the obligation of the Mosaic law, acting honestly, would have replied as he has done.

He must have been conscious that there was no force in his reasoning from the *ideas* entertained by Peter, before he was better informed. For he afterwards acknowledges that *the Spirit of truth led him into all truth*. He could not but know that his argument from the *conduct* of the same Apostle at Antioch (Gal. ii. 11.—14.) was equally fallacious; because this proceeded not from conviction as to duty, but from human infirmity, and is stigmatized, by the Spirit of inspiration, as hypocritical. Thus, he is not only chargeable with sophistry, in reasoning from the conduct of particular persons, but in reasoning from particular

L 2

instances

“ τὸ πατρίω μου ” ἔδειν ἀκριβῶς εἰδὼς ἐν οἷς ἔλεγεν, ὡς ἐδοξάμεν.

Origen cont. Cels. lib. ii. p. 56.—59.

instances in which they were *to be blamed*. His argument from the compliances of Paul proves too little. For they were only occasional, and proceeded merely from considerations of expediency, because of the weakness of others. Origen knew well enough that, in these, he could not be viewed as on the same foot with Ebionites, who considered the law as obligatory, not on Jews only, but on Gentiles.

Nor could he be ignorant, that Paul's address to the Galatians, as to *what the law saith*, is merely an example of the *argumentum ad hominem*; nay, that the very design of it is to shew that the law was no longer binding as to the *letter*. Any Jew would have held up Origen to derision, had he heard him say that Paul, *the man that*, as his kinsmen were persuaded, *taught all men every where against the law*, had not deserted it. Nor was there an Ebionite, who would not have joined in the ridicule.

Another part of his reply is founded on the *ignorance* of Celsus with respect to the subject. Here, indeed, he discovers the duplicity of his conduct in the preceding part, by acknowledging that there were three kinds of believing Hebrews; some who renounced the letter of the law, under the pretext of interpretation; some who retained the letter with the interpretations; and others again who simply adhered to the letter. The first reckoned themselves relieved from the letter, because they had obtained the substance. The second observed the law; but did not, as would seem, press it on others, knowing that the spiritual intention was the great matter. The last considered it as obligatory on all, as even necessary to salvation. These only were the Ebionites.

Having made these distinctions, he accuses Celsus for not "clearly distinguishing" in the same manner. But it is evident that Origen, in the preceding part of his reasoning, is chargeable with the same fault. In Celsus it seems to

have

have been involuntary : in him it was wilful. In the former, it most probably proceeded from want of information : in the other, undoubtedly from disingenuity. Celsus made his Jew speak, as every other Jew would have spoken, of forsaking the *letter* of the law. Origen denies the charge ; because, while *τινες*, some still adhered to the *letter*, others retained the *spirit* of it. In the latter respect, with equal propriety might it have been said that all the *Gentile* believers adhered to the law of Moses. Such a reply as this would have appeared ridiculous to Celsus, as well as to his Jew. He would have readily rejoined ; “ I know not what you mean by the spirit of the law. But I ask you, Do all the believing Jews circumcise, and observe the other ceremonies observed by those who do not believe ? ” The whole reply is unlike a man of candour, and unlike a man of Origen’s abilities. Undoubtedly, it would have been a far better reply, to have said, that although some, poor in understanding, yet observed the law, the rest did not : and that in being persuaded to renounce it, they were by no means deceived, but enlightened ; because those could have no need of mere shadows, who had the substance.

Thus it appears that this passage, viewed in its connexion, instead of being favourable to our author, strikes directly against him ; clearly shewing that those converts from Judaism, who strictly adhered to the law, were only one class, and that there were two others besides. Nothing can be inferred from Origen as to the proportion belonging to each of these classes ; as he uses the same term *τινες* with respect to all : so that, in this instance, the Doctor will not plead, as he elsewhere does from the words of Justin Martyr, that the last mentioned *τινες* were the *πλειστοι*, the greatest part.

After such a system of sophistry, Origen, that he might

not lose his triumph over Celsus because of his ignorance, unveils the truth, although with evident reserve. "He," viz. Celsus, "had it in his power," does he say, "to have affirmed with more appearance of truth," &c. This is a sufficient acknowledgment; and more than any man who could descend to such reasoning, and yet retained a due regard to his own character, would have made. That he considered it as an undoubted fact, that there were certain believing Hebrews who had renounced the legal rites, is so plain from his language, that it would require fully as much sophistry as that of Origen himself on this occasion, to disprove it.

But after all this reasoning against the allegation of Celsus, Origen proceeds to the proof which that writer had produced. For Celsus, in support of his charge, had referred to a fact well known, nay fresh in the memory of every one, when he wrote. His Jew addresses his country-men in this manner; "Yesterday, and the day before," that is, *very lately*, "when we suffered punishment from "this person who drove us away like cattle, ye apostatized "from the law of your fathers." Celsus considered this fact as so well known, that he did not think it necessary to mention the name of him who treated them in this manner. Perhaps he might account it improper, as well as unnecessary; lest he should seem to reflect on the conduct of the Emperor. For it cannot be doubted that he refers to Adrian. Now, according to Origen's own testimony, Celsus "lived in the time of Adrian, and afterwards*."

Although Origen says nothing as to the numbers of the different classes of believing Hebrews; we have much more ground, than our learned author has for many of his conjectures, to suppose that the number of those who, in consequence of the edict of Adrian, renounced the law, exceeded

* Τετον δε, κατ' Αδριανον, και καταλειπον. Cont. Cels. lib. i. p. 8.

ceeded that of such as still in any sense adhered to it; because Celsus does not seem to have known any thing of the latter.

The very same language has been used both by Christians and heathens on this subject. For as Celsus represents the Jews as "driven away like beasts." Jerom informs us that, after the war "of Adrian, an incredible number of every age and sex were sold like horses, and dispersed over the face of the earth*." "Then," saith Celsus, "ye apostatized from the law of your fathers." It is absolutely inconceivable, that Celsus should have openly asserted this, if false. Such a calumny would scarcely have occurred to him. Although he had wished to forge a lie, he would not have ventured to give it so recent a date, or to fix on a circumstance of so public a nature as what it respects. For it must have been in the power of every reader, whether Jew or Christian, to have contradicted him. How much soever he was misinformed as to many of the charges exhibited against Christianity; he could not be mistaken as to this.

Although we could suppose that Celsus had been mistaken, or had wilfully asserted a falsehood, would not Origen have denied it? But instead of doing so, he makes such a reply as must convince every thinking person, that he could not refuse the charge. He barely adds;—"while, *as we have shewn*, he knows nothing *exactly* of the things of which he speaks." Here we have another display of the art employed by this Father. He refers to the sophistical reply he had made to the *general* charge; without subjoining another word concerning the proof *particularly* specified by Celsus. Considering what we have already seen, can we desire a better proof of the truth of what Celsus had asserted; especially when it is viewed in connection

* Comment. in Zach. xi.

with Origen's previous acknowledgment, that some believing Hebrews had renounced the letter of the law, under the pretext of interpretations?

In the same chapter, the learned gentleman quotes a passage from Origen, his inference from which is a striking proof of that inattention, at least, which characterizes this work. "Origen," he affirms, "is so far from saying that any Jews abandoned circumcision, and the rites of their religion, that he says some of the Gentile Christians conformed to them." He founds this assertion on the following passage: "Because not only the carnal Jews are to be confuted by us, with respect to the circumcision of the flesh, but some of those who seem to have received the name of Christ, and nevertheless think that the carnal circumcision must be received; as the Ebionites, and any others, if there be such, who err from a like poverty of understanding*." Surely, the Doctor has mistaken his quotation. For nothing like what is asserted by him is to be found here. There is not one word concerning Gentile Christians. Origen speaks of Jews only. These he divides into two classes. There are first those who rejected Christianity entirely; therefore called *carnal Jews*: and, in the second place, those who deserved to be reckoned Christians only in appearance; as the Ebionites, who "thought that the carnal circumcision was to be received." They, indeed, imagined that converts from Gentilism ought to receive it; and this may be implied in the language of Origen. But neither their thinking so, nor Origen's declaring that this was their opinion, can prove that the Gentiles really did receive circumcision.

Did

* Quia non solum carnales Judæi de circumcissione carnis revincendi sunt nobis, sed nonnulli ex iis, qui Christi nomen videntur suscepisse, et tamen carnalem circumcissionem recipiendam putant: ut Ebionitæ, et si qui his simili paupertate sensus aberrant. In Gen. Hom. 3. Op. vol. 1.

Did we reason in the same manner with Dr P., this very passage might be urged as containing a strong presumption of that difference among Jews, assuming the Christian name, which is elsewhere acknowledged by Origen. For when he speaks of those "who have received the name of Christ," it is most natural to think that he has Jews only in his eye; because he opposes them to the Jews who did not believe. And when he mentions *some* of these only as pressing circumcision, he certainly insinuates that there were *others* who did not.

As our learned author principally depends upon Origen for "a full contradiction to all that Mosheim has advanced concerning this orthodox Jewish church," he is extremely tender of his character, and returns to the task of vindicating him again and again. "I cannot help," he says, "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 (*Opera*, vol. 1. p. 496.) 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 persons will ever indulge themselves in any greater violations of truth than those who hold other speculative opinions concerning the foundation of morals*." The bulk of readers, however, will differ from Dr P. as to the consequence of holding such an opinion. In a moment of temptation, truth may be sacrificed to utility, even by those who are convinced that it ought, at all times, how great soever the expence to influence their practice. But instead of vindicating their conduct in this instance, from the advantage expected or received,

* Vol. iii. p. 199.

ved, they will afterwards acknowledge and bewail it as their iniquity. But if men can once lay it down as a principle, that they may *do evil that good may come*, they become tempters to themselves. So far is truth from having any hold of their consciences, that they reckon it their *duty* to sacrifice it to interest. This is not to be viewed as merely a *speculative* opinion. It must necessarily and extensively influence the practice. It is adopted for this very purpose: and however much it may be pretended that the *public good* is the end proposed, those who can speculate in this manner, will, in the application of the principle, take care not to neglect their own. Such speculative opinions, indeed, are generally adopted as an apology for practical errors; or at least, as a sort of *salvo* to conscience for an habitual tendency to the commission of them.

According to our author, “Jerom does not say that “Origen reduced his theory to practice.” But without going farther, it is evident from the preceding extract that he concealed the truth, nay, that he misrepresented facts. Independent of direct evidence, it is at least as probable that he who held this doctrine would reduce it to practice, as that Justin Martyr, who has never been suspected of holding any such principle, should be guilty of something of the same nature. For Dr P., when speaking of the attempts of some of the Fathers to recommend Christianity to heathens, says that with this view Justin, as far as appears, *invented* the doctrine of Christ being the Logos of God. But if he *invented* it with this view, and declared it to others; undoubtedly, he both *wilfully* framed and published a *falsehood*, or in other words, made truth subservient to supposed utility.

But the learned gentleman does not merely apprehend, that the principle espoused by Origen has no necessary influence on practice; but, after charging Justin Martyr with

a practice which must appear highly criminal to all who believe the eternal obligation of Truth, he attempts in so far to vindicate him. His words are; "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 *." We are at a loss to know whether these words, "not *so much* to be condemned," are to be understood as merely referring to what follows, or as denoting a comparison with what has been previously mentioned, that of the Christians pointing out some resemblance between their religion and the grossest polytheism. The *circumstances* which are to be *considered*, seem to be those of "Philo having represented the Logos as the medium of all divine communications to the patriarchs;" and Justin's "extending this principle as a compliment to the philosophy of the Greeks," in order to gain them to Christianity. But did he not thus practically sacrifice *truth* to *utility*?

But whatever alleviations the Doctor may find in the *supposed* conduct of Justin Martyr, on account of the circumstances mentioned; surely, he must still condemn the action as *immoral*. For one would naturally think, that this is what we ought principally to *consider*. But Dr P.'s language certainly implies, that it does not appear to him in this light. For the Martyr is not greatly to be *condemned* for *inventing* a doctrine believed by our modern historian to be false. But if his crime can admit of apology in this respect, how can he be condemned for "pointing out some resemblance between Christianity and the grossest polytheism?" According to the Doctor's system, was not the doctrine of Justin, in making the Son a distinct person, real polytheism? Did he not therefore do worse than "point out some resemblance;" did he not really assimilate Christianity

* Vol. ii. p. 152.

kianity to heathenism? Was he not the *inventor* of polytheism, and the father of that *Christian idolatry* which afterwards, according to our author, defiled the church of God? When shall we *condemn* a thing with respect to the *mere morality* of it, if this may be excused? If Justin was really chargeable with such conduct, and persisted in it, he must have died as the Martyr of his own villany.

But the generality of readers will be apt to conclude that our author's morality, as he says of Justin, *as far as appears*, has no better foundation than the rest of his religious system; and will examine, with a jealous eye, the work of an historian who believes that this species of *invention* may admit of an apology. This specimen tends to infuse a suspicion, that *the mere morality of the thing* will be no sufficient safeguard against such a representation of facts as may be accounted most *subservient to public utility*. For if one writer may be excusable, although he *invent* a doctrine, and endeavour to palm it on the world as the doctrine of inspiration: surely the conduct of another, who uses the same freedom with writings merely human, will not appear more *immoral*, and is, at least, less daring.

Dr P. proceeds to consider the proof of what is asserted by Mosheim. "All the appearance of authority," he says, "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*." If Dr P. can continue to assert this, after carefully considering what is asserted by Celsus, and conceded by Origen, to many his conduct will appear as strange as that of Origen himself. But, in the mean time, some may think that, even while the learned Gentleman handles Mosheim so severely for his treatment of that ancient writer, he does not himself do justice to Severus in the sense which he puts upon his testimony. According to Dr P.,

" what

“ 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 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 was Mark the first bishop of the Gentiles at Jerusalem *.”

Loci injuria does not signify the *destruction*, but the *defilement of the place*. Dr P. from his translation of the word *templo*, seems disposed to deprive Jerusalem entirely of a place of worship. He will not even leave a *church* to Gentile believers. This is making thorough work of it. The historian certainly means that Adrian defiled the holy place where the temple formerly stood. Our author has also given such a turn to these words, *pæne omnes Christum Deum, sub legis observatione credebant*, that they would seem

* Qua tempestate Adrianus, existimans se Christianam fidem loci injuria perempturum, et in Templo ac loco Dominicæ passionis dæmonum simulacra contituit. Et quia Christiani ex Judæis potissimum putabantur (namque tum Hierosolymæ non nisi ex circumcisione habebat Ecclesia sacerdotem) militum cohortem custodias in perpetuum agitare jussit, quæ Judæos omnes Hierosolymæ aditu arceret. Quod quidem Christianæ fidei proficiebat: quia tum pæne omnes Christum Deum sub legis observatione credebant. Nimirum id Domino ordinante dispositum, ut legis servitus a libertate fidei atque Ecclesiæ tolleretur. Ita tum primum Marcus ex gentibus, apud Hierosolymam episcopus fuit. Hist. lib. 2. c. 21.

seem to denote that almost all the Jews in Jerusalem were believers. The translation is so managed as to represent this as the thing principally asserted. The evident design of this, is to make it appear that Severus speaks of Jews and Christians indiscriminately, and that it is the Jews, mentioned in the close of the preceding sentence, as driven from Jerusalem, who are here described as *almost all believing* in Christ. It is so framed as to obscure the principal assertion of the historian, which plainly is, that almost all the believers in that city still adhered to the law. In order to accomplish this, the Doctor, by the help of a *but*, introduces the principal assertion as if it were a mere exception. It is evident that *pene omnes* does not refer to *Judæos*, in the close, but to *Christiani*, in the beginning of the preceding sentence.

That the leading design of Severus is to assert that almost all the Christians retained the law, is evident from the connexion, both with the preceding, and with the following words. For, having declared that Adrian's edict was of "advantage to the Christian faith," he shows first how it could be so. This was by reason of the attachment of the greatest part of the Christians in Jerusalem to the law. Then he proves that it actually was advantageous. This event "was undoubtedly so disposed by the Lord's ordination, that the bondage of the law might be removed from the liberty of the faith, and of the church."

He adds, as an illustration of what he had asserted, "Then was Mark the first Gentile bishop at Jerusalem." These words indeed, are so rendered by Dr P. as to favour his own hypothesis. One, who had only the benefit of his translation, would naturally suppose that Severus had meant to say, that Mark was the first bishop who presided over the Gentiles as his charge. But his language certainly implies nothing more than that he was the first who was chosen from

from among the Gentiles, as opposed to the preceding assertion; "For then the church at Jerusalem had no minister, " but of the circumcision."

As this is evidently the principal thing asserted by Severus, it is strange that Dr P. should affirm that, "according to this account,—nothing is said of any of them (the "believing Jews) forsaking the law of Moses*." If nothing be said to this purpose, nothing is said at all. Though the ancient writer is more particular here than in the most of his history, all his language is without a meaning. Does he assert that Adrian's edict was "of advantage to the "Christian faith," and so solemnly introduce the disposition and ordination of God, with respect to the removal of "the servitude of the law;" and yet "say nothing of any "of them forsaking this law?" If, on this occasion, none of the Hebrew believers renounced the law, let our author shew how the severity of Adrian was beneficial to the cause of Christianity. Was it of any service whatsoever, that all the believing Jews were banished from Jerusalem, and that they went to some other place, where they as rigorously observed the law as before? For, excepting the supposed sanctity of Jerusalem, and of the ground on which the temple formerly stood, they had the same opportunity any where else; because, the temple itself being destroyed long before Adrian, they could have no sacrificial worship. Their banishment from Jerusalem would rather be hurtful, because it would perplex the Gentile believers in those countries whither they fled, and sow divisions among them.

If, therefore, the language of Sulpicius has any meaning, it signifies that many, formerly attached to the law, considering the providence of God as punishing them, in consequence of the frequent rebellions of the Jews, because of their conformity to them, renounced the legal yoke; and did that from necessity, which they could not be brought

to

* Vol. iii. p. 192.

to do from choice. If this was not the case, the whole of the historian's account is a romance. How, otherwise, was the bondage of the law removed from the liberty of the faith? Did this consist in its being removed from Jerusalem, and carried to Pella, or any other place? But it was not only removed from the liberty of the faith, but a *libertate ecclesiæ*, from the liberty of the church also. What church was this? Undoubtedly, though the Christian church in general may be meant, that part of it is principally respected, which had been under this bondage. Could Severus mean, that the bondage of the law was removed from the church, in the Hebrew church, together with this bondage, being entirely removed from Jerusalem; in her members being sold, in common with the rebellious and unbelieving Jews, for bondmen and bondwomen?

The words immediately following shew in what sense Severus meant that this expulsion of the Jews was of service to the Christian faith. The church, which had been under the bondage of the law, being in this way delivered from it, chose a Gentile to be their bishop. *Ita tum, Thus,* or, in consequence of what has been narrated, *at that time Mark, &c.* Had he meant that all the Hebrew Christians were expelled, and that a new church was formed, consisting wholly of Gentiles, he certainly would have expressed himself very differently. He would not have mentioned the first Gentile *bishop*, but the first Gentile *church* at Jerusalem.

The account here given by Severus perfectly agrees with that of Celsus, when he introduces his unbelieving Jew as exhibiting this charge against his countrymen who believed in Christ; "When *we* recently suffered punishment from " that person who drave us away like cattle, *ye* apostatized " from the law of your fathers*." Here he evidently distinguishes the believing Hebrews from himself and his
unbelieving

* See above, p. 162.

unbelieving brethren; asserting that the former, in order to avoid the sufferings which the latter sustained, became apostates from the law. It has been seen that Origen was so fully convinced of the truth of the assertion, that he durst not deny it; and that he grants that there were *τινες*, *some* who had renounced the law entirely, using no other term to denote those who still adhered to it*.

We may justly infer from the language of Severus, that, in his idea, even before the edict of Adrian, there were *some* Hebrew believers who did not acknowledge the obligation of the law.

The Doctor further says of Severus; "This writer's mere assertion, that the Jewish Christians held Christ to be God, in the proper sense of the word, unsupported by any reason for it, is not to be regarded †." It is amusing, indeed, that, after giving no quarter to Mosheim for his presumption in contradicting the testimony of Origen, the learned Gentleman, before he gets to the close of the chapter, should observe the very same course with a writer whose character is fully as unexceptionable. There are some, who flatter themselves that they have a right to use certain liberties, not only with human, but with divine testimony, that they will by no means allow to others. But this contemptuous method of treating the testimony of an author of undoubted credit, however it may pass with the zealots of a party, must necessarily, in the estimation of any unprejudiced mind, injure the cause it is meant to support. The assertion is "unsupported by any *reasons* for it." Why does Dr P. make this demand on Severus? Is it because Origen has given reasons for what he asserts, as to the Hebrew Christians *not* forsaking the law of their fathers? Would reasons, equally *weighty* with his, have carried conviction to our author's mind? Would he have

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* See above p. 167, 169.

† Vol. iii. p. 230.

had Severus prove that *all* the Hebrew Christians believed Christ to be God, because they did so before they were better instructed, or stumbled upon this doctrine in a moment of temptation, or because a considerable part of them did *not* believe it, and of those who did, some understood it literally, and others allegorically? Such reasons, indeed, would have been equivalent to those of Origen. But had the ingenuous Roman thought it necessary to give reasons at all, they would have been of a different kind.

But he had no occasion to assign any reasons for this assertion. This would have weakened his testimony. He evidently mentions the circumstance referred to as well-known and unquestionable. Dr P. is very willing to adopt the testimony of far later writers, such as Theophylact and Cassian, with respect to facts as early, when it serves his own ends *. Where he has no assertion, no direct evidence whatsoever, he lays the greatest stress on mere probabilities. He can argue from negative proofs, from the very silence of writers. What objection, then, has he to the testimony of Sulpicius? Is it not sufficiently express? It is too express; for it flatly contradicts his favourite system. But it has a recommendation, of which the learned Gentleman would have known how to have availed himself, had this testimony been on the other side of the question. It is not, as he wishes to make it appear, the principal assertion of the passage, or even of the sentence. It is merely an incidental expression, used by the writer, without any immediate *design* to prove what it respects, but while he is treating of another subject. He expresses himself in this manner, because the fact was universally known and indisputable. In the use of this language, he does not contrast those of whom he speaks with Ebionites or any kind of heretics, but the members of the church at Jerusalem with unbelieving Jews. It was so well known that they believed Christ to

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be God, that he uses this expression as equivalent to that of *Christiani*, in the preceding sentence.

The account given by Severus is perfectly agreeable to that of Eusebius, concerning the first fifteen bishops of Jerusalem, who, he says "all lawfully held the doctrine of Christ *." We have formerly considered this testimony. But there is one thing further worthy of particular attention. Eusebius does not use the word *πιστις*, *faith*, which might have been urged as admitting of a more general sense, but *γνωσις*, *knowledge* or *doctrine*. The force of *γνωσις* is also peculiar. It denotes a *lawful* origin, as opposed to what is *spurious* †." Now, Dr P. knows perfectly what Eusebius reckoned "the doctrine of Christ." I therefore ask, if Eusebius, who speaks so severely of the Ebionites, notwithstanding believed that these bishops were such; was he not a false witness, unworthy ever afterwards to be cited as an authority in any instance?

Even so early as the reign of Adrian, in whose time Celsus the Epicurean philosopher lived, it was generally known both to Jews and Heathens, that Jesus claimed divinity, and that the justness of his claim was acknowledged by his followers. This is evident from the language of Celsus himself, who says that Jesus was owned by Christians to be the Son of God ‡. In what sense he asserted this is clear from the language which he puts into the mouth of his Jew, that Jesus "elated with his great powers, declared himself "to be God ||;" that "the Chaldeans," by whom he means the wise men from the East, "declared that, being drawn "by Jesus to his nativity, they came to worship him, yet

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* Τῶν πρώτων τῶν Χριστῶν γνωσις καταδείξασθαι. Hist. lib. 4. c. 5. p. 143.

† Γνωσις, germane, legitime, non adulterine. Scapul.

‡ Orig. cont. Cels. l. 1. p. 21. || Ibid. p. 22.

“ an infant, as God *. The Jew forms an objection from the flight of Jesus into Egypt, saying, “ What occasion was there for thy being carried, while yet an infant, into Egypt, lest thou shouldst be butchered? For it was not like God to be afraid of death †.” “ How can we reckon him God,” says he, “ who, not to mention other things, performed none of his promises, and was at length condemned by us, and being sought for punishment, skulking and flying, was basely taken, being betrayed by those whom he called his disciples? But it did not become one who was God, either to fly, or to be taken captive. And far less did it become him who was accounted the Saviour, and the Son of God most high, and his messenger, to be betrayed and delivered up by his familiar friends, and confidants and disciples ‡.”

The doctrine of Christ being the *Logos* of God was then generally known. For Origen says; “ He afterwards accuses the Christians as reasoning sophistically, in saying that the Son of God is his Word; and he accounts it a great crime, that having declared the Word to be the Son of God, we do not describe this Word as pure and holy, but as a man disgraced, subjected to suffering, and crucified ||.” And again; “ But he objects to us, *I know not how often*, that we believe Jesus, though possessed of a mortal body, to be God, and that we seem to be serious in this §.”

But why should I multiply extracts? Almost all the objections, produced from Celsus, in the second, third, and first part of the fourth books of Origen's work against him, proceed on this principle, and severally contain a particular mention of this doctrine, as the fundamental objection to Christianity. The Jew, whom Celsus personates, addresses himself, not immediately to believing Gentiles, but to his

* Orig. cont. Cels. l. 1. p. 45. † Ibid. p. 51. ‡ Lib. 2. p. 62.

|| Ibid. p. 79. § Lib. 3. p. 135.

own countrymen who believed. Origen disingenuously speaks, as if the name of *Ebionites* had been common to all the Jews believing in Christ, because he wished to make it appear that they had not forsaken the law, and knew that if he mentioned any besides them, he could not establish this point. Yet in the whole course of his reasoning, he does not once deny the truth of what is asserted by the Jew, that his countrymen worshipped him as God, whom others had crucified. Had he known that none of the Jews, who believed in Christ, acknowledged him to be God; such was his eagerness to display the ignorance of Celsus, that he would not have overlooked such a noble opportunity of triumphing over him. But instead of refusing the charge so frequently repeated, he acknowledges concerning Christians, without any distinction, that "Christ is adored
"by them."

It is granted that Celsus is chargeable with many mistakes in his accusations, and gives a false representation of many circumstances concerning the life of our Saviour. But had he not, so early as the time of Celsus, been generally owned by Christians to be God, the Heathen philosopher would not have ventured to impeach Christianity on this head; because every reader, Jewish, Heathen or Christian, must have known that it was a falsehood. He might wilfully misrepresent things that had happened a century before. But in this instance he made an appeal to mankind, with respect to what was present, and with respect to a circumstance of such a nature, that the truth or falsehood of his assertion could not remain unknown. From the extracts given by Origen, it appears indeed, that Celsus, through the whole of his work, represents it as a matter of public notoriety, that the doctrine of the divinity of Christ was believed by Christians from the beginning.

Now, Celsus lived during the reign of Adrian; and it

is not improbable that he wrote before the death of this prince. For he speaks of his severity against the Jews as very recent, and does not particularly mention the name of Adrian, to which he could have had no objection, had he been dead. The term *τστον this person*, by which he refers to him, seems most properly to apply to one still alive. At any rate, he was cotemporary with Justin Martyr: and the manner in which the former speaks of the doctrine of our Saviour's divinity, is such as totally to overthrow the hypothesis of Dr P. as to its being invented by the latter. To any one who will take the trouble of looking into the objections of Celsus, this idea must appear ridiculous in the extreme; and no other confutation will seem necessary.

SECTION II.

Further considerations concerning the Edict of Adrian. Of the return of the Christians from Pella; and of Aquila's residence at Jerusalem. Objections to the existence of Orthodox Hebrews considered.

DR PRIESTLEY in his letters to Dr Horsley, part iii. to which I do not know that there has been any reply, seems to flatter himself that he has fully answered all that his learned opponent had advanced. He takes his leave of the subject, by erecting a trophy to his own honour; "Thus again," he says, "ends this church of orthodox Jewish Christians at Jerusalem, planted by Moiseim, and destroyed by the too copious watering of the Archdeacon of St Albans*."

But before the public can decree a triumph to the Doctor for his valorous exploits against these poor persecuted Christians,

* p. 35.

ftians, it may be neceffary more particularly to investigate the grounds on which it is claimed.

Our learned author either takes for granted, or confiders as proved, the following things :

I. That Adrian's edict refpected the Hebrew Chriftians as much as the unbelievers of that nation.

II. That the return of the Chriftians from Pella, was before the time of Adrian.

III. That it is not probable that Aquila refided at Jerufalem after this edict.

I. With refpect to the firft of thefe, there are various circumftances which would make an accurate hiftorian cautious of afserting, that Adrian's edict excluded the believing as well as the infidel Jews from Jerufalem.

From Dr P.'s tranflation of the language of Sulpicius, it might feem that this was the light in which it was viewed by that writer : " Adrian, --because *the Chriftians were thought to confift chiefly of Jews,*—ordered a cohort of foldiers to keep conftant guard, and drive all Jews from any accefs to Jerufalem." But the learned Gentleman feems to have miftaken the meaning of that expreffion ; *Chriftiani ex Judeis potiffimum putabuntur.* It does not bear the fenfe which he puts upon it ; but fimplly fignifies, that they " were thought chiefly to *derive their origin from*" them. This muft be acknowledged as its true meaning if we allow Severus to be his own expofitor. In the chapter immediately preceding, he ufes the fame language, and explains the fenfe in which he ufes it. After faying that Titus deliberated, whether he would deftroy the temple of Jerufalem, and that fome advised him to fpare it, he adds ; " But others, and Titus himfelf, thought that the temple fhould by all means be deftroyed, that the religion of the Jews and Chriftians might be more completely abolifhed. For they *thought* that thefe religions, though

“contrary to each other, proceeded from the same authors :
 “that the Christians derived their origin from the Jews ;
 “and that if the root was removed, the stock would soon
 “perish*.” That, in the next chapter, by *loci injuria*, he
 does not mean the *destruction* of the place, is evident from
 what he adds here : “And this was the last destruction of
 “the temple †.”

Whether Severus was right or not in supposing that Adrian meant to destroy Christianity, it is clear that he assigns to him a very different line of conduct with respect to this, from what he is said to have observed in attempting the destruction of Judaism. Severus first speaks of the attempts of Adrian against Christianity ; then, of the plan that he followed with respect to the Jews. He asserts that Adrian thought to destroy the Christian faith *loci injuria*, by doing injury to places held in veneration, by setting up images in the temple, and in the place of our Lord’s passion. But this local injury could be of no avail, unless Christians had still a *locality* at Jerusalem. It must have respected Hebrew Christians especially. Indeed, they alone were attached to the temple ; whatever respect others may be supposed to have had to Calvary. Had Adrian meant to exclude Christian Hebrews from Jerusalem, why defile the temple, or rather the place where it stood, to which they could have no access ? According to this account, however, Adrian seems to have been determined that all the Christians who resided at Jerusalem should renounce the Jewish rites ; that there might be certain evidence that
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* At contra alii, et Titus ipse, evertendum templum in primis censebant, quo plenius Judæorum et Christianorum religio tolleretur. Quippe has religiones, licet contrarias sibi, iisdem tamen auctoribus profectas. Christianos ex Judæis extitisse : radice sublata, stirpem facile periturum. Hist. lib. ii. c. 30. p. 244.

† Atque hæc ultima templi everſio. Ibid.

there was no connexion between them and the Jews. But the historian gives a different account of his conduct with respect to the latter. They were not so much as suffered to remain in the city. The reason which he gives for this severity, very probably was only his own construction of the emperor's conduct.

Candour requires that it should be acknowledged, that Eusebius appears to have considered this edict as extending to all of the Jewish race. For he makes no exception, and speaks of all the old inhabitants of Jerusalem as cast out. But respectable as his authority is, he seems to have been less accurate in his account of the war of Adrian, than in most other instances. It deserves our observation that he quotes Aristo Pellæus as his authority for the account which he gives of this war. "From this time," he says, "by the express law of Adrian, the whole nation was prohibited to enter into the region around Jerusalem, so that they were not allowed to look upon their paternal soil even at a distance, as Aristo Pellæus relates." What Eusebius immediately adds seems to be his own inference from the words of this writer. "Thus the city being emptied of the nation of the Jews, and its old inhabitants being entirely destroyed, and it being inhabited by another race, it was afterwards changed into a Roman colony, and called Aelia, in honour of the emperor Aelius Adrian: and the church there consisting of Gentiles, Mark was first chosen to minister among them, after the bishops of the circumcision*." It is

* Το παν ἔθνος ἐξ ἑκείνου καὶ τῆς περὶ τὰ Ἱερουσόλυμα γῆς πανταπῶς ἐπίβαινεν ἐργεταί. νόμος δόγματι καὶ διατάξεσιν Ἀδριανῶν, ὡς ἀν μὴ δ' ἐξ ἀποπτε θεαροῖεν τὸ πατρῶον εἶδος, ἐγκλειουσάμενος Ἀριστῶν ὁ Πέλλαϊος ἱστορεῖ. ἔτι δὲ τῆς πόλεως εἰς ἐρημίαν τὰ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος, καὶ παιτελὴ φθορὰν τῶν παλαιῶν οἰκητορῶν ἐλθούσης, ἐξ ἀλλοφυλῶν τε γένεσιν ὑποκλιθεῖσιν, ἡ μεταπειπτα σὺς ἄσα Ῥωμαϊκῆ πόλις τὴν ἐπανουμιαν ἀμει-

is not improbable, that what was meant by Aristo of the Jews properly so called, as opposed to the Christians, was understood by Eusebius as extending to all who were of the Hebrew race, especially as he knew that at this time the church of Jerusalem had her first bishop from among the Gentiles.

The reason given by Eusebius, for the devastation of Jerusalem seems to proceed on a misapprehension of Aristo's meaning. That writer, as quoted by Eusebius, says, that "an innumerable multitude of men, women and children (*διαφθειρων*) being destroyed, their lands were given up to "the law of war*." To this Eusebius evidently refers, when he afterwards says that "the city was emptied "of the nation of the Jews, and its old inhabitants (*εις—* "*παντελη φθορα*) completely destroyed." Thus, it is clear, that if we follow Eusebius here, we must receive it as a fact that all who believed, in Jerusalem, were destroyed in this war, in common with the unbelieving Jews.

Nicephorus, as Dr P. observes, says that "Adrian caused "Jerusalem to be inhabited by Greeks only, and permitted "no others to live in it." But it is natural to suppose that he would follow Eusebius, as he generally does little more than copy him. Dr P. objects to Severus, that he is a late writer, although cotemporary with Jerom. But surely this objection comes with far greater force against Nicephorus,

Ίουσα, εις την τε κρατητος Αυλιου Αδριανου τιμη, Αυλια προσαγορευεται. και δη της αυτοθι εκκλησιας εξ εθνων συγκροτηθεισης, πρωτος μεν τοις εκ περιτομης επισκοπης, την των εκεισε λειψυργιαν εγχειριζεται Μαρκος. Hist. Lib. 4. c. 6.

* Ρηφος—επιζηει, μυριαδας ανθρως ανδρων ομς και παιδων και γυναικων διαφθειρων, πολεμς τε νομω τας χωρας αυτων εξανδραποδιζομενος. Ibid.

phorus, who wrote more than 900 years after Severus. But although the former expresses himself in the language quoted; from what he says in the close of the chapter, it is improbable that he considered the believing Hebrews as included in this calamity: "And thus even under him (*Adrian*) the Jews paid their last debt to justice for their fury against Christ *."

Justin Martyr, in his second apology, as it is ordinarily reckoned, takes notice of the exclusion of the Jews from Jerusalem, and of its being "a capital crime for a Jew to be found there †." But when he speaks of the Jews in this general way, it is in contradistinction to Christians, although originally of that nation. Therefore, a few sentences below, he says that "the Jews, although they had the prophets, and expected Christ, not only did not receive, but killed him." And afterwards, he seems to consider their expulsion from their own land, as the punishment of their unbelief ‡. This he expressly asserts in his dialogue with *Trypho* ||. But if he knew that this was also the lot of the great body of believing Hebrews, it is not probable that he would have considered it in this light. For this would have been to suppose the innocent to be punished with the guilty.

The same ancient writer informs the emperor, that, "in the last Jewish war, *Barchochebas*, the leader of the rebellion of the Jews, gave orders to drag the *Christians only* to the severest punishments, unless they would deny and blaspheme Christ §." *Justin* has been blamed, indeed, by some moderns, as if he exaggerated matters here; because

* Και ετω μιν Ιουδαιοι και επι ταυτα, την εσχατην της καλα χειρωματος απεισαν δικην. Hist. lib. 3. c. 24. p. 257.

† Apol. ii. p. 84.

‡ Ibid. p. 23.

|| p. 234.

§ Ibid. p. 72.

because they could not see why Barchochebas should punish the Christians only, as if the Martyr meant that he did not wish to injure the Romans. But what he says concerning that false Christ, that he gave the Christians *only* over to *severe vengeance*, is entirely credible. He would be especially exasperated against them, because they were the great enemies of his pretended mission as the Messiah, and although of the Hebrew race, would not join him against the Romans.

No one could know the state of matters better than Justin ; as he had lived in Samaria till this time, and is supposed to have left that country on account of the Jewish rebellion *. Eusebius gives the same testimony in his history, in the very words of Justin. In his *Chronicon*, he assigns the reason of this conduct of Barchochebas, asserting that because “ he found that the Christians would not join him against the Romans, he caused them to be put to death with every kind of cruelty †.” Adrian, from his inquisitive temper, may well be supposed to have made himself thoroughly acquainted with all the circumstances of the war, and must have known that the Hebrew Christians, not only adhered to his interests, but suffered greater cruelties from the rebel, for their fidelity, than any of his other subjects.

Is it, therefore, in any degree probable, that he would notwithstanding punish them in common with the aggressors ?

It seems to be generally allowed that the rescript of Adrian, in favour of the Christians, was published before the Jewish war : and there was nothing in their conduct on that occasion, that could dispose him to withdraw his protection. Dr P., indeed, that he may remove every thing which seems to oppose his system on this head, talks contemptuously

* Baron. Annal. Adr. A. 11.

† Hist. l. 4. c. 8. p. 152. ap. Baron. Annal. Adr. A. 12.

temptuously of this rescript. How far," says he, "did this favour to Christians extend?" Then, after mentioning the words of Adrian, he adds; "That is, as the history of those times enables us to interpret it, they were not to be punished as Christians, till they were proved to be so*." But we have reason to conclude, that, although the persecution did not entirely cease, it was greatly moderated. As the emperor enjoined that they should not be condemned "for the bare name of Christians," but only on its being "proved that they had committed some crime against the laws;" it shows that he was inclined to treat them favourably, and renders it improbable that he would afterwards condemn them as guilty of a crime, for opposing which they had severely suffered.

Our learned author adds; "This does not amount to a toleration of the Jews at Jerusalem, on condition of their embracing Christianity?" Who ever asserted this? All that any one would plead is, that it is a strong presumption in favour of his tolerating the *Christians* at Jerusalem, although Jews by birth, who were willing to renounce the Jewish rites; when there was nothing found in their conduct against the laws, nay, when they suffered for their faithful adherence to them.

It is a strong presumption that the believing Hebrews were not banished from Jerusalem, that Tertullian objects this to unbelievers of that nation, as the punishment of their iniquity †. He certainly would not have done so,

had

* Letters, part iii. p. 20.

† Animadvertimus autem tunc neminem de genere Israel in civitate Bethlehem remansisse, et exinde quod interdictum est, ne in confinio ipsius regionis demoretur quisquam Judæorum, ut hoc quoque esset adimpletum per prophetam: Terra vestra deserta, civitates vestræ igni exustæ, id est, quod belli tempore eis evenerit, regionem vestram in conspectu vestro exteri comedent, et deserta et subversa erit à populis alienis.—

had it been in their power to reply, that his own brethren of their race were punished as severely as they. It is evident that Jerom had no idea that believing Hebrews were, by this edict, excluded from Jerusalem. For he speaks of *miserable Israel* alone as bewailing the ruins of the temple at a distance. Here he evidently opposes the unbelieving Jews to Christians. For he adds, that a new city was built,—“that the multitude of them who believed might “daily see the roofs of new churches rising *.”

The learned Dr Horsley has produced the express testimony of Orosius, a Christian writer cotemporary with Jerom, to prove that Adrian's edict did not extend to Christians. “And he commanded,” says this historian, “that “no Jew should be allowed to enter Jerusalem; this liberty being granted to Christians only †.” Dr P., in his usual way, treats this allegation with very little respect, as it is on the wrong side of the question. He offers nothing against the credibility of the historian; but feebly observes, that “in the idea even of this writer, the Greek Christians “might remain, but the *Jewish* not.” He might have made this pretence, had Orosius distinguished between Jews and Gentiles. But he has unhappily made the distinction between *Jews* and *Christians*, evidently referring to the religion of each. There is, therefore, no room left for this evasion.

But

Et oculi vestri videbunt terram de longinquo: quod vobis pro meritis vestris post expugnationem Jerusalem, prohibitis ingredi in terram vestram, de longinquo eam oculis tantum videre permissum est. *Advers. Judæos*, c. 13. p. 146.

* Ut miserabilis Israel ruinas templi nudatis plangat lacertis, et in Christo turba credentium nova quotidie videat Ecclesiæ tecta confurgere. *Hedibæ*, qu. 8. *Epist.* tom. 3. fol. 47.

† Præcipitque ne cui Judæo introeundi Hierosolymam esset licentia, Christianis tantum civitate permissa. *Hist.* l. 7. c. 13.

‡ *Let.* part iii. p. 19.

But still more fatally for our author, this same Orosius declares that Adrian, by this procedure against the Jews, “avenged the Christians, whom Barchochebas, the leader of the Jews, had tortured, because they would not join him against the Romans*.” Were they *Greek Christians*, who were thus avenged? Or were they the persons who had suffered from the rebel?

Orosius says nothing but what Jerom had said before him. For in his commentary on that passage, *They that sell them say, Bless'd be the Lord, &c.* when he has described Adrian as selling the Jews like cattle in a market, he adds that their conquerors were thus “the avengers of the the Lord.” But were they his avengers, by destroying or selling the multitude of them that believed in him? So far was Jerom from forming so wild an idea, that he understands the words that follow as an address to believing Hebrews: “And *I will feed the flock of slaughter*, that the *Jesus* may be always nourished for destruction; because this is the determination of God; O you, who are *the poor of the flock*, that is, the righteous of Israel, who have believed in the Lord Jesus, and received the Son of God. —*I will no more pity the inhabitants of the land, saith the Lord.* This seems to be spoken of the Jewish people *only*, because after they had slain the prophets, they also laid violent hands on the Son of God †.”

Instead

* *Ultus que est Hadrianus Christianos, quos illi Cotheba duce quòd sibi adversus Romanos non assentarent excruciant.* Hist. lib. 7. c. 13.

† *Legamus veteres historias, et traditiones plangentium Judæorum, qui in tabernaculo Abrahamæ, ubi nunc per annos singulos mercatus celeberrimus exercetur: post ultimam everisionem quam sustinueret ab Hadriano multa hominum millia venundata sint: et quæ vendi non potuerint, translata in Aegyptum: et tam naufragio et fame quam gentium cæde truncata. Isti ergo victores, et Domini ultores qui occidebant et non dolebant,*

Instead of imagining that the believing Hebrews were included in the punishment of their unbelieving brethren, he describes the former as joining in the war against the latter. For, first, he explains these words, *That I might break the brotherhood between Judah and Israel*, of the dissolution of the league of fraternity between believing and unbelieving Jews; asserting that the former were called Judah, because of confessing their God, and the latter Ephraim and Joseph, because of their obduracy in unbelief. Afterwards he renders the twelfth verse of the following chapter, *And Judah shall be in the siege against Jerusalem*; and thus explains it: "But in the siege of Jerusalem, Judah itself is taken by the Gentiles, and entering into their society, is laid under the necessity of besieging its own metropolis*." A little downwards, he repeats the assertion.

Commenting on these words, *In it shall be a tenth*;—*and the holy seed shall be that which shall remain in it*; he says: "The remnant shall again be for a prey, when in
" about

dolebant, et vendebant pecora, atque dicebant; Benedictus Dominus, divites facti sumus: hanc habebant sententiam; Propter peccata sua offendere Judæi: ideo eos oppressimus, et ex pretio eorum divites facti sumus. —Et pascam pecus occisionis, ut semper Judæi nutriantur ad mortem; propterea quia Dei est ista sententia; O vos qui estis pauperes gregis, hoc est justis de Israel; qui credidistis in Dominum Jesum, et Dei filium suscepistis.—Non pascam ultra super habitatores terræ, dicit Dominus: Et hoc de uno Judaico populo dicere videbatur, quod interfectis prophetis, etiam in filium Dei misissent manus, &c. In Zach. xi. 4. 6, 7.

* Quæ secunda virga—a me ideo projecta est, ut dissolverem fœdus, et germanitatem atque concordiam, quæ inter Judam fuerat et Israel, et fratres a se invicem separarem: ut in Apostolorum et eorum qui egerunt pœnitentiam numero, rursus Juda appellaretur, et confitens Deum suum: Israel autem et Ephraim vocarentur, qui in cordis duritia permanentes dixerunt; Non habemus regem, nisi Cæsarem.— Sed et Judas obsessa Hierusalem, est captus a gentibus, et in illarum transiens societatem, cogetur obsidere metropolim suam. In Zach. xi. 14. xii. 1.

“ about fifty years after (that is, after the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus) Adrian shall come, and shall completely waste the land of Judæa, so that it may be compared to a turpentine tree, and to an oak, when they have lost their leaves. In fine, since the last devastation, the Jews even lie under the lash of public laws, and are prohibited to enter that land from which they have been ejected. But as to those who have believed in Christ, that has been fulfilled which we read above; *Except the Lord of hosts had left unto us a small remnant, we should have been as Sodom and like unto Gomorrah.* For according to the Apostle, *A remnant shall be saved.* This shall be *the holy seed.* And from the apostolical shoot all the churches have sprung*.”

Can there be any doubt that Jerom was fully persuaded that the Christian Hebrews were exempted from this calamity, and allowed to remain in the land of Judæa, while their unbelieving brethren were expelled from it?

II. According to Dr P., nothing can be more evident than that the return of the Jewish Christians from Pella, mentioned by Epiphanius, was that which followed the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus †. Hence he wishes to infer that, after the rebellion under Barchochebas, the Christians were expelled from the city in common with the Jews. It cannot be refused that the destruction mentioned

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* Rursum ipse reliquæ erunt in deprædationem, quando post annos ferme quinquaginta Hadrianus venerit, et terram Judæam fuerit penitus deprædatus; in tantum ut terebintho et quercui quæ glacies amiserint comparetur. Denique post extremam vastitatem, etiam leges publicæ pependerit, et prohibiti sunt Judæi terram, de qua ejecti fuerant, ingredi. Si quis autem crediderit in Christum, et impletum fuerit illud quod supra legimus; Nisi Dominus sabaoth reliquisset nobis semen, &c. quando juxta Apostolum, reliquæ salvabuntur. Hoc semen sanctum erit: et de Apostolorum germine cunctæ ecclesiæ pullabunt. In Esai vi. 13.

† Let. Part iii. p. 23.

by Epiphanius seems to be that by Titus. But it must be observed that, when he speaks of the Christians as “having returned after the desolation of Jerusalem,” his language is indefinite. It cannot be justly inferred that they returned immediately. For he limits no time. Nor that the great body of them had returned before the war of Adrian. It is evident that they returned gradually, and that very few had left Pella before the last mentioned epoch.

Epiphanius does not so much as mention the destruction of the city under Adrian. This language has been used by some of the Fathers. But there does not seem to have been any event that could properly deserve the name. According to the Jewish historian, it was so completely destroyed by Titus, that “only three towers were spared, as an evidence to futurity of the skill and power of the Romans in becoming possessed of them.” He says that “the city was totally demolished, and razed even to the ground; so that it scarcely appeared to have been the residence of human creatures*.” Now, we have not a trace in history of its being rebuilt before the reign of Adrian.

When this Emperor, during his journey through the East, came to Jerusalem, he found it in a very ruinous situation. According to Epiphanius, he visited Palestine “in the forty-seventh year after the destruction of Jerusalem, and found all the city levelled to the ground, a few buildings excepted, and a small church of God, erected where the disciples had assembled after the ascension of our Lord †.” He also mentions seven synagogues,

* Joseph. de Bell. Judaic. lib. vii. c. 18.

† Και ευρε την πολιν πασκι ηδαφισ λενην, και το ιερον τω Θεω καταπατημενον, παρεκτος ολιγων οικηματα, και της τω Θεω εκκλησιας μικρας υσης, &c. Epiphani. de Ment. sect. 14.

gogues, “ which stood alone on Mount Zion, like so many cottages *.” Could Epiphanius imagine that the small church he mentions contained all, or even a considerable part, of those Christians who had formerly resided at Pella? We know that, before the destruction of Jerusalem, there were many thousands of Jews who believed, Acts xxi. 20. Can Dr P. suppose that, notwithstanding the wonderful protection given them by Providence, and the striking evidence of the truth of Christianity in the accomplishment of our Saviour’s predictions concerning Jerusalem, they had, in less than half a century, dwindled into a mere handful that met in one place of worship?

Eusebius, in his *Chronicon*, speaks of Jerusalem being destroyed by Adrian; but he does not particularly mention this circumstance in his History, which was written after the other, and is generally reckoned far more accurate. Jerom, in various places, uses the same language †. Valesius does not hesitate to say that in this instance Eusebius was mistaken. He, with many other learned writers, denies that Jerusalem was destroyed at this time ‡.

However, it seems most natural to suppose, that there was some foundation for what has been said by these ancient writers; although I cannot think, that their language ought to be understood in all that latitude which has been ascribed to it. We are by no means to infer from it what might occur at first view, that the city had

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been

* We may observe, by the way, that the inference which Dr P. endeavours to deduce from the language of Severus, *Tum paucissimi* &c. is contrary to fact. For the number of Jews at this time in Jerusalem must have far exceeded that of the Christians.

† In Esai. i. 6. Jer. xxi. 18. Ezek. v. 1. Dan. ix. 24.

‡ Annotat. ad Euseb. Hist. lib. iv. c. 6.

been previously in some degree restored to its former splendour. The contrary has been already seen. Adrian found it in a ruinous state. If it was rebuilt before the Jewish rebellion, it must have been by this Emperor. If it was afterwards destroyed by him, he must have built it a second time. For it will be shewn, that it was built after the war.

The fact seems to be this. When Adrian visited Jerusalem, finding it in a very ruinous state, and regretting the desolation of so fine a city, he ordered it to be rebuilt, or rather ordered a new city, which was to be called *Adia* from his name, to be built from its ruins*. On this occasion the Jews rebelled, most probably because it was the intention of Adrian to devote their holy place to the worship of strange gods, and to erect a temple to Jupiter Capitolinus, where the temple of God had stood †. Epiphanius seems to refer to this circumstance, when he says that Adrian “thought of rebuilding the city, but not the temple.” It may be supposed that the rebels expelled his workmen from the place, and put it in the best state of defence that it could admit of; that upon the arrival of the Roman army, it was retaken; and that the conquerors wrecked their vengeance on the poor remains of the rebellious city, particularly on the ruins of the temple, as the great object of the Jewish attachment. For Jerom informs us that “in contempt of the vanquished nation, the temple was plowed by Rufus †.”

According to Aristo of Pella, quoted by Eusebius, “the whole force of the war was directed against Bitter, a
“ place.

* Epiph. ubi. sup.

† Dion Cassius, lib. 69.

‡ Aratum templum, in ignominiam gentis oppressæ, a Tito Annio Ruffo. In Zach. viii. 19.

“ place at no great distance from Jerusalem *.” This was the great rendezvous of the rebels under Barchochebas. We learn from the same writer, that this place was highly fortified, and that it sustained a long siege. Here many thousands of the Jews perished, according to their own accounts. They pretend that the siege endured for several years. The blood of the slain, they say, rushed with such violence from Bethel, that it rolled large stones a great way before it into the sea; this place being, according to them, at the distance of four miles from it †. Although this account is evidently fabulous, it shews the traditionary persuasion of the nation, that the force of the war centred here

It is highly probable that Christian writers, in succeeding ages, knowing that the Jews at this time sustained a long and fatal siege, might in idea transfer it to Jerusalem. Jerom, indeed, not only speaks of the destruction of this city by Adrian, but of *Betbel* being taken ‡. This seems to have been put for *Bethel*, either by mistake on his own part, or by an error in transcribing. It is observable, however, that in this place he makes no mention of the capture of Jerusalem. If it was formally besieged, the siege must have been of very short duration. For, as far as I can observe, it is not mentioned by the Jews themselves.

Thus, there is no reason to think that any considerable body of Christians left Pella, before the war under Adrian. That a few had returned is evident. But we must suppose,

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either

* Euseb. Hist. lib. iv. c. 6.

† Echa Rabbati, fol. 75. ap. Relandi Palestina Illustr. p. 639. v. *Bethel*. Vossii Observ. ad. Martini Pug. Fidei, P. ii. c. 2. p. 212. *Ibid*, 262.

‡ In Zech. ubi sup.

either that none ever returned but those who occupied one small place of worship in Jerusalem, or that they did so after this date. Indeed, Epiphanius, after mentioning the intention of Adrian to rebuild the city, and declaring that he set Aquila over the work, seems to speak of the Christians as returning while Aquila resided there. Dr P. renders the passage; "They had returned, and taught there *." But the meaning of the ancient writer would rather seem to be; "They were returning and teaching there †." For *ἦσαν υποστροφάντες* is so closely connected with *διδασκοντες*, that if the one expresses a past action, the other must do so too. If they were done with *returning*, they were also done with *teaching*.

Valesius, whom Dr P. sometimes quotes as an authority, without the least hesitation considers Epiphanius as testifying that the Hebrew Christians did not return from Pella, till after the rebuilding of the city by Adrian †.

III. Dr P. does not think it probable that "Aquila was residing at Jerusalem after the destruction of the city by Adrian." He assigns this reason for his opinion, "— that the rebuilding of Jerusalem by Adrian, in which Aquila was employed by him, was undertaken in the thirteenth year of his reign, a year before the revolt of the Jews, and it was not till the eighteenth of Adrian that they were entirely subdued." But Basnage, who perhaps examined the subject with as much attention, concludes from various proofs, that the war begun A. 134, and

* *ἦσαν γὰρ υποστροφάντες ἀπὸ Πέλλης τῆς πόλεως καὶ διδασκοντες.*
De Venetur. lect. 15 . . . need not say that, although different tenses are here used, the indefinite often admits of the same sense as the present. Friendly as Domitian was to the Anitinitarians, he did not think of doing them a service here. For he renders this expression; Jam enim ex urbe Pella reduces docere cœperant.

† Let. Part iii. p. 22.

‡ Annot. in Euf. ubi sup.

and ended in 136; in which year also Adrian seems to have finished his new city *. The learned Spanheim assigns nearly the same duration to this war †. Beshage allows that the Jews, whom Jerom follows, represent it as lasting three years and a half: but thinks that they have made this calculation to correspond with their application of Daniel's seventy weeks to this period.

But although it should be supposed that Aquila continued even five years at Jerusalem, what objection can be offered? If he was hindered in his work by the rebellion of the Jews, it is surely most natural to think that he would keep his station, till Adrian's conquest gave him an opportunity of finishing it ‡.

Indeed, there is every reason to think that this was the case. For if, before the war, a temple to Jupiter Capitolinus was erected on the site of the former temple to the true God, how did Rufus plow it up after the war? Is it at all supposable, that a people of so rebellious a spirit as the Jews, would patiently wait till they saw the idol temple finished? Is it not natural to imagine that, as they meant to oppose the Emperor, they would wish to prevent even the profanation of their holy place? If this was not the fact, how is history entirely silent with respect to the *rebuilding*, not of Jerusalem, but of Aelia? But Jerom expressly testifies, that Aelia was built out of the ruins of Jerusalem, after the Jewish rebellion §.

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Because

* Hist of the Jews, B. vi. c. 9.

† Histor. Christian. sect. ii. c. 14 p. 685. 686.

‡ Newton on the Prophecies, Diss. 20. p. 3. Ancient Univ. Hist. vol. iv. p. 160.

§ Quo (Vespasiano) mortuo transactis septem hebdomadis, id est, annis quinquaginta novem, Aelius Hadrianus, a quo postea de ruinis Hierusalem urbs Aelia condita est, rebellantes Judæos, Timo Ruffo magistro exercitus

Because Cave supposes that Aquila made his version in the 11th or 12th of Adrian, as he did not engage in it till he had renounced Christianity, our author deduces this inference: "His conversion to Christianity, therefore, was *probably* prior to the reign of Adrian; and yet that is the only circumstance that proves any intercourse he ever had with Jewish Christians returned from Pella*." Dr P. complains of the imperfect quotation of the passage in Epiphanius by Dr Horsley; because he does not give the sentence following. Had our author himself quoted it a little more fully, in its connection with the sentence immediately preceding, the reader would have had it in his power to judge whether this inference was probable. "Therefore," says the ancient writer, "Adrian thought of rebuilding the city, though not the temple: and taking Aquila, that interpreter of scripture formerly mentioned, who was a Greek, and his father in law, and deriving his origin from Sinope of Pontus, appointed him to oversee the work of building the city.—*But* Aquila, living in Jerusalem, and seeing the disciples of the disciples of the Apostles flourishing in faith, and working great wonders, &c.—Aquila, therefore being convinced, believed in the Christian religion †."

As

exercitus pugnante, superavit. In Dan. ix. 24. Helii quoque Hadriani contra Judæos expeditionem legimus; qui ita Hierusalem murosque subvertit ut de urbis reliquiis ac favillis sui nominis Heliam conderet civitatem. In Joel i. 4.

* Let. Part iii. p. 25.

† Διαβουλεύεται εν ο Αδριανος την πολιν κτισαι, εμνη το ιερον* και λαβων το Ακυλαν τειτον τον προειρημενον ερμηνευτην, Ελληνα οντα, και αυτε πενθεριδην απο Σινοπης δε της Ποντε ορωμενον, καθιςησιν αυτον εκεισε επιταλτειν τοις εργοις των της πολεως κτισματων.—Ο τοιουτου Ακυλας διαγων εν τη Ιερουσαλημ, και ορων τες μαθητας των μαθη-

των

As it is evident that he received these convictions at Jerusalem, by means of the successors of the Apostles, would not one naturally infer from this narrative, that he had come to Jerusalem on occasion of his appointment by Adrian; and that it was while he was *living in Jerusalem*, in consequence of this appointment, that he was thus convinced? If Dr P. speak of *probability*, it surely lies wholly on this side. Indeed, the particle *τοιον*, with which this section commences, is useless, if it do not connect what follows with the preceding, as expressive of the order and dependence of the facts narrated. Is it *probable* that one, who had made a transition from the religion of the Gentiles to Judaism, would receive such a trust from Adrian? Would a Jew be instrumental in building a temple to an idol, especially in that very place, according to the law, devoted to the worship of the true God. But surely our author is not in earnest, when he throws out this strange conjecture. At any rate he gives it a fatal blow with his own hand by immediately adding; “Yet that (his conversion to Christianity) is the only circumstance that proves any intercourse he ever had with Jewish Christians returned from Pella.”

The Doctor helps himself to a fact in his account of this interpreter: “It was by the disciples of those who then returned, that Aquila was converted to Christianity*.” He asserts this, in order to prove that the conversion of Aquila “was probably a considerable time before the destruction of the Jews by Adrian;” and that the return
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των Αποστολων ανθεντας τηπισει, και σημεια μεγαλα εργαζομενης ιστιων, και αλλων θαυματων. Ηταν γαρ υποσηψαντες, &c.—Ο εν Ακυλας κατανοησι την διανοιαν τω χριστιανισμω επισεισεν. De Mens. c. 14. 15.

* Let. P. iii. p. 27.

of the Christians must have been prior to the reign of this emperor. But Epiphanius, to whom our author refers in the same sentence, asserts no such thing. He does not say that Aquila saw "the disciples of those who returned;" but "the disciples of the disciples of the apostles." These are the very persons of whom he immediately adds; "For they were returning from Pella."

But at what time soever Aquila became a profelyte to Christianity, it is allowed on all hands, that it was by means of the Hebrew Christians living at Jerusalem, who had left Pella. Now, whether this event took place after the Jewish rebellion, or before, there is a circumstance connected with it, which overthrows the whole of our author's system with respect to these Hebrew Christians. If Aquila made his profession of Christianity *after* the Jewish war, then there were Christians living in Aelia, Christians who had returned from Pella, Hebrew Christians, the proper successors of the apostles, who admitted Gentiles to communion, without a submission to the legal rites, and who therefore were not Ebionites. For Aquila, at his admission, received only "the seal of Christianity *," that is, as Dr P. himself explains it, *baptism* †. It was not till he apostatised to Judaism, that he was *circumcised*. Now, it cannot be refused, that circumcision was the principal token of adherence to the law.

If, according to Dr P.'s plan, Aquila professed himself a convert to Christianity *before* the war, the argument, instead of being weakened, acquires additional strength. For then it follows, that the Hebrew Christians, who returned from Pella, had, even before the publication of Adrian's edict, renounced the idea of the necessity of circumcision. If
Aquila

* Την εν Χριστω σφραγιδα εκμισατο. Epiphanius. de Mens.
c. 15.

† Let. P. iii. p. 23.

Aquila had been circumcised on his profession of Christianity, the Doctor will scarcely suppose that he would a second time have submitted to the same operation. But we are assured by Epiphanius, that he was circumcised, on his apostasy to Judaism *. He, indeed, mentions the circumcision of Aquila as the great evidence of his abjuring Christianity: which he would not have done, had he considered these Hebrew believers as still adhering to the law.—Our author may choose which side of the dilemma he pleases.

He produces several arguments in form, to prove that “the members of this church were not Jews, but Greeks.”

1. “After the time of Adrian, the bishops of that church were Greeks, and the language in which the public offices were performed was Greek; whereas immediately before the bishops had been Hebrews, and the public offices had been in the Hebrew tongue †.” By the Hebrew, the learned Gentleman certainly does not mean that language in which the Old Testament was written; but that which was a mixture of Chaldaic and Syriac. Should any one, however, deny that the public offices of the church of Jerusalem were performed in this tongue, Dr P. might find himself considerably at a loss to prove it. Many objections might be made to this hypothesis. It is asserted by some learned men, that even in the days of the apostles the Greek “was so well known, and so much used in Judæa itself, that amongst the Jews it was called the *vulgar*.” This they are said to have proved by various testimonies from the most ancient Jewish writers ‡.

As

* Τον Χριστιανισμον ἀρνεσάμενος ——— προσήλητεύει καὶ περιτέμνεται Ἰουδαίος. De Mens. *ibid*.

† Let. P. iii. p. 16.

‡ Owen on the Heb. Vol. i. Exerc. 4.

As the Greek, from the time of Alexander the Great, was spoken through the greatest part of Asia, it is improbable that it should have been unknown in Jerusalem; especially when there was such a constant concourse of the Jews of the dispersion to this city, who were accustomed to read the Old Testament, and to "perform the public offices," in the Synagogues, in this language; and were generally unacquainted with any other. There is every reason to think that the whole of the New Testament was originally written in Greek: although it appears that some parts of it were afterwards translated for the use of these Jews, who were more attached to that language which was vernacular. James, who was bishop of Jerusalem, wrote in Greek. His epistle, indeed, is addressed to *the twelve tribes scattered abroad*. But it cannot be supposed, that he meant to deprive those immediately committed to his charge of any benefit from it. The epistle to the Hebrews contains various internal evidences that it is not a translation. Not only are the quotations in the language of the Septuagint, but these Hebraisms, which might be expected in a mere translation, are not to be found here. Besides, the writer explains the meaning of the Hebrew words which he introduces. This he would not have done, had he wrote in that language. It is evident that this was not done by a translator, because the very argument of the writer is founded on these interpretations*. To these we may add, although not canonical, the epistle of Barnabas, written in Greek, by an Hebrew believer to Hebrews. Aristo of Pella undoubtedly wrote in the same language, which affords a presumption that it was understood by the generality of Christians who had their residence there. Hegesippus, although

* Owen ut. sup. Glassii Philol. lib. i. t. 4. f. 2. Pfeifferi Crit. Sæc. cap. 3. qu. 10. Vol. ii. p. 698.

though a *plain man*, and a Hebrew Christian, also wrote in Greek.

At any rate, it was just as possible for Hebrew Christians to learn this language in Jerusalem, if their spiritual interests required it, as for others of the same nation, who had made this acquisition in the pursuit of commerce or learning, or in consequence of their dispersion. It was spoken by the Roman soldiers who were stationed at Jerusalem, so early as the time of Paul, Acts xxi. 37. We find that very early there was a considerable body of Greeks incorporated into the church of Jerusalem, as constantly residing in that city, chap. vi. 1. The great labour of Theodotio n, Aquila and Symmachus, in translating the Hebrew scriptures into Greek, may perhaps be urged as a proof that this language was generally understood by Hebrew Christians. Our author claims all the three as Ebionites: and it is natural to suppose, that they principally meant to serve those with whom they were most nearly connected. Did not the Ebionites make use of the *Clementines*? This is a strong presumption that they generally understood Greek. It has been already proved from Jerom. that Ebion himself wrote an Exposition of some part of the Old Testament in this language.

2. The Doctor's next argument is that no ancient writer makes mention of any considerable body of orthodox Jewish Christians; and that Jerom, although he speaks of his acquaintance with learned Ebionites, by whom he was taught the Hebrew tongue, does not seem to have found any learned orthodox Jewish Christians, with whom it would have been more agreeable for him to associate. In the course of this controversy, several evidences have been produced of the existence of such Christians, much stronger than those on which the contrary hypothesis rests. But it is not surprising that no ancient writer mentions

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any considerable body of orthodox Hebrews, who had renounced the law. For the necessary consequence of this change was their being incorporated with Gentile believers. They could not, like Nazarenes or Ebionites, be found in a body by themselves; at least, where there were any Gentile Christians. For thus, they would have been schismatics.

It is incompetent to reason from the state of matters in the age of Jerom, to that during the reign of Adrian. From that very system maintained by us, that on the publication of his edict many Christians renounced the bondage of the law, and joined with Gentiles, it might naturally be inferred, that they would gradually lose the knowledge of the Hebrew tongue: whereas those who still adhered to the law, keeping themselves distinct from others; and, in consequence of their Judaism, retaining a greater partiality for that language in which it was written, would be more likely to preserve it. The orthodox Hebrews being incorporated with Gentiles, would therefore use the same language with them. By intermarrying with them also, in the course of a few generations, they would lose even the name of Hebrews. We are certain, however, that this was not universally the case. For it has been already proved, that Jerom, the very Father mentioned by Dr P., knew Hebrews believing in Christ, who believed that it was he who gave the law from mount Sinai.

3. Dr P. observes; "As so many writers speak of Ebionites, or heterodox Nazarenes, it would surely have been natural for some of them to have added, that they were not the great body, or at least not the whole of the Jewish Christians.—And yet no ancient writer speaks of them." By using the term *heterodox*, the learned gentleman shews that he is determined to reserve

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the *Nazarenes* for himself. They are, indeed, spoken of by ancient writers as *heretics*, because of their adherence to the law. But no one has called them *beterodox*.

But in this argument, Dr P. still proceeds on the mistake already mentioned. How could orthodox Hebrew Christians be taken notice of as a *body* when they, as individuals only, made a part of the body of the Catholic Church? The law being renounced, the distinguishing character was gone. In consequence of this, there was *neither Jew nor Greek*; for they were *all one in Christ Jesus*, Gal. iii. 28. Individuals are occasionally mentioned, even so late as the time of Jerom. But what was the reason of this? They were immediately converted from Judaism. But joining the Catholic Church, the national distinction was lost. Our author himself, when he meets with them in history, does not know them. Nothing will satisfy him, as to the existence of such orthodox Hebrew Christians, unless it can be proved that Epiphanius, and Joseph, and others, who were Hebrews by birth, formed a *body* by themselves, distinct from all other Christians. We must prove that they were *schismatics*, in order to prove that they were *orthodox*.

4. He says, "As to a whole church of orthodox Jewish Christians at Jerusalem, or elsewhere, we hear of no intercourse with any such church and other orthodox churches. None of their bishops, or deputies from them appear at any council," &c. The force of this argument entirely consists in a fallacy in that expression, *a whole church*. This must signify a church *wholly* composed of orthodox Jewish Christians. But we know of none who have formed an idea of such a church existing at Jerusalem, or elsewhere, after the time of Adm. For we have seen, that in consequence of 'the bondage of the law being removed from the liberty of the faith,' they formed one body with Gentile believers. This also accounts, in

the most satisfying manner, for there being no particular mention of Hebrew bishops. The circumstance of their birth, as was the case with Epiphanius, occasioned no distinction; because there was no distinction between Jew and Gentile among their flocks.

5. The Doctor's last argument is; "If there was any considerable body of orthodox Jewish Christians, why do we never hear of any Hebrew gospels besides that of Matthew? If they held the doctrine of the orthodox Gentile churches concerning the person of Christ, it is probable that they would have had the same respect for the other gospels, and the other books of the New Testament, and yet it is almost certain that they made little use of them." This is a very strange kind of argument. The Doctor first does his utmost to prove that such persons never existed, and then adds, that "it is *almost* certain that they made little use of" the other books of the New Testament. If he has any hesitation about the latter, it surely implies that he is not fully satisfied with respect to the former. For, if there were no such Christians, one may be rather more than "*almost* certain that they made *little* use of" these writings. The Nazarenes are presently out of the question. For we here speak of orthodox Christians who renounced the law. And as it is necessarily supposed that these formed one body with Gentile believers, they must have had the same sacred canon.

We have seen, that it is acknowledged by Origen, that there were Hebrew believers, who entirely gave up with the law. The account that Trypho gives of himself to Justin Martyr, might be urged as a proof that he was well acquainted with Hebrews who had renounced the law. 'I am,' he says, 'an Hebrew of the circumcision, who have fled from that war which has lately taken

place *. Why does he call himself “an Hebrew of the *circumcision*,” if he did not know Hebrews who were *not* of the circumcision, Hebrews who had forsaken the law of their fathers? Clemens Alexandrinus, a writer prior to Origen, and contemporary with Tertullian, speaks of it as a circumstance universally known, that believing Hebrews and Gentiles were united in one church. Thus he fancifully explains these words, *Where two or three are gathered together, &c.* “There was also an agreement of many, numbered from three, with whom the Lord was, one church, one man, one kind. The Lord was truly with one, *viz.* the Jew, when he gave the law; and when he acted the part of a prophet, and sent Jeremiah to Babylon, calling by means of prophecy even those of the Gentiles, he gathered two kinds of people. But the third was of two created one, into *one new man*, with whom he walks, and takes up his residence in this very church †.” Elsewhere, explaining that promise, *A new covenant will I make with you, not according to the covenant which I made with your fathers in Horeb*, he says; “He hath given you a new covenant; for the things pertaining to the Jews and Greeks are old. But ye, who give him new worship in the third way, are Christians.—Truly, from the Grecian discipline, and also from that of the law, those who receive

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* Εμὶ δὲ Ἑβραῖος ἐκ περιτομῆς, φύγων τὸν ἐνὶ γενόμενον πόλεμον.
Dial. 217.

† Εἴη δ' ἂν καὶ ἡ εἰρηνοῖα τῶν πολλῶν ἀπὸ τῶν τριῶν ἀριθμηθεῖσιν, μεθ' ἃν ὁ Κύριος, ἡ μὴ ἐκκλησία, ὁ εἰς ἀνθρώπος, τὸ γένος τὸ εἶ. Ἡ μὴ τι μετὰ μὲν τῆ ἐνὸς τῆ Ἰσραὴλ ὁ Κύριος νομοθετῶν ἦν. Προφητεύων δὲ ἦδη, καὶ τὸν Ἰερραῖον ἀποσέλλων εἰς Βαβυλῶνα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐξ ἔθνων διὰ τῆς προφητείας κἀλά, συναγεγάθησαν τὸν δυν. Τρίτος δὲ ἦν ἐκ τῶν ὄσων κτιζόμενος εἰς, εἰς καινὸν ἀσθεῖα. Ὡδὴ καὶ τρεῖσιν αὐτῶν καὶ κατοικεῖ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ. Stromat. lib. 3. p. 332.

“ ceive the faith are gathered together into one kind of people that shall be saved *.”

But although there were no other evidence but that of the Christian revelation, I cannot see how it could be credible, if a great part of the believing Hebrews did not eventually renounce the law. If those who continued to adhere to it were the proper successors of the Apostles, was not one end of the death of Jesus lost? Did he not *abolish, in his flesh, the enmity, even the law of commandments, contained in ordinances?* But how did he really do so, if he did not make in himself, of twain, Jew and Gentile, one new man, by uniting them in one church, *so making peace?* How did he reconcile both unto God, *in one body, having slain the enmity?* Eph. ii. 14, 15.

C H A P. VII.

The Heresy of the Ebionites real and not supposed.

DR P. devotes a chapter to what he calls the *supposed* heresy of the Ebionites, in order to prove, if possible, that they were not accounted heretics by early writers.

In a former volume, he has been at great pains to shew that Gnostics were the *only* heretics in primitive times. If his proof be good, it must necessarily follow, that Ebionites were *not* accounted heretics. We shall consider both these kinds of evidence together.

“ I

* Νεαν υμιν διεθετο· Τα γαρ Ελληνων και Ιουδαιων, παλαια· υμεις δε, οικαιτως αυτον τριτω γενει σεβομενοι, Χριστιανοι.— Εκ γ' εν της Ελληνικης παιδειας, αλλοι και εκ της νομικης, εις το εν γενος τε σωζομενα συνκαγοιται λαοι οι την πισιν προστιμενοι. Strom. lib. 6. p. 458.

I have observed," he says, " that Tertullian is the first Christian writer who expressly calls the Ebionites heretics *." This is so far good, if the Doctor hold to it.

" Irenæus," he adds, " in his large treatise concerning heresy, expresses great dislike of their doctrine,—but he never confounds them with the heretics " What does our author mean by the term *confounding*? It cannot be meant, that Irenæus speaks of them, only in some distinct work; for it is granted that it is in his treatise concerning *heresy* that they are introduced. Does he assert, or even insinuate that they were not heretics? Nothing of this kind has been observed. Does he allot a distinct chapter to the consideration of their tenets? He observes the same plan in treating of the other heresies. What then can Dr P. intend? It would seem to be his meaning, that Irenæus does not expressly call them heretics. He places Cerinthus immediately before them, and the Nicolaitans immediately after them; which, one would imagine, was not the best of company. He says, they rejected the Apostle Paul as an Apostate, and charges them with an idolatrous regard for Jerusalem †. He classes them with Gnostics, and denies salvation to them ‡. What a wonderful charm may be wrapt up in a single word! A writer may, without the least hesitation, *confound* a body of men with the *dammèd*, merely on account of their false doctrines; and yet never think of *confounding* them with those dreadful beings called *heretics*.

Dr P. grants that Irenæus has said of the Ebionites, ' God will judge them. How can they be saved, if it be

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' not

* Vol. iii. p. 201.

† Adv. haer. l. i. c. 26.

‡ Judicabit autem et vaniloquia pravorum Gnosticorum, Simonis eos magi discipulos offendens. Judicabit autem et Ebionitas. Lib. iv. c. 59.

‘not God who worketh out their salvation upon earth?’
 “But this,” he says, “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*.” But this is mere trifling. For Irenæus certainly means that it is impossible for Ebionites *in particular* persevering in their principles, to be saved; as he adds, “What adoption can *they* receive from God, continuing in that generation which is according to man in this world?” He certainly speaks of their condemnation in the very same terms in which he describes that of heathens, Jews, Valentinians and other Gnostics, Marcionites, and false prophets. For the same term (*Judicabit*) is used concerning them all †. Whether he here condemns them or not, he undoubtedly *confounds* them with heretics, and not with heretics only, but with infidels ‡.

But Dr P. endeavours to prove that “Irenæus did not mean to pass a sentence of what we should now call *damnation* upon the Ebionites,” from the following passage, (as he has translated it). “If they persist 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 §.” Here also Dr P. endeavours to shew that Irenæus did not mean that Ebionites in particular would be deprived of immortality, but only that if their doctrine was true, this would be the case with mankind

* Vol. i. p. 279, 280.

† *Judicabit autem et Ebionitas. Quomodo possunt salvari, nisi Deus est qui salutem illorum super terram operatus est?—Vel quam adoptionem accipient a Deo, permanentes in hac generi, quæ est secundum hominem in hoc mundo?* Lib. iv. c. 59.

‡ *Ibid.* c. 54, 55, 58, 60, 61.

§ Vol. i. p. 280.

kind in general. But the learned Gentleman seems to have been conscious, that, had he given the passage fairly, it would have contradicted his assertion. For, indeed, the principal part is left out, without any intimation of the omission, either in the translation, or in the marginal quotation: and the whole is so changed, that the good Father would not know his own declaration. Dr P. has rendered hypothetically what Irenæus expresses absolutely. He has inserted some words in his translation, to which there are none that correspond in the original. Where does our author find these words, *in their error*? He has added them at his own hand, to make the term *perseverantes* appear as if it were used conditionally. This, indeed, which he renders *persist*, is the only word in the whole of the first sentence that he has paid the least regard to: and to find a consequence for this pretended hypothetical antecedent, he passes several lines, and borrows it from the next sentence. Irenæus literally says; “ But
 “ again those who affirm that he is man only, begotten of
 “ Joseph, *persisting* in the bondage of their original dis-
 “ obedience, perish, not embracing* the Word of God the
 “ Father, nor receiving liberty from the Son: as himself
 “ says, *If the Son shall make you free, ye shall be free in-*
 “ *deed.* But being ignorant of him who, of a virgin, is
 “ Immanuel, they are deprived of his gift, which is eter-
 “ nal life: but not receiving the word of incorruption
 “ (or, the incorruptible Word) they continue in mortal
 “ flesh, and are debtors to death, rejecting the antidote of
 “ life †. I forbear to say any thing further with respect

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* *Ἐπιμένοντες* seems to have been the word used by Irenæus; as, where the same expression is repeated in the old translation, a little downward, this verb is used in the original, as quoted from Theodoret.

† Rursus autem qui nudè tantùm hominem eum dicunt ex Joseph generatum, perseverantes in servitute pristinæ inobedientiæ moriuntur, nondum

to our author's conduct in this instance. It is too obvious to need any illustration.

He informs us that he "had thought that Irenæus, in one passage, had included them (Ebionites) in that appellation" (heretics), but on re-considering this passage, found that he had been mistaken in his construction of it. Since the Doctor has made such thorough work with this treatise against heresies, it is pity that he should leave one passage in a suspicious state. He refers to the following: "All heretics being untaught, and ignorant of the dispensations of God, and especially of that which relates to man, oppose their own salvation; some introducing another Father besides the maker of the world;—others, not knowing the dispensation of the Virgin, say that he (Jesus) was begotten by Joseph," &c *. Now, what is his proof? "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

nondum commixtum Verbum Dei Patris, neque per Filium percipientes libertatem, quemadmodum ipse ait, Si Filius vos manumiserit, verè liberi eritis. Ignorantes autem eum qui ex Virgine est Emmanuel, privantur munere ejus quod est vita eterna: non recipientes autem Verbum incorruptionis, perseverant in carne mortali, et sunt debitores mortis, antidotum vitæ non accipientes. Lib. iii. c. 21.

* Indocili omnes hæretici, et ignorantes dispositiones Dei, et inscii ejus quæ est secundum hominem dispensationis, quippe cæcutientes circa veritatem, ipsi suæ contradicunt salutem. Alii quidem alterum introducentes, præter Demiurgum, patrem.—Alii autem manifestum adventum Domini contemnunt, et incarnationem non recipientes. Alii autem rursus ignorantes Virginis dispensationem, ex Joseph dicunt eum generatum. Lib. v. c. 19.

“ common with them, denied the miraculous conception *.” But this is a most *unnatural* conclusion. For as the Ebionites denied the miraculous conception as well as Cerinthus, &c. and as he mentions those who did so by a mark of distinction from others (*alii*), without specifying any other error; it is certainly far more natural to conclude that he had an eye to the Ebionites, accounting them heretics for this reason as of itself sufficient. It is, indeed, very evident, that he has previously referred to the doctrine of Cerinthus and Carpocrates, in saying that “ others assert that the world was made by certain angels.” For he has formerly declared that this was the doctrine of Carpocrates, and the account given of that of Cerinthus is not materially different. If the passage be read according to the older editions, he expressly mentions this doctrine of Cerinthus, in these words; “ Others assert, that he (the Demiurgus) is greatly remote from him, who is according to them, the father, that he was of himself †,” &c. According to other editions this language seems to be referred to that matter of which the world was made.

The circumstance of the rest of the passage respecting the Gnostics, instead of being favourable to the Ebionites, is a proof of his *great dislike* of them. For how would he otherwise class them with such gross heretics?

In the following chapter he refers to *these heretics before mentioned*, without distinction; saying, “ All these are much later than the bishops to whom the Apostles committed the churches. These heretics before mentioned,
“ since

* Vol. i. p. 283.

† 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, a semetipso fuisse, et esse ex se natum. *Iren. lib. v. c. 19.*

“ since they are blind to the truth, are under a necessity
 “ of going out of the right way, taking some one way and
 “ some another ; and on this account the vestiges of their
 “ doctrines are diffused without agreement or connexion.
 “ But the way of those belonging to the Church, surround-
 “ ing the whole earth, has one firm tradition from the
 “ Apostles, and exhibits to us one and the same faith as
 “ that of all.” Then he refers to a variety of articles men-
 tioned in the preceding chapter, opposing the truth to the
 particular tenets of the heretics referred to ; declaring that
 they “ believe the same disposition of the incarnation of
 “ the Son of God,—and expect the same advent of the
 “ Lord*.” Even although Ebionites had not been so e-
 vidently pointed out, as one class ; from this circumstance,
 we should have been under a necessity of inferring, that
 Irenæus accounted all those heretics, who departed from
 that one doctrine of the church concerning the incarna-
 tion.

To what we have already quoted from Dr P. he sub-
 joins ; “ If there be any other passage in Irenæus, in which
 “ he calls, or seems to call the Ebionites *heretics*, I have
 “ overlooked it †.” There is another passage, which, in
 one sense, the Doctor has certainly *overlooked*. But he
 knows whether voluntarily or not. He, indeed, mentions
 this

* Omnes enim ii valde posteriores quam Episcopi, quibus Apostoli tradiderunt Ecclesias.—Necessitatem ergo habent prædicti, heretici, quoniam sint cæci ad veritatem, alteram et alteram ambulare exorbitantes viam : et propter hoc inconsonanter et inconsequenter dispersa sunt vestigia doctrinæ ipsorum. Eorum autem qui ab Ecclesia sunt semita, circumiens mundum universum, quippe firmam habens ab Apostolis traditionem, et videre nobis donans omnium unam et eandem esse fidem ; omnibus—eandem dispositionem incarnationis Filii Dei credentibus, et eundem expectantibus adventum Domini. Lib. v. c. 20.

† Vol. i. p. 283.

this passage. But his extract from it is perhaps the shortest in the whole work. It consists in these words, *Vani autem et Ebionæi*. At the same time, he says, "The harshest epithet that he applies to them is that of *vani*, which, "considering the manner of the ancients, is certainly very "moderate *." This epithet may, in fact, be harsher than that of *heretici*; as it seems to express contempt. But there is no occasion for any dispute on this head, as he applies both. Were it not that the bare assertion of a writer of such eminence as Dr P. may pass with many for argument, I should have blushed at the idea of attempting to prove a thing so obvious.

From the beginning of this chapter, Irenæus illustrates the necessity of the incarnation of the Word, because otherwise the Father could not be revealed, we could not imitate his example, we could not be redeemed from our captivity, nor could we be delivered from our natural apostasy. Having premised these things, he says; "The Lord, "having redeemed us by his own blood, and given his "soul for our souls, and his flesh for our flesh, (a doctrine "believed by neither ancient nor modern Ebionites)—all "the doctrines of *heretics* have perished." Here he had especially four kinds of heretics to oppose; those who denied that Christ actually came in the flesh, those who refused that he came in any other respect, those who taught that he came into a world not created by him, and those who denied one great fruit of his coming, the resurrection of the body. These are the doctrines of *heretics* which he has directly in his eye, and which he says have perished. This emphatic language is evidently meant as an introduction, expressive of their general character and common fate; and it is immediately succeeded by a particular illustration as to each of them. "For they are vain, who say that he manifested himself

" in

* Vol. i. p. 279.

“ in appearance only,” &c. After displaying the vanity of this system, he shows whom he had in view, by concluding with these words; “ Valentinians, therefore, are vain, holding this doctrine, as they exclude the salvation of the flesh, and reprobate the work of God.” Then he immediately adds; “ But the Ebionites also are vain, who do not by faith receive into their soul the union of God and man, but continue in the leaven of the old generation,” &c*.

After illustrating their doctrine, he proceeds to the Marcionites, and then to those who denied the resurrection; still applying to each of them the same epithet of *vani*. Does not Irenæus at least *confound* the Ebionites with *heretics* in this place? Nay, can any doubt remain, that he here expressly calls them *heretics*; or that, in the account of Irenæus, they were on a foot with those who denied the truth of Christ's human nature; as being equally enemies to the truth of redemption; the one denying what was necessary for this work in a divine respect, and the other in a human; so that between them both were lost? Nor can it be refused that he treats them in the same manner with those who denied that Christ came to his own, and such as disbelieved the resurrection. All these Irenæus had

* Perierunt omnes *hæreticorum* doctrinæ: *Vani* enim sunt qui putativè dicunt eum apparuisse.—*Vani* igitur qui a Valentino sunt, hoc dogmatizantes, uti excludant salutem carnis, et reproberent plasmationem Dei. *Vani* autem et Ebionæi, unionem Dei et hominis per fidem non recipientes in suam animam; sed in veteri generationis perseverantes fermento, neque intelligere volentes quoniam Spiritus sanctus advenit in Mariam.—Perseverant autem in eo qui victus est Adam, et projectus est de paradiso. B. v. c. 1. *Vani* autem et qui in aliena dicunt Deum venisse, velut aliena concupiscentem.—*Vani* autem omnimodo, qui universam dispositionem Dei contemnunt, et carnis salutem negant, et regenerationem ejus spernunt, dicentes non eam capacem esse incorruptibilitatis. Sic autem secundum hæc videlicet, nec Dominus sanguine suo redemit nos, &c. Ib. c. 2.

had directly in his eye, because they were all enemies to the work of redemption, the subject proposed by him in the beginning of this fifth book. For, according to his illustration, if Jesus had not our nature, he could not suffer; if he had this only, he could not redeem; if he came not to his own, he had no right to engage in this work; and if there be no resurrection, he failed in one eminent branch of it, *the redemption of our body*.

Before it can be proved that Irenæus does not here call the Ebionites *heretics*, it must be shewn, that when he previously speaks of *all* the doctrines of heretics, he had *one* doctrine only in his eye; that of the Valentinians first mentioned. For as he describes the Ebionites next, then the Marcionites, and lastly those who denied the resurrection, all in the closest connexion, it would be tampering too far with the patience of the public, to pretend that he meant to stigmatize the first, and the two last as *heretics*, but had no design to extend this character to the second; but introduced them without the least propriety. It must also be proved, that he used the term *vani*, concerning the Ebionites, in quite a different sense from that in which it is applied to the rest. And from the whole, it must be admitted as a native inference, that Irenæus, the disciple of Polycarp, the disciple of John, was so ignorant, or so wicked, as to *class* and *confound* those with the grossest heretics, who were the only genuine successors of the apostles.

Justin Martyr is also summoned to give his evidence. According to Dr P. he ‘ makes no mention of *Ebionites*, but speaks of the *Jewish* Christians;—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.—It is probable, that the Nazarenes or Ebion-
 “ ites, were considered as in a state of excommunication,
 “ merely because they would have imposed the law of
 “ *Mose*;

“ Moses upon the Gentiles *.” Therefore, according to Justin, Ebionites were heretics, our author himself being judge. He, indeed, wishes to rest Justin’s opinion of their heresy solely on this point. But from the same passage it is evident, that he makes a belief of the pre-existence of Christ a term of *salvation*. If he accounted it necessary that those, of whom he speaks, should believe that Jesus existed “ before the morning-star,” &c. it is natural to think that he would make this point a term of *communion* also. For we cannot suppose that these fathers imagined that one who avowedly held a doctrine, the belief of which convinced them that he had no fellowship with the Head, might, notwithstanding, enjoy the most intimate fellowship with the members.

Dr P. observes that “ Ruffinus makes the heresy of Ebion to consist in enjoining the observance of the Jewish law †.” Here he quotes the language of that exposition of the Creed commonly ascribed to Ruffinus. But one thing is certain. This writer *confounds* Ebion with *heretics*. For he says, in the preceding section; “ And many others have assembled churches, as Marcion, as Valentinus, as *Ebion*, as Manichæus, as Arius, and all the *other heretics* ‡.” He places him in the very centre of the heretical groupe.

But his only mentioning Ebion’s adherence to the law will not prove that he reckoned him a heretic *solely* on this account; unless it can be demonstrated that he did not account those heretics, who, without this legal attachment, denied the deity of our Saviour. But immediately before, he mentions it as one branch of the heresy of Marcion,

* Vol. i. p. 201. 202.

† Ibid, p. 203.

‡ Multi enim et alii ecclesias congregarunt, ut Marcion, ut Valentinus, ut Ebion, ut Manichæus, ut Arius, et cæteri omnes hæretici. Sect. 37. Oper. Cypriani, p. 575.

cion, that he denied “ that the Father made the world by “ his Son.” And a little after, he declares it to be “ the “ counfel of *vanity*” (language commonly applied to heretics from the time of Irenæus at leaft) “ which Paulus “ Samofatenus and Photinus held, that Chrifl did not exift “ before ages, generated of the Father, but had his beginning from Mary ; and that he was not God born man, “ but of man made God *.”

But we know that Rufinus wrote in an age, in which, according to our author, “ the greateft account was made of “ the doctrine of the Trinity ; fo that perfect foundnefs in “ that article might be fupposed to have atoned for defects “ in other things †.” It is, therefore, aftonifhing that he can venture to quote this writer as favourable to him ; when, according to his own principles, he muft be affured that Rufinus could not but think that the want of “ found- “ nefs in this article,” was Ebion’s greateft herefy. The only argument that can be derived from this paffage forcibly ftrikes againft our author, being *a fortiori*. If “ the “ greateft account was made of this doctrine,” the denial of it muft have been the greateft herefy. As Rufinus accounted Ebion a heretic merely for his adherence to the law, much more muft he have done fo for his denial of the divinity of Chrifl. But he does not mention the latter ; either becaufe he fimply confidered Ebion as the father of all who rigidly adhered to the law, whether they denied the divinity of Chrifl, or not ; or merely, as Dr P. fays of Epiphanius, becaufe he wifhed to diversify the herefies he

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* Concilium vanitatis eft, quod Paulus Samofatenus, et poft ejus fucceffor Photinus afferuit, Chriflum non fuiffe ante fecula, fed ex Maria cœpiffe : et non eum Deum hominem natum, fed ex homine Deum exiftimat factum. Exp. in Symb. feft. 38.

† Vol. iii. p. 186.

was enumerating. Besides, as this adherence to the law was of itself a sufficient proof of heresy, and as it belonged to no other in his list, he might mention it singly.

Our author now returns to Tertullian. "There is," he says, "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 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.'" There is, indeed, something very particular in the conduct of our author here. Undoubtedly what he aims at, is to make it doubtful, whether Tertullian himself reckoned the Ebionites heretics, merely because of their denying the deity of Christ. In order to prove this, he observes that Tertullian "speaks of the heresy of Ebion as consisting in the observance of Jewish ceremonies." But it must be evident that the ancient writer does not mean this as his only heresy. For it is in the same section that he mentions him as one of the Antichrists whom the epistle of John respects. What he says is simply this; "Paul—writing to the Galatians, inveighs against the observers and defenders of circumcision and the law. This is Ebion's heresy*." Nay, Dr P. cannot object to our translating it, "This is a heresy of Ebion." For he urges this as the true version of the same expression in Jerom †.

Therefore,

* Ad Galatas scribens, invehitur in observatores et defensores circumcisionis et legis. Hebionis est hæresis. De Præscript. f. 33. p. 337.

† Usque hodie—inter Judæos hæresis est, &c. According to Dr P.; "It is to this very day,—a heresy among the Jews." Vol. iii. p. 170. 171. See above, p. 88.

Therefore, our author, according to his own rules of construction, to which he certainly ought to adhere, carries the matter too far, when he asserts that Tertullian "speaks of the heresy of Ebion as *consisting* in the observance of Jewish ceremonies."

But the design of Tertullian is to shew the opposition of the Apostolical doctrine to particular heresies. He asserts that the first epistle of Paul to the Corinthians opposes those who deny the resurrection, as the Sadducees, Marcion, Appelles and Valentinus. Afterwards he points out the scope of Paul's Epistles to Timothy, of the Revelation, and of the first epistle of John. As he only expresses the scope and principal design of each of the epistles mentioned, and as that to the Galatians is especially levelled against the doctrine of the necessity of the law; when speaking of this epistle, he could not with propriety introduce any other heresy of Ebion. But with equal justice might it be said, that he supposed Marcion chargeable with no other heresy than the denial of the resurrection; because this is the only one he mentions in his account of the first epistle to the Corinthians. However, he introduces him twice afterwards, in the same section, when the particular scope of other parts of the New Testament gave him a proper opportunity of referring to his other heresies. His *conduct* is the very same with respect to Ebion.

But Dr P. also asserts that Tertullian "makes but the *slightest mention*" of the heresy of Ebion, "in his Treatise against heresies in general." What can our author mean by *the slightest mention*? Are we to judge of the greatness of the heresy by the multitude of words employed about it? Then, surely, in Tertullian's apprehension, Ebion's heresy was greater than that of the Sadducees, of the Nicolaitans, of the Cainites, of Simon Magus; for in the section referred to they are only once mentioned, but Ebion

twice: Is it "but the slightest mention" of this heretic, that, in so short a treatise, his errors are introduced no less than four different times? If this be too little, the writer supplies the defect in another work, in which he introduces him again and again; nay, spends a whole chapter on him*.

The learned Gentleman, indeed, is not easily satisfied as to his proofs of heresy. If a writer enlarge considerably on the errors of Ebion, and multiply hard names; "his hatred, and of course his misrepresentation of them are very conspicuous †." Thus his testimony goes for nothing, as far as it is unfavourable. If another, in his ordinary way, write concisely, he "makes but the slightest mention of" their heresy. Neither of them can be depended on. One witness is too minute. Therefore, his testimony cannot be the tale of truth. Another is too general. Therefore, no certain inference can be drawn. E-piphanius says too much, and Tertullian too little. A most ingenious expedient, indeed, for getting rid of any kind of evidence!

But this is not all. Tertullian mentions Ebion as an *antichrist*, because he "did not think that Jesus was the Son of God." Here Dr P. throws in a happy parenthesis, "meaning, probably, a disbelief of the miraculous conception." I beg leave to ask, if he really thinks this *probable*? Did not Tertullian believe, not only the miraculous conception, but the real deity of Christ? Did not Ebion deny the one, as well as the other? Could Tertullian be at any loss to know this? Does any orthodox writer ever speak of Christ as the Son of God, *meaning* to exclude his divinity? With such a writer, is not this always the proper and specific sense of the expression? Is there then

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* De Carne Christi, c. 18. Vid. etiam, c. 14 24.

† Vol. iii. p. 205.

then the least shadow of probability in what Dr P. *pretends* to suppose? It would be just as natural a conjecture, that Tertullian denied the divinity of our Saviour. For here this expression, *the Son of God*, must necessarily be understood in Tertullian's own sense.

Did any writer, meeting with these words as used by Dr P., *Jesus the Son of God*, and knowing the Doctor's principles, notwithstanding remark;—" *meaning probably, that he is God equal with the Father;*" what would he think of the writer's integrity? Tertullian elsewhere explains the sense he affixed to this expression, in the most unexceptionable manner; giving Christ the characters of *God and Son of God*, in conjunction; as opposed to "the opinion of Hebion, who held him to be a mere man." Here he shews that Christ "could have God for his Father, without a human mother*."

But our author found it necessary to throw a little dust on this testimony of Tertullian. For he must have been conscious that, had he admitted it without hesitation, according to the ordinary sense of the writer, he ruined the whole of his own proof as to the nature of heresy.

Dr P. at length sums up his evidence. "Upon the whole," he says, "the conduct of Tertullian very much resembles that of Irenæus, who, without classing the Ebionites with heretics, expresses great dislike of their
 VOL. II. P "doctrine

* Quâ autem spiritus Dei et virtus Altissimi non potest infra angelos haberi, Deus scilicet et Dei Filius. Quanto ergo dum hominem gestat, minor angelis factus est, tanto nondum angelum gestat. Poterat hæc opinio Hebioni convenire, qui nudum hominem, et tantum ex femine David natum, non item et Dei Filium constituit Jesum. De Carne Christi, c. 14. Vacavit enim viri semen, apud habentem Dei semen. itaque sicut nondum natus ex Virgine, patrem Deum habere potuit sine homine matre: æque cum de Virgine nasceretur, potuit matrem habere hominem sine homine patre. Ib. c. 18.

“doctrine*.” What the conduct of Irenæus was we have already seen. Let us now attend to Dr P.’s. He begins this chapter with these words; “I have observed that Tertullian is the first Christian writer who expressly calls the “Ebionites *heretics*.” We thought it was well, if our author would hold to this. But his *observations* seem to make but a very slight impression upon himself, whatever they make upon the reader. For before he has travelled through four pages, he loses all the benefit of them. This causes much unnecessary trouble, not to the reader only, but to himself. For had he barely remembered that, in page 201, he had recorded it as his own observation, that “Tertullian — expressly calls the Ebionites heretics,” without troubling himself to recollect whether he was *the first* to do so or not; there would have been no occasion for insinuating in p. 205, that he does not even “class the Ebionites “with heretics.”

But as the Doctor seems to have forgot the passages in Tertullian, on which he founded his introductory *observation*, we must endeavour to refresh his memory a little: Does not Tertullian “class the Ebionites with heretics,” when, after describing the errors of Carpocrates, and observing that after him the heretic Cerinthus broke forth, he adds; “His successor was Ebion?” Could Ebion be the *successor* of Cerinthus in any other sense, than as being a heretic? Tertullian shews, indeed, that they differed considerably. But he certainly means, that the one succeeded the other in his heretical character in general; and in as far as they agreed, the succession was the closer. Although it were true, as some apprehend, that the addition to the *Prescriptions* was not the work of Tertullian, we are not destitute of other evidence that he accounted the Ebionites heretics.

For he says in another place; "What Esaias throws out in beating down *these heretics*, and especially, *Wo to them who make sweet bitter, and darkness light*, denotes those, viz. who do not preserve words in the light of their proper meaning; as that a *soul* is nothing but what it is called, and flesh no other than what it seems, and God no other than what he is declared to be. Thus foreseeing Marcion, he says, *I am God, and there is none else*; and when elsewhere he speaks in the same manner, *Before me there was no God*, I know not what genealogies of the Æons of the Valentinians he strikes at. And, *He is born, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, and of man, but of God*, he replies to Ebion*." Pray, does Tertullian class the Ebionites with heretics here? It will, perhaps, occur to many readers, that there is one feature of some modern heretics as exactly delineated by Tertullian, as if they had sat for the likeness. I need not say that it is that of not preserving the natural meaning of language. As this has evidently been an original trait, its freshness is unimpaired by the revolution of ages.

Tertullian expressly declares that Unitarian doctrine which excludes a Trinity, to be heresy. "The Devil," he says, "hath variously contended against the truth. He hath endeavoured sometimes, by defending, to destroy it. He

P 2

" maintains

* Quod enim Esaias jaculatur in sigillatione hæreticorum ipsorum, et in primis, *Væ, qui faciunt dulce amarum, et tenebras lucem*: istos scilicet notat, qui nec vocabula ista in luce proprietatum suarum conservant; ut anima non alia sit quam quæ vocatur, et caro non alia sit quam videtur, et Deus non alius quam qui prædicatur. Ideo etiam Marcionem prospiciens, Ego sum, inquit Deus: et alius absque me non est. Et cum aliàs idipsum eodem modo dicit: Ante me Deus non fuit, nescio quas illas Valentinianorum Æonum genealogias pulsat. Et, *Non ex sanguine, neque ex carnis et viri voluntate, sed ex Deo, natus est*, Ebionæ respondit. De Carne Christi, c. 24.

“ maintains one Lord, the Almighty Creator of the world, “ that even of this one he may make *heresy* .”

As Clemens Alexandrinus says that heresy began in the reign of Adrian, Dr P. attempts to shew that he means Gætics only; because “ it is well known that Basilides and “ the most distinguished of the Gnostics made their appear- “ ance” in that age †. But according to our author’s con- cession; “ it may be conjectured that by the *Peratici* Cle- “ mens meant the *Ebionites* †.” Now, as he mentions these heretics in that very place where he makes the rise of he- resy coeval with Adrian; unless Dr P. means to grant that Ebionites were Gnostics, the attempt to prove that the latter only were meant by Clemens, is unworthy of that can- dour which he professes.

It is no objection, that “ this is the only passage in which “ the word (*Peratici*) occurs.” For other heretics are men- tioned here, who do not make their appearance in any other part of the writings of Clemens. But if they are once mentioned under this character, it is as good as if they had been mentioned a thousand times. It really shews what they were in the estimation of Clemens, and of the Catholic church to which he belonged.

If Dr P., however, cannot disprove the title that Ebio- nites had to this name, he will confine it as much as possible. “ As the strict Ebionites,” he says, “ held no communion “ with the Gentile Christians, it is very possible that Cle- “ mens might insert them in a catalogue of heretics, and “ allude to them under the name of *Peratici*, without in- “ tending any censure of their doctrine concerning Christ §.”

But

* *Varie diabolus æmulatus est veritatem. Adfectavit illam aliquando deicendo concutere. Unicum Dominum vindicat omnipotentem mundi conditorem, ut et de unico hæresim faciat. Advers. Praxean. c. 3.*

† Vol. i. p. 285.

‡ Ib. p. 286.

§ Ib. p. 286.

But had Clemens referred to their Judaism only, he would never have included them in a list of heretics, who had their origin in the time of Adrian. For there were Judaizing heretics, who refused communion with Gentiles, whatever name Dr P. pleases to give them, as early as the time of the Apostle Paul. It is just as *possible* that a modern Trinitarian should account the Ebionites heretics, only on account of their attachment to the law, as that Clemens should do so.

The Doctor further objects that, according to Clemens, "this was a name given them from their place of residence, and therefore, did not include the Unitarians among the "Gentiles." But it would seem that this work of Clemens was written before the latter made any considerable figure. At any rate, as one branch of the *Pbrygæ*, here mentioned by him, denied the Trinity, as will be afterwards proved, it will be difficult for Dr P. to shew that Clemens did not mean to include Gentile Unitarians in this designation.

Dr P. has collected a variety of passages from Origen, in which he defines heresy, and gives some general characters of heretics. His design is to prove that the ancient writer meant Gnostics only*. But what avails all this? Does not Dr P. know that Origen describes the Ebionites as having no connexion with the church? Does he not know that he expressly calls them *heretics*? It is impossible that he can be ignorant of this. For he elsewhere refers to the very passages in which Origen gives this account of matters. But this he has either himself forgot, or he did not wish his reader to remember it. We have formerly quoted one passage express to this purpose †. But the same writer elsewhere says; There are "certain *heresies* which do not receive the epistles of the Apostle Paul, as the Ebionites of

P 3

" both

* Vol. i. p. 290.—293.

† See above, p. 71. 72

“both kinds, and those who are called Encratites*.” Dr P. might, with equal justice and honesty, affirm that Origen here meant the Encratites only as *heretics*, as endeavour to persuade the reader, from other passages, that he confined his ideas of heresy to the Gnostics.

The author of the *Apostolical Constitutions*, which are supposed to have been written about the end of the second, or beginning of the third century, reckons the Ebionites amongst the wicked Jewish heretics †. This work must have been written before the age of Origen. For the author knew none, called Ebionites, who acknowledged the miraculous conception.

In attempting to prove that Gnostics were the only heretics, our author lays hold of a very trifling circumstance. “Firmilian, writing to Cyprian, on the subject of rebaptizing heretics, in answer to *one* Stephanus,” (he speaks of that famous bishop of Rome, as if he had never been heard of before) happens to mention the names of no heretics but Gnostics ‡. But this will not prove that he accounted no others heretics. Cyprian and Firmilian lived in the strictest fellowship. Now, in another letter on the same subject, the former expressly mentions the Patripassians (whom Dr P. calls *Unitarians*) as *heretics* §. Therefore, they must have been viewed in the same light by Firmilian.

But

* Εἰσι γὰρ τινὲς αἰρεσεις τὰς Πάυλου ἐπιστολάς τε ἀποστολὰ μὴ προσεσημεναι, ὡς περὶ Ἐβιωναίους ἀμφοτέρους, καὶ οἱ καλεσμένοι Ἐγκραταῖται. Ib. p. 274.

† Εἶχε μὲν ἐν καὶ ὁ Ἰουδαϊκὸς ὄχλος αἰρεσεις κακίας.—καὶ οἱ ἐφ’ ἡμῶν νῦν φανεροὶ Ἐβιωναῖοι, τὸν υἱὸν τῆς Θεῆς ψιλοῦν ἀνθρώπων εἶναι βεβηλομένοι, ἐξ ἠδονῆς ἀνδρός, καὶ συμπλοκῆς Ἰωσήφ καὶ Μαρίας μητρὸς γεννωαντες. Lib. 6. c. 6. Patr. Apost. vol. i. p. 333.

‡ Vol. i p. 293. Epist. Firmilian. f. 4. Op. Cyprian. p. 236.

§ Patripassiani,—et ceteræ hereticorum pestes. Ep. Jubaiian. f. 4. p. 219.

But it is a very odd circumstance that Dr P. should fix on Firmilian as favourable to his views: when we find, from the epistle of the Synod of Antioch, that this very person came twice from Cappadocia to Antioch, for the purpose of enquiring into the doctrines of Paul of Samosata, and condemned them as heretical; and that he died on his way to that Synod in which Paul was deposed*.

Upon the whole, it may be observed, that those who write against modern heretics would need to be careful as to their language. For although they "express great dislike of "their doctrine," if they do not expressly call them heretics, and give them hard names; it is an hundred to one, if their successors, a century or two hence, do not plead that Socinian Unitarians were not accounted heretics in this age; nay, that Unitarianism was the prevailing doctrine in Britain, towards the close of the eighteenth century.

C H A P. VIII.

Of the Gnosticism of ancient and modern Unitarians.

DR PRIESTLEY devotes a great part of his first volume to an examination of the origin, errors and peculiar character of the Gnostics. In this he has a twofold design; to prove that they were the *only heretics* in early times, and therefore, that this character did not belong to Unitarians; and also to impress his reader with the idea, that the doctrine of the Holy Trinity in a great measure owed its origin to their absurd and heretical tenets. At first, he works under covert; but at length, he boldly opens his battery against Christianity.

He cannot conceal his design, even in the commencement of this inquiry. "The doctrine of the *deification of Christ*,"

P 4

1e

* Euf. Hist. l. 7. c. 30. vol. i. p. 365.

he says, "which overspread the whole Christian world, and which is still the prevailing opinion in all Christian countries,—was preceded by that system of doctrine which is generally called *Gnosticism* *." He professes to give "only an outline of this system. But this," he says, "will contain a view of all their distinguishing tenets, shewing the dependence they have 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 at this day †." He expresses himself still more fully. "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 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 same person who spake to the patriarchs ‡."

How much the Doctor has had this matter at heart, during the progress of his work, appears from his *conclusion*. There he professedly points out the *remains of the Oriental or Platonic philosophy in modern systems of Christianity*. He considers the "single doctrine of an *immaterial soul* in man, capable of subsisting, and of having both sensation
" and

* Vol. i. p. 111.

† Ib. p. 146.

‡ Ib. p. 173.

“and action, when the body is in the grave,—as the foundation on which almost every corruption of Christianity rests.” For had this doctrine never been known, “it is hardly possible,” he says, “that the pre-existence of Christ would ever have been imagined*.” He also views the *union of the Soul to God* as a Platonic doctrine which did great hurt. He considers the doctrine of the creation of the world by the Son, as derived, partly from the Gnostics, and partly from the Platonists †. However different, and in many respects opposite, the Gnostic and Platonic systems were, Dr P. calls in the aid of both, in order to find a human origin for the fundamental doctrines of Revelation. It must be acknowledged, however, that he is indebted to neither of these systems for his doctrine concerning the *soul*. It claims the honour of derivation from the Sadducees and Epicureans.

The learned Gentleman, in his theory with respect to the origin of the Trinity, turns the chace upon the orthodox. He is not satisfied with shewing, as he fondly imagines, that Gnostics were the only heretics, and of consequence, that his good friends the Ebionites were worthy Christians. He pushes the matter farther. He wishes it to appear, that the Trinitarian doctrine acknowledges this *heretical* source. He cannot prove that its ancient friends were really accounted heretics. But he hopes to prove what is not a great deal worse, that they undoubtedly deserved no better character.

I have no inclination merely to recriminate. But there are various lineaments in the likeness of the Gnostics, as delineated by Dr P. himself, which even to a careless observer, must forcibly suggest the idea of *Unitarians*, as the *only* Christians in whom the resemblance is preserved; and others, of which they exhibit, at least, the most perfect similitude.

* Vol. iv. p. 288, 289.

† Ibid. p. 297.

militude. This charge is not new. It is brought by Epiphanius. Our author, indeed, testifies great dissatisfaction with his conduct. "Another most extraordinary and highly improbable allegation of Epiphanius," he says, "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*." What authority Dr P. has for the latter assertion, I know not. He has not quoted a single ancient writer as *saying* this: and it might not have been unnecessary, when contradicting one who said the contrary. But although the assertion were true, it is no unusual thing for extremes to meet.

When ancient writers expressed this resemblance between Unitarians and Gnostics, it is not to be supposed that they referred to all to whom the latter name has been given. For the principles of some of these called Gnostics were directly opposite to those of others. Dr P. observes, that there were two distinct kinds of Gnostics, the Jews and the Gentiles †. It is, therefore, natural to suppose that if the Ebionites, who were a Jewish sect, had any affinity to Gnostics, it would be especially to those of their own nation. That Tertullian, or the author of the Addition to his *Prescriptions*, was persuaded of this, is evident from his saying that "Ebion was the *successor* of Cerinthus ‡." Our author makes no doubt of *his* being a Gnostic. He even places him at the head of these heretics, granting that "according to the unanimous testimony of ecclesiastical history, the Jewish Gnostics appear before any others §." Dr P., who has brought the system of anti-

quity

* Vol. iii. p. 206. † Vol. i. p. 142. ‡ De Præscript. c. 49.

§ Vol. i. p. 143.

quity to greater perfection than any of his predecessors, casts off the Cerinthians, indeed, as *heretics*. But the Socinians of the last century were so fully convinced of the affinity between them and Ebionites, that they had no scruple to acknowledge the former as genuine believers. While they considered the Ebionites as succeeding the Cerinthians, they confessed themselves to be the successors of both *. A Socinian of the last century, who wrote a Preface to Schlichting's *Exposition of six passages of Scripture concerning the Trinity*, in tracing the pedigree of the sect, honestly carried it up to the Gnostic Carpocrates, whom he conjoins with Ebion †.

Irenæus seems to have had the same idea. For he undoubtedly *classes* the Ebionites, not only with Jewish, but with Gentile Gnostics ‡. How much soever heretics differed, it was his opinion that they all, Ebionites as well as Gnostics, originated from the errors of Simon Magus. Therefore, he prefaces the account of his abominations with these words; "As therefore the detection and conviction of all heresies is various and manifold, and it is proposed by us to oppose them all, according to the character of each; we have judged it necessary first to give an account of their fountain and root, that knowing their greatest depth, you may understand the nature of the tree which has been productive of such fruits. For Simon of Samaria," &c. ||.

It

* Judgment of the Fathers touching the Trinity, against Dr Bull's Defence; Fathers Vindicated, p. 78.

† Hoornbeck Socin. Confutat. Vol. i. Appar. p. 7.

‡ Lib. i. c. 26. v. c. 1.

|| Cum sit igitur adversus omnes hæreticos detectio atque convictio varia et multifaria, et nobis propositum est omnibus his, secundum ipsorum characterem,

It is no inconsiderable proof of that intimate connexion supposed by the ancients to subsist between these heresies, that while Irenæus calls the heretic, whom the Apostle John met with in the bath, Cerinthus, Epiphanius says it was Ebion. To this we may add, that, whereas some say that John wrote his Gospel in opposition to the errors of Cerinthus. Jerom affirms that he meant to oppose those of Ebion *.

It is undeniable, that the Ebionites and Jewish Gnostics did not differ more from each other, than the Unitarians of the last, and of the present century. The difference between them was not so great, as that between some Gnostics and others, to whom the same general name was given.

1. The primitive Christians believed that the *world* was made by the *Son of God*. They seem to have considered the Ebionites as on a foot with Gnostics, because of their opposition to this doctrine. This appears from a passage in the poetical work against Marcion, ascribed to Tertullian. Even supposing that it was not written by him, it illustrates the opinion of the ancients as to this point. "Ebion," the writer says, "taught that Christ was born of the seed of man, and that men ought to be circumcised, and observe the law; resuming the legal elements, the spiritual intention being lost. But I am unwilling particularly to describe every kind of wickedness, or to express all the sources or names. My design is, by a few sufficiently horrid, to give an idea of many, and of those men whose wickedness surpasses description, and who are the fell instruments

characterem, contradicere, necessarium arbitrati sumus prius referre fontem et radicem eorum. uti sublimissimum aprorum Bythum cognoscens, intelligas arborem, de qua defluerunt tales fructus: Simon enim Samarites, &c. Lib. i. c. 19, 20.

* De Scriptor. Eccles. in Joan.

“ fragments of the Dragon, who now secretly utters so much villany, by them who are still labouring to *con-
“ fute the Maker of the world*.” The writer particularly mentions Ebion, though he passes over many others. Nay, though the work be levelled against Marcion, and other Gnostics, Ebion is *classified* with them. He is evidently considered as one of the accusers of the Maker of the world, because he denied the Son by whom it was made. We can assign no other reason for this classification.

2. The early Gnostics and Ebionites equally denied the *miraculous conception*. Carpocrates and Cerinthus are charged with this error †. They agreed in asserting that Jesus was a mere man, only “ superior to all others in righteousness, prudence and wisdom †.” This circumstance is fully proved, indeed, by the Doctor himself. “ It appears,” he says, “ that the earliest and most distinguished of the Gnostics agreed with the ancient Unitarians, in disbelieving the miraculous conception §.” This shews that they had none of that antipathy at matter, which distinguished the later Gnostics.

Dr P. endeavours to account for a circumstance so *extraordinary* as that of the agreement of Gnostics and Unitarians in this respect, in the following manner: “ Now,
“ what

* Hebioni Christum suavit de femine natum,
Et circumcidi docuit, legique vacare,
Fontibus amissis elementa resumere legis.
Extremum facinus verbis extendere nolo,
Aut omnes causas, aut nomina dicere cuncta.
Est per pauca satis crudelia multa notare,
Invidiosque homines atque organa fiera draconis,
Per quos nunc tantum sceleris sine teste locuti,
Semper factorem mundi culpare laborant.

Advers. Marcion, l. i.

† Iren. l. i. c. 24, 25.

‡ Ibid.

§ Vol. iv. p. 96.

“ what could bring persons so opposite to each other, as
 “ the Unitarians and Gnostics are *always represented* to
 “ have been, to agree in this one thing, but such historical
 “ evidence as was independent of any particular system of
 “ Christian faith *?” evidence, he means, of the falsity of
 “ the narrative, in the gospels of Matthew and Luke, concern-
 ing the conception. This is Dr P.’s theory: and he
 needs it, for preserving that difference between Gnostics
 and Unitarians, which all along he is evidently afraid that
 his reader should not think wide enough. But Irenæus had
 never heard of their making such a pretence. He gives a
 very different reason for their denial of the miraculous con-
 ception, when describing the errors of Cerinthus. He says,
 that “ it seemed to him *impossible*, that Jesus should be born
 “ of a Virgin *.” According to Dr P., this was the very
 objection of the ancient Jews †. Now, as he every where
 represents the Ebionites as retaining their Jewish prejudices,
 it is highly probable that they retained this objection. It is
 greatly to be feared, that something of the same kind lies
 at the root of the disbelief of this doctrine by their successors,
 or of their scepticism with respect to it.

3. Both Gnostics and Unitarians held the doctrine of *emanations*. This doctrine, in a peculiar form, is ascribed to the Ebionites by Epiphanius. “ Some of the Ebionites,” he says, “ held that Adam, who was first formed, and in-
 “ to 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 before any others, before the an-
 “ gels, that he was Lord of all, was called Christ, and
 “ made the sovereign of that age; that he came from thence
 “ whenever

* Vol. iv. p. 96.

† Impossibile enim hoc ei visum est. Lib. i. c. 25.

‡ Vol. iv. p. 153, 154.

“ 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 ” Dr P observes, that Epiphanius “ in another passage 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 †.

Dr P. accuses Epiphanius as in this instance misrepresenting the Ebionites, and imagines that he confounded their doctrines with those of the Cerinthians. But he cannot safely say that this account is contrary to “ the testimony of all other ancient writers.” For it appears from that of Tertullian, that Ebion, in some strange manner, considered Christ both as a mere man, and as an angel. Speaking of those who asserted that Christ sustained the nature of angels, he says; “ This opinion might be agreeable to Ebion, who held that Christ was a mere man, and only born of the seed of David, and so not the Son of God, evidently in something more glorious than any of the prophets, so that in some respects he might be said to have been an angel; as it is said in a certain place of the prophecy of Zecharias, (only it is never said by Christ) *And the angel who spake in me said to me †.*”

Our

* Haer. 30. sect. 3. p. 127. Earl. Op. Vol. iii. p. 206.

† Haer. 30. sect. 34. p. 162. Earl. Opia. Vol. iii. p. 208

‡ Sed angelum, aiunt, gestavit Christus.—Poterit hæc opinio Hebionii convenire, qui nudum hominem, et tantum ex femine David natum, non item et Dei Filium, constituit Jesum, plane prophetis aliquo gloriosorem, ut ita in nonnullis angelum fuisse dicatur, quemadmodum in aliquo Zacharia, nisi quod a Christo nunquam est dictum, Et ut mihi angelus qui in me loquebatur De Carne Christi, c. 14. Instead of *in nonnullis*, another edition reads *in illo angelus fuisse*, &c.

Our author, in his account of the Oriental Philosophy, from which the Gnostic* doctrine originated, especially depends on the authority of the *Clementine Homilies*. This work, he says, "was unquestionably written by an Unitarian*." He thinks that "the Ebionites might be pleased with it," although he does not reckon it "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 †." As he admits that this work was of such considerable authority among primitive Unitarians, and has given so many extracts from it, how can he charge Epiphanius with misrepresenting the Ebionites, when the author of the *Clementines* exhibits their doctrine materially in the same point of view? For the doctrine, which he ascribes to Peter, must be considered as his own. He introduces that Apostle as thus describing Adam: "But attend to me concerning the first word of truth (or rather, *the first true logos*). For if any one will not grant to that man, who was formed by the hand of God, that he hath the holy Spirit of Christ; how is he not chargeable with greater impiety in granting this to *one horn of an impure flock*, (most probably meaning the Son of God?) But he will act like a man truly pious, if he will not ascribe this Spirit to another, but to him only who, from the beginning of the world, changing the forms at the same time with the names, runs through that age, till reaching his own times, on account of his labours, *anointed* by the mercy of God, he attains to eternal rest. This person is invested with the honour of acting as Lord over all things: in the air, earth and waters. For this end, he received the breath of him who made man, the ineffable garment of the soul, that it might be possible for him to be immortal. This very person, having

* Vol. i. p. 113.

† Vol. ii. p. 216.

“ving existed *as the only true prophet*, imposed the most proper names upon every living thing, even as its creator. For whatever he called it, this was its name from the creator himself*.”

Even Dr P., in another place, instead of contradicting Epiphanius, powerfully confirms his testimony, with respect to those Ebionites, who said that Christ was “from above;—that he came from thence whenever he pleased;—that he appeared in the form of a man to Abraham, Isaac and Jacob;—that he assumed the form of Adam, and put it off again.” For he quotes Justin as saying; “There are some, I know, who say that the divine power which appeared to Moses, and Abraham, and Jacob, was called *an angel*: that the Father, when he pleases, makes this power to go out of him, and when he pleases, takes it into him again †.”

Does he charge Justin with *misrepresenting* the Unitarians, or with alleging something *most extraordinary* and *highly*

* Πλην ἐπὶ τῶν πρώτων τῆς ἀληθείας ἐπορα μοι λογεῖν* εἰ τῶ ὑποκρίσαν Ὁεῖν κυφορηθέντι ἀνθρώπῳ, τὸ ἀγιον Χρῆσθ μὴ δῶ τις εἶχει πνεύμα, πῶς ἐτέρῳ τῆι ἐξ μισοφρας σαγονος γεγεννημῶ διδως εἶχειν, ἢ τὰ μεγαῖσα ἀπέδοι; τὰ δὲ μεγαῖσα εὐσεβῆ, εἰαν ἐτέρῳ μὲν μὴ δῶη εἶχειν, ἐκείνου δὲ μόνου εἶχειν λεγοῖ ος ἀπαρχῆς αἰωνος ἀμα τοῖς ὀνομασιν μορφῆς ἀλλασσαν, τὸν αἰῶνα τρέχει, μεχρῆς ὅτε ἰδιῶν χροῶν τυχῶν, διὰ τῆς κίματῆς Ὁεῖν εἰλεῖ χρισθεῖς, εἰς αἰεῖ ἐξεί τὴν ἀναπαυσιν. ἔτος ἀρχεῖν τε καὶ κυρῆεῖν παντῶν τῶν ἐν ἀερί καὶ γῆ, ὑδασιν τετιμηται. πρὸς τῆτοις δὲ αὐτῆ πεποιηκτος τὸν ἀνθρώπον τὴν πῖανον ἐσχεν, ψυχῆς ἀρρητον πρὸς βόλην, ὅπως ἀθανατος εἶναι δύνηθη.

Ουτος αὐτος μόνος ἀληθῆς υπαρχῆς προφητῆς, ἐκασῶ ζῶω κατ' ἀξίαν τῆς φύσιως, καθῶς ὁ πεποιηκως αὐτον, οἰκειως τεθεικεν τὰ ὀνοματα. εἰ τι γῆρ ἐπαινομασεν, τῆτο ἦν καὶ ἐκ τῆ πεποιηκτος ὀνοματῶ γεγεννημῶ. Hom. iii. sect. xx. xxi. p. 638.

† Vol. iii. p. 377.

highly improbable? On the contrary, he grants the truth of his testimony; and calls this *philosophical Unitarianism*, “or an explanation of the doctrine concerning Christ on the principles of the philosophy of those times*.” It seems, indeed, to favour much of the *Gnostic* philosophy. It has its principal character, the Doctor himself being judge. For he says; “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* †.” He calls the one *emanation, or efflux*, and the other *emission*. Where lies the great difference? Nay, speaking of Unitarians, he acknowledges that they “adopted the opinion of the emission of a divine logos, or *efflux* ‡.”

This Unitarian system is merely a modification of the *Gnostic Pleroma*. The divine nature was the *Pleroma* of these *philosophical* believers: and it seems to be viewed nearly in the same light by Dr P. For we have formerly found him saying, that “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 §.” If angels be *temporary* beings only, the *organs of the deity*; they must certainly be drawn back again into the divine nature as their *Pleroma*.

The Doctor says that this *philosophical* doctrine “is ascribed to almost all the eminent men among the Unitarians, as late as Marcellus ||,” who, according to his Chronology,

* Vol. iii. p. 376.

† Vol. i. p. 154.

‡ Vol. ii. p. 18.

§ Vol. i. p. 5.

|| Vol. iii. p. 381.

nology, died A. 372. Thus, it would appear that the learned Unitarians, in ancient times, were more candid than their *philosophical* successors. For they plainly saw, that they could not pretend to believe the Scriptures, without acknowledging some kind of pre-existence on the part of our Saviour.

Why, then, should Dr P. quarrel with Epiphanius; or say that "this representation is wholly Epiphanius's own?" To me it seems to differ very little from that given by the Historian of the Corruptions of Christianity. The greatest error I can perceive in the poor old Bishop of Constantia, is, that he does not give these superior sort of Unitarians their proper titles. The good man had not known that they were *philosophers*.

Dr P.'s conjecture, that this philosophical Unitarianism "probably gave occasion to what is commonly called the *Patripassian* doctrine," is very natural. He adds, indeed,— "if such a doctrine was ever really maintained*." He is ashamed that any, accounted Unitarians, should have vented such a doctrine. But he cannot disprove its existence. It seems to have originated from the principles or pretensions of Simon, who is generally viewed as the Father of all the Gnostics. For Irenæus informs us, that "he taught that it was he who appeared as the Son among the Jews, but that he had descended in Samaria as the Father, and that he had come to the rest of the nations as the Holy Spirit †." Instead of supposing that the doctrine of the Trinity derived its origin from the Gnostics, even these impious pretensions of Simon shew that it is a far more na-

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tural

* Vol. iii. p. 376.

† Hic igitur a multis quasi Deus glorificatus est, et docuit semetipsum esse qui inter Judæos quidem quasi Filius adparuerit, in Samaria autem quasi Pater descenderit, et in reliquis vero gentibus quasi Spiritus Sanctus adventaverit. Adv. Hæc. l. i. c. 19.

tural idea that their doctrine was a corruption of that of the Trinity. For we can easily conceive that this man, having once made a profession of Christianity, should politically retain some of its doctrines, explaining them as best suited his interest. But it surpasses belief, that true Christians, who all detested the character and tenets of this impostor, should literally embrace his doctrine even as to the divine Being. It is natural to suppose that he would speak of the three Persons as one; because his plan evidently was to engross the whole honour of deity to himself.

4. The Ebionites held materially the same doctrine with Cerinthians concerning the *Christ*. Dr P., indeed, attempts to shew that the doctrine of orthodox Christians was similar to that of the Gnostics on this head. "It may be proper," he says, "to observe—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* *." Here I am astonished at the boldness of the learned writer. The orthodox Christians believed the *logos* and the *man Jesus* to be one person, not merely after his baptism, but from the very womb. But Ebionites and other Unitarians held a mere *attachment* of the *logos* to the *person* of the *man*, denying a personal union; and this attachment they considered as consequential to his baptism. On whose side, then, does the *similarity* lie? The Gnostics denied a real incarnation, asserting a mere inhabitation of the *Christ* in the man Jesus; as Dr P. himself testifies †. They believed their Christ, indeed, to be

* Vol. i. p. 185.

† Hist. Cor. vol. i. p. 11.

be a pre-existent spirit; whereas modern Ebionites acknowledge the *Logos* as an attribute only. But they still retain the Gnostic idea of inhabitation, as opposed to real incarnation. For they explain that language, *The Word was made flesh*, the *Logos dwelling* in the man Jesus.

The difference between Gnostics and Ebionites, concerning the Christ, has been supposed to be wider than it really was. This has been owing to the Gnostics not extending the name *Christ* to the man Jesus. But as they held that the Christ descended on Jesus at his baptism, the descent of the *Logos* has been fixed to the same period by both ancient and modern Unitarians. Both Gnostics and Ebionites used the same language on this head.

The Cerinthians maintained that it was in consequence of the descent of the *Christ* upon Jesus, at his baptism, in the form of a dove, that he “declared the unknown Father, and became perfect in virtue*.” The Ebionites, that “Jesus was called the Son of God, from the Christ coming upon him from above in the likeness of a dove †.”

We cannot suppose that Epiphanius was mistaken, or wilfully misrepresented their doctrine, in saying that they believed the descent of the *Christ*; without supposing that the author of the *Clementines* was equally ignorant of their faith, or equally inclined to misrepresent it, though “unquestionably an Unitarian.” But let it be supposed that, in this instance, we cannot depend on either of these witnesses, and that the ancient Unitarians spake only of the descent of the *Logos*; in what did they differ from the Gnostics? The latter used one term, and they another, for expressing the same idea. For however little regard should be had to Epiphanius, or to the author of the *Clementines*, our

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author

* Iren. lib. i. c. 25.

† Epiphanius. haer. 30. sect. 16

author will not refuse his own testimony. And speaking of the Gnostics he says that they supposed the *Logos* "to be the *Christ* *."

The Cerinthians asserted that the *Christ*, having a spiritual existence, was impassible. The Ebionites denied that there was such an union of the *Logos* to the *man*, that the *Logos* could suffer personally; and this has still been the doctrine of all Unitarians.

Let us suppose that ancient Unitarians extended the name *Christ* to the man Jesus, because of the union of the *Logos* to him. Yet they did not believe that Jesus was *the Christ* till after his baptism.

Indeed, the doctrine ascribed by Dr P. himself to *philosophical Unitarians*, scarcely differs from that of Cerinthus, but in the use of the name *Christ*. They supposed, as has been seen, that God "emitted a kind of *efflux*, or *divine ray*, to which they *sometimes* gave the name of *Logos*. " (This language seems to imply that they at other times called it by another name.)—Such a divine efflux was "imagined to have been the cause of the appearances of "God in the Old Testament, and likewise to have been "imparted to Jesus Christ; who, nevertheless, was a "mere man. For before his baptism, they supposed "that he had not this divine ray, and that it would "leave him, when it had enabled him to act the part "assigned to him †." How nearly allied is this to the Gnostic doctrine of the *Christ* leaving Jesus at the time of his sufferings! There seems, however, to have been one great defect in the scheme of *efflux*, as adopted by Gnostics, which must for ever be a sufficient bar to their being *properly ranked among Unitarians*. There is no evidence that they thought of a *reflux*. They were so little acquainted with *philosophy*, as to be total strangers to the luminous idea of *occasional personality*.

5. It

* Hist Cor. Vol. i. p. 11. † Ear. Opin. vol. iii. p. 376, 377.

5. It is well known that the Gnostics in general held *two principles*, one the origin of *good*, and the other of *evil*. Epiphanius charges the Ebionites with something very like this. "They assert," he says, "that there were two beings ordained by God, *viz.* Christ and the devil; that Christ received 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 *." The allegation will not appear *highly improbable*, as Dr P. asserts, when we consider that it is allowed by him that a great part of the Unitarians admitted the pre-existence of the *Logos*, in a certain sense. They evidently ascribed to him, both before and after the birth of Jesus, the work of the *good principle*. Now, as it is acknowledged that they borrowed their idea of *emission* or *efflux* from the Oriental philosophy; as it is undeniable that in this respect they symbolized with Gnostics; it is only carrying the matter a little farther to suppose that they also admitted of their evil principle. This, indeed, seems to have been necessary to complete their system. Accordingly Epiphanius immediately adds; "On this account," that is, because the power of the evil principle was to be reduced, "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 as this *allegation* is not *improbable*, as little is it *most extraordinary*. For the author of the *Recognitions* (supposed

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to

* Δυο δὲ τινες, συνίσωσιν ἐκ Θεῶν τετραγμένης, ἓνα μὲν τὸν Χριστὸν, ἓνα δὲ τὸν Διάβολον* καὶ τὸν μὲν Χριστὸν λέγουσι τῷ μέλλοντι αἰῶνι εἰληφέναι τὸν κληρὸν, τὸν δὲ Διάβολον τῷ τῶν πεπιστευῶν αἰῶνι, ἐκ προσαγωγῆς δὴθεν τῆ παντοκράτορος κατὰ αἰτήσιν ἑκατέρων αὐτῶν.
Hær. 30. sect. 16.

† Hær. 30. sect. 16. p. 140.

to be only another edition of the *Homilies*) asserts that "God established two kingdoms; the one, of the present, the other, of the future time; and fixed the duration of both*." In the *Homilies*, Peter speaking of Adam, says; "On this account (the removal of the key of knowledge under the law) rising from his seat, as a father for his sons, preaching the things which had been secretly delivered to the holy from the beginning, extending mercy even to the Gentiles, and having pity on all souls, he did not regard his own blood. For he is accounted worthy to be king of the future age †." Of the Devil he says; "Coming, as the king of the present state, to him who is king of the future, he said, *All the kingdoms of the present world are subject to me;—wherefore fall down and worship me, and I will give them all to thee ‡.*" And again, "The prophet of truth, making his appearance, hath taught us, that the Creator and God of all hath distributed to two individuals two kingdoms, one to him who is good, another to the evil one; giving to the evil one the kingdom of the present world, *with the law*; so that he has the power of punishing the unjust. But to the good, he hath given that eternal age which is future

* Duo regna posuit, presentis dico temporis, et futuri; et tempora utriusque constituit. *Recogn. Clem. lib. i. sect. 24. p. 492.*

† Δια τὸ τοῦτο φημι, αὐτὸς τῆς παθεδρας ἐγεγένης, ὡς πατὴρ ὑπὲρ τέκνων, τὰ ἀπ' αἰῶνος ἐν κρυπτοῖς ἀξίοις παρεκδόθημενα κηρύσσων, μέχρις αὐτῶν εἶναι τῶν ἐλπίων ἐκτείνων, καὶ ψυχῆς πάντων ἐλεῶν, ἰδίᾳ αἰματος ημετέρου. μελλόντος γὰρ αἰῶνος βασιλεὺς εἶναι κατηξιαμένος. *Hom. iii. sect. 19. p. 638.*

‡ Ἡ προσέλωθεν ἐν, ὡς τῶν παρῶν ἂν βασιλεὺς, τῶ τῶν μελλόντων βασιλεὺς εἶμι. πάσαι αἱ τῆ νῦν κόσμου βασιλείαι ὑποκείνται ἐμοί, δὲ *Hom. viii. sect. 21. p. 678.*

“ture*.” I might quote a great many other passages, which assert or imply the same doctrine. But these extracts afford a strong presumption in favour of the credibility of Epiphanius, even as to some circumstances in which he is not supported by other ancient writings yet extant. He would seem to have borrowed his account of the Gnostic tenets of the Ebionites from this Unitarian work (which, as the Doctor observes, is “happily preserved to us †;”) especially as we know that he was acquainted with it.

6. Irenæus classes Ebionites with Gnostics, not in general only; but as to the circumstance of denying the *truth* of our *redemption* ‡. This great doctrine was denied by all Gnostics, however much opposed to each other; by those who asserted that Jesus was a mere man, and by those who denied his humanity entirely. Ancient and modern Unitarians are the only nominal Christians who have followed their footsteps in this respect. Arians, indeed, come nearest to them. For they trust in a *created* Saviour.

7. The more early Gnostics and Ebionites agreed as to the sacred *canon*. According to the Doctor’s own confession, “the Ebionites made no *public* use of any other gospel than that of Matthew: and he quotes Philaster, as testifying that Cerinthus admitted the Gospel of Matthew only §.” The followers of Cerdon and Marcion, who were later Gnostics, received the Gospel of Luke; but remarkably interpolated. They also *cut off* the genealogy ||.

8. The

* Ο της αληθείας προφητης παρων ειδιδαξεν ημας, οτι ο των ολων δημιουργος και θεος, δυσιν τισιν ατενεμεν βασιλειας δυο, αγαθω τε και ποιηρω, ος τω μεν κακω τε παροντος κοσμου μετα νομου την βασιλειαν, ως αν εχρειν εξηστιαν κολαξιν της αδικηντας· τω δε αγαθω, τον εσομερον αιδιον αιωνα. Hom. xvi. sect. 7. p. 722.

† Vol. i. p. 113.

‡ See above, p. 220.

§ Vol. i. p. 233. 234.

|| Iren. lib. i. c. 29. Tertullian. cont. Marcion. l. 4. Epiphani. haer. 42. f. 10. Fabric. Bibl. Græc. Vol. iii. p. 125.

8. The Gnostics denied the proper *inspiration* of the scriptures. This is acknowledged by Dr P. "As they did not consider them," he says, "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.*" He virtually owns, in the passage last referred to, the agreement of the Ebionites with them in this respect; adding, "This, indeed, was not peculiar to them, but seems to have been a liberty taken by other primitive Christians.—Thus, the Ebionites made no public use of any other gospel than that of Matthew *." One would almost think that modern Unitarians had proposed the Gnostics as their pattern in this instance. The Doctor expresses their sentiments as his own, treating all who differ from such venerable masters with sovereign contempt. "All those," he says, "to whom it can be *worth my while* to make an apology, think as I do with respect to *the scriptures, viz.* that they were written without any particular inspiration, by men who wrote according to the best of their knowledge, and who from their circumstances could not be mistaken with respect to the *greater facts*, of which they were proper *witnesses*, but (like other men subject to prejudice) might be liable to adopt a hasty and ill grounded opinion concerning things which did not fall within the compass of their own knowledge †." These Gnostic sentiments belong to none who are called Christians but Unitarians.

9. The Jewish Gnostics adhered to the *law of Moses*, forcing the Gentiles to observe it. This Dr P. materially grants. In this respect they were more nearly allied to Ebionites, than to those who bore the same name among the Gentiles.

10. He

* Vol. i. p. 233.

† Vol. iv. p. 4, 5.

10. He considers *pride* as a peculiar feature of these heretics. They assumed the name of Gnostics, from the word γνωσις; because they laid claim to a great portion of *wisdom* or *reason*. It will be difficult to find any society of Christians who resemble them so much in this respect as Socinians, who set up their own *reason* as the test of divine Revelation, and endeavour to reduce all the doctrines of it to the standard of philosophy and *science falsely so called* *. Dr P. says that the Gnostics “boasted of their own knowledge †.” He thinks that the Apostle Paul speaks of them, when he says, *The preaching of the cross is foolishness to them that perish*, 1 Cor. i. 18. And is not the same attachment to *the wisdom of this world* conspicuous in those who reject the genuine doctrine of the cross, who *trample under foot the Son of God*, like the unbelieving Jews calling him a mere man, and *account the blood of the covenant a common thing*, by denying its *atoning* efficacy, because they cannot reconcile the doctrines of the incarnation and atonement with the dictates of carnal philosophy?

The Gnostics pretended that they were wiser than the apostles ‡. But where will you find a parallel to this presumption, but among those who venture to say that the Apostle Paul “often reasons inconclusively?” Nay, as Irenæus also testifies, “they carried their pride so far as to say “that they were like Jesus §.” Where shall we find any resemblance of this blasphemy, but in the conduct of those who impiously assure us, that Jesus is a mere man, who received his existence in the same manner, and was subject to the same corrupt bias, with themselves?

11. The

* Ψευδωνυμω γνωσεως. 1 Tim. vi. 20.

† Vol. i. p. 150.

‡ Iren. lib. iii. c. 2.

§ Quapropter et ad tantum elationis provecti sunt ad quidam quidem, similes se esse dicunt Jesu. Ib. lib. i. c. 24.

11. The *eternity of matter* was the doctrine of many Gnostics. Dr P. informs us, concerning them in general, that “*creation out of nothing* was an idea that they never “entertained*.” It appears that this is an idea which the Doctor himself does not entertain. For we have elsewhere seen that, according to him, “what is called the *Mosaic creation*,—for any thing we know, was only a *re-making* “or *re-constituting* of the world, out of a former chaos †.” It is, indeed, the general opinion of Socinians, that the world was formed out of pre-existent matter. They have been also charged with believing that this was eternal ‡. They best know whether the charge be just.

12. One of the characters of the Gnostics, given by our author, is that they denied the obligation of *martyrdom* §. Paul gives such a description of those Jews who enforced circumcision, as will apply to Ebionites equally with Cerinthians. *As many as desire to make a fair shew in the flesh, they constrain you to be circumcised, only lest they should suffer persecution for the cross of Christ*, Gal. vi. 12. Fear of provoking their unbelieving brethren, is the motive to which he ascribes their apparent zeal for the ceremonial law.

13. The Gnostics denied the *justice* of God. Dr P. supposes that the principal source of their mistakes was “their “fixed persuasion concerning the pure benevolence of the “Supreme Being;” adding, that their idea of this “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||.” The Doctor never gave a more natural representation

* Vol. i. p. 120, 121.

† Familiar Illustr. p. 42.

‡ Jurieu Tableau de Socinianisme, Par. 1. Let. 3. p. 104.

§ Vol. i. p. 201.

|| Ib. p. 123, 124.

presentation of the principles of Socinians, who deny that *punitive justice* is essential to God. He can scarcely find other words for expressing his own sentiments. "In the deity," he says, "*justice* can be nothing more than a modification of *goodness*, or *benevolence*, which is his sole governing principle *." This is undoubtedly *pure benevolence*. He observes afterwards; "Admitting that the popular doctrine of atonement should raise our ideas of the *justice*, or rather the *severity* of God, it must, in the same proportion, sink our ideas of his *mercy* †." He considers it as "now ascertained with respect to the moral character and government of God, that he is a Being *purely good*," and "that he *simply* wishes the happiness of all his creatures ‡." Socinians enjoy an undisputed succession to the Gnostics, as to this doctrine.

14. These heretics imagined that *the Father of Christ* was a *different* Being from him who *gave the law*. Dr P. seems to think that this was not the opinion of the Jewish Gnostics. But Irenæus asserts that Cerinthus held the world to be "made by a power remote from, and ignorant of the Supreme Being ||." In the addition to the *Prescriptions* of Tertullian, it is said that Cerinthus ascribed the Jewish law to angels, and held "that the God of the Jews was not the Lord, but an angel §." This opinion, I acknowledge, is not easily reconcileable with that of his urging the necessity of the law. But there is no sufficient reason to doubt that they really embraced it. I do not suppose that any of those called Unitarians, have denied that the law was given by the true God. But it would seem that their doctrine concerning the moral law itself, is a remnant of that of the Gnostics. They have not adopted this in form. But they have done so in fact. They have made that God, who gave the law to the Jews,

* Hist. Corrupt. Vol. i. p. 163. † Ibid. i. p. 170.

‡ Ibid. p. 277. § Ibid. i. p. 170. ¶ Ibid. i. p. 170.

to be a changeable, and therefore an imperfect Being; pretending that Jesus came, not only to abolish the ceremonial law, but to amend the moral. This is the very essence and spirit of Gnosticism. Nay, if possible, it is more impious and absurd. For they ascribe that to the Supreme, which Gnostics ascribed to an inferior being. They virtually accuse him, who alone is *good*, of that imperfection which these ancient blasphemers attributed to an *evil* principle.

15. "All the Gnostics," our author observes, "without exception disbelieved the *resurrection*." "Some of them," he adds, "did not venture to do it in words †." This is a just account of the conduct of Socinians for two centuries past. They have granted the resurrection *in words*, but denied it in reality; asserting that the same body is not raised. This is a doctrine, which none called Christians, but themselves, have taught. Dr P., indeed, departs from the proper faith of his church in this instance. He reasons very justly against what has been the *common faith* of Socinians: "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* †."

16. "The Gnostics," according to our author's account of them, "are said to have maintained that the greatest part "of mankind would be *annihilated* at the day of judgment §." This is the very doctrine of Socinians with regard to the wicked. For in this sense alone they understand *everlasting destruction*. I know of no Christians, who, in this respect, can vie with them for the honour of succeeding the Gnostics.

A

* Vol. i. p. 208.

† Ib. p. 209.

‡ Ibid. p. 214.

§ Hist. Corrupt. Vol. i. p. 413.

VINDICATION

OF THE

DOCTRINE OF SCRIPTURE, &c.

BOOK VI.

OF THE HISTORY OF THE PRETENDED UNITARIAN DOCTRINE AMONG GENTILE CHRISTIANS.

DR PRIESTLEY, "having proved," as he supposes, "to the satisfaction of every impartial reader, that the great body of Jewish Christians always were, and to the last continued to be Unitarians," flatters himself that "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 continued to be so, for a very considerable time*." But if it be evident to the reader, from what has been offered in reply, that "the great body of the Jewish Christians were *not* Unitarians," the Doctor's inference must appear totally unfounded.

However,

* Vol. iii. p. 233.

However, he does not rest his assertion, with respect to the Gentile converts, on this ground. He endeavours to establish it, first, by what he calls "the strongest *presumptions*;" and then, by "the most direct *positive* evidence." Both these kinds of evidence I shall examine in their order.

C H A P. I.

Of Dr P.'s Presumptive Evidence that the Majority of Gentile Christians in the early ages were Unitarians.

S E C T I O N I.

Gentile Unitarians not in communion with the Catholic Church in early times. They were excluded both by the spirit, and by the letter of the Creed.

DR PRIESTLEY produces six arguments of the *presumptive* kind in support of his hypothesis.

I. "That Unitarians," he says, "must have been in communion with what was in early times called the *Catholic church*, is evident from there being no *creed*, that could exclude them.—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 †."

But though we should suppose this argument to be well founded, it would prove too little. It could only prove, that Unitarians were *suffered* to continue in communion with the Catholic church. Our author, indeed, seems conscious that his argument is defective. For all that he infers from

* Ibid. p. 235.

† Ibid. p. 236.

from it is, that the Unitarians “might still continue in communion, there being no law, or rule, to exclude them *.” But this is not the proper argument. For the very title of the chapter is, *Presumptive Evidence that the Majority of the Gentile Christians in the early ages were Unitarians.* Now, this argument is far from proving that the Unitarians were the *majority*. Although it were well-founded, it could only prove the forbearance of the orthodox, the paucity of Unitarians, or that they kept themselves concealed.

The first of these inferences would be inadmissible. For as we have formerly proved, there were, in early ages, many Gentile Christians of distinction, who reckoned Unitarians heretics. Therefore, if there was no article in the creed, which militated against them, we would be under a necessity of supposing, either that their number was so contemptible as to create no uneasiness, or that they concealed their sentiments.

But the position, that there was no creed to exclude them, is undoubtedly false. In order to support it, Dr P. observes that “there was no creed used in the Christian church, besides that which was commonly called *the apostles*, before the council of Nice;” and that “this creed contains no article that could exclude Unitarians †.” Having formerly made the same declaration, he was referred by the Monthly Reviewers to that form of the creed given by Tertullian, in his *Prescriptions* ‡. Here the *rule of faith* is, “That God is entirely one, and that there is no other besides the Creator of the world, who produced all things from nothing, by his Word sent forth before all: That that Word, called the Son, appeared often in the name of God to the patriarchs, was always heard in the prophets, at length conveyed by the Spirit of God the

VOL. II. R “Father,

* Ibid. p. 236.

† Ibid. p. 236.

‡ c. 13.

“ Father, and his power, into the virgin Mary, made flesh
“ in her womb,” &c.

Dr P. insists, that this was only Tertullian's own exposition, and refers to his work *De Velandis Virginibus*, where we have the creed, as far as it respects the Father and Son, expressed more briefly, and in language nearly the same with that in which it was afterwards generally received.

We do not plead, that the first is to be considered as the ordinary form. Nor does this appear with respect to the second. The conjecture of Dr Berriman seems most natural, that then “ it was not always expressed in the very “ same phrase, but still the same in substance *.”

But though it be supposed that Tertullian, in the passage quoted, gives us only his own exposition; it will by no means follow, that Unitarians were not excluded by that creed, which, as to its substance, was generally used in early times. For the meaning of any creed must be learned from the exposition given of it by that church which claims it as her's. He who interprets the language of inspiration differently from others, may more plausibly contend that he has the just meaning; because there is no earthly infallible judge. But the man who assents to a human creed, must either do it in the sense imposed by the generality of those who adopt it, if consonant to the plain meaning of language, and if it cannot be proved that it is contrary to the intention of the framers; or he acts dishonestly. Now, the sense of the generality is certainly to be learned from that of the public interpreters, if their interpretation be admitted by others. We can have no more certain evidence that this is the case, than their being generally acknowledged in their official character, and there being no contradiction of their interpretation. After a particular
declaration

* Historical Account, p. 23.

declaration of their faith, if others submit to them, it must be concluded, either that they agree with them in opinion, or that they act deceitfully in divine matters. Tertullian, therefore, having openly given this exposition of the *rule of faith*, all who afterwards continued in communion with him, must be viewed, either as agreeing with him *ex animo*, or peaceably submitting to communicate with one whom they accounted an idolater.

It is generally granted by the learned, that we are to judge of the meaning of the creed, by the writings of the Fathers, as expressing the sense of the primitive church*. If this be not granted, indeed, the propriety of any symbol or confession is materially refused. For what has been the design of these, as devised by churches, in every age, but to declare to the world, and to other churches, nay, that one church-member might declare to another, that specific sense in which they, or he, understood the language of scripture, as opposed to that ambiguity virtually ascribed to it by heretics, and to the great variety of different meanings imposed on the same terms? If the *meaning*, or particular *belief* be not the principal thing, the very use of a *creed* is a jest upon its name.

Our author has roundly asserted that the passage in Tertullian's work *De Præscriptionibus*, "expresses no more than "his own faith †." But from the connexion, it is undeniable that he expresses the faith of the Catholic church, or in other words, of all those with whom he was then in communion. For when he is about to introduce this larger creed as the *rule of faith*, he says, "Let us therefore inquire in our own communion, and from our own people, "and concerning what properly belongs to ourselves ‡."

R 2

And

* King's Hist. Creed. p. 42, 43. Jurieu Prejug. Legit. contre le Papisme, ib.

† Remarks on the Month. Rev. p. 21.

‡ c. 12.

And having given this as the rule of faith, he not only says, "This rule, as shall be proved, was instituted by Christ;" but,—“it admits of no disputations among us, except those which heresies introduce, and which make men heretics*.” We cannot suppose it to be his meaning, that these words were expressly given, as a form, by Christ. He certainly intends the doctrines contained in them, although they might be variously expressed. Nor can we understand him as intimating, that this was merely his own opinion. For if there be any meaning in the words that follow, nay, if they do not contain a gross and presumptuous falsehood; this must have been the belief, real or professed, of all who were in the same communion with him. He could not otherwise say of this as a rule of faith; “It admits of no disputations among us.”

Now, as he elsewhere declares this rule to be “altogether one, and what alone could not be altered or reformed †,” even while he expresses it in different words; it is undeniable that he does not speak of the language, but of the sense affixed to it by the church. While he says, that it “admitted of no disputations,” he adds, this exception indeed,—“save those which heresies introduce, and which make men heretics.” But Dr P. cannot avail himself of this exception, unless he can prove that those who were known to be heretics were suffered to continue in communion.

According to the evident sense of Tertullian, a doubt of any article in the creed was immediately considered, not only as *introduced by heresy*, but as *making* the author of it a *heretic*. This not only appears from the passage quoted, but

* Hæc regula a Christo ut probabitur instituta, nullas habet apud nos quæstiones, nisi quas hæreses inferunt, et quæ hæreticos faciunt. De Præscript. c. 14.

† Regula quidem fidei una omnino est, sola immobilis, et irreformabilis. De Virgin. Veland. c. 1.

but from the strain of the reasoning immediately following. For in this he shews that the church admitted of no disputation with respect to her creed. "Let curiosity yield to faith," he says, "and honour to salvation *."

If any continued to hesitate, they were to be classed with heretics: and whatever Dr P. may fondly suppose, that church of which Tertullian was a member, had no idea of communion with such. Therefore the ancient writer breaks out in this language; "As if heretics were not enemies to the truth, as if we were not forewarned to fly from them, how can we converse with men, who themselves confess that they are in a state of inquiry? For if they still inquire, they have as yet apprehended nothing with certainty: and thus whatever they seem in the mean time to hold, they discover their hesitation, as long as they inquire.—For while they still inquire, they do not hold fast. But as they do not hold fast, they have not as yet believed. But as they have not as yet believed, they are not Christians.—Those, therefore, who are not Christians to themselves, how much less are they so to us †?" He then proceeds to shew that, although these persons appeal to Scripture, their appeal is not to be admitted, because of the difficulty of deciding the controversy in this way, on account of the various senses imposed on it.

As we have proved that it is not the sound of the words, but the catholic sense of the creed, that Tertullian speaks of; that the exposition, given by him, was that of the whole

R 3

church;

* *Cedat curiositas fidei, et gloria salutis. De Præscripto, c. 14.*

† *Ut non inimici essent veritatis hæretici, ut de refugientibus eis non præmoneremur, quale est conferre cum hominibus, qui et ipsi adhuc se quærere constituentur? Si enim vere adhuc quærunt, nihil adhuc certi apprehenderunt: et ideo quodcumque videntur interim tenere, dubitationem suam ostendunt quamdiu quærunt.—Cum enim quærunt adhuc, nondum tenent: cum autem non tenent, nondum crediderunt. Cum autem nondum crediderunt, non sunt Christiani.—Qui ergo nec sibi sunt Christiani, quanto magis nobis. Ib.*

church; and that all were accounted heretics, and denied to be Christians, who even *doubted* as to the truth of the general doctrine; it necessarily follows, that all Unitarians were reckoned heretics, and excluded from the church. For the exposition given by Tertullian, as expressing the faith of the whole body with which he was connected, is such as no Unitarian could honestly accede to. Nay, though our author assures us, that the Creed referred to Gnostics only, Tertullian flatly contradicts him. And he must certainly be sustained as a more competent judge of the belief of the church, in the close of the second, or beginning of the third century, than Dr Priestley.

For after using this language, as his introduction to the discourse concerning the rule of faith, "Let us inquire what Christ has instituted;" he first mentions those at whom we are not to inquire. Here he classes *Ebion* with Marcion, Valentinus, Apelles and Simon; subjoining, "Although we were for ever to inquire, where ought we to make this inquiry? Is it among heretics? where all things are extraneous and opposite to *our* truth, and to whom we are prohibited to go. What servant would expect food from an alien, not to say, an enemy of his Lord? What soldier would receive a gift and pay from Princes not in league, not to say, enemies; unless he were an avowed deserter, turncoat and rebel?—No one can be supported by him, by whom he is destroyed. No one can be illuminated by him, by whom he is brought into obscurity. Let us, therefore, inquire in our own communion, and from our own people, and concerning what properly belongs to ourselves; and about that only which may be called in question, while the rule of faith is preserved entire*."

If

* Ubi enim erit finis credendi? ubi statio credendi? ubi expunctio inveniendi? Apud Marcionem? sed et Valentinus proponit: Quærite et inveniatis.

If there be the least propriety in introducing the *Rule of Faith* here, it must be granted, that it is levelled against Ebion, as well as the others mentioned. If the least credit be due to Tertullian as a writer, it must also be granted, that it had this meaning, as understood by the whole of that church of which he was a member. It is equally clear that Ebion was a heretic in her estimation; and that those who adhered to his principles were *aliens* or *extraneous* persons; and therefore, not admitted to her communion.

Dr P., indeed, has made various efforts to confine the charge of heresy, as brought by Tertullian against Ebion, to his attachment to the law. But we have already demonstrated the vanity of these. Had he meant to describe Ebion as a heretic, only, or even principally, because of his Judaism; it is natural to suppose that, in the Rule of Faith he was about to rehearse, there would have been an article directly opposing this judaical attachment. But the Rule given by Tertullian strikes against no other error maintained by Ebion, but that respecting *the person of Christ*. And in this respect, it is as directly opposed to his doctrine, as to that of the Gnostics.

After reading the passage last quoted from Tertullian, in which he views Unitarians equally with Gnostics, as *aliens*, and distinguishes them *a nostris*, from the members

R 4

of

invenietis. Apud Valentinum? sed et Apelles hac me pronuntiatione pulsabit, et Hebion, et Simon, et omnes ex ordine non habent aliud, quo se mihi insinuant, me sibi adducant.—Nobis etsi querendum est et adhuc et semper, ubi tamen queri oportet? Apud hereticos? ubi omnia extranea et adversaria nostræ veritati, ad quos vetamur accedere. Quis servus cibaria ab extraneo, ne dicam ab inimico domini sui sperat? Quis miles ab infœderatis, ne dicam ab hostibus regibus, donativum ac stipendium capiat, nisi plane desertor, et transfuga, et rebellis?—Nemo inde strui potest, unde destruitur. Nemo ab eo illuminatur, a quo contenebratur. Quæramus ergo in nostro, et a nostris, et de nostro: idque duntaxat quod, salva regula fidei, potest in quæstionem devenire. Regula est autem, &c. De Præscript. c. 10. 12.

of the Catholic church; had any one said to him; "But after all, you do not exclude these men from communion, on account of their differing from you as to some of the articles mentioned in your Rule of Faith;" it is scarcely supposable that the tart Presbyter would have deigned to give him an answer. For he must have thought, that human language afforded no terms in which he could converse with such a person.

Whatever may be said of the Creed excluding, or not excluding Unitarians; it is certain that, in the time of Tertullian, they were actually excluded from communion with the church. It has been clearly proved that they were accounted heretics by him, and by that church of which he was a member. Let us now hear his sentence concerning them; "If they are heretics, they cannot be Christians*." After declaring any to be heretics, it would no more occur to any ancient writer to declare, in so many words, that they were not admitted to communion, than gravely to inform his reader that heathens did not enjoy this privilege. For those, whom they did not account Christians, must have been to them as heathens and publicans.

When speaking of two ways in which a church might be proved to be apostolical, either as having her origin from the apostles, or from apostolical men, or as holding the same faith, Tertullian says: "Thus all heresies, challenged by our churches either way, may prove themselves to be apostolical, as they imagine. But neither are they so; nor can they prove what they are not. Nor are they received into peace and fellowship by the churches, in whatever manner apostolical; viz. on account of the difference of the sacrament, they being in no respect apostolical"

* Si enim hæretici sunt, Christiani esse non possunt. De Præscript.
c. 37.

“postolical*.” To prove that they were not apostolical, he proceeds to shew that the doctrine of the Apostles was directed against them. Having mentioned one heresy of Ebion, his adherence to the law, as opposed in the Epistle to the Galatians, he afterwards shews that because this heretic denied Jesus to be the Son of God he was one of these *anticrists*, against whom the first epistle of John was written.

So clear is it that, in the time of Cyprian, who died less than forty years after Tertullian, all heretics, among whom he reckons the Patripassians, one class of Unitarians, were excluded from the church, that he urges their being re-baptized upon the renunciation of their errors. He had no idea of their very ordinances being valid, because their faith was different from that of the church. “For if the heretics,” he says, “have one faith with us, they may have one *grace*. If the Patripassians, Anthropians, &c. confess the same Father, the same Son, the same holy Spirit, the same church with us;—they may also have the same baptism, if their faith be one †.” Nay, Cyprian

* Ita omnes hæreses, ad utranque formam a nostris Ecclesiis provocatæ, probent se quæquæ putæ Apostolicas. Sed adeo nec sunt: nec possunt probare quod non sunt: nec recipiuntur in pacem et in communicationem ab Ecclesiis quoquo modo apostolicis. scilicet ob diversitatem sacramenti †, nullo modo apostolicæ. Ib. c. 32.

† By the expression, ob diversitatem sacramenti, Tertullian is supposed to signify the difference between the heretical confessions of faith, required in the sacrament of baptism, and that, as to substance, universally received by the apostolical churches. Vid. Not. Pamelii in loc.

† Scripsisti mihi—de hæreticorum baptismo, qui foris positi, et extra ecclesiam constituti.—Nam si fides una est nobis et hæreticis, potest esse et gratia una. Si eundem patrem, eundem filium, eundem spiritum sanctum, eandem ecclesiam consententur nobiscum Patripassiani, Anthropiani, Valentiniani,—et cæteræ hæreticorum pestes,—potest illic et baptismum unum esse, si est et fides una. Epist. Jubaiano, sect. i. 4. Oper. p. 218.

“prian refers to his predecessor Agrippinus, (under whom, “it is thought, Tertullian wrote *) by whose influence it was decreed, by a council of bishops, that all heretics should be re-baptised †.

It is evident that Tertullian himself was of this opinion. His language proves this, while it affords further evidence that all reckoned heretics (among whom were Unitarians) were excluded from communion. “For heretics,” he says, “have no fellowship in our discipline, as the very denial “of communion to them proves that they are extraneous,” or, such as *are without*. “I ought not to acknowledge in “them what is enjoined on me, because they and we have “not the same God, nor one, that is, *the same Christ*. “Therefore, neither is their baptism one, because it is not “the same ‡.”

But Dr P. is determined, if possible, to find a place for his predecessors within the pale of the church. “The bishop,” he says, “and principal clergy, zealous for the “doctrine of the Trinity, might, of their own accord, ha- “range 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 §.” That they were excluded by the creed, that is by the general *belief* of the church, has been already proved. If they could *bear with* Trinitarian expositions, harangues and prayers, they could not be Unitarians in principle: for they could not be
supposed

* Baronii Annal. Vol. ii. A. 217.

† Cyprian. ubi sup. sect. 3.

‡ Hæretici autem nullum habent consortium nostræ disciplinæ, quos extraneos utique testatur ipsa ademptio communicationis. Non debeo in illis cognoscere quod mihi est præceptum, quia non idem Deus est nobis et illis, nec unus Christus, id est idem. Ideoque nec baptismus unus, quia non idem. De Baptismo, c. 15.

§ Vol. iii. p. 236.

supposed to have any principle. They must have borne with, nay, joined in what they accounted blasphemy, and constantly submitted to the ministrations of those whom they reckoned idolaters.

We are assured by Tertullian, that if they declared their doubts only, they were considered as men who were *not Christians*. Thus, it is evident, that they could not avow their Unitarian tenets, and continue in communion. If they chose to conceal them, and outwardly to submit to the church's exposition, believing it to be false; they did so at their own peril. The church could not, on this account, be said "not to exclude" them. These *only true Christians* were men who only *believed with the heart*. They made *no confession with the mouth*. If Dr P. chooses to own them on these terms; he is welcome to all the honour he can derive from such a connexion. But what could he coolly think of that man, who although at heart a Socinian, would not only subscribe the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England, but professionally join in all the Trinitarian prayers and doxologies of that church?

The Doctor's hypothesis flatly contradicts the testimony of Irenæus; who declares that "the church, which is universal, hath one and the same faith throughout the whole world*." The Rule of Faith, given by him, as directly opposes Unitarian, as Gnostic errors. "We hold," he says, "the rule of truth, that is, that there is one omnipotent God, who made all things by his Word," &c. †. That Christ is here meant is undeniable. For Irenæus
not

* Της θσης εκκλησιας πασης μιας και την αυτην πισιν εχουσης εις παντα τον κοσμον. Lib. i. c. 4.

† Cum teneamus autem nos regulam veritatis, id est, quia sit unus Deus, quia omnia condidit per Verbum suum, &c. Ib. c. 19.

not only quotes the beginning of John's Gospel, and Col. i. 26. where the creation of all things, *visible and invisible*, is ascribed to Christ; but he uniformly describes his Saviour as the Word of the Father.

Our author well knows the faith of the venerable Bishop of Lyons. Now, he declares that this was the faith received by the whole church; and opposes this Rule to all the heresies he was about to mention, to that of Ebionites as well as Gnostics. For he says; "Therefore, holding this rule, although they differ much and in a great variety of ways, we can easily demonstrate that they have departed from the truth*."

But though it should be refused, as from what we have seen cannot be justly done, that that was properly the *Creed*, which was the belief of the church called *Catholic*, according to the received meaning of the words; it may be demonstrated that Unitarians were excluded by the very letter of it. It might be urged, that no Unitarian could conscientiously say; "I believe in Jesus Christ, his only Son," as expressed by the Latin church, or "his only begotten Son," as in all the Greek copies †: because he did not believe in Christ, as either the *only*, or the *only-begotten* Son of God; admitting man, though in an inferior degree, to a participation in the same kind of Sonship. It might be urged, that the catholic church undoubtedly considered Unitarians as excluded by this article. For Maximus Taurinensis, who flourished A. 422, gives this as the undisputed meaning of the language: "He is called, and believed to be, the *only*, or the *only-begotten*, because he
" is

* Hanc ergo tenentes regulam, licet valdè varia et multa dicant, facile eos deviasse a veritate arguimus. Ib.

† Pearson on the Creed, p. 105.

“ is the only one so begotten, and hath no partner in his nativity *.”

But I shall insist on that article only, which respected his miraculous conception. Both Irenæus † and Tertullian ‡ mention this as contained in the Rule of Faith in their times. All, who mention Ebion's tenets, speak of him as denying the miraculous conception. Our author thinks it probable that all the early Ebionites did so §. We have no reason to think otherwise, especially as Irenæus speaks of the Ebionites, without exception, as following Theodotion with respect to this article ||. We hear of none, to whom this name was given, believing the miraculous conception, before the time of Origen. Dr P. goes so far as to assert that the disbelief of this doctrine “ extended likewise to the Gentile converts, probably the majority of them even in the time of Justin Martyr **.” He says of Gentiles who denied this doctrine: “ Some, and probably a considerable number (or they would hardly have been mentioned at all) remained to the time of Origen ††.” He afterwards mentions it as “ very probable, that the disciples of Paulus Samosatensis, and, *if so*, the generality of the Gentile Unitarians of his time, disbelieved the miraculous conception, and paid no regard to the introduction to the Gospel of Luke, any more than that of Matthew ††.”

I shall ask no other proofs than those with which Dr P. furnishes me. The natural conclusion is, if the Ebionites,
if

* Unicus autem, vel unigenitus, annunciat et creditur, quia unus ita est genitus, neque habet in nativitate consortem. Homil. in Symbol. p. 239.

† Adv. haer. l. i. c. 2.

‡ De Virgin. Veland. c. 1.

§ Vol. iv. p. 84.

|| Lib. iii. c. 24.

** Vol. iv. p. 34.

†† Ib. p. 85.

†† Ib. p. 89.

if the Gentile Unitarians in the time of Justin, if, very probably, the disciples of Paul of Samosata, denied the miraculous conception; they were all excluded by the creed, as it stood in the earliest ages.

Our author seems to have foreseen this inference, and endeavours to provide against it. Because both Jewish and Gentile Unitarians denied this doctrine, he concludes, that “we cannot infer from Irenæus inserting the article of the miraculous conception in *his gloss on the Creed*, that it “was the belief of *all Christians*. Like Tertullian after him, he might have put into it the articles of his “own faith *.” But this conclusion involves a false supposition. For, as has been proved, these ancient writers did not reckon the Unitarians *Christians*. But the Doctor has taken care not to insert the passage in Irenæus which he had in his eye. Does he refer to that in the second chapter of the first Book? There Irenæus asserts that the church, “dispersed through the whole world, to the very ends of the “earth, hath received from the apostles, and their disciples that faith which is in one God,—who hath declared “—that generation which is of a Virgin †.” So far is this from being his own gloss, that he attests the reception of this doctrine by the whole church. “As the church,” he says, “dispersed throughout the world, hath received, she “diligently preserves this declaration, and this faith †.” This he elsewhere affirms to be “the old tradition §.”

Although

* Vol. iv. p. 91.

† Ecclesia enim per universum orbem, usque ad fines terræ seminata, et ab apostolis, et discipulis eorum accepit eam fidem, quæ est in unum Deum,—qui per Prophetas prædicavit—eam quæ est ex Virgine generationem.

‡ Hanc prædicationem cum acceperit, et hanc fidem, quemadmodum prædiximus, Ecclesia, et quidem in universum mundum disseminata, diligenter custodit. Lib. i. c. 3.

§ Lib. iii. c. 4.

Although Dr P. asserts that Tertullian gives only his own exposition of the Creed, in the work *de Prescriptionibus*, he grants that in his treatise *de Virginibus Velandis*, he “recites the several articles of it, as it stood in his time*.” If, therefore, the Ebionites, and the greatest part of Gentile Unitarians denied the miraculous conception, as our author acknowledges, were not all these expressly excluded by that article recited by Tertullian; “Born of the Virgin Mary †?” Could Jesus be born of a Virgin, and yet have Joseph for his father? That this article was, in ancient times, generally understood as opposed to Unitarians, as much as Gnostics, is evident from the manner in which Gennadius Massiliensis explains it: “Although the Son of God was born of a woman, yet it was not by the conjunction of a man, as *Ebion* affirms ‡.”

In the Creed of Aquileia, and as would seem, in some others, the words, *invisible* and *impassible*, were added to the clause concerning the Father. This, Rufinus says, was on account of the *Patripassians* §. Before the time of Paul of Samosata, these seem to have been the only Gentile Unitarians who troubled the church.

Before leaving this subject, we may attend to one observation made by our author. “Indeed, I believe it is the general opinion of learned Christians, that the Apostles
“ took

* Letters to Dr Horsley, P. i. p. 27.

† Natus ex Virgine Maria, De Virg. Veland. c. 1.

‡ Natus est ergo Dei Filius ex homine, et non per hominem, id est, non ex viri coitu, sicut Ebion dicit. Inter. Oper. Augustini. Vol. iii. De Eccles. Dogmat. p. 259.

§ His additur *invisibilem* et *impassibilem*. Sciendum quod duo illi sermones in Ecclesie Romanæ symbolo non habentur: constat autem apud nos additos, hære eos causa Sabellii, illius profecto quæ a nostris Patripassiana appellatur. Expof. in Symbol. sect. vii

“ took no great care to inculcate this doctrine (of the miraculous conception) but chiefly urged articles of greater moment. Among others, I shall give in the margin the opinion of Bishop Bull to this purpose *.” All that Bishop Bull says, is; “ It may be shrewdly conjectured, that the declaration of this mystery was reserved till the more full exposition of the gospel, after baptism †.” Here he is not speaking of those times when men were not baptised, till after they had been long in the state of catechumens; but of the apostolic age, when they received this ordinance immediately on their professing that Jesus was *the Christ, the Son of God*.

But from this concession, Dr P. presumes to make the worthy Bishop join with those who assert that “ the apostles took no great care to inculcate this doctrine.” This is entirely in the style in which he treats Athanasius. Because he speaks of the *prudence* of the Apostles, in not enlarging on the subject of our Saviour’s godhead, when addressing *unbelieving Jews*, Dr P. is pleased to infer, that Athanasius meant that “ the Apostles took no great care,” at any time, “ to inculcate this doctrine.” He seems resolved to compel both the ancient, and the modern Athanasius, to contribute to his scheme, however reluctantly. But we *know the man, and the manner of his communication*.

Besides the proof he wishes to derive from the Creed, he attempts to shew that “ all the Unitarians continued in communion with the Catholic church till the time of Theodotus, about the year 200; †” because we have no particular

* Vol. iv. p. 87, 88.

† Haud vane igitur augurari licet, hujus mysterii propalationem pleniori evangelii expositioni post baptismum reservatam fuisse. Oper. p. 339. ap. Auct.

‡ Vol. iii. p. 237.

particular account of any separate societies formed by them.

If they did continue in the church, it could only be by a base concealment of their principles, and by synbolizing with others in their supposed idolatry. For we have seen, that the letter of the creed excluded all who denied the miraculous conception. These, according to our author, formed the majority of Unitarians. But the fact is; he cannot prove that there were any Unitarians of another description, in this early period. At any rate, the design and meaning of the creed excluded them all. If they declared their sentiments, and did not retract them, if they even continued to doubt; they were denied to be Christians, and pronounced heretics. Can it be supposed that the person, who declared those to be antichrists that denied Christ to be the Son of God, who reckoned the Ebionites heretics on this account, and who went so far as to urge that all heretics should be re-baptized, would continue in a communion in which avowed Unitarians were tolerated, without one effort for the vindication of injured truth, or without a single complaint? Would he dare to say, that such were *extraneus (nostris ecclesiis)* in the estimation of the various branches of the Catholic church; if the whole of that church, as well as the heretics of whom he speaks, could have given him the lie?

But as we learn from Rufinus, that Ebion assembled a church distinct from the Apostolic, it is equally clear, from what he advances, that this was done by "all the other heretics." Their separation from the church, indeed, is the very proof given by that writer of the propriety of the character he had bestowed on her, as being that "holy church which had not spot or blemish." He must also be understood, as declaring the conduct of the church, not merely with respect to heretics in his own time, but with respect to all former heretics. This appears, not only from

his mentioning them univerſally, but from the particular notice he takes of the moſt ancient heretics. It is alſo worthy of obſervation, that he conſtraiſts all theſe hereſies, whether in his own, or in former times, with the unity of the church, as “taught to believe in one God under the myſtery of a Trinity*.” Thence it appears, that he had eſpecially thoſe hereſies in his eye, which are oppoſed to this.

What Dr P. aſſerts ſeems very probable, that none of the Gentile Unitarians left the communion of the church, before Theodotus. But are we thence to conclude, with him, not only that the church tolerated them, but that they were the majority? Surely, there never was a more groundleſs inference. We have ſeen, that the firſt ſuppoſition is contradicted by all the contemporary accounts of the temper of the church at that time. Therefore, inſtead of ſuppoſing that the Unitarians were the majority, the only idea that we can form is, that if they had any exiſtence in the church, they virtually abjured their principles. Thus, if the Doctor’s argument prove any thing, it proves that there were no *avowed* Unitarians in the church, before Theodotus. This muſt, indeed, be acknowledged as the fact, if we have the leaſt reſpect to ancient hiſtory. For Eufebius declares that “Theodotus was the father of this God-denying *apocryſtacy*!” that is, he was the firſt Gentile, in the communion of the church, who thus abandoned her principles.

S E C.

* Hi ergo qui ſupra in unum Deum credere docti ſunt, ſub myſterio Trinitatis, credere hoc etiam debent unam eſſe eccleſiam ſanctam.— Iſta eſt ergo ſancta eccleſia, non habens maculam aut rugam. Multi enim et alii eccleſias congregarunt, ut Marcion, ut Valentinus, ut Hebion, ut Manichæus, ut Arius, et cæteri omnes hæretici. Expoſ. in Symbol. ſcct. 37.

SECTION II.

The Gentile Unitarians had distinctive names. Of the Alogi.

DR P.'s SECOND argument is as flimsy a one as ever was offered to the world. "The very circumstance," he says, "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 *."

This argument, it must be evident, does not presume to approach the limits which our author has prescribed to himself, in the title of this section. Though they should have had *no separate name*, would this prove that they were the *majority*? But the learned Gentleman takes his leave of the proper subject for a time, and seems inclined, as in the preceding argument, to confine himself to the proving of their fellowship with the Catholic church. His proof is, that they had *no separate name*. What? were they not called Paulians, Sabellians, Noëtians, Artemonites, &c.? Had they not thus a variety of *separate names*? This our author acknowledges. But it is not sufficient.

It must either be proved, that Gentile Unitarians had *one* separate name, including them all; or he will continue to refuse that they were in a state of separation from the church. For "these," he says, "were only names given "them in particular places from local circumstances." These names are too *particular* for our author. He must have a *general* one, including all Gentile Unitarians, whatever were their *local circumstances*, and how much soever the various parties differed from each other.

* Vol. iii. p. 237.

But does not a *separate name*, whether *general* or *particular*, imply the idea of *separation*? Dr P. justly observes, that “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 use of periphrases, or descriptions, particular names will be given to them.” But will he therefore undertake to prove, that when these bodies are not only “distinguished from others,” but distinct from one another, one *general* name will be given to them *all*? Is it not more natural to suppose, that they will receive particular names, distinguishing them not merely from the church they have left, but from each other? If they not only hold very different opinions, but appear in different places, and at different times; is it not still more natural to suppose that they will be variously characterized? From the learned writer’s ordinary mode of reasoning, I persuade myself, that had he found that Gentile Unitarians had received one general designation only, he would have reckoned the circumstance no less favourable to him. “Why,” might he have said, “had these Unitarians been separate from the church; appearing as they certainly did, in different places, and under different leaders, it cannot be conceived that those, from whom they separated, would have unanimously agreed to give them one name. This is without a parallel in the history of the church. They would have had many according to the variation of their circumstances. As they had not *separate names*, while we know that they differed from one another, we can form no other conclusion, than that they were all in communion with the church.” Had his argument been thus reversed, would not the *presumption* have been much stronger?

The variety of names given to these heretics, is a better proof of their being separate from the church, than any
 one

one general name could have been. For as the variety or particularity of these names, is no objection to their being what he calls *separate*, it demonstrates the separation of those to whom they were given, not only from the church, but from one another. The references contained in these particular designations, also shew that it would have been difficult to have found a general one. Perhaps, there was not one, that the Catholic church would have chosen to bestow on heretics. She would never have called them *Unitarians*; being persuaded that she alone held the scriptural doctrine of the unity. Our author may give this name to the followers both of Theodotus, and of Praxeas; although the former held that Christ was a mere man; and the latter, that he was the same person as the Father, and therefore, that the Father suffered. Cyprian calls the former *Anthropians*, and the latter *Patripassians* *. Lactantius gives the former the same name †. Marius Mercator says, that Photinus and his followers were called *Homuncinities*, by the Roman church ‡. The only difference between this name and that of *Anthropians*, evidently is, that the one is of Greek, and the other of Latin, origin. Thus, though the ancients did not think proper to characterize these heretics by any one *general* name, and scarcely could do so, because of the diametrical opposition of the different parties; they adopted two of this description, as pointing out the two great branches of this heresy.

The very names to which Dr P. objects, as arising “from local circumstances,” afford the strongest evidence we could wish, of the bodies to which they were given being separate from the church. For these names were imposed, according to her invariable practice from the beginning, with respect to heretics. The Gentile Unitarians were

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called

* Epist. ad Jubaian. sect. 4

† Institut. lib. iv. c. ult.

‡ In Refutat, Anathem. Nestorii ap. Ittigii Haer. sect. i. c. 5.

called "Paulians, Sabellians, Noëtians or Artemonites," from Paul of Samosata, Sabellius, Noëtus and Artemon; as Justin Martyr says of other heretics, "every one being named from the leader of the opinion*."

After all, the Doctor seems to think that he has discovered one general name. "The name, he says, "by which the Gentile Unitarians were sometimes distinguished,—was that of *Monarchists*." But he will not allow us to derive any benefit from the discovery. For he adds; "This was probably assumed by themselves, from their asserting the monarchy of the Father, in opposition to — the divinity of the Son. For had it been a name given them by their enemies, it would probably have been of a different kind, and have implied some reproach †." The amount of this argument is; "The Catholic church did not generally bestow this name on those who assumed it; therefore, she continued to hold communion with them."

But our author endeavours to prove the necessity of such a general name, from analogy. "Had the Unitarians," he says, "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 ‡." After what has been said, this scarcely requires an answer. But as it is the main pillar of Dr P.'s proof, it may be observed that even the name of *Gnostics* does not seem to have been universally used as a general designation for many ages. Justin Martyr distinguishes these heretics by particular names, from the founders of the various sects, but does not mention any general name. Therefore, according to the Doctor's reasoning, they were
not

* Dial. p. 253.

† Vol. iii. p. 239.

‡ Ib. p. 237.

not heretics in the time of Justin. For if the argument be good in the one instance, it must be as good in the other. Irenæus, indeed, speaks of Gnostics: but this general, or as Dr P. calls it, this *particular* name occurs very seldom in his work. Tertullian treats of the Gnostics, as distinct from Valentinians, Marcionites, &c. whence it has been thought that he had one particular sect in his eye, as more especially distinguished by this name. Origen also expressly distinguishes Valentinians from Gnostics, speaking of the former as different from the latter*. Although Eusebius gives an account of the various classes of Gnostics, calling them after their leaders, I have not observed that the general name is mentioned by him. Even Augustine, in his short treatise on heresy, uses the term Gnostics as the name of one sect only.

But although this name had been universally used, from the very origin of this heresy, as including the various classes; must it follow that Unitarians, notwithstanding the variety of particular designations they had, were not accounted heretics, because they had not a name of the same kind? Let those who perceive the force of the reasoning, please themselves with it.

Dr P., when speaking of those who called "themselves *Monarchists*," says that they were distinguished by this name "before the separation of any of them from the Catholic church †." But he has forgot to give us his proof of this assertion. Tertullian gives this name to Praxeas and his followers, who made the Father, Son and Holy Ghost to be one person. But he evidently gives it in contempt, calling them "*most vain Monarchians* ‡." It is in the same manner that Irenæus admits the name of Gnostics. Speaking of some who gave a representation of their

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genealogies.

* Cont. Cels. l. 5. p. 271.

† Vol. iii. p. 239.

‡ Adv. Prax. c. 10

genealogies, different from that of others, he says; "They with these powers to be considered as existing before Bythos and Sige, that they may appear more perfect than the perfect, and more knowing than *Gnostics*; so that one may justly call out to them, O trifling sophists*."

Dr P. grants, that if the Unitarians had "been considered as heretics," they would "of course have formed separate societies." But Tertullian clearly speaks of the Monarchians as heretics. When answering their argument, in support of that unity for which they contended, from the possibility of all things to God, he says; "God could have at once extinguished Praxeas and others equally heretics: but because he could, he hath not done so. For it was necessary that there should be—heretics †." Now, if the followers of Praxeas, who called themselves Monarchians, were "considered as heretics," they must "of course have formed separate societies;" our author himself being judge.

It is generally agreed that this name was first assumed by Praxeas and his followers ‡, there being no evidence of its former existence. This circumstance affords another proof of the falsity of our author's assertion, that the Gentile Unitarians were distinguished by this name before their separation. Tertullian is the first who gives them this designation, or indeed mentions it. His work against Praxeas, in

* Ταυτας Βηλονται τας δυναμεις προπαρχεν τε βυθου και της σιγης, να τελειων τελειοτεροι φανωσιν οντες, και Γνωστικων γνωστικωτεροι, προς ως δικαιως αν τις επιφονησειεν, Ω ληρολογοι σοφισται. Lib. 1. c. 5. p. 60.

† Potuit et Praxean, et omnes pariter hæreticos statim extinxisse: non tamen quia potuit, extinxit. Opportebat enim esse—hæreticus. Adv. Prax. c. 10.

‡ Baronii Annal. vol. ii. A. C. 196. Mosheim's Hist. vol. i. Cent. 2. part 2. c. 5.

in which it occurs, does not seem to have been written till after the condemnation of this heretic by Zephyrinus *. Now, when the head of the party was condemned, is it in any degree probable that his followers, persisting in their errors would be suffered to continue in communion, or would have continued, although suffered?

The genuine history of this sect, as far as we can learn it, seems to be this. Praxeas brought the *Patripassian* doctrine from Asia, and was the first who introduced it into the Roman territories. He was condemned by Zephyrinus, bishop of Rome. In consequence of his condemnation, he wrote and signed a recantation of his errors. When Tertullian wrote against him, his hand-writing was in possession of the Catholics. Praxeas, after his condemnation, seemed to amend. But before he was condemned, he, or some others, had propagated his doctrine at Carthage. For Tertullian, having spoken of the introduction of this heresy into the Roman territories, adds that "he, being of a restless spirit, introduced it elsewhere." However, it soon seemed to be banished from Africa. "His tares," says the ancient writer, "being scattered *here*, bore fruit, many sleeping in ignorance of doctrine: but driven hence, by whom it pleased God to employ, they seemed to be even eradicated." Most probably Tertullian means modestly to insinuate that he was himself the instrument. The condemnation of Praxeas by the bishop of Rome would also greatly contribute to the suppression of his heresy. But some time after, he vented it anew. The tares seemed to be rooted out. "But," Tertullian subjoins, "on all hands they diffused their seed. Thus for some time in a hypocritical manner he lay hid, craftily retaining life under ground; and now at length he hath burst forth †." It

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* Optat. Milevitan. adv. Parmen. lib. 1. ap Baron. ut sup.

† Nam iste primus ab Asia hoc genus perversitatis intulit Romanæ humo,

was on this second appearance of the heresy of Praxeas, that Tertullian wrote against it.

But we have not the least reason to suppose that it was ever tolerated in the Catholic church. This indulgence could not be extended to Praxeas himself, before he went to Rome. For according to the testimony of Pacianus, he was a Montanist *. Nor was this the case afterwards. For Tertullian says that "the business was transacted among the *Psychici*," and that this was the cause of the silence of Praxeas. He not only refers to his condemnation, but speaks of it as approved by all the Catholic church. As little could his followers be said to be tolerated. For according to the same writer, when this heretic first discovered himself, his tares were cast out of the African churches. On the renewal of his heresy, the condemnation would undoubtedly be renewed, and would extend to his followers. They were, indeed, the very persons whom Cyprian calls *Patripassians*. For they were not acknowledged by the name which they assumed. He also, as has been proved, expressly calls them heretics, denies, that they were of the same church, and pleads that such, on their return from heresy, should be rebaptized †. As, in the same place, he refers

himo, et aliis inquietus.—Fructificaverant avenæ Praxeanæ, hic quoque superfeminatæ, dormientibus multis in simplicitate doctrinæ; tractatæ dehinc per quem Deus voluit, etiam evulsæ videbantur. Denique caverat prius Doctor de emendatione sua; et manet chirographum apud Psychicos †, apud quos tunc gesta res est, exinde silentium.—Avenæ verò illæ ubique tunc semen excusserant. Ita aliquandiu per hypocrisisa subdola vivacitate latitavit: et nunc denuo erupit. Adv. Prax. c. 1.

† I need scarcely say, that by the *Psychici* Tertullian means the members of the Catholic church, as he had by this time embraced the doctrine of Montanus. The followers of this heretic, as they believed that he was the promised Paraclete, called all who denied this natural men.

* Adv. Symphronian. ap. Baron. Annal. vol. ii. p. 278.

† Ep. ad Jubaian. f. 4. Vid. sup. p. 270.

refers to the authority of Agrippinus, his venerable predecessor, who rebaptized those heretics that returned to the church; it is highly probable that some of them were such as had been corrupted by Praxeas, especially as Agrippinus was contemporary with Tertullian, and therefore with Praxeas. At any rate, if matters were then carried so high as to heretics of any description, there is not the least probability that those who denied the Trinity would be spared.

As Dr P. cannot say of Epiphanius, as he says of Justin Martyr, that he has treated the Unitarians with "great respect," he takes every opportunity of quarrelling with him, save where he can turn any general or loose expression his own way. He summons this father to his tribunal, on occasion of his "ineffectual endeavour to impose on" our author's worthy predecessors the name of *Alogi*. "As to the term *Alogi*," he says, "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*." Dr P. seems to rest his assertion on three arguments. The first is, that for this "there is no evidence besides his own." This we shall consider afterwards. The second is founded on his "not pretending to have had it from the Unitarians themselves." But this is evidently of no weight. For if it was a matter of notoriety in the time of Epiphanius, he would never think of asking information from them. Had Epiphanius pretended that this was the source of his intelligence, it is not improbable that the learned Gentleman would have told us that he had mistaken their meaning; that if this had been true, it would have been generally known, and therefore that Epiphanius would have had no occasion to apply

to

to them for information; or that they meant to sport with his credulity.

His third reason follows: "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 all the books of the New Testament. And that the same people should reject these books after the time of Eusebius, and not before, is highly improbable*." No more improbable, surely, than that a great part of *the same people* who had for nearly two centuries unanimously *rejected* the introduction to Matthew's Gospel, should afterwards acknowledge it as genuine.

Eusebius mentions the doubts entertained with respect to the Revelation, when particularizing the books of the New Testament received by common consent †. Afterwards he fully rehearses the account given by Dionysius of some who rejected this book ‡. He also mentions the Ebionites as acknowledging only the Gospel to the Hebrews. Our author himself, when enumerating *the sacred books of the Ebionites*, does not pretend that they received any other part of the New Testament ||. Therefore, he must either retract his assertion, that "there could not have been any *Christians* who rejected all the writings of John, before the time of Eusebius;" or grant what many are already persuaded of, that the Ebionites were *no Christians*. Indeed, when Eusebius asserts, in one place, that the four Gospels, the Epistles of Paul, &c. were "received by common consent §," and in another **, informs us that the Ebionites received the Hebrew Gospel only, and rejected all the Epistles of Paul; it is evident that he did not consider them

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* Vol. iii. p. 240.

† Hist. l. 3. c. 25.

‡ Ibid. l. 7. c. 25.

¶ Vol. iii. p. 212.

§ Hist. l. 3. c. 25.

** Ibid. c. 27.

them as Christians. As he does not reckon the objections of the Ebionites to the Gospel of John worthy to be mentioned, although other Unitarians, of Gentile extraction, had also made objections to it, he might deem them equally unworthy of his attention.

But has Epiphanius said that they “ rejected *all* the writings of John?” This is merely the language of his interpreter. Epiphanius simply says; “ They do not properly receive the books published by the holy John.—For they say that they are not John’s, but those of Cerinthus; and affirm that they are not worthy to be in the church*.” He only asserts indefinitely what Eusebius had particularly asserted with respect to the Revelation †. Epiphanius, indeed, afterwards speaks of them as rejecting the Gospel of John.

There is no evidence, however, from the account of the *Alogi* given by Epiphanius, that he meant to confine the name to *Gentile* heretics. He seems to have invented it for the purpose of including all who denied the authenticity of John’s Gospel, or the true doctrine concerning the Logos, whether Jews or Gentiles. That he means no single body of heretics, is pretty clear from his not mentioning any leader, or particular place where the heresy made its appearance; which is his ordinary plan. That he includes the Ebionites and Cerinthians also, is highly probable from his mentioning both Ebion and Cerinthus, as asserting that Christ was a mere man, in the section immediately preceding that in which he introduces the name; and because he afterwards speaks of the doctrine of John as directly

* Ου δεχονται φρεσι τα βιβλια τα απο τῶ ἀγίου Ἰωάννου κηρυγμένα.—λέγουσι γὰρ μὴ εἶναι αὐτὰ Ἰωάννη, ἀλλὰ Κερίθου· καὶ οὐκ εὐχία αὐτὰ φασὶν εἶναι ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ. Hist. 51. sect. 3.

† Hist. lib. 7. c. 25.

rectly opposite to the errors of both *. In this sense he is understood by the learned Fabricius †. Epiphanius afterwards describes the Theodotians as a *branch* of the Alogi.

But our author reckons without his host, when he is pleased to say of the charge exhibited by Epiphanius against these heretics, that “there is no evidence for it besides his own.” The same thing is asserted by Philaster, a writer nearly of the same age. He, having described another class, says; “After these are the heretics, who do not receive the Gospel according to John, and his Revelation; and as they do not understand, nor desire to learn the power of the scripture, they continue perishing in heresy, so that they even dare to say that these are the works of that heretic Cerinthus; and that the Revelation itself is not that of the blessed John the Evangelist and Apostle ‡.” Austin gives a similar testimony. “The Alogians,” he says, “are so denominated, as being without the Word, (for *word* in Greek is called Logos) because they are unwilling to receive God the Word, contemptuously rejecting the Gospel of John, as they do not receive his Revelation: For they pretend that these are not his writings ||.”

The anonymous author of the *Prædestinati*, as the work

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* Hær. 51. sect. 2. p. 12.

† Biblioth. Græc. vol. iii. lib. 4. c. 5. p. 141.

‡ Post hos sunt hæretici, qui Evangelium secundum Joannem et Apocalypsim ipsius non accipiunt, et cum non intelligunt virtutem Scripturæ nec desiderant discere, in hæresi permanent pereuntes, ut etiam Cerinthi illius hæretici esse audeant dicere, et Apocalypsin itidem, non beati Joannis Evangelistæ et Apostoli, sed Cerinthi hæretici. Philast. de Hær. c. 60. ap. Lampe Proleg. in Joan.

|| Alogiani propterea sic vocantur, tanquam sine verbo (Logos enim Græcè *verbum* dicitur) quia Deum verbum recipere noluerunt, Joannis Evangelium respicientes, cujus nec Apocalypsin accipiunt, has videlicet scripturas negant esse ipsius. De Hæres. c. 30. vol. vi. p. 8.

is generally called, by some supposed to have been Primateus, says; "The thirtieth heresy is that of the Alogi. "They are so called, because they refuse to acknowledge "the Word to be the Son of God; in so much that they "affirm that the Gospel of St John is not his; nor do they "receive his Revelation *." The same thing is asserted by Damascenus: "They are called *Alogi* by us, who reject the Gospel according to John, and his Revelation; "because they receive not God the Word, proceeding from "the Father, and eternally existing †." From the manner in which he expresses himself, one would be apt to conclude that there were such heretics even in his time.

Irenæus speaks of some who rejected the Gospel of John, because it contained the promise of the Paraclete; whereas they opposed the spirit of prophecy. It may be thought that, had he meant the Ebionites, it would have been more natural to have mentioned John's doctrine concerning the Word, as the reason of their rejecting his Gospel. But the denial of a proper inspiration, as we have formerly seen, was another character of these heretics. It seems almost certain that he referred to them, because he adds; "It is to be understood that those of this kind also receive not the Apostle Paul." Because of their opposition to the doctrine
of

† Tricesima hæresis est Alogorum; propterea sic vocantur, quia Verbum Dei esse Filium, accipere nolunt: in tantum ut Evangelium Sancti Joannis dicant ipsius non esse: nec Apocalypsin accipiunt ejusdem Joannis. Hær. 30. See an account of this work, and of the different editions of it, in the preface to Ittig. Dissertat. de Hæresarchis; Cave Hist. Literar. A. 550.

† Αλογοι αφ' κμων κληθεντες, οι το Ευαγγελιον το κατα Ιωαννην αδειτεντες, και τον Αποκαλυψιν αυτη, δια τον ελθοντα εκ τω Πατρισθεω Λογον, οιτα αι, μη δ-ξισθαι. De Hæres. sect. 51.

of the Spirit, he reckons them guilty of the unpardonable sin*.

As this circumstance is attested by so many writers besides Epiphanius, our author's bold assertion is a striking proof, among many, of his carelessness as an historian. One, who claims this designation, ought to examine a little more accurately. An unlimited assertion, in opposition to such abundance of proof, is not merely a proclamation of one's own ignorance, but an inexcusable presumption on that of the public.

S E C T I O N III.

Of the pretended Respect with which Unitarians were treated.

THE third *presumptive* proof is properly a confirmation of that which we have recently considered. "This argument," Dr P. says, "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 †." Perhaps, he speaks of his last argument as having *double force* from this consideration, as being conscious that, although true, it had only *half* the force it should have

* Alii verò ut donum Spiritus frustrentur, quod in novissimis temporibus secundum placitum Patris effusum est in humanum genus, illam speciem non admittunt, quæ est secundum Joannis Evangelium, in qua Paracletum se missurum Dominus promisit, simul et Evangelium, et propheticum repellunt Spiritum.—Datur autem intelligi, quod hujusmodi neque Apostolum Paulum recipiant. In ea enim Epistola quæ est ad Corinthios, de prophetiis charismatibus diligenter loquutus est, et scit viros et mulieres in ecclesia prophetantes. Per hæc igitur omnia peccantes in Spiritum Dei, in irremissibile incidunt peccatum. Lib. 3. c. 11. p. 259

† Vol. iii. p. 241.

have had ; because it could in no respect tend to shew that Unitarians were the majority. For here only he begins to treat of the subject proposed in this section. But the consideration mentioned, instead of proving the forlorn hope of the preceding argument, is itself a vague supposition founded on a gross misrepresentation.

It is vain for Dr P. to speak of " the Unitarian doctrine " as treated with so much respect, when it was first mentioned." It has been said of the Russian ladies, that they judge of the regard which their husbands have for them, by the frequency of their correction, and that they reckon the sparing use of the rod a certain mark of indifference. One would almost think, that our learned author judged in the same manner of the *respect* which the ancients had for Unitarians.

Was not Theodotus excommunicated ? If the majority were Unitarians, how is our author at such a loss to know if his followers formed a separate society * ? When the greatest indignity was offered to their leader, could there be a majority in his favour, and yet so few among them attached to his interests, that it cannot be known, whether he had any *companions in tribulation*, and in what they must have accounted *the kingdom and patience of Jesus Christ* ? When, according to the convictions of the greatest part, truth received so fatal a stab, would there be no considerable number, in all the churches of Asia, Africa and Europe, who would prefer the precious *depositum* to communion with a church of idolaters ? If this *majority* consisted of such traitors, truly they are not worth the contending for.

They had no temptation whatsoever to abide in the communion of that church which had excommunicated their leader. Our author cannot pretend that they were

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following

* Vol. iii. p. 237.

following the multitude. This, he says, was on their own side. The civil power was equally against both. The orthodox, he grants, had the most of the learned. But would their learning avail, when it must have been believed that this was the very source of their adulteration of the faith? Since there was so clear a majority, and the pastors then depended on the flock, how were they not turned out? Why do we never read of a single counter-anathema from the majority? What gentle-spirited men must these Unitarians have been, although of the lowest classes, who are generally most ungovernable? How different from the religious, even of these enlightened times? Poverty and ignorance, in that golden age, produced very different effects on the multitude from what they do now.

Did not Tertullian write against Praxeas as a heretic? Has it not been proved, that he accounted all who denied the Deity of Christ, not heretics only, but antichrists? Did not he and Cyprian plead that all heretics should be re-baptized? Did not Agrippinus refuse to receive any who had borne this character, without a second baptism? Is it not natural to think that this was the general spirit of the African clergy?

Was not Praxeas condemned, for his Unitarian tenets, by the bishop of Rome? Had the majority, even of the African church, been Unitarians, would not that bishop have refused communion with them, if he had not formally pronounced an anathema against them? Did not the condemnation of Praxeas give such a shock to the cause, that he was obliged to sign his recantation, and conceal his sentiments? Could the tares of his false doctrine seem to be rooted out, as Tertullian says, if it was, and still had been, that of the majority? Or, according to the ordinary principles of human nature, would he have at all concealed his tenets, had he been assured of such support, as must soon have

have overpowered the clergy, with all their learning; as it would have set them a begging. Common sense and the experience of all ages, as well as clear historical testimony, cry out against our author's hypothesis, as in the highest degree paradoxical and absurd.

He mentions the persecution of Servetus, even while Calvin was himself exposed to persecution, as a presumption that the orthodox would have proceeded to extremities against the Unitarians, had the doctrine of the latter been novel*. But, without entering into the question as to the hand that Calvin had in this business, the cases are entirely different. He was then supported by the state of Geneva. When Theodotus was excommunicated, when Praxeas was condemned, the Christians had not the protection of any state. Indeed, the condemnation of Praxeas seems to have taken place about the time that the persecution raged against the Christians in Africa, under Severus. But though there had been no persecution, neither party durst have hazarded any act of personal violence.

But this argument is as good the one way as the other. If the orthodox doctrine was *novel*, and rejected by the majority, how did they treat their opponents "with so much respect?" If we can judge from the bloody conduct of the Arians, their kindred friends, they have been fully as much disposed to violence as the orthodox.

SECTION IV.

Examination of the pretended Evidence from Tertullian, that the Majority of Gentile Christians were Unitarians. Of Justin Martyr's testimony on this subject.

DR PRIESTLEY's fourth argument "in favour of the
"antiquity of the proper Unitarian doctrine," is
T 2 derived

* Vol. iii. p. 242.

derived from "the *rank* and *condition* of those who held " it in the time of Tertullian." He, according to our author, "calls them *simplices et idiotæ*, that is, *simple* and " *unlearned* people; and such persons," he says, "are very " likely to retain old opinions, and are always far less subject " to innovate than the learned *." Dr Horsley, in his remarks on our author's former work, has translated the last of these words, *idoots*; as signifying, according to the common use of this term in our language, their *stupidity* †. Dr P. refuses that the word ever occurs in this sense.

Its being connected with *imprudentes*, which is here omitted by Dr P., shews that the ancient writer meant to pay no greater compliment to their *understanding*, than to their *learning*. But although Dr P. should be right in his assertion as to the meaning of *idiotæ*, after the most impartial examination of the passage, in its connexion, I cannot subscribe to his inference. From the apparent ascription of the opinions of Praxeas to the *simple*, *imprudent* and *unlearned*, he concludes that the doctrine of the church was originally Unitarian. His argument, indeed, partly depends on the assertion of Tertullian, that "such are always " the majority of believers," and that these people were *shocked* at the doctrine of the Trinity.

But Tertullian seems to use the term *simplices* in contradistinction from the other two. I am inclined to this opinion, because the *simple* are the only persons to whom he has formerly ascribed the reception of that error which he here opposes. For he previously expresses himself thus: "The tares of Praxeas have borne fruit, being also scattered here, many sleeping, *simplicitate doctrinæ*, in *simpli-* " *city* of doctrine." By this expression he undoubtedly signifies both their ignorance and indifference; alluding to that passage, *While men slept the enemy sowed his tares*.

By

* Vol. iii. p. 243.

† Letters to Dr P. p. 74.

By this term he seems also to point out the *quorundam*, the certain persons mentioned a little before. Having observed, that “ whatever is first is true, and that what is of late date is false,” he adds; “ But this rule being preserved, every where nevertheless *for instructing and fortifying some certain persons*, there must be room left for retractations; lest any perverseness seem to be condemned without examination, but rather under the influence of prejudice; and this especially which thinks that it possesses nothing but the truth; while reckoning that we are not otherwise to believe in the one God, than if he called himself the same Father, and Son, and Holy Ghost.”

Now, it is evident that the controverted passage is introduced as an illustration of this. What immediately follows is merely a passing proof of their mistake with respect to the unity. Having given it as his opinion, that “ room should be left for retraction, for instructing and fortifying certain persons,” he proceeds to give his reason for mentioning these, and for the wish he had expressed concerning them, by declaring the matter of fact. “ *For,*” says he, “ the simple indeed, (as sleeping in their ignorance of doctrine) that I may not speak of those who are imprudent and unlearned,” &c *. Had he known the majority to be Unitarians, he would not have spoken of them as *some certain persons*. This is language never used with respect to a multitude, far less the greatest part of any large body.

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* Ubique tamen propter instructionem et munitionem quorundam, dandus est etiam retractatibus locus: vel ne videatur unaquæque perversitas, non examinata, sed præjudicata damnari, maxime hæc, quæ se existimat meram veritatem possidere, dum unicum Deum non aliàs putat credendum, quàm si ipsum eundemque et patrem, et filium et spiritum sanctum dicat: quasi non sic quoque unus sit omnia, dum ex uno omnia, per substantiæ scilicet unitatem, et nihilominus custodiatur *diversitas* sacramentum

The expression, *quæ major semper credentium pars est*, which is our author's strong-hold, so far from being added as implying that the majority were Unitarians, seems designed to express the very contrary. It is as if he had said; "When I speak of *certain persons*, to whom an opportunity " must be given of retracting their errors, I refer to the *simple* " *ple*, whom I have already described as *sleeping in igno-* " *rance*, and thence, a prey to the enemy. I do not men- " tion the *imprudent and unlearned*; for in this case, I " should accuse the greatest part of Christians."

That the expression must be understood distinctively, is further evident from the very word *credentium*. Had Tertulian meant to assert that the *imprudent and unlearned*, as well as the *simple*, were carried away by this error; and at the same time, that they always constituted the majority, it must have appeared to him the same as if he had asserted that the majority were thus misled. But in this case, would he have called them *believers*? Would that writer who as-
ferts

mentum, quæ unitatem in Trinitatem disponit, tres dirigens, patrem, et filium, et spiritum sanctum. 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. Quomodo numerum sine divisione patiuntur, procedentes retractatus demonstrabunt. Simples enim quippe, ne dixerim imprudentes et idiotæ, (quæ major semper credentium pars est) quoniam et ipsa regula fidei a pluribus deis seculi, ad unicum et verum Deum transfert: non intelligentes unicum quidem, sed cum sua *οικονομια* esse credendum, expavescunt ad *οικονομιαν*. Numerum et dispositionem Trinitatis, divisionem præsumunt unitatis, quando unitas ex semetipso derivans Trinitatem, non destruitur ab illa, sed administratur. Itaque duos et tres jam jactitant a nobis prædicari, se verò unius Dei cultores præsumunt: quasi non et unitas inrationaliter collecta hæresim faciat, et Trinitas rationaliter expressa, veritatem constituat, *μοναρχιαν* (inquiunt) tenemus. Et ita sonum ipsum vocaliter exprimunt etiam Latini, etiam opici, ut putes illos tam bene intelligere *μοναρχιαν* quàm enuntiant. Sed *μοναρχιαν* sonare student Latini, *οικονομιαν* intelligere nolunt etiam Græci. Adv. Prax. c. 2. 3.

ferts that “ those who are in a state of inquiry, do not hold “ fast,” therefore, “ have not yet *believed*,” and of consequence “ are not Christians ;” who largely proves this, notwithstanding call those *believers*, who denied the Trinity? We cannot form this idea, without supposing that, like the *simple* whom he describes, he had been *asleep* while he wrote : or that, like some modern writers, he had given his work to the world, without taking time to look over it.

Thus, the following seems to be the only translation of the passage, which agrees with the connexion ; “ For instructing and fortifying *some certain persons*, room must “ be every where left for retractations, &c. For the simple *, indeed, (not to speak of the imprudent and unlearned, who are always the majority of Christians †) since “ even the Rule of Faith transfers us from the many gods “ of this world, to the one true God ; not understanding “ that we are indeed to believe in the one God, with his “ œconomy, are greatly afraid at the œconomy. They “ apprehend that the number and disposition of the Trinity is a division of the unity ; while the unity, deriving “ the Trinity from itself, is not destroyed, but administered by it. Therefore, they *now* boast that two, even “ three, are preached by us, but pretend that they are the “ worshippers of one God : as if the unity, irrationally understood, did not make heresy, and as if the Trinity, rationally considered, did not constitute the truth. We

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“ hold,

* *Simplices enim quippe* does not seem to denote all the simple, without exception. Dr P. himself does not push the language of the ancient writer so far. It merely fixes the character of *simple*, as formerly defined, or those who were led astray by Praxeas.

† The parenthesis seems to be most naturally marked in this way, according to the obvious sense of the passage.

“ hold, say they, the *monarchy*. And thus the Latins themselves *verbally* express the very sound *, nay, even the barbarians; that you would think, they understood the *monarchy*, as well as they expressed it. But the Latins learn to pronounce *the word monarchy*; while even the Greeks will not understand that of *economy*.”

Dr P., both in his translation and quotation of the text, has passed several expressions, without any intimation of the omission; particularly that; “ As if the unity, irrationally understood, did not make *heresy*.” It may be said that this does not respect the matter of fact Tertullian meant to demonstrate. But some may be apt to suppose that Dr P. had a more weighty reason for overlooking this clause; as it plainly proves, what he has taken such pains to disprove, that mere Unitarianism was *heresy* in the account of Tertullian. As our author could not but know that he uses this language, (for he has transcribed what immediately precedes and follows it) with what degree of integrity could he assert that Tertullian, in his ideas of heresy, “ went no farther than to the Gnostics, except that he once calls Ebion a heretic; and then he expressly makes his heresy to consist in his ^{***}observance of the Jewish ritual †?”

But although we cannot grant, let us for a moment suppose, that it is the design of Tertullian to include all the three classes mentioned. Even on this ground, it cannot be proved that he meant to insinuate that the majority were Unitarians. For then we could only understand Tertullian as introducing this observation, *quæ major semper,*
 &c.

* *Sonum ipsum vocaliter exprimunt* simply means, that although *μοναρχία* was a Greek word, the Latins expressed it literally, without using a word of the same signification in their own language. Therefore, Dr P. erroneously translates *μοναρχίαν sonare student*, “ have learned to bawl out for monarchy.” Hist. Corrupt. Vol. i. p. 56.

† Vol. i. 287. iii. 205.

&c. to illustrate the necessity of that moderation he had recommended; because, they being only simple, imprudent and unlearned persons who were carried away, though this was not the case with all to whom these characters were applicable, there might be danger in precipitancy; as in every age such persons constituted the majority of believers. For I still assert that there is a strict connexion between the controverted passage and what precedes it.

Though Tertullian should be understood as signifying that the simple, imprudent and unlearned, were not only *always* the majority, but were then carried away, there could be no proof brought from his language, that he meant to assert that they had been *always* Unitarians. Indeed, the whole strain of his discourse directly opposes this idea. For before expressing himself in this manner, he affirms, not merely that the particular doctrine of Praxeas, but that the denial of the Trinity, was but *of yesterday*. For in opposition to this heresy, he mentions the doctrine of *three persons*, as the acknowledged meaning of that "Rule, which had descended from the beginning of the gospel." He appeals the truth of this to the posterity of all former heretics*. That he speaks of the Creed, according to the traditionary sense of it, is evident from his mentioning, in the very sentence which is the subject of dispute, the opposite sense ascribed to it by Monarchians †. For it is clear that there was no controversy between the orthodox and them, as to the antiquity of this Rule of Faith. They acknowledged this: but seem to have founded their objection

* Hanc regulam ab initio Evangelii decucurisse etiam ante priores quosque hæreticos, nedum ante Praxean hæsternum, probabit tam ipsa posteritas omnium hæreticorum, quam ipsa novellitas Praxæ hæsterni. Adv. Prax. c. 2.

† Quoniam et ipsa regula fidei, a pluribus deis seculi, ad unicum et verum Deum transfert; *non intelligentes unicum*. &c. Ibid.

tion on the first clause, " I believe in *one* God," urging that by this they were bound to believe in *one* person only.

Had Tertullian meant to intimate that the majority had been *still* Unitarians, he would not have said, *jam jactitant*, " they *now* boast that two, nay, three are preached " by us." For this must have been their outcry from the first mention of that doctrine; according to Dr P., from the time of Justin Martyr at least. He, indeed, overlooks this contemptible particle in his translation. The very terms, expressive of the *novel* doctrine of Unitarians, were only coming into use.

Thus, even according to our author's own maxim, that " large bodies of people do not soon change their principles," his conclusion from Tertullian's language must be erroneous. For if that doctrine, which denied the Trinity, was in his time but *of yesterday*, how can we suppose that it would be adopted by the majority. There is not one historical maxim, given by Dr P., more important than this; That when a writer is introduced as a witness of any fact, his testimony is to be understood only in its proper connexion; and that unless, according to this, it answers the purpose for which it is introduced, it is totally inadmissible as evidence.

If we do not deny the ground of the whole dispute, by denying Tertullian's credibility as a writer, we must believe that this doctrine was unknown in Africa, before the time of Praxeas. How could he otherwise say; " His tares were on all hands diffused here?" If the ancient doctrine was what is called Unitarian, how would he speak of the fructification of these tares, because men were *asleep*?

Had this doctrine been really believed by the majority, Tertullian must have asserted a notorious falsehood, in saying; " They

“ were removed from this quarter, and seemed to be even “ *rooted out* * ” Was he so lost to moral rectitude, nay, to all regard to character, as to assert what, he must have known, every reader had it in his power flatly to contradict?

Did the Latins express the word *μοναρχία*? It was only as *studying to pronounce* it after Praxeas. Did the Greeks refuse to understand the word *οινονομία*? They were such Greeks as had been corrupted by him. For here Tertullian speaks of both with respect to their different languages; as Greek was then the general language of Asia, while Latin continued to be that of Rome, and the parts of the Empire nearest it. He speaks of both as to the present influence of the doctrine of Praxeas. He evidently refers to what he had formerly declared, that “ Praxeas was the “ first who brought this kind of perverseness from Asia “ (where Greek was spoken) into the Roman soil,” the territory of the Latins †.

Tertullian himself, how warm soever in the defence of the Trinity, however fully convinced that Praxeas was a heretic, though in general very severe against persons of this description, wished that room should be left for *retracting*, especially because of the weakness of those who had been ensnared. Would this austere man, who had now gone the greatest length in austerity, by adopting the principles of Montanus, ever have expressed such tenderness, had he believed that the supposed majority were only embracing the opportunity of having a noble and learned person to head them, as the most proper for maintaining and propagating their ancient and deep-rooted principles, which had

* *Tractatæ dehinc,—etiam evulsæ videbantur.* Adv. Prax. c. 1.

† Nam iste primus ex Asia hoc genus perversitatis intulit Romanæ humo. Ibid.

had for some time been rather losing ground? The supposition directly opposes all the ordinary springs of human action. Had Tertullian known this to be the case, he would have urged the greatest severity, because there was no hope of *retractation*. He must have known that this was the very crisis; and that if time or indulgence was given to Unitarians, there was every reason to believe, that the doctrine which he so warmly espoused, *being yet in its infancy*, would soon be entirely overpowered. But he knew that many erred through carelessness or ignorance; that the weak were ensnared by the circumstance of Praxeas *boasting* that he had suffered from the heathen as a witness for Christianity, because he had been a short time in prison*. Thence, he indulged the hope, that if some time was given them, they would return from their error. But had he known that they were brought up in Unitarian principles, that they received these as their patrimony; he must have been conscious that he justly exposed himself to ridicule, in uttering so foolish a thought. “What would you have us to *retract*?” might they say. “Shall we abjure the doctrine we have always believed; the doctrine of our fathers, of the apostles, of the Christian church in general? Shall we, who are the majority, and who, to the conviction of all, retain the ancient doctrine, acknowledge ourselves to be heretics, by embracing an idolatrous opinion which was unknown a few years ago?”

To these considerations we may add, that this error seems to have had its origin among the Montanists. For both Praxeas and Theodotus are said to have been followers of Montanus †. Praxeas, indeed, afterwards left this sect, and was

* *Iste*—insuper de jactatione martyrii inflatus, ob solum, et simplex, et breve carceris tadium. *Ib.* c. 1.

† Pacian. ad Sempronian. de Catholico Nomine, ap. Baron. *Annal.* A. C. 196. Vol. ii p. 278.

was received into the catholic church. But as he and Theodotus are mentioned together as Montanists, and as both continued to deny the Trinity; it is probable that they had imbibed this error in that heretical connexion. As members of the catholic church, indeed, they would find it necessary to conceal their false doctrine. We cannot say, however, if Theodotus was received as a member of it. For the testimony of Pacian seems to refer, not to Theodotus the *Currier*, who is said to have been of Byzantium, but to Theodotus the *Silversmith*; for he calls him a Phrygian.

What greatly increases the probability of their receiving this doctrine among the Montanists, is, its being actually maintained among them, in that very form in which it is ascribed to Praxeas. There is no reason, indeed, to think that Montanus himself denied the Trinity: and we are certain that Tertullian continued steadfast in the belief of this doctrine. Yet a multitude of ancient writers charge the Montanists with this impiety*. But the followers of Montanus divided into two parties. One of these was named *Kata Proclum*; and the other *Kata Aeschinem*. The first did not deny the Trinity: but the second asserted that "Christ was himself both Son and Father †." The same heretics were called *Phrygians* and *Cataphrygians*, most probably from that country where their heresy had its rise.

As Praxeas had been a Montanist; as one of the parties that bore this name, held the same doctrine with him; as Tertullian wrote that book against Praxeas, from which

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* Hieronym. Epist. 54. ad Marcell. Socrat. Hist. Eccl. l. i. c. 23. Sozomen. l. ii. c. 8. Marius Mercator in Append. ad Contrad. 12. Anathem Nestorian. ap. Itigium de Heresiarch. Sect. ii. c. 13.

† Illi qui sunt Kata Aeschinem—dicant Christum ipse esse filium et patrem. Tertuil. de Præscript. c. 52.

our author derives his strong argument with respect to the faith of the majority, after having joined the Montanists; it is highly probable that the whole passage may principally refer to the people with whom he was then connected. One branch of them avowing the very doctrine of Praxeas it is most natural to think that his *tares* would more readily take root among those who followed the same leader Montanus, than among the Catholics, who had excommunicated them. This will fully account for that uncommon tenderness Tertullian discovered towards those who were led astray. He hated the error. But it was held by those who, in other respects, joined in his own heresy, acknowledging Montanus to be the promised Paraclete*.

The Trinity being denied by one branch of the Montanists; as justice is seldom done to separatists, especially during the heat of controversy, the same error would be charged on all. This was most probably the reason why Tertullian wrote against Praxeas. His work, indeed, has much the air of a vindication; although he does not particularly mention the charge. "But *we*," says he, "have *always* believed, and much more do we *now* believe in one God; as being more fully instructed by the Paraclete, the Leader into all truth †."

It is a strong presumption that this error gained far less ground among the Catholics, than among the Montanists, that Tertullian does not charge the former with it. As his mind was much exasperated against them; as he gives them no other name than that of *Psychici, natural* or *animal* men;

* It would seem that they distinguished between the Paraclete and the Holy Ghost, accounting the former a Prophet who was to be eminently under the influence of the latter. Vid. Ittig. de Hæres. Motheim, &c.

† Nos verò et semper, et nunc magis, ut instructiones per Paracletum deductorem scilicet omnis veritatis, unicum quidem Deum credimus. Adv. Prax. c. 2.

men ; had the majority of the catholic church at that time denied the Trinity, he would not have slipped so good an opportunity of venting his spleen. It would have supplied him with an excellent handle for pretending, that their rejection of the Paraclete was the cause of their apostacy from this leading article of *truth*. Or, could he have said, that the majority of their church had *always* denied the Trinity, he would have reckoned it a fair recrimination for their calumnies against the Montanists. But he had still a greater regard for truth, than for party. Therefore, he positively asserts the late origin of this error. In these circumstances, Tertullian is undoubtedly an unexceptionable witness. Before our author boast any more of his evidence, it will be necessary to obviate these difficulties.

But though there could be no objection from these circumstances, though every thing were true that Dr P. infers from the passage under consideration, there would still be one obstacle remaining. This supposed majority, consisting of the followers of Praxeas, granted the supreme deity of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Thus, their doctrine was at least as remote from the pretended Unitarian, as from ours. And should we judge of what was believed in former ages, *merely* from the supposed prevalence of this in Tertullian's time, the probability would be against our author. It would be far more natural to infer that the Son and Spirit had been always considered as divine persons, than that the latter had been reckoned a mere attribute, and the former a mere man. For it is less difficult to suppose, that weak minds, vainly puzzling themselves to explain a mystery, and knowing that the church had always zealously maintained Three in One, should fall into the error of asserting a personal unity ; than that they should adopt this opinion, if the Trinitarian doctrine had never been generally received, or if it had been hitherto believed
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by the great body of Christians, that the Father was *one* in one sense, the Son in another, and the Holy Spirit in a third different from both.

Indeed, it is inconceivable that Praxeas, or any other, should frame this error, or that it should be received by the majority of the unlearned, without supposing that they had previously believed the deity of the Son and Spirit. How would these heretics otherwise have found themselves under the necessity of granting, that the Father had really suffered in the human nature of Jesus? Nothing could reduce them to embrace such an absurdity, but a belief of the equality of both Son and Spirit with the Father, and a full conviction that the Father, the Son, and the Spirit, had been proclaimed by the Apostles to be the one God, equal in power, and in glory. Supposing our author's interpretation of Tertullian to be just, this alone can account for the strange circumstance of Praxeas having so many adherents, and Theodotus so few; although the latter, by denying the divinity of Christ, in every sense of the word, is supposed to have preached the true apostolical doctrine, which had been retained in its *purity* by the *simple and unlearned**. Although

* Since writing this, I have observed that Novatian (who flourished A. 251.) uses the same argument for the antiquity of the Trinitarian doctrine. "Here," he says, "it will be allowable for me to bring arguments even from other heretics. For that kind of proof, which is taken from the adversary himself, is stable, so that the truth may be proved by its very enemies. For all along it is so manifest that in the Scriptures he (Christ) is revealed as God, that *the greatest part* of heretics, affected with the magnitude and truth of his divinity, extending his honours beyond measure, have dared to declare, or to account him, not the Son, but God the Father himself. Which, although contrary to the truth of the Scriptures, is notwithstanding a very great and special proof of the divinity of Christ; who all along is so God, but as the Son of God, proceeding from God, that, as we have said, *the greatest part* of heretics have to acknowledged his deity, as not to reckon that

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though the *Patripassians* denied a distinction of persons, they as *really* believed the incarnation, and as *really* *deified* the Son, as the orthodox did.

Dr P. proceeds to answer an objection that might be made to his proof from Tertullian. It is supposed to be founded on the testimony of Justin Martyr, who, after speaking of God, of the Word, of the Spirit, and of the Son, as an emblem of divine holiness and justice, and observing that the heathen had borrowed their ideas of these things from the church, subjoins, in proof of his assertion; “*whom* 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*.”

But Dr P. observes; “*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*

“*he should be called the Son, but the Father †.*” He proceeds to prove the same thing from the error of those, who were so convinced of his dignity, that they could not entertain the idea of such condescension as that he should *really* become man; and thence denied the truth of his humanity.

† *Hec in loco licebit mihi argumenta etiam ex aliorum hereticorum parte conquirere. Firmum est genus probationis, quod etiam ab adversario sumitur, ut veritas etiam ab ipsis inimicis veritatis probetur. Nam usque aded hunc manifestum est in scripturis esse Deum trahi, ut plerique hereticorum divinitatis ipsius magnitudine et veritate commoti ultra modum extendentes honores ejus, ausissent non Filium, sed ipsum Deum Patrem promovere, vel putare. Quod etsi contra scripturarum veritatem est, tamen divinitatis Christi argumentum grande atque precipuum est: qui usque aded Deus, sed quia filius Dei natus ex Deo, ut plerique illum (ut diximus) heretici ita Deum acceperint, ut non filium, sed patrem pronuntiandum putarent. Novatian. de Trinitate, ad Tertul. Oper. p. 1041. cap. 13.*

* Apol. ii p. 93.

“ dom (or the logos) of God,—and that there was a Spirit
 “ of God that moved on the face of the waters. It is by
 “ no means an explicit declaration that these common peo-
 “ ple thought 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 *.”

According to Dr P.'s own reasoning elsewhere, the last part of the objection must be ill-founded. For he insinuates that what an author “ drops, as it were accidentally,” is the surest test as to matters of fact. Therefore, if this passage prove any thing, the evidence must be more unexceptionable, because Justin *was not* professedly writing on the doctrine of the Trinity. But that he meant that these rude Christians understood the Word and Spirit to be personally distinct from God *the Father*, may be fairly inferred from his speaking of the same things as believed by them, which were asserted by Plato. Now, the question is not, whether Plato really believed a personal distinction, but whether Justin thought that he did. That this was the case, is evident from his own words; “ Plato, in his *Ti-*
 “ *mæus*, discoursing of the nature of the Son of God, when
 “ he says, ‘ He hath divided him in the universe, in the
 “ form of the letter X,’ hath spoken in this manner, ha-
 “ ving received it from Moses †.” And afterwards, “ Pla-
 “ to, not accurately considering nor knowing that it was
 “ a type of the cross, but understanding that the letter X
 “ was.

* Vol. iii. p. 248.—250.

† Και το εν τω παρα Πλατωνι Τιμαιω φυσιολογημενον περι τω
 υιω τω Θεω, οτι λεγει, εχιασεν αυτον εν τω παντι, παρα Μωσαιω
 λαβων, ομοιω ειπεν. Just. Mart. Apol. II. p. 92.

“ was meant, said that the power with the first God was “ divided in this form in the universe *.”

Here he evidently introduces Plato as speaking of a *person*, the Son of God; of a *power*, distinct from what Pl to calls *the first God*. If the division spoken of by the one, does not shew that he meant a person, the application of it to the crucifixion, by the other, certainly proves that he understood it in this sense. Now, if the generality of Christians, in Justin's time, viewed the Word merely as an attribute; he falsely asserts that *these things* (ταυτα) might be heard and learned from them.

Justin, however, prefaces the whole passage with a declaration of the congruity of Plato's doctrine, not merely to that of Moses, but to his own, nay, to that common faith of Christians which he was about to describe: “ Wherefore, that the whole world was made by the Word of “ God, of the subjects spoken of, and formerly declared “ by Moses, both Plato, and those who say *these things*, “ and we ourselves have been taught, and you may be “ persuaded †.” Here he evidently speaks of his own instruction on this point as the same with that of *those who said these things*: and when he wishes to *persuade* the Emperor, it is only with respect to these things which were believed by all Christians. But in this attempt, he afterwards clearly asserts the personality of the Logos. Therefore, this was believed by these illiterate Christians.

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But

* Μη ακριβως επισταμενος μηδε κηστας τυπου ειχαν σαυρα, αλλα χρισμα κηστας, την μετα τον πρωτον Θεον δυναμιν κεχλασθαι εν τω παντι ειπε. Ib. p. 93.

† Ωσε λογω Θεω εκ των υποκειμενων και προδωλευτων δια Μωσιν γεγενησθαι τον παντα κοσμον, και Πλατωι, και οι τουτα λεγοντες, και ημεις εμπροσθεν, και υμεις πεισθηναι δυνασθαι. Ib. p. 92.

But immediately after making this declaration, Justin proceeds to give an account of the baptism of Christians. Here he evidently refers to the doctrines already mentioned. "Whosoever," he says, "can be persuaded and believe that (*ταυτα*) *these things* which are taught and asserted by us, are true—are brought by us to a place where there is water, and are regenerated according to this rite of regeneration, by which we ourselves have been born again. For then, they are washed in the water, in the Name of God the Father and Lord of all, and of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and of the Holy Ghost*."

Nothing can be more evident than that this language is an express reduplication on that already used, in declaring the belief of these rude and illiterate Christians in God the Father, in the Word, and in the Spirit. Nor is this all. It is equally clear that Justin means to declare that a belief of *these things* formerly mentioned, that is, of a Trinity of persons, was positively required of the most rude and barbarous, before their initiation by baptism. No one, who reads this passage, can imagine, that a mere knowledge of the terms was reckoned sufficient, how different soever the ideas affixed to them from those of their teachers. For Justin declares it to be indispensably requisite, that they "be persuaded and believe," that is, "be fully assured, that *these things* taught and spoken by us are true." Although he had expressed matters with less care, could he, as an honest man, call those "wise and faithful in mind," who

* Οσοι αν πεισθωσι και πισεωσιν αληθη ταυτα τα υφ' ημων διδασκομενα και λεγομενα ειναι,—αγονται υφ' ημων ειδα υδαρ εστι, και τροπον αναγενησεωσ ον και ημεις αυτοι αναγενηθημεν, αναγενωνται' επ' ονοματος τη πατροσ των ολων και δεσποτη Θεω και τη σωτηρωσ ημων Ιησω Χριστω, και πνευματοσ αγιω, το εν τω υδατι τοτε λητρον ποιηται. Ib. p. 93, 94.

who denied a doctrine of such importance, that, as will appear, the rejection of it was accounted by him a denial of God? Or, could he assert that *ταυτα, these very things γεγονηται, were done in them, as well as spoken by them,* “not by human wisdom, but by the power of God *.”

So certainly is this the meaning of Justin, that he proceeds to shew that the Word is the Son of God. and yet an Angel and Apostle. For he says; “We have made use of these words to shew that Jesus Christ is the Son and Messenger of God, formerly existing as the Word, even when appearing in the form of fire (referring to what he had said before of this symbol) and at times also in the likeness of incorporeal objects; but now, according to the will of God, for the sake of the human race, made man, he condescended to suffer what things soever the devils had power to affect him with, by means of the infatuated Jews; who, having it expressly declared in the books of Moses, *And the Angel of God spake to Moses, in a flame of fire in a bush, and said, I am he who is, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob,* assert that it is the Father and Maker of all who spoke these words. Wherefore also, the spirit of prophecy uttered this reproof, *But Israel doth not know, and my people hath not considered;* And again, Jesus,—being with them, said, *No one knoweth the Father but the Son; neither knoweth any one the Son but the Father, and they to whom the Son shall reveal him.* Therefore, the Jews, apprehending that the Father of all always spake to Moses,

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“ (while

* Περὶ ἡμῖν ἐν ἐστὶ ταῦτα ἀκουσαὶ καὶ μαθεῖν παρὰ τῶν ἐδὲ τῆς χαρακτικῆς τῶν στοιχείων ἐπισταμένων, ἰδιωτῶν μὲν καὶ βαρβάρων τὸ φθῆγμα, σοφῶν δὲ καὶ πῖστων τῶν ὄντων—ὡς συνεῖναι, ἔσφαι ἀνθρώπων ταῦτα γιγνομένη, ἀλλὰ δυνάμει Θεοῦ λεγέσθαι. Apol. P. 93.

“ (while he who spoke to him was the Son of God, who is
 “ also called an Angel and Messenger), are justly reprov-
 “ ed by the spirit of prophecy, and by the Messiah himself, as
 “ knowing neither the Father, nor the Son. For those
 “ who say that the Son is the Father, are convicted of be-
 “ ing ignorant of the Father, and of not knowing that the
 “ Father of all hath a Son; who, being the first-begotten
 “ Word of God, is also God. And first he appeared to
 “ Moses under the form of *fire*. &c *.” Can Dr P. be so
 sanguine, or so blindly attached to his hypothesis, as to per-
 suade himself that this writer, who asserts that those who
 denied that the Son spake to Moses, on this very account
 neither knew the Son, nor the Father, would be so ex-
 tremely inconsistent as to call these very persons “ wise and
 “ faithful in mind,” and to declare, as we have seen, their
 wisdom to be the effect of the power of God; if they did
 not believe the Logos and Spirit to be distinct persons from
 the Father?

A little downwards, treating of the Lord's supper, he
 speaks of all church members, without exception, as taught
 to consider the bread and wine in reference to “ Jesus Christ,
 “ made flesh by the Logos of God †.” In the same apology,
 he says of himself, and of his fellow-Christians in general;
 “ We worship and adore the Father, and that Son who
 “ came from him, and the spirit of prophecy, honouring
 “ them in word, and in truth, and candidly delivering these
 “ things to every one who is willing to learn, as we our-
 “ selves have been taught ‡.” Therefore, whatever honour
 and

* Ibid. p. 96.

† Ibid. p. 98.

‡ ΑΛΛ' ἐκείνον τε, καὶ τὸν παρ' αὐτοῦ υἱὸν ἐλθόντα, — πνεῦμα τε
 τὸ προφητικὸν σεβόμεθα, καὶ προσκυνούμεν, λόγῳ καὶ ἀληθείᾳ τιμῶντες,
 καὶ παντὶ βεβαίως μαθεῖν, ὡς ἐδιδάχθημεν, ἀφ' ὧν ἡμεῖς παρεδιδότες.
 ib. p. 56.

and adoration the primitive Christians, in their assemblies, gave to the Father, the same they gave to the Son and Spirit. Therefore also, it is false that Justin was the first who personified the Logos; for he both spoke and worshipped, as he, in common with others, had been *taught*.

In the shorter Apology, written after this, when he has spoken of the doctrine of the philosophers, and particularly of Socrates as teaching men to seek the knowledge of God by the Logos, he sums up his discourse in this manner: "Therefore, what things soever are rightly expressed by all others, properly belong to us who are Christians. For we worship and love the Word of the unbegotten and ineffable God, who is with God, because for our sakes he became man, that being also a partaker of our sufferings, he might accomplish our cure *." If Christians in general did not believe the personality and proper deity of the Word, I maintain that the writer, who could give such an account of their worship, was a traitor to the truth, and unworthy of being ever quoted as a witness of any circumstance pertaining to Christianity.

The testimony of Justin Martyr would receive abundant confirmation, did it need any, from that of Irenæus, especially as this respects the same rude and unlearned Christians, and proclaims, in the most explicit terms, their faith in Christ as the pre-existent Word, and their utter abhorrence of every contrary doctrine †. But this testimony we have inserted above ‡.

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S E C T.

* Οσα εν παρα πασι καλως αρεται, ημων των Χριστιανων εστι. Τον γαρ απο αγινητης και αρετης Θεου λογος, μετα του Θεου, προσκυνησεν και αγαπαμεν, επειδη και δι' ημας ανθρωπος γεγονεν, οπως και των παθων των ημετερων συμμετοχος γενεμενος, και ιασην ποιησεται. Apol. i. p. 51.

‡ Adv. haer. l. 3. c. 4.

† Pag. 71, 72.

SECTION V.

Examination of the Argument, in favour of a Majority of Unitarians among Gentile Christians, from there being no Treatises written against them. Of the Argument from the Clementine Homilies and Recognitions.

DR PRIESTLEY'S FIFTH 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;" whereas, "as soon as ever the Gnostics made their appearance, they were censured with the greatest severity, and express treatises were written against them*." Whether it be fact that Unitarians were "no considered as heretics," will appear from what we have already proved. But the learned gentleman goes farther. "They were not even considered in any obnoxious light." There is only another step wanting. It is to be hoped that our author, in his next work on this subject, will prove to the world that all, except Unitarians, were obnoxious, and treated as heretics. For it will be no harder for him to prove the one than the other.

But the foundation of this bold assertion is, that "in early times no treatises were wrote against them." Justin Martyr wrote a book against *all* heresies: and as he was so warm in defence of the personality and divinity of the Logos, and reckoned those who denied him, in this character, guilty of denying the Father; it is absolutely inconceivable that he should not have included Unitarians, of whatever kind.

"No treatise," we are told, "was written expressly against them"

* Vol. iii. p. 252.

“ them before Tertullian’s against Praxeas,” and *The Little Labyrinth* of Caius. And none could well be written earlier ; because Theodotus, their cotemporary, seems to have been the first Gentile who avowed Unitarian principles. So strange is Dr P.’s mode of reasoning, that the very circumstance which proves the non-existence of Gentile Unitarians, as far as negative evidence can go, is urged by him as a presumption of their “ being in very great numbers.” The learned Gentleman practically supplies all future historians with a new maxim, which will be of great use to them in their labours : “ That the *less* that is said by ancient writers of any body of men, from whom they differed as far as possible, (though they had nothing to fear) the *greater* is the evidence of the magnitude of this body : and that if they take *no* notice of it at all, it may be safely concluded, that it constituted the *majority*.”

That Gentile Unitarians had no being in the church, in the time of Irenæus, is as certain as testimony can make it. For he affirms in the strongest terms that all the churches were as uniform in doctrine, “ as if they had possessed but one soul, one heart, and one mouth “.” This is a direct proof that Unitarians did not exist in the church ; and a strong presumption that they had no existence at all. For otherwise, from their known temper, they would certainly have troubled others with their doctrines.

Dr P. says ; “ Irenæus’s treatise against heresy shews, “ that the Gnostics only were considered as coming under “ the description of heretics.” This is the old string. But its sound is so grateful to our author, that he never loses an opportunity of striking it. He adds : “ The Ebionites indeed are censured in it, but no mention is made of the “ Gentile Unitarians, though they were the majority of the

“ common

* Lib. i. c. 2, 3.

“common people among Christians a long time after this.” But how could Irenæus *condemn* those, whose existence he virtually denies, by declaring the absolute unity of the church? Dr P. must either prove that all in her communion, in the time of Irenæus, were Unitarians, nay, that Irenæus himself came under this description; or he proves nothing for his purpose. For while that writer is acknowledged to be orthodox, he appears as a stubborn witness against him.

But with respect to Irenæus, he further observes: “His
“condemnation 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 where Christianity was first planted.” Here we have a striking proof of the miserable shifts to which one is reduced, who presumptuously struggles against the whole current of history. It is a grating fact, that Irenæus, the bishop of Lyons, the faithful Martyr of Jesus Christ, the disciple of Polycarp*, the disciple of John the Apostle, was a Trinitarian. From all that he *has* said, our author can find nothing for his purpose. Therefore he strives to fetch something from what he hath *not* said. It cannot be refused, that he has “condemned the Ebionites.” But he has said nothing of Gentile Unitarians. The Doctor will not pretend, that Irenæus did not reckon them condemnable. For “they held,” he says, “the same doctrine concerning Christ that the Ebionites did.” Therefore, one would imagine, that his not *condemning* them was a strong presumption that they were not so numerous as our author makes them. But this point must not be given up, at any rate. For “they were the majority of the common people
“a long time after this.”

But,

† Euseb. Hist. lib. 5. c. 20.

But, by the way, I beg to know where the Doctor has learned that Gentile Unitarians "held the same doctrine concerning Christ that the Ebionites did?" This is certainly meant of the *majority* mentioned immediately after. But can this be inferred from the pretended proof of a majority from the words of Tertullian, already considered? Dr P. knows the contrary. For the *simplices*, the followers of Praxeas, did not believe as the Ebionites did. They believed that the Son was God over all.

But if Unitarians were the majority, whatever were their principles, how are they entirely overlooked by Irenæus? "In Gaul," says our author, "there were perhaps not many Unitarians. They abounded most—where Christianity was first planted." But would Irenæus therefore reckon it unnecessary to *condemn* them? He certainly had as little reason to trouble himself with Gnostics, who must have *abounded most* in the eastern regions, their doctrine originating there, and being most agreeable to the people in these countries. Why does he take any notice of the Ebionites, of whom, it is granted, there were none in Gaul? Let Dr P. suppose, that there were "not many Unitarians" there, not any, if he pleases. Still, Irenæus had far less concern with Jewish heretics than with them; and far less reason to dread the inroads of the former, than those of the latter. Had he been conscious that this was the original doctrine, he would especially have avoided any mention of Jewish Unitarians; because this would necessarily recall to the minds of these newly weaned from Unitarianism, that this was the apostolical faith, as still maintained in that country where the gospel was first preached.

Did Irenæus firmly believe the doctrine of the Trinity, account it the only true faith, and, to use the Doctor's own soft language, *condemn* the Ebionites; and yet overlook the majority of Gentile Christians who were equally censurable?

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ble? The only satisfactory reason that can be assigned for his silence, is that the Unitarian doctrine had made no appearance among Gentiles in his time.

But why "not many Unitarians in Gaul?" Here Dr P. acts very prudently. Irenæus is the only writer of that age, whose works are extant, who wrote expressly against heresies. Therefore, he has him most to fear: and accordingly, keeps even the *Gentile* Unitarians as much out of his way as possible. This pretence, however, is evidently framed for the purpose of parrying that mortal thrust, which the very silence of Irenæus gives to the whole scheme of a majority of such Unitarians. It also proceeds on a supposition, that the gospel was not early preached in Gaul, nay, that the same gospel was not preached there, which the rest of the world were favoured with. Some assert that Paul himself was in that country. But from various circumstances, it is natural to think that Christianity was planted in Gaul, by some of the immediate disciples of the Apostles. According to Dr P., these must have been all Unitarians. How, then, were there so few in the time of Irenæus? Had this disciple of Polycarp perverted the faith of the Gallican church? Had he weaned her members from their apostolical opinions? Why did he not also *condemn* these, that others might be reclaimed?

Dr P. endeavours to invalidate the evidence arising from the work of Tertullian against Praxeas, by insinuating that it proceeded from resentment. "No treatise," he says, "was written expressly against them before Tertullian's "against Praxeas, with whom he was, on other accounts, "much offended*." He undoubtedly refers to the conduct of Praxeas at Rome, who gave such a representation of the principles of the Montanists to the bishop of that city, as made him recall the letters of communion he had formerly
given

* Vol. iii. p. 252.

given them. This is, indeed, mentioned by Tertullian, in the introduction to his work against Praxeas. But there is no evidence that resentment was the motive of his opposition. Undoubtedly, according to the common principles of human nature, on this account, he would not treat the heresiarch with more gentleness. But had resentment chiefly influenced his mind, he would most likely have attacked the character of Praxeas, and endeavoured to expose him from the circumstance of his being himself formerly a Montanist. Or, he would especially have defended those principles which he had newly embraced, the defamation of which by Praxeas is supposed to be the reason of his opposition. But, indeed, he had received no personal injury from this heretic. When he undeceived the bishop of Rome, Tertullian was himself an enemy to Montanus. He was evidently more irritated against the Catholics, than against Praxeas. His new principles had disjoined him from them: and it is natural to suppose that he had met with what he would reckon personal injuries, especially as it appears that he was excommunicated*.

But although rankled on this account, he does not charge the heresy of Praxeas on the Catholics. He does not even insinuate, that they were partial to him, because of his former services against the Montanists. He maintains their doctrine to be apostolical. His love to truth overbalanced every private consideration. It was because "the tares of Praxeas were diffused" in Africa, that he wrote against him. Long before his own defection, he had pronounced Ebion to be an *antichrist*, because he denied that Christ was the Son of God. But the blow aimed by our author at Tertullian, is a clear proof of his consciousness of the weight of that writer's testimony against him. The question, in this literary pugilism, is, whether to kill, or to be killed?

Dr

† Tertull. de Jejun. c. 7.

Dr P. informs us that, though "Theophilus wrote against heresies, only his book against Marcion is mentioned by Eusebius;" that "he also mentions many of the works of Melito," but that "none of them were against the Unitarians." But to deal fairly with the unlearned reader, he ought also to inform him, that the same Eusebius declares that as Justin, Miltiades, Tatian and Clement wrote against heresies, "the divinity of Christ was asserted in all their works;" and that speaking of Melito, in connexion with Irenæus, he says, "Who is ignorant of their writings, proclaiming Christ to be both God and man *?" Now, as it is undeniable that these writers were not Unitarians, we must conclude, either that they wrote expressly against this heresy, though their works be lost; or, which is more probable, that it had not appeared among the Gentiles, when the most of them wrote. For, as the Doctor observes, "human nature being the same, the influence of the same circumstances will likewise be the same †." It is, therefore, incredible that they, believing the Deity of Christ, would reckon those brethren who denied it.

Our author would have had more reason for numbering Melito among his friends, than several others claimed by him; as he seems to have embraced the material system. Eusebius testifies that he wrote a book concerning *the bodily God* †. Some have thought that he had referred to the incarnation only. But Origen says that he ascribed bodily parts to the Deity ‖. There have been many false witnesses against modern Unitarians, if this be not their doctrine.

The Doctor is chargeable with a strange mistake, as to a point of fact, in saying concerning Theophilus of Antioch, that "only his book against Marcion is mentioned
" by

* Hist. lib. 5. c. 28. † Vol. iii. p. 242.

‡ Hist. lib. 4. c. 26. p. 189. ‖ In Gen. ap. Not. Valesii, *ibid.*

“ by Eusebius.” For in the very chapter referred to, he says; “ There is extant another work of his, which he inscribed, *Against the heresy of Hermogenes*, in which he uses testimonies from the Revelation of John*.” Is it asked, Who was this Hermogenes? Philastrius replies, that he was a Patripassian †; that is, according to our author, an *Unitarian*. Austin testifies that Sabellians were by some called Praxeans from Praxeas, and that they might be called Hermogenians from Hermogenes; “ as Praxeas and Hermogenes, being of the same sentiments, are said to have been in Africa. Nor are these,” he adds, “ notwithstanding, various sects, but various names of the same sect, from those men who made the greatest figure in it ‡.” Hermogenes, and his followers, were also called *Materialists*; because they held the eternity of matter ||. Tertullian wrote a book against this heretic, expressly on this head; shewing that his doctrine was *new*, and imported from the heathen.

But there are two very ancient works against heresy, which our author overlooks. The one is the Gospel of John. Concerning this, in another place, he seems to think that it was aimed against Cerinthus. Now, though Dr P. does not include him in his list of Unitarians, he had the great characteristic of the party. He believed that Jesus was a *mere man*. To me he seems to have a far better claim

* Euf. Hist. lib. 4. c. 24. p. 137.

† Hær. 54. ap. Ittig. de Hæres. p. 266.

‡ Sabelliani autem sunt in ore multorum. Nam et Praxecianos a Praxea quidam vocant, et Hermogeniani vocari ab Hermogene potuerunt, qui Praxeas et Hermogenes eadem sentientes in Aphrica fuisse dicuntur. Nec tamen istæ plures sectæ sunt, sed unius sectæ plura nomina ex his hominibus qui in ea maxime innotuerunt. De Hæres. c. 41.

|| Tertul. Cont. Hermogen. c. 25.

claim to this honour than Patripassians, who ascribed supreme deity to him who was crucified. Modern Unitarians are far more nearly allied to Cerinthus, than to them. The other work I refer to, is the first Epistle of John. This, if we may credit the testimony of Tertullian, before he had any ground of offence from Praxeas, was wrote against those “ who denied that Jesus was the Son of God,” that is, against those who now call themselves *Unitarians*. Altho’ all other writings against them had perished, while these remain, all who truly believe the word of God, will acknowledge that *whosoever denieth the Son, the same bath not the Father.*

Dr P.’s LAST presumptive proof is derived from the *Clementine Homilies* and *Recognitions*. From these, he apprehends, “ it may with considerable probability be inferred 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 *.”

This supposition must appear extremely improbable to every impartial reader. Dr P. thinks that this work was written “ *probably* about the time of Justin Martyr.” Although this conjecture were well-founded, of what account could it be, when opposed to his works. The Doctor confesses that it has been frequently altered; that it has been adulterated by Arians, and also by Trinitarians †; and that it is only a *theological romance* ‡. He might likewise have said, that according to Epiphanius, it was adulterated by the Ebionites §. Nothing of this kind has been said of the works of Justin.

But

* Vol. iii. p. 254.

† Ibid. p. 255.

‡ Vol. i. p. 115.

§ Hær. 30. c. 15.

But the very argument employed against him as a witness, is here converted to the support of the Unitarian faith. It is objected to Justin, that he borrowed his doctrine from philosophy *. Of the author of the *Clementines* Dr P. says; "He appears to have been well acquainted with philosophy, and has evidently borrowed from it a variety of opinions which are sufficiently absurd †." Where then lies the important difference, in this respect, between these writers as witnesses of primitive doctrine? Is it in this, that Justin has borrowed from the Platonists; but the other from the Oriental philosophy, the precious source of the *Gnostic* system?

Our author can produce the work of one learned Unitarian only. Yet he throws it into the scale against a multitude. For he himself says; "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* ‡."

Is it said, that Dr P. in his conjecture with respect to the prevalence of the Unitarian doctrine, immediately refers to "learned Christians, in the age which followed that of the apostles?" But he cannot mean to carry the evidence farther back than "the time of Justin Martyr," when he thinks that this work was *probably* written. Others, however, give it a later date. The learned Cave, from various circumstances, concludes that the author of it was Bardesanes the Syrian ||, who flourished about the year 172; and whose brain contained such a strange medley of truth and error, that this work seems almost to plead kindred to him. But Grabe makes it still later, as from the nineteenth to the

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twenty-

* Vol. i. p. 113, 114. Vol. ii. p. 23, &c.

† Vol. i. p. 114.

‡ Append. vol. iv. p. 391.

|| Hist. Literar. vol. i. p. 47.

twenty-ninth chapter of the ninth book of the *Recognitions*, the whole is copied from the *Dialogue* of Bardesanes concerning *Fate* *. Mosheim judges it to be a work of the third century †. But supposing it to have been written towards the close of the second, its authority is opposed by an host of learned Trinitarians.

As a proof, however, that the doctrine of the personification of the Logos was not then generally received, we are told that the author of the *Clementines* makes no mention of it. But although he had mentioned this doctrine, as his work passed through the hands of Ebionites, who did not scruple to mutilate the gospel of Matthew, and to reject all the other inspired writings of the New Testament; we need not wonder, although, as Epiphanius asserts, they corrupted this anonymous work. Let us even suppose, that the writer took no notice of the doctrine in question. What will his silence prove? That it was not generally received? By no means. For Dr P. can have no right to infer more from his silence, than from that of Irenæus; who makes *no mention* of Gentile Unitarians, though, we are told, they “were the majority long after this.”

This work is also introduced as proving that Unitarian principles were “supposed to be taught by the apostles.” But it proves no more than what will readily be granted, that any Unitarian will endeavour to persuade himself that this was the case. “He would naturally *endeavour*” it is said, “to give to every person introduced into it such opinions “and arguments, as he thought would pass for theirs ‡.” Though this were true, what would it prove? Would not Justin Martyr and Irenæus do the same?

But against the force of this pretence, our author himself has provided us with a sufficient antidote, in the former
part

* S₂picileg. Patr. vol. i. p. 277, 278. † Hist. Cent. i. p. r. c. 2.

‡ Vol. i. p. 115.

part of the same sentence; "It is *evident* he *has* ascribed to Peter several opinions which he could not have entertained." Thus it is confessed that he failed in his *endeavour*; although it should be supposed that he was serious in it. Might he not also err in putting the sentiments of an Unitarian in Peter's mouth? Our author does not go quite so far. But he says, in the beginning of the sentence referred to; "It is *possible* that he might be mistaken in his account of the opinions of persons who lived about a century before his time." Since the ascription of false opinions to Peter was *evident*, he might have ventured to have called this *probable*.

But who were these persons who lived "*about a century before his time?*" Peter undoubtedly is meant as one of them. For he is mentioned immediately after. And must we learn the faith of Peter from a fabulous writer who lived a hundred years after him; and who must be supposed to have rejected the very writings of Peter? It is a clear proof of our author's want of evidence, that he is obliged to introduce that of an anonymous writer, whose age cannot be fixed with any certainty, whose work is rejected by Eusebius as "of yesterday, and totally unnoticed by ancient writers*," which the Doctor himself calls a *romance*, and in which, he acknowledges, "several opinions are ascribed to Peter that he could not have entertained." He must surely be destitute of proof when he finds it necessary to oppose inferences and suppositions drawn from the silence or errors of a fabulous writer, to the direct testimony of a Justin Martyr, a Theophilus, or an Irenæus. But this was one of the *Sacred books of the Ebionites*, the

* Hist. lib. 3. c. 35. He calls it the *Dialogues of Peter and Apion*. But as the latter is mentioned in the *Recognitions*, they are supposed to be the same work. Eusebius might easily err as to the name of a work so little attended to.

only one, indeed, our author can discover, besides the Hebrew Gospel *. Therefore, we must excuse this humiliating token of respect; as he owed a compliment to his ancient friends.

But has the author of the *Clementines* really made no mention of the personification of the Logos? I have not observed that he uses this expression. But it has been formerly proved, that he believed the pre-existence of Christ, and considered him as the same person with Adam, whom, for this reason, he calls "the first true *Logos* †." Is it said that he must have considered him only as an *occasional* person? But even this fabulous writer does not seem to have gone so far in absurdity. For he evidently speaks of him all along as a person continuing to exist. In the *Recognitions*, which Dr P. acknowledges to have been originally the same work as the *Homilies* ‡, Peter is introduced as saying; "Christ, who existed from the beginning, and who *eternally existed* through certain individual generations, always came to the pious, although secretly; to those especially, by whom he was expected, and to whom he frequently appeared. But it was not yet the time that there should be a resurrection ||."

Dr P. quotes the author of the *Clementines* as saying; "To *beget* is the property of men, but not of God §." The
manner

* Vol. iii. book 3. c. 11.

† See above, p. 241. 249.

‡ Vol. iii. p. 254.

|| Christus, qui ab initio, et semper erat, per singulas quasque generationes nris, latenter li. et, semper tamen aderat; his præcipuè, a quibus exspectabatur, quibusque frequenter apparuit: sed non erat tempus, ut tunc resolutis corporibus, fieret resurrectio. Lib. i. sect. 52. Pat. Apost. Vol. i. p. 498.

§ Hom. 19. f. 10. p. 746. Ear. Op. Vol. i. p. 134.

manner in which this is quoted would imply, that our author wished his reader to imagine that the doctrine of the generation of the Son had no place in this work. But he must be conscious that this is merely a passing expression, thrown out in reply to what Simon says of God's *begetting evil*. Let it be understood as Dr P. wishes. What would it prove? Only the strange inconsistency of this work, and how little we can depend on it, for giving a just account of the opinions of the learned of that age, or even of the writer. For our author must know that he elsewhere ascribes *generation* to God; not passingly, but deliberately, when recording a dispute on the subject. For Peter says; "It belongs to the Father to be unbegotten, to the Son to be begotten." He denies, indeed, that he is therefore God, but seems to admit that he is of the same substance with God; though, according to the Gnostic system, he extends this honour to all souls*. In the *Recognitions* Peter asserts the generation of the Son in the clearest terms: "The God already spoken of, who had no beginning, begot the first-begotten of every creature, in a way worthy of God; without any change, conversion, division, efflux or extension on his part †." He afterwards speaks of the Son as the *work* of God. But it has been often observed that even Trinitarians expressed themselves less cautiously on this subject before, than they did after, the Arian controversy. Our author may tell us, perhaps, that this passage is *interpolated*. But with equal justice may he

X 3

deny

* Τὸ παῖρος τὸ μὴ γεγεννηθῆαι ἐστίν, οὐκ ἔστι γεγεννηθῆαι. Hom. 16. sect. 15, 16. p. 728.

† Qui ergo esse non inchoavit, prædictus Deus, genuit primogenitum omnis creaturæ, sicuti Deum deicit, non se convertens, non se dividens, non defluens, non extendens aliquid. *Recog.* lib. iii. sect. 8. p. 520.

deny the whole work. For this single subject occupies no less than ten sections.

Peter asserts the pre-existence of Christ as the Son in the strongest terms; in reply to Simon's perversion of the words of our Saviour in Mat. xi. 27. "This testimony," he says, "may first be viewed as directed to all the Jews, who thought that David was the father of Christ, but did not know that Christ was both a Son, and the Son of God. Wherefore it is fitly said, *No one knoweth the Father*; because they all said that this was David, in place of God. And he subjoins, *So neither knoweth any one the Son*. For they did not know that he was the Son. And what follows, *To whomsoever the Son is pleased to reveal*, is rightly said. For he being the Son from the beginning, was alone ordained to reveal to whomsoever he pleased. And thus Adam, the first man who was created, could not be ignorant of him, nor Enoch,—nor Noah,—nor Abraham,—nor Isaac,—nor Jacob,—nor could there be any worthy among the people to whom he was not revealed*," I need not say, that he still considers the Son as the Revealer. There is no room for supposing that this passage is an *interpolation*.

For

* Πρωτον μὲν γὰρ δύναται ὁ Λόγος εἰρησθῆαι πρὸς πάντας Ἰεθδαίους, τοὺς πατέρα νομιζόντας εἶναι Χρῆστὴν τῷ Δαβὶδ, καὶ αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν Χρῆστον υἱὸν οὐτά, καὶ υἱὸν Θεοῦ μὴ ἐγνώσκοντα. διὸ καὶ οὕτως εἰρηται* Οὐδεὶς ἐγνώ τον πατέρα* ἐπεὶ ἀντὶ τῷ Θεῷ, τὸν Δαβὶδ πάντες εἶπον* τὸ δὲ ἐπαζήσαντα εἶπεν, Ὡς εἶδὲ τον υἱὸν τίς οἶδεν* ἐπεὶ αὐτὸν υἱὸν οὐτά ἐκ ἡδύσσαι* καὶ τὸ εἶπεν* Οἱς ἀν βέβληται ὁ υἱὸς ἀποκαλυφθῆαι* οὕτως εἰρηται* ὁ γὰρ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἀν υἱὸς μοῖος ἀρισθῆ, ἵνα οἱς βέβληται ἀποκαλυφθῆ καὶ ἕτως δύναται Ἀδάμ ὁ πρωτοπλαστος αὐτὸν μὴ ἀγνοεῖν, εἶδὲ Ἰνωχ ὁ εὐαρεσθησας μὴ εἶδεναι* ἐπε Νωε ὁ δίκαιος μὴ ἐπιστασθῆαι, ἐπε Ἀβραάμ ὁ φίλος μὴ συνηταί, ἐκ Ἰσαάκ μὴ γεννησθῆναι, ἐκ Ἰακώβ ὁ παλαισθῆ μὴ πεπιστεύσθῆναι, καὶ πάντιν τοῖς ἐν τῷ λαῷ ἀγίοις μὴ ἀποκαλυφθῆναι. Hom. 18. sect. 13. p. 740.

For Peter's discourse is in reply to what had been advanced by Simon, who having introduced this text, denied that Christ was the Son spoken of, and wished to arrogate this honour to himself. The argument extends through the greatest part of the Homily; and Peter is uniformly represented as asserting, that this Son pre-existed, that he was the Maker of Heaven and earth, that he knew the heart of every one, and that thence he revealed himself to every one whom he knew to be worthy*. Besides, the doctrine of the writer, in this place, concerning the Son, is analogous to what has been formerly quoted with respect to the pre-existence of Christ.

From these extracts it must be evident that, when Dr P. says that this work "contains no mention of the personification of the Logos," he either means to impose on the public a despicable quibble about words, or to assert what is directly contrary to the clearest evidence. Either of these must deeply affect his credibility as an historian.

C H A P T E R II.

Examination of the Direct Evidence in favour of the Gentile Christians having been generally Unitarians.

S E C T I O N I.

Of the Testimonies of Firmilian, Nicephorus, Origen, Eusebius, Chrysostom, &c.

DR P. says; "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
X 4 " places

* Vid. sect. 5. 8.

“ places of worship separate from those of other Christians
 “ in early times. It was allowed by Mosheim, a zealous
 “ Trinitarian, who says, (Hist. Vol. i. p. 191.) ‘ How-
 “ ever ready many have been to embrace this erroneous
 “ doctrine, it does not appear that this sect formed to them-
 “ selves a separate place of worship, or removed themselves
 “ from the ordinary assemblies of Christians *.’

Our author pays very little respect to Mosheim, when he presumes to assert the existence of Hebrew Christians, who abandoned the ceremonies of the law. But he eagerly grasps at his testimony, when it seems to favour his own hypothesis. However, in the last part of the sentence, Mosheim speaks only in a negative way. All that his language amounts to, is that it did not appear to him. In the first part of the sentence, indeed, he seems to afford our author an important concession. But there is a word omitted by Dr P., which makes a considerable difference as to the sense. According to the edition before me, Mosheim says; “ However ready many *may* have been, &c †.” This monosyllable throws the apparent concession entirely into the form of a conjecture.

What is merely *negative*, on the part of Mosheim, by passing through our author’s alembic, assumes a *positive* existence. Does it not” he says, “ 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?” From what *fact*? The appearance of *no fact* to a single writer.

But Mosheim’s mere *conjecture* with respect to a particular sect, is not only converted into a *fact*, but extended to Unitarians in general, or to all to whom the learned writer is pleased to give this name. Mosheim speaks of the Monarchians

* Vol. iii. p. 258.

† Vol. i. p. 235.

Monarchians or Patripassians alone, who were followers of Praxeas. This is undeniable from the sentence immediately preceding; nay, from the whole section. And though his conjecture were well founded, these heretics, as we have seen, were such enemies to our author's favourite doctrine of the *simple humanity* of Christ, that, erring as far as possible on the other hand, they asserted the incarnation of the Father. Thus Mosheim says, in the preceding sentence. "His followers (those of Praxeas) were called Monarchians, because of their denying a plurality of Persons in the Deity; and also Patripassians, because, according to Tertullian's account, they believed that the Father was so intimately united with the man Christ, his Son, that he suffered with him the anguish of an afflicted life, and the torments of an ignominious death."

But that Mosheim was mistaken in his conjecture, we have as much evidence as can reasonably be expected as to a circumstance of this kind. When ancient writers called any set of men heretics, it would never occur to them, that it was necessary expressly to say, that the church held *no communion* with them. They could not foresee that any who, in after ages, would read or even attempt to explain their works, would be so little acquainted with the state of the church, as to suppose, or so perverse as to pretend, that she admitted heretics to communion. The very name these ancient writers bestowed on them, as defined by themselves, necessarily implied the contrary. "Heretics," says Tertullian, as quoted by Dr P., "have nothing to do with our discipline. The very *want of communion* with us shews that they are foreign to us*." Again, "If they be heretics, they cannot be Christians." He also quotes Cyprian as saying, "If heretics are Christians, why are they not in the church of God †?"

Now,

* De Praescript. Earl. Op. Vol. i. p. 246.

† Ib. p. 247.

Now, it has been proved that Tertullian makes Praxeas to be a heretic. Could he entertain any other opinion of his followers, whom he calls Monarchians? He, indeed, advised that "room should be left for retractations." But this very proposal implies that others, either had proceeded, or were about to proceed to extremities with them. As Praxeas was condemned by the Bishop of Rome, on the first promulgation of his error, is it at all supposable, that he would be treated with greater gentleness, after he had relapsed? If the Roman church then differed from other churches with respect to the treatment of heresy, it was only in being less severe than those of Africa, and some in the East, which denied the validity of all the ordinances of heretics, and ordained that, on their return to the truth, they should be rebaptized.

It has been formerly shewn that Cyprian expressly reckons the Patripassians, (or Monarchians), among heretics, and denies their having any connexion with the church*. Now, as, according to our author's chronology, Cyprian died A. 258, he must be mistaken when he says that "we have no certain accounts of any separate societies of Unitarians, till the excommunication of Paulus Samosatensis." This, in the present proof, he says was about the year 250 †. But afterwards, he brings it as far down as A. 269 ‡. Baronius fixes the council of Antioch, in which Paul was excommunicated and deposed, to the year 272. Thus Cyprian must have been dead several years before this event. The Patripassians, of course, were distinct from the Catholic church a considerable time before.

It has been also proved that one body of the Montanists, who were likewise called Phrygians and Cataphrygians, held

* See above, p. 266.

† Vol. iii. p. 237.

‡ Ibid. p. 308.

held the very same doctrine with Praxeas. Now, as the Council of Iconium decided that the baptism of the Cataphrygians was to be rejected; one leading reason for this was their holding the Patripassian doctrine. For Firmilian, Bishop of Cesarea, in his epistle to Cyprian on this subject, says, that there were some in the Council, who doubted whether their baptism ought to be rejected, because although they received new prophets, they seemed to hold the same Father and Son with them, but that the greatest part agreed entirely to reject it. As one body of the Cataphrygians, who followed Proclus, held the doctrine of a Trinity of persons, they who *doubted* appear to have thought that this might be the sentiment of them all. But that the majority were especially irritated against them, because of their Patripassian tenets, is evident from the language of Firmilian, in another part of the same epistle: “ It is sufficient,” he observes, “ briefly to say that those who do not hold the true Lord the Father, can neither hold the true doctrine of the Son, nor of the Holy Spirit. According to which also, they who are called *Cataphrygi-ans*, both endeavour to use new prophecies, and can hold neither the Father, nor the Son, nor the Holy Spirit: at whom, if it be inquired, what Christ they preach, they will answer that they preach him who sent the Spirit that spake by Montanus and Prisca.—But all other heretics also, if they cut themselves off from the church of God, can have no power or grace: For as it is not lawful for a heretic to ordain, or to impose hands, so neither to baptize, nor to perform any thing of a holy or spiritual nature; seeing he is an alien from spiritual and divine holiness. All of which we, now a long time ago, assembled at Iconium, a place in Phrygia, with those from Galatia and Cilicia, and the other neighbouring regions, have determined to be firmly held and maintained

“ tained against heretics, as some might entertain a doubt concerning this matter *.”

This epistle could not have been written later than the beginning of the year 258, in which year Cyprian suffered martyrdom. Firmilian says that the Council was held *a long time* before he wrote. Valefius assigns it to the latter end of the reign of Alexander Severus, who died A. 236. He apprehends that he is supported in this opinion, by the language of Dionysius Bishop of Alexandria, as quoted by Eusebius, who, speaking of the custom of rebaptizing heretics, as being introduced into Africa, says that it was established long before, in the times of the preceding bishops, in the most populous churches; and in the Synods of the brethren in Iconium and Synnada †. This epistle of Dionysius was written about the beginning of the episcopate of Xyftus, or about the year 260. In these early times, so far were Unitarians from being allowed to remain in the church, that it was decreed by different councils that, even on their repentance, they should not be admitted without being rebaptized.

The

* Satis est breviter illud in compendio dicere, eos qui non teneant verum dominum Patrem, tenere non posse nec Filii, nec Spiritus Sancti veritatem. Secundum quod etiam illi qui *καταρρυς* appellantur, et novas prophetias usurpare conantur, nec Patrem possunt habere, nec Filium nec Spiritum Sanctum: a quibus si quaeramus quem Christum prædicent, respondebunt eum se prædicare qui miserit Spiritum per Montanum et Priscam locutum.—Sed et cæteri quique hæretici, si se ab Ecclesia Dei sciderint, nihil habere potestatis aut gratiæ possunt.—Hæretico enim sicut ordinare non licet, nec manum imponere, ita nec baptizare, nec quicquam sancte nec spiritaliter gerere quando alienus sit a spiritali et deifica sanctitate. Quod totum nos jam pridem in Iconio, qui Phrygiæ locus est, collecti in unum convenientibus ex Galatia, et Cilicia, et cæteris proximis regionibus, confirmavimus, tenendum contra hæreticos firmiter et vindicandum, cum a quibusdam de ista re dubitaretur. Ep. Firmilian. ap. Oper Cyprian. p. 237.

† Euf. Hist. lib. vii. c. 7.

The Doctor proceeds to give the testimony of Nicephorus, who says; "In former times, 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." Dr P. adds; "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."

I doubt much if the expression rendered, *all who were called Christians*, does not rather signify, *whosoever walked worthy of the Christian vocation* *. The connexion, at least, does not shew that he meant all who were *called* Christians. For Dr P. himself acknowledges that it must be understood that Gnostics were excluded.

But what does he intend by this testimony? Can it be his design to oppose that of a writer of the fourteenth century, to the united testimonies of Tertullian, Cyprian, Firmilian and Novatian, who wrote in the third? Does the learned Gentleman mean to contradict his own testimony? Has he not previously granted that the Unitarians formed separate assemblies about the year 250, and after Paulus Samosatensis were called *Paulianists* †? Now, he cannot refuse that Nicephorus is here speaking of the age of Constantine the Great.

But

* Οτι κλησι Χριστ εσημνουντο. Nic. Hist. lib. viii. c. 52. Vol. i. p. 661.

† Vol. iii. p. 237.

But what evidence has he for saying that the Gnostics held separate assemblies? Does he wish it to be understood that Nicephorus did exclude, or meant to exclude them? If so, he has the very same evidence for the exclusion of Unitarians. For that historian, here treating of the heresy of Arius, says; "It ought to be known that though this heresy was with many the subject of frequent disputation, it was yet without a name, nor was it digested into a proper system. For besides Novatians, *Pbrygians*, Valentinians, Marcionites and *Paulianists*, all held communion, and came together into one church." Then he observes that Constantine passed a law, prohibiting the heretics mentioned to hold religious assemblies, and requiring that they should all attend divine worship in the Catholic church. Then follows the passage quoted by our author. That Nicephorus here speaks in general of the *times* preceding this edict, is evident from what immediately follows the Doctor's quotation: "But upon the promulgation of this law, it was difficult for them to assemble in public," &c *. The declaration made in the passage referred to, is clearly to be understood as previously limited. The Christians made little account of their differences, excepting those formerly mentioned.

* Ἰπτερον μὲν τοι ὡς τὸ Ἀρειοδόγμα, εἰ καὶ πολλοὺς κατὰ διακρίξιν ἐν σπέδῳ ἦν, ἀλλ' ἐτι τῶς ἀνωνομοῦ ἦν καὶ εὐχὴ εἰς ἴδιον συστημα διακρινετο. ὡλην γὰρ Ναυατικῶν, καὶ Φρυγῶν, Οὐαλεντινιῶν τε καὶ Μαρκιωνιστῶν καὶ Παυλιανῶν, ἀπαντὶς ἀμα τὲ ἐκοινῶν, καὶ ὑπο μίαν ἐκκλησίαν συνήγοντο. κατὰ δὲ τῶν εἰρημενῶν αἰρεσῶν ἐνα νόμον θεμενὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς, προσεταξέ τα εὐκτηρῆ ἀφαιρεῖσθαι, συναγῆσθαι δὲ ταῖς καθολικῆ ἐκκλησίας· ἀλλαχθ δὲ μὴ εἶσθαι μῆτε ἴδια μῆτε δημοσια ἐκκλησιαζῆν· ἀλλ' ἐν κοινῶ παντῶς συνῆσθαι εἰσεῖσθαι. ἐξ ἧς νομοθεσίας, ὡς γὲ μὴ τεκμηριῶσαι ἐστίν, αἰ πολλὰ τῶν αἰρεσῶν διεβρῆσαν καὶ παύσαν ἐσχον τῆς μητρῆς. ἐπι μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἀνω χροτῶν, δεσ. — τῆς δὲ τῆς νομῆς ἐκφωτηθέντος, ὑστῆρες εἶχον δημοσια συνῆσθαι.
Niceph. *ibid.*

mentioned. Thus, according to the Greek historian, the *Phrygians*, as including Patripassians *, and the *Paulianists* or *Anthropians* were excluded from communion.

This passage, instead of being useful to our learned author, injures his cause. For the *less* the account that Christians, in times of persecution, made of some differences, the *greater* must have been the account they made of these in which Patripassians and Paulianists were concerned. The evidence before us clearly proves, that Unitarians were viewed in the same light with Gnostics. What account can we make of the integrity of a writer, who quotes history in such a manner?

But Dr P. does not seem to have observed that this narrative is borrowed from Sozomen. In some parts of it, Nicephorus retains the very words of the original writer, in others, they are altered. He mentions the same heresies as excepted, which are mentioned by Nicephorus. If, therefore, there remain any doubt with respect to the fact, we are undoubtedly to judge from the manner in which the original writer expresses his idea, and not from that in which it is expressed by one who borrowed from him about nine hundred years after his time. Now, that very phrase which the Doctor translates, *All who were called Christians*, is one of these which Nicephorus has altered. He seems to have had no idea of such an inference being drawn from his language, or he would certainly have preferred that of the original writer. For Sozomen's expression is such as shews that the whole of Dr P.'s argument is "the baseless fabric of a vision." "For in the times of former emperors," he says, "*all who worshipped Christ*, though they held different opinions, were considered in the same light by the Gentiles," &c †.

Ae

* Vid. Niceph. Hist. lib. 4. c. 22. vol. i. p. 319.

† Ἄλλα πάντες αὐτοὶ ἐκκλησιαζέον, καὶ ἐκωνοῦν. πλὴν Νουατιζιανῶν,

As if Dr P. were conscious that his proof from Nicephorus is very lame, he endeavours to borrow a crutch for it from Origen *. This writer says; "It is allowed 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* †." Our author acknowledges that Origen here speaks of the *Patripassians*. The expression, *admit of*, as it here seems to have an active sense, does not properly express the meaning of the ancient writer. For he could not intend to say that Patripassians were suffered to continue in communion with the church. A loose or general expression can never be fairly understood in direct opposition to known fact. It has been already proved that, so early as the time of Cyprian, Patripassians were not only classed with heretics, but had formed separate assemblies. Now, as Origen died only four years before Cyprian, and as his work against Celsus was composed

και των επικαλυμμενων Φρυγων, Ουαλεντιανων τε και Μαρκιωνιστων και Παυλιανων, και ει τινες ετεροι ετερας ηδη ηρημενας αιρεσεις επληρεν.—δια τετοι δε τον νομον, τετων των αιρεσεων οιμαι την πολλην αφαν ισθηναι μιμηνην. επι μεν γαρ των πριν βασιλεων, οσοι τον Χριστον εσεβον, ει και τας δοξας διεφεροντο, προς των Ελληνιστων οι αυτοι ενομιζοντο, και κακως ομοιως επατχον. Sozomen. Hist. lib. 2. c. 32. p. 90. The original writer carries the matter farther than his copier. For besides the heresies named, he extends the exclusion to all others *already found out*. He uses this language, because, in the time referred to, the Arian heresy was not properly digested, or even broached.

* Vol. iii. p. 259, 260.

† Εγω δε, τινας ως εν πληθει πιστευοντων, και διχομενων διαφονιαν, δια την προπετειαν υποτιθεσθαι τον Σωτηρα ειναι τον επι πασαι θειων. Cont. Celf. lib. 8. p. 387.

composed when he was above sixty; according to Dr P.'s chronology, it could not be written earlier than the year 245, that is, thirteen years before the death of Cyprian. Therefore, though the latter had wrote his epistle to Jubaianus the same year in which he died, as he speaks of Patripassians in common with other heretics, as having no communion with the Catholic church, it is reasonable to suppose that they had separated, or been ejected, from it some considerable time before.

But Origen himself gives no reason to think that these heretics were, as Dr P. says, "considered by the orthodox as *fellow-Christians*." He speaks of them as "some in the multitude of believers, who *are subject to difference*." But he gives them this character, merely as opposed to those who made no profession of the faith. He calls the Ebionites *believers in Jesus* *. Did he therefore account them true believers, or mean to insinuate that they were in communion with the church? On the contrary, he expressly calls them *heretics* †. He conveys a censure of these Patripassians in the very language here used. Dr P. gives it in the Greek, but has forgot to insert it in the translation. "Be it so," he says, "that there are some,—who *through their temerity affirm*," &c. When he adds, "But *we do not say so*," does he mean himself only. He speaks undoubtedly of the church in general. It is the usual language of ancient writers, when they express the common faith of that church of which they were members. But, from his answer to the next objection, it is evident that he accounted this the language of heretics: "These things *again*, taken from I know not what most obscure heresy, he objects to *all Christians* ‡."

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But

* Εἰς τὸν Ἰησοῦ πιστευόντες. Ibid. l. 2. p. 57.

† Ibid. l. 5. p. 274.

‡ Καὶ ἐν ταῖσι δὲ πάλιν, οὐκ οἶδ' ἀπὸ ποῦ αἰρέσεως ἀσημοῦται ταῦτα λαβόν, τὰσι Χριστιανῶσι ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐγκάλεσι. Ibid. p. 388.

But though these words had admitted of the sense given them by Dr P., the proof must have been exceedingly deficient. Though this *evidence* had been more *direct* than it appears to be, it would scarcely have demonstrated that *Gentile Christians were generally Unitarians*. Give our author his pleasure of this passage, it could only prove that there were (τινες) *certain persons* favourable—to his opinions? nay, to those directly opposite, in the great *multitude of believers*.

His next proof is from Eusebius, who, in his work against Marcellus, when speaking of those who denied “the pre-existence and divinity of Christ,” is so far from saying that they were out of the church, that he particularly complains “that Marcellus, one of them, even presided in it, being then bishop of Ancyra*.” But it cannot be unknown to our author, that the learned are by no means agreed, whether Marcellus was heterodox in his opinions, or not. He had been in a state of the strictest friendship with Athanasius. But the latter condemns him as a heretic, in an Oration supposed to have been wrote about the year 357 †. Some, however, contend that some time before his death he satisfied Athanasius as to the doubts entertained by him, with respect to his orthodoxy ‡. Marcellus had wrote against Asterius an Arian. He had also withdrawn from that council, which met first at Tyre, and afterwards at Jerusalem, and which condemned Athanasius: and he refused to hold communion with those who had assented to this deed. The Arian party were on these accounts so enraged at Marcellus, that they accused him as a Sabellian.

In these circumstances, it is not surprising that the worst
sense

* Cont. Marcell. vol. i. p. 33. ap. Auct.

† Unum esse Christum Oratio, Opera, vol. i. p. 666.

‡ Legat. ad Athanas. ap. Berriman, p. 204.

ſenſe ſhould be put on his language. Therefore, he was depoſed by the biſhops aſſembled at Conſtantinople. But his work againſt Aſterius being afterwards examined by the councils of Rome and Sardica, he was acquitted of the charge of hereſy, and reſtored to his biſhopric.

Epiphanius was never ſuſpected of being too gentle in his ſentiments concerning thoſe who were accuſed of hereſy. But he acknowledges himſelf at a loſs to know what were the opinions of Marcellus. “The ſecrets of his mind,” he ſays, “were known to God.” He acknowledges, that thoſe who were named after him denied a Trinity of perſons; but aſſerts that they were ignorant of his mind, and “did not truly expreſs what he thought.” This writer goes no farther than to ſay, that he *ſeemed* to fall into the error of the Sabellians †. If we can credit Epiphanius in any part of his work, it is here. For he was his cotemporary; and he informs us, that Marcellus had died only two years before he wrote theſe things.

I do not mean to exculpate him from the charge of hereſy; but only to ſhew that his own cotemporaries were divided in their ſentiments concerning him, that he was protected by ſome of the warmeſt friends of the Trinitarian doctrine, and accounted by them a martyr to his zeal againſt Arianiſm. It alſo appears, that he ſtill denied thoſe opinions imputed to him ‡. The council of Conſtantinople, which condemned him, at the ſame appointed Eufebius of Neo-Ceſarea to refute his errors. It would ſeem that he was ſingled out for this labour, becauſe Marcellus had preſſed him very hard, in his work againſt Aſterius ||. Thence

Y 2

it

* Socrat. Hiſt. lib. 1. c. 36. p. 73. Lib. 2. c. 20. p. 105. Sozomen. lib. 2. c. 33. p. 92.

† Hær. 72. ‡ Epiphani. ubi ſup.

|| Vid. Carz. Hiſt. Literar. vol. i. p. 152.

it is natural to suppose that Eusebius would put the worst construction on his modes of expression, and might rather wish to find him a heretic than otherwise. As Marcellus was protected in his bishopric, by those who reckoned him orthodox, notwithstanding his deposition by the council; this was the source of the complaint of Eusebius referred to by our author.

But it must be evident to every reader, that, in these circumstances, the continuance of Marcellus in his bishopric cannot be admitted as a proof that Unitarians were *not out of the church*; unless it could be shewn that all those called Patripassians, Noetians and Sabellians, whose sentiments Marcellus was said to expose, were also suffered to remain in communion; the contrary of which has been proved. Indeed, the history of Marcellus, instead of being serviceable to our author, opposes his design. It proves that Unitarians were not suffered to continue in the church. For those who protected him, did it on this ground only, that, as far as they could discern, he was not chargeable with the heresy ascribed to them. They never thought of objecting that, although the charge had been well-founded, the censure was too severe.

Dr P. proceeds in his *direct* proof. "That Chryostom," he says, "considered almost all the Christians as being Unitarians in the age of the apostles, has been shewn already*." Our author, indeed, in a former part of this work, has given many quotations from this Father. But he has not produced one, in which Chryostom asserts that the generality of Christians were Unitarians. This is the Doctor's own inference from the loose and rhetorical language of the bishop of Constantinople. This inference proceeds on several false suppositions. First, it is supposed that he really thought that the church, in the apostolic age, did not believe

* Vol. iii. p. 261.

lieve our Saviour's divinity. But the utmost that candour can collect from his words is, that, in his apprehension, Jesus did not, in his own discourses, insist so much on this, as on the doctrine of his being the true Messiah; that the disciples had only obscure notions about it, while they enjoyed his bodily presence; that the apostles, in their first addresses to unbelievers, more directly proclaimed his mediatory character, observing the same plan with their master in instructing them, before the effusion of the Spirit; and that the three former Evangelists did not write so expressly on this subject as John. That on the last point especially the good Father has many expressions, which will not bear a critical investigation, is undeniable.

Even on the very improbable supposition of Chrysoſtom being persuaded, that the church knew nothing of the divinity of Christ till John wrote, our author's assertion is not proved. It requires to be propped by another supposition;—a plan of perfecting the fabric of history that seems never to have been executed so completely before. It must be supposed, as the persuasion of Chrysoſtom that John did not write his Gospel, till the first generation of Christians was mostly gone. We have no evidence that he thought so; and this idea seems to be contrary to fact.

Our author's system still craves the assistance of another supposition;—that because Chrysoſtom “considered almost all the Christians as being Unitarians, in the age of the Apostles,” they must really have been so. Were a supposition of the same kind made by his opponents, the learned Gentleman would treat it with contempt. And as the matter stands, this deserves no better treatment. For although the good Father had been capable of such an idea, it could have had no weight with those who had the testimonies of Justin Martyr, of Irenæus, and of Tertullian, and above all, that of inspiration itself, to oppose to it.

But there is no occasion for enlarging on this point ; as the learned Dr Horley has fully answered our author's objections, both with respect to Athanasius and Chrysoftom. We have elsewhere shewn, that, whatever the Fathers might have thought, it is clear from the New Testament, that the Apostles preached, and that Christians believed that Jesus was God.

But after all, Dr P. cannot agree with his worthy fellow-labourer, Chrysoftom. For he immediately adds to the above assertion ; “—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 times of the A- “ postles : but they were few compared with their num- “ bers 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.” Supposing this to be Chrysoftom's meaning, as, it would seem, our author wishes to do, it remains for him, either to prove that Chrysoftom accounted the Unitarian doctrine *no heresy*, or to retract his assertion that the same writer “ considered almost all the Christians as being “ Unitarians in the age of the Apostles.” It was incautious in our author to quote this passage ; as it clearly proves his strong propensity to build on mere words, without regard to the meaning of the writer.

But if the reader be startled at the incoherence of the proof from Chrysoftom, he has only to exercise his patience a little, and he shall obtain as much satisfaction as he can reasonably desire. Whatever should be thought of the proof, our author is determined not to lose sight of the position.

* Τότε τοίνυν, ηνίκα εκηρυχθον αυτοι κατὰ την οικουμένην απασαν, αϊρεσις ηδεσμεια ην. Ser. 61. Oper. vol. 5. p. 809, ap. Auclt.

position. "That the common people among Christians," he says, "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 wisdom, we must impart to them the Logos returning from his bodily state, in that he was in the beginning with God.*'

If this passage proves any thing in our author's favour, it proves too much. For if it respects the generality of Christians, it denotes that they knew Jesus in his state of humiliation only, and not as exalted "in returning from "his bodily state."

But it is expressly denied that Origen here contrasts the *common people* with the *learned*. The reader, indeed, may be misled by passages quoted without any hint of their connexion, or any regard to it. In what precedes this pas-

* Comment in Joh. vol. ii. p. 9. ap. Auct.

sage, Origen speaks of the legal dispensation. He says that under it there were some *more perfect*, and others whom he calls *little children*. The former, as the Patriarchs, Moses, and the prophets, had far clearer views of the coming of Christ than the latter, and contemplated his glory. Therefore, they accommodated their discourses to *puerile* minds, as being rightly called *pedagogues*. "But," he adds, "The Son himself, he who is glorified as God the Word, had not yet come; waiting, to wit, till these men of God, who were to perceive his divinity, should make a decent preparation for him."

Then he shews that this plan of instruction must still be observed, even under the New Testament. For he immediately adds what is quoted by Dr P., as above. According to the Latin version, Origen says; "Now it is necessary to know this *also* *." He evidently means, that as this method was observed under the law, there must be something of the same kind even under the gospel. Then he assigns a reason for speaking in this manner: "As the law contains a shadow of good things to come, which are declared by the law truly explained, — *so is the gospel, as it is understood by the generality*." No, Origen hath said nothing that can bear this sense. He does not so much as mention *the generality*. This is entirely our author's *own gloss*. The other part of the contrast, as stated by Origen, is something very different:—"even so the gospel, as it is received to be understood by all who are coming to be instructed, teaches a shadow of the Christian mysteries †." Here he has no idea of contrasting the

* Jam et hoc quoque sciamus necesse est.

† Και τὸ τοῦ δεῦρο εἰρηκὶ ἐχρησῆ, οτι ὡσπερ ἐστὶ νόμος σκιαν παρῆχαν τῶν μελλόντων ἀγαθῶν, ὑπο τῆς καὶ ἀληθεῖαν καταγγελλομένου νόμου δηλομένου ἢ τῆς καὶ εὐαγγελίου σκιαν μυστηρίων χριστοῦ διδάσκει, τὸ νομιζομένου

the *learned* with the *common people*; but *church-members* with the *catechumens*, who were yet to be initiated in the *first principles of the oracles of God*. Therefore, it is added; “ But what John calls the *everlasting gospel*,—clearly “ places around those who are knowing, (apparently in allusion to sunbeams as opposed to a shadow) and before “ their eyes, all things concerning the Son of God *, both “ the *mysteries exhibited by his own discourses*, and the things “ of which his actions were enigmatical †.”

Nothing can be plainer, than that the only persons here contrasted are those *coming*, *νοεισθαι*, to be instructed, and *τοις νοεσι*, those already instructed. After this, the Latin version is deficient. But I suspect that something follows, expressly respecting their initiation; because these words appear immediately after the hiatus, Sic Christianus fit, et baptisma. The very passage joined with this by our author, although there is a considerable distance between the two, according to the original, confirms the view we have given, and evidently defeats the design of the quotation. Having shewn, in the intermediate part of the discourse, that Peter conform-
ed

ζομενον υπο παντων των εντυγχανοντων νοεισθαι. Comment. ut sup. I can form no other idea of the meaning of the latter expression, than that given above; unless it should be rendered, “ as it seems to be understood by all who accidentally “ meet with it,” that is, by those who are not church-members. But the other appears most natural, and most agreeable to the connexion.

* Ο δε φησιν Ιωαννης ευαγγελιον αιωνιον, οικειως αν λεχθησμενον πνευματικον, σαφως παρισησει τοις νοεσι τα παντα ενωπιον περι υιου του Θεου. Ibid.

† These words, according to the Latin, follow our author's quotation;—tum mysteria ab ipsis sermonibus, exhibita, tum res, quarum ænigmata ipsius actiones erant. They shew that Origen was convinced that our Lord had preached the doctrine of his own divinity.

ed to the Jews, and that Paul *became all things to all men, that he might gain some*; Origen applies these things in this manner: “ Wherefore, *that we may be Christians both in “ body and Spirit* *, it is necessary to preach the gospel both “ corporeally and spiritually. And when it is necessary “ to preach the corporeal gospel, do this as saying to the “ carnal, that they must know nothing but Jesus Christ “ and him crucified. But when they may afterwards be “ found confirmed in the Spirit, impart to them the Word,”
 &c

The same persons are evidently spoken of, first, as in the state of inquiry, and afterwards, as confirmed. If we attend to the great secrecy which by this time was introduced into the church, with respect to mysteries, it will throw considerable light on the language of Origen. As there were different classes of catechumens, some being farther advanced than others; they were all excluded from those discourses that treated of mysteries, which were made to church-members alone. However long persons might have been in the state of catechumens, the mysteries of the Trinity and Incarnation were not taught them, till about forty days before baptism †. Though such secrecy had no warrant from the example of our Saviour and his apostles; though there was no precedent for it in the conduct of those who lived nearest their times; being once introduced, most probably in imitation of the heathen mysteries, it is natural

* These words in Italics are taken from the Latin version, though neither in our author's English nor Greek. Hanc ob causam, tum spiritu, tum corpore, Christiani ut simus, necesse est et corporale Evangelium prædicare, &c. The reason Origen seems to give for preaching the gospel *corporeally*, is the obligation lying on Christians, *practically* to accommodate themselves to the infirmities of the weak; which he has illustrated by the example of Paul.

† Hieronym. ad Pammach. Ep. 61. See a full account of this matter in Bingham's Antiquities, book x. c. 3, 5.

ral to suppose that the Christian writers would do all in their power to vindicate their discipline, as if sanctioned by the highest authority. This seems to have been the true spring of the pains they took to illustrate the *prudence* or *caution*, call it what you please, which they ascribed to our Lord and his disciples, with respect to the mysterious doctrines of our faith. This seems to have been their principal reason for so frequently stating a contrast between John and the other Evangelists, and for making a distinction so absurd as that between what they called the *corporeal* gospel, and the *spiritual*.

This hypothesis receives abundant confirmation from the circumstance of the earliest fathers making no such distinction. As little did they think of asserting that the three first Evangelists concealed our Saviour's divinity; although it must still have been evident that it is more clearly and fully declared by John, than by any of the rest. Not till after the introduction of this *secret discipline*, which seems to have been about the beginning of the third century, did the fathers, as far as I can observe, form such distinctions, or state such contrasts. But in succeeding ages, we find them calling forth all the powers of their eloquence on these topics. The writers of this age would also like to dwell on distinctions of this kind, because they were so fond of the allegorical method of treating scripture. This Origen carried farther than any who had gone before him. He was indeed the first, as Mosheim observes, who reduced it into a system, and laid down determinate rules for the observation of it. Whence he has generally been considered as its principal author.

The earlier fathers were content with allegorizing the law. But as this did not afford shadows enow for those who succeeded them, their inventive powers were set to work on the substance itself. Thence, as John had written more
fully

fully concerning the deity of Christ, than the other Evangelists, it seemed a nice idea, that the three first gave the *body*, but he the *spirit* of the gospel.

They would also naturally improve this as an argument for their mode of instruction : as on the foundation of their own distinction, they might pretend that the three former gospels contained the rudiments necessary for the church in a catechumenal state ; and that John appeared afterwards, declaring those doctrines for which the others had only prepared her. I need not observe, how little regard we ought to have to the vagaries of any writer, who, like Origen, thinks that he can correct the language of inspiration, or give a fitter name to the Gospel than that given it by the Spirit of God.

If we duly weigh these two circumstances, of the secret discipline, and the allegorical method of interpretation, they will of themselves be nearly sufficient to obviate any difficulty apparently arising from the modes of expression adopted, not by Origen only, but by the other Fathers, who have been called as witnesses of the general prevalence of Unitarian doctrines.

It is not surprising that a writer, who was so absolutely devoted to mystical senses, as to speak contemptuously even of the letter of the gospel, should frequently take occasion to expose the ignorance of others, while he thus virtually extolled his own inventive powers. This is the obvious tendency of the other passages quoted by Dr P. Origen says ; “ Some are adorned with the Logos itself, but others with a Logos which is akin 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 *.” In these words, there is nothing that shews whether he immediately referred to catechumens, or to church-

church-members. He also says; " There are who partake
 " of the Logos who was from the beginning, the Logos who
 " was with God, and the Logos who was God, as H sea,
 " Isaiah and Jeremiah, and any others who speak of him as
 " the Logos of God, 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 every thing of the Logos, when they acknow-
 " ledge Christ according to the flesh. Such is the mul-
 " titude of those who are called Christians ." Here, I
 grant, Origen seems to speak of church-members. But
 the whole context is such a mass of mystic absurdity, that
 it is impossible to know his determinate meaning, almost in
 any one assertion. A few lines before, explaining a pas-
 sage in Deut. iv. he says, that God gave the heavenly
 bodies to the nations, " that those who cannot recur to in-
 " telligible nature, might suspect that there was divinity
 " in bodily and sensible things, and not descend to the
 " worship of idols (the work of the hands of men) and
 " dæmons." I presume, that it would puzzle our author
 himself to make any thing that has the *shadow* of sense,
 not to speak of the *substance*, in the greatest part of the ex-
 position of that passage which is the pretended text.

Are we then to form our judgment of the realstate of
 the Christian church from such an unintelligible rhapsody?
 Take this exposition as we find it, can we fairly conclude
 that Origen meant to say that the generality of Christians
 did not believe the divinity of Christ? The good Father, I
 am persuaded, would have shuddered at such an inference
 from his language. Had this been the case, he could never
 have said that they " looked at the Word made flesh,"
knew the Word in this respect, and " thought they had e-
 " very thing of the Word, when they acknowledged Christ
 " according

* Ibid.

“ according to the flesh.” He would not even have said, “ that they were instructed in the *shadow* of the Logos.” For the mere humanity of Jesus would not have received this designation.

That he does not mean to describe the multitudes, either as Patripassians, or as Anthropians, (which two names included all now called Unitarians) is clear from the particular mention made of these heresies a little before, in the following words: “ Hence the difficulty may be solved, “ which disturbs many who profess that they love God, and “ fear to introduce two gods. And therefore, they fall “ into false and impious doctrines, either denying the pro- “ perty of the Son to be distinct from that of the Father, “ confessing that he is God with the name only, who by “ them is called the Son; or denying the divinity of the “ Son, and asserting that his property and essence exist by “ a description different from those of the Father *.” What then, does he lay to the charge of the multitude? They did not understand so much about the Logos as “ Hosea, “ Isaiah and Jeremiah, and any others that speak of him,” &c. When they read, in the Old Testament, that *The word of the Lord came to any one*, they were so ignorant as to understand this language of the word of revelation; but had not learned that the personal Word was meant. This is not our own conjecture. For in the introduction to this discourse, addressed to his friend Ambrose, and meant to explain that passage, *The Word was with God*, he tells him that

* Et hinc solvi potest illud quod perturbat multos profitentes se Dei amantes esse, ac verentes duos prædicare deos. Et propter hoc, in falsa et impia dogmata incidentes, vel negantes proprietatem Filii esse aliam a Patris proprietate, confitentes Deum esse cum nomine tantum, qui apud ipsos Filius appellatur; vel negantes Filii divinitatem, et ponentes ipsius proprietatem, et essentiam per descriptionem existere aliam a Patre. Comment. in. Joh. vol. ii. p. 173.

that he is to shew in what sense this was true. "There-
 fore," he says, "for explaining this, it will be useful to
 attend to the sense of that expression, *the Word came to*
certain persons. For example, *The Word of the Lord*
came to Hosea.—How, therefore, the Word of the Lord
 came to Hosea, and to Isaiah,—and to Jeremiah, is to be
 considered, that thus, by comparison, the truth may be
 discovered, in what respect that Word *was with God.*
 But indeed, *the vulgar* may explain the words of the
 prophets more simply, as respecting the language of God,
 or language made to them. But do thou observe, lest
 perchance our labour be in vain, that the Son, now
 theologically considered by us, is the Word that came
 to Hosea, sent to him by the Father*."

Then he shews that we are to understand him as coming,
 in the same sense, to Isaiah and Jeremiah. When, there-
 fore, he contrasts the knowledge which these three proph-
 ets had of the Logos with that of the multitude, he evi-
 dently refers to what he had thus said of them before; and
 means to depreciate the knowledge of the vulgar, because
 they did not think of any other Logos, as there meant, than
 that of revelation. As he explains that expression, *The*
Word was with God, of his being sent by God to them, he
 thence infers, that the multitude did not understand how he
 had been *with God*; because they *explained the language of*
the prophets more simply. And the warmest friend to or-
 thodox

* Ergo utile erit ad hoc explicandum, colligere sermonem qui scriptus
 est, Factum fuisse ad quosdam. Verbi gratia, Sermo Domini factus est
 ad Osee.—Quomodo ergo Sermo Domini factus est ad Oseam, et Sermo
 ad Esaiam filium Amos, et rursus ad Hieremiam, considerandum est, ut
 sic collatione facta inveniri possit, quonam pacto sermo ille erat apud
 Deum, atque equidem vulgus simplicius exponit prophetarum dicta, ve-
 luti sermone Domini, vel sermone facto ad ipsos. Tu verò vide, ne fortè,
 ut dicimus, hunc ad hunc fieri. sic etiam nunc a nobis theologicè conside-
 ratus Filius, sermo factus sit ad Oseam, missus ad ipsum a Patre. Oper.
 Vol. ii. p. 172.

thodox doctrine will grant, that they might be very good Christians notwithstanding.

Dr P., surely, will not pretend that the generality of Christians in Britain are, at this day, Unitarians (although it would not be surprising, though this should be asserted by his successors, a century or two hence;) yet I am persuaded that the majority, nay, the generality of the multitude, though believing in a Trinity of divine persons, never once thought that it was the personal Word who *came* to Hosea, Isaiah and Jeremiah.

Origen also says. that “ the multitudes of believers are “ instructed in the shadow of the Logos, and not in the true “ Logos of God which is in the open heavens *.” As by the *shadow* of the Logos he means the personal Word as incarnate, by the *true Word in the open heaven* he refers to the description given of our Saviour in Rev. xix. 11.—16. When he asserts the ignorance of the multitude as to the latter, he means that the description is so metaphorical and sublime that they did not comprehend it. They knew not in what sense *heaven* was *opened*, how Jesus was said to *sit on a white horse*, &c. After all, he speaks as if the orthodox teachers themselves had not thought it proper to explain such subjects to them. For he says; “ The multitudes *οὐχι μαθητευεται*, are not disciplined in the true Logos.”

Perhaps, because of the grossness of their minds, their teachers thought it inexpedient to insist much on passages of this kind. For though it should be refused that *μαθητευεται* is here used in its strict and proper sense, as denoting that this was a part of instruction that had not been communicated, there is still another solution of the apparent difficulty. For Origen describes, not the ignorant only, but carnal and worldly professors, who would not give themselves the trouble

* Com. in Joan. vol. ii. p. 52. ap. Auct. vol. iii. p. 265.

trouble of searching the scriptures. For, a few sentences before, when speaking of *heaven* being *opened*, he says; “ Therefore, I apprehend that heaven is shut to the impious, and to those who bear the image of the earthly; but opened to the just, and to those who bear the image of the heavenly. The things which are more excellent, to wit, are locked to those who are grovelling on the earth, and living in the flesh, because they cannot understand these things, nor can they perceive their beauty (because they are unwilling) being prone, and not endeavouring to elevate themselves: whereas the just and excellent, as enjoying the right of citizens in heaven, contemplate heavenly things, which are opened by the key of David; the divine Word, to wit, opening and manifesting these things signified by the words under consideration; inasmuch as he is carried on a white horse, on account of clear, candid and luminous knowledge.”

After explaining the epithet *faithful*, given to the Word, he proceeds to that of *true*. “ He is *true* also, with respect to the difference between the shadow, and the figure, and the image; since that Word is such as he is in *heaven* opened: for the earthly Word is not such as the heavenly, because he was made flesh by shadows, and speaks figures and images. Therefore, *the multitude*,” &c.*

Origen thinks so little of these persons, that he does not call them believers, as would appear from our author’s translation. For he uses the same expression with that in the last quotation: “ The multitudes of those who *are thought to have believed*,” &c. He gives Jesus the character of τῷ ἀληθινῷ λόγῳ, the *true* Word, in allusion to the discovery given of him to John, when he *first* *heaven* *opened*. For
the

* Proinde arbitrator, &c.

the Logos was then revealed to him as "faithful and " (*αληθινος*) true." But he is far from meaning that even the^ce persons did not know the Word at all. For he grants that they knew "the shadow of the Word." Now, had they believed that Jesus was a mere man, he would never have used such language; because, as we have seen, humanity cannot be even the shadow of divinity. He does not once insinuate that they denied the pre-existence and deity of the Logos; but says they had grovelling minds, which hindered them from contemplating that Word whom they acknowledged, in the more lofty descriptions given of him in Scripture. In our own time, many firmly believe the doctrine of the Trinity, who, if interrogated what was meant by *the Word of God riding on a white horse*, would discover that they had never elevated their minds to the contemplation of this metaphorical description. Nay, there are many, not only *earthly* and *grovelling*, but *impious* in their lives, who, should our author tell them that Jesus was a mere man, would be shocked at this as the language of blasphemy.

I shall only add with respect to Origen, that perhaps we can reason with less certainty from his writings, than from those of any other Father. This is not merely owing to the prodigious variety of his labours, his great rapidity in writing, and the frequent contradictions to be found in the works ascribed to him. But as his authority was of great weight, the force of his genius and extent of his erudition being universally admired, many adulterated his works, in order to obtain something like a sanction for their own errors. This seems to have been done in some instances, while he was yet alive. It is well known, how keenly it was disputed in the church, in succeeding ages, whether Origen himself was a heretic; and that many who hated the

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the doctrines ascribed to him, vindicated him from the charge of heresy, as being persuaded that these had been foisted into his works by others*.

Dr P. here recurs to his favourite passage in Tertullian, concerning the *simplices*. It serves the purpose of swelling the apparent evidence. For it is used both as a *presumptive*, and as a *direct* proof. As we have fully considered it under the former description, it can serve no end to follow the learned Gentleman a second time over the same ground.

Athanasius is next introduced as a witness. "Athanasius also," our author says, "like Tertullian, acknowledged that the Unitarian doctrine was very prevalent among the lower class of people in his time. He calls them the *οι πολλοι*, *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 †." The heresy which Athanasius has in his eye is that of Samosatenus. He indeed speaks of *the many* or *the multitude*. But he speaks of them merely in contradistinction to the learned, or those Christians who were superior in rank. It is denied that he "calls the Unitarians *the many*." He does not even give reason to suppose that many of the multitude were carried away. All that his language amounts to is, that this heresy was getting in among them. It "is *hurting* the multitude," he says. Any impartial person would understand his language

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* Cave Hist. Literar. vol. i. p. 77.

† Λυπει δε και νυν της αντερχομενης της αγιας πεισεως, η περι των αυτων βλασφημιων βλαπτουσα της πολλους* μαλιστα της ηλαττωμενης περι την συνεσι. De Incarnatione Verbi contra Paulum Samosatensem, Opera, vol. i. p. 591. Ear. Opin. vol. iii. p. 268, 269.

as necessarily implying that their faith had been previously different, nay, that the persons referred to were not confirmed in heresy. That no more is meant, is undeniable from what Athanasius subjoins : “ But since we have heard
 “ that there are some among you who are troubled, and
 “ who wish for letters from us concerning the common faith,
 “ and that introduced by the Apostles ;—we counsel you,
 “ as we take the same counsel to ourselves, to retain the
 “ faith which is handed down, but to turn away from the
 “ vanities which have a new sound ; and to enjoin this on
 “ all, that they be afraid to search into so great a mystery ;
 “ but that they confess that *God was manifested in the*
 “ *flesh*, according to the Apostolical Tradition, and that the
 “ Lord was *justified in the Spirit*, that is, not in a human
 “ manner, but by divine purity *.”

This passage shews us how *the multitude* were injured by the doctrine of Paulus. *Some* of them were troubled. The followers of that heretic made such high pretensions, and so many objections, that these weak persons were at a loss to know whether there was any ground for them or not. But Athanasius hoped that his counsel would be the mean of confirming them in the doctrine of the Trinity, which was the *common* faith. He was not afraid of being charged by these people with falsehood, when he declared that it was so, or when he described the opposite doctrine as having a *new sound*.

Dr

* Επει τοιουν ηγυσμεν παρ' υμιν τινος ταρατλεθαι, και ζητειν γραμματα παρ' ημων περι της κοινης, και εξ Αποστολων εισαχθεισης πισ-ως.—παραινωμεν δε υμιν, οπερ και εαυτοις παραινημεν, την παρα-δοδισαν πισιν φυλαττειν, εκτρεπισθαι δε τας βεβηλως καινοφανιας, και τητο πασι παρεγλυαν, φοβεισθαι την περι τν τηλικαυτη μυστηριζ ζητησιν, ομολογειν δε, οτι πεφανερηται Θειος εν σαρκι, κατα την Αποστολικην παραδοσιν, και την δικαιοσυνην, ην εσχεν ο Κυριος εν πνευματι, τρετ-ειν, εκ ανθρωπινη τροπη, αλλα Δεικη τη καθαροτητι. Ibid. p. 592.

Dr P. elsewhere produces another proof from this venerable Father. "That the Unitarians," he observes, "were exceedingly numerous in the time of Athanasius, or not long before it, especially in Africa, is evident from his complaints on the subject. He says that 'in Pentapolis of Upper Lybia, some of the bishops embraced the doctrine of Sabellius, and prevailed so much, that the Son of God was hardly preached in the churches *.' But this is like the rest of our author's proofs. They were "exceedingly numerous" *in general*, because this was the case "in Africa." But how is it proved that Africa contained so many Unitarians? Athanasius mentions Sabellians in Lybia, in one division of it, in a single province in this one division, in a province containing five cities, in one of which this heresy had its origin. "The Unitarians were exceedingly numerous," because *some* bishops embraced the doctrine of Sabellius. This proof satisfies Dr P., although when he finds *all* the bishops of the Catholic church holding the Trinitarian faith, scarcely with a single exception, he refuses to admit it as any proof that the majority of their people agreed with them.

Athanasius evidently describes this doctrine as *new*. For speaking of the time when Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, wrote to the clergy of Pentapolis, he says that "the heresy of Sabellius had *crept in* +."

It has been generally believed that the Sabellians were Patripassians. Some, however, have represented them as holding, that "a certain clergy, proceeding from the Fa-
"ther,

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* Εἰς Πενταπολει της ἀνω Λιβύης τήνκαυτά τινες τῶν ἐπισκόπων ἐφρονήσαν τὰ Σαβελλίω καὶ τοσούτον ἰσχύσαν ταις ἐκκλησίαις, ὥς ὅτι οὐδὲν ἀκρίτως ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις κηρύσσθαι τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ. De Sententia Dionysii, Opera, vol. i. p. 552. Euseb. Opus. vol. iii. p. 321, 322.

† Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ εἶπεν ὁ Σαβελλίω αἰρεσίς. Ibid. p. 554.

“ther, was united to the man Jesus*.” But, from the scope of the letter of Dionysius, we may certainly conclude that these heretics confounded the three persons. For he “wrote, in order to demonstrate from the Gospel the humanity of Christ, and to persuade those ignorant persons who boldly denied the Son, and ascribed what belonged to him as man to the Father, that it was not the Father, but the Son, who became man for our sakes, and that the Father was not the Son †.”

This, then, being the doctrine of the Sabellians, our author can have no claim to them. They were *Unitarians* indeed, as holding only one person in deity. But would Dr P. acknowledge as brethren, or receive as church-members, those who would maintain the incarnation and crucifixion of the Father? The very extreme to which they went, as has been already proved with respect to the followers of Praxeas, necessarily supposes that the deity of the Son and Spirit was previously believed by the church. Even the language quoted from Athanasius supposes this. The heresy of Sabellius “prevailed so much, that in a little time it was *no longer* necessary to preach the Son of God in the churches.” Although this passage could prove all that prevalence of Unitarianism asserted by Dr P., it would still prove with no less force of evidence, that this doctrine was substituted for another. “The Son of God” had been “preached in the churches,” in that sense affixed to the expression

* Mosheim’s History, vol. i. p. 305.

† — Δε τα ανθρωπινα τη Σωτηρος εκ των ευαγγελιων παρατησθαι· εν’ επισημη τολμηροτερον εκεινοι τον υιον ηραντο, δε τα ανθρωπινα αυτη τω πατρι αντισθησαν, ητως ειπὸς δειξας, οτι εχ ο πατηρ, αλλ’ ο υιος εστιν ο γενομενος υπερ ημων ανθρωπος, πειση της αμαθειας, μη ειναι τον πατερα υιον. De Sententia Dionysii, Opera, vol. i. p. 552.

pression by Athanasius. But this was “no longer necessary;” because the followers of Sabellius believed “that the Father was the Son.”

Our author infers, from the *complaints* of Athanasius, that “the Unitarians were exceedingly numerous in his time, or a little before it.” Yet it would seem that these two are the only passages which he could venture to quote from this Father, in support of his assertion; although the doctrine of the Deity of Christ is their great subject. Had these passages been much more favourable than they are, they could not have been admitted as proving that the majority were Unitarians; because Athanasius so often declares the contrary in the plainest terms. “Who of the faithful,” says he, “will not confess that God the Word—is consubstantial with the Father *?” Speaking of the doctrine of the Trinity, he expresses himself in this strong language; “We see that this was the tradition, and the doctrine, and the faith of the church universal from the beginning, which our Lord himself delivered, which the Apostles preached, and which the Fathers preserved. For in this is the church founded, and he who falls from it neither can be, nor can be called a Christian .”

Because Jerom speaks of some under the denomination of *simplices credentium*, who “did not understand the scriptures as became their Majesty †,” Dr P. has no right to

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assume

* Τις των πιστων ηκ αν ομολογησειεν, οτι ο επιδημητας Θεος λογος—ομοιουτος ωι τε πατερες; De Incarnatione Christi, Op. vol. i. p. 622.

† Ιδωμεν δε ομως κη προς τετοις, δε αυτην την εξ αρχης παραδοσιν, κη διδασκαλιαν, κη πισιν της καθολικης εκκλησιας, ην ο με Κυριος εδωκεν, οι δε αποστολοι εκηρυξαν, και οι πατερες εφυλαξαν εν ταυτη γαρ η εκκλησια τειμελιωται κη ο ταυτης εκπιπτων, ετ' αν ειη, ετ' αν λεγοιτο Χριστιανος. Ad Serapionem, Opera, vol. i. p. 202.

‡ In Ep. xxxii. 20.

assume that they were Unitarians. As Jerom himself does not say who they were, this is certainly to beg the question. That writer's assertion with respect to these persons might be true in a great variety of ways, without their being Unitarians. To the latter he gives a character very different from that of *simple believers*. He describes them as mere *pretenders to faith*.

SECTION II.

Of the Testimony of Justin Martyr and others, with respects to Gentile Unitarians.

OUR author next endeavours to prove the novelty of the Trinitarian doctrine from *the manner in which it was taught and received in early times*. He particularly urges the modesty of Justin Martyr on this head. He again produces that passage from the dialogue with Trypho, the gross misapplication of which, in the History of Corruptions, had been clearly demonstrated in the Monthly Review *. It appears, indeed, in a new form. The Doctor, in his former work, had translated it in this manner :
 “ There are some of our profession, who acknowledge him
 “ to be the Christ, yet maintain that he was a man born of
 “ man. I do not agree with them, nor should I be pre-
 “ vailed upon by ever so many who hold that opinion ;
 “ because we are taught by Christ himself, not to receive
 “ our

* Και γαρ εισι τινες, ω φιλοι, ελεγαι, απο τη ημετερη γενους ομολογουντες αυτον Χριστον ειναι, ανθρωπον δε εξ ανθρωπων γενομενον απ-
 φαινομενοι· εις ε συντιθεται· εδ' αν πλειστοι ταυτα μοι δεξασαντες
 ειποιεν, επειδε εκ ανθρωπειοις διδασματα κεκελευσμεθα υπ' αυτη του
 Χριστου πειδεσθαι, αλλα τοις δια των μακαριων προφητων κρηυχθει-
 σι κ' δι' αυτου διδραχθισι. Dial. p. 267.

“our doctrine from men, but from what was taught by the
“holy prophets and by himself *.” Thence Dr P. infer-
red that Unitarians were not accounted heretics by Justin,
and indeed that in his time they were the majority. He
also considered this language as having “all the appearance
“of an *apology* for an opinion contrary to the general and
“prevailing one.”

In the History of Early Opinions, our author advances
various arguments in form, to shew that “Justin’s language
“is that of a man who knew that he was advancing a *new*
“opinion.”

The *first* argument is, that 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 †.” Dr P. is armed at all points against the
evidence of antiquity. If any father says little concerning
the divinity of our Saviour, it is a proof that the opinion was
not generally received, or not reckoned important. If ano-
ther treats the subject diffusively, and seems to be in earnest,
it comes to the same issue. He *labours* the proof. Was
it not natural for Justin to enlarge on the doctrine of our
Saviour’s divinity, when reasoning with a Jew, who denied
it, and particularly urged him to the proof?

Nor is it surprising that he should illustrate the conso-
nancy of this doctrine to the principles of Platonism. For
Trypho had addressed Justin as a philosopher, and declared
that he had learned from Cerinthus, a follower of Socrates,
to respect men of this character ‡. Therefore, as Justin had
been a Platonist, as he believed that the doctrine of Plato
concerning

* Hist. of Corrupt. vol. i. p. 17.

† Vol. iii. p. 281.

‡ Dial. p. 217.

concerning the Logos was borrowed from Moses, and, of consequence, was a collateral proof of the antiquity of this faith among the Hebrews; it would have been astonishing, if he had overlooked so natural an introduction to the consideration of what it taught, on this subject, in the Hebrew scriptures. And, indeed, he uses the Platonic doctrine merely as an introduction. For when he has fairly entered on the proof from scripture, he confines himself to this.

That Justin refers to no other writings than the Jewish scriptures, in proof of the divinity of Christ, is a strange argument. To what others could he, with propriety, refer? Had he referred to those of the New Testament, it would have been of still less effect with Trypho, than a reference to the apostolical fathers in reasoning with Dr P. An appeal to any Christian work, not canonical, would have been equally vain. He reasoned with the Jew, as our Saviour did with the Sadducees. He referred to the Pentateuch only, in proof of the resurrection, because they acknowledged no other part of scripture; though the other inspired writings afforded far more direct proofs of this doctrine. Justin's referring to the Jewish scriptures only, so far from insinuating the least consciousness of the novelty of his opinion, is a most unexceptionable evidence that he was fully convinced of its antiquity. Had not this been the case, it is natural to think that he would have rested part of his proof on the harmony of the New with the Old Testament; and that he would have *laboured* to establish the inspiration of the Evangelical writers, in order to shew that they had more clearly declared what was obscurely hinted by Moses and the prophets. But like a man fully convinced, he is willing to rest the whole force of his argument on the concessions of his adversary.

Had Justin appealed to any Christian writer, from our author's plan of treating evidence, there is reason to suspect
that

that he would have urged it as a clear proof of Justin's consciousness that he had not a sure enough foundation for his doctrine in the Hebrew scriptures. "Why," might it have been said, "would he otherwise have referred to evidence, the veracity of which was denied by his opponent? A man of his judgment would never have acted so weak a part, had he not known that he was asserting a new doctrine, which could not be supported, even by a shadow of proof, from the Hebrew scriptures alone." Every reader must perceive that the argument, by being reversed in this manner, would have been unspeakably more plausible.

The *second* is thus expressed; "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." It is, perhaps, the first time that coolness in reasoning has been urged as a proof of the novelty of an opinion. Universal experience attests, that when a new doctrine is taught, especially if it opposes another accounted of great importance, the spirits of men on both sides are far more apt to be rankled than afterwards, when the opinions of the adverse parties have become familiar to each other. The *principal abettor* of a new opinion, instead of being less acrimonious, because of the novelty of his opinion; in consequence of contradiction, commonly feels a foreness unknown to him who defends a doctrine sanctioned by antiquity and general reception. This is especially the case, when the rejection of his doctrine subjects him to the character of a heretical innovator. Were Dr P. right in his conjecture, Justin Martyr must have felt in this manner. Unless we shall suppose that the majority of Christians were far more ignorant in his time, than afterwards,

terwards, his so strenuously asserting the Deity of Christ must have given as great, and as general offence, as it is supposed to have done when Tertullian flourished. Nay, according to the well-known principles of human nature, its greater novelty and singularity must have greatly increased the clamour against this presumptuous individual. To this we may add the circumstance of there being many still alive, who had heard a doctrine diametrically opposite taught by some of the apostles themselves.

But we need not lose time in abstract reasoning. How acrimonious soever Justin might be in disputing with pretended Christians who denied this doctrine, when arguing with an enemy to Christianity in general, he had no more reason for warmth on this, than on any other leading doctrine. We find the same coolness on the part of Justin, when Trypho flatly denies that Jesus is the Messiah.

But may it be said, he speaks with great acrimony of the Gnostics. There was, however, a peculiar reason for this. As they were called Christians, their doctrines and practices exposed all who bore this name to great reproach, both from Jews and Gentiles. Trypho expressly derives some of his objections to the truth of Christianity from this quarter. As the Gnostics denied the God of the Jews to be Supreme, as they proceeded so far in blasphemy as to call him an evil being; while Jews might apprehend that they were acknowledged as Christians, and might even suspect that others were tainted with the same impious opinions, it must have been a great obstacle to their conversion, and a great reproach to the Christian name. It was, therefore, indispensably incumbent on Justin, in the strongest terms to disown all connexion between Christians in general and these heretics; and, if possible, to convince the Jew, that their principles were no less odious to himself and his brethren, than to him. Without this measure, he could have

no rational hope that any thing he might advance in this conference, would make the slightest impression on the mind of Trypho, in favour of Christianity.

But there was by no means the same necessity for strong language in speaking of those who denied the Deity of Christ. Justin knew abundantly well that many of the Jews of that age expected a human Messiah, and that the contrary doctrine was a great obstacle to their believing in Jesus. If nothing, however, but hard words will please our author, in proof of the antiquity and general reception of a doctrine, it may be afterwards in our power to serve him up a morsel of these, prepared even by this gentle *innovator*.

Dr P.'s *third* argument contains a presumption still stronger, if well-founded. "He (Justin) 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." The *fourth* and last argument may be connected with this. "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*."

Our author pretends to lay little stress on the circumstance last mentioned, and afterwards informs us that he can very well spare the passage altogether, thinking that he has evidence enough of his general position without "it." But many readers will be persuaded that he lays considerable

* Vol. iii. p. 283.

considerable *stress* on it; as he has successively tortured one particular expression into three different forms, to make it fit the distorted mould of his own hypothesis. But a few pages before, it is rendered; "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;" Here it assumes a very different appearance: "Neither do I agree with the majority of Christians, who *may have objected* to my opinion." The last, he says, is "nearly the most literal rendering." Had it been said, that it is "nearly the most literal *inversion* of the meaning," it would have been much nearer the truth. It is astonishing, that Dr P. should observe any word in this clause, which could suggest the idea of *objecting*. Nor is it less astonishing that, in the course of one chapter, he should give two versions of the same passage so different from each other, that the *urging* of one opinion is metamorphosed into an *objection* to its opposite; and that what first assumes the form of a possible *futurity*, should afterwards appear as possibly *past*.

This passage has been strangely mangled by Socinian writers of late. Mr Lindsey translates the introduction, *Και γαρ εισι τινες, ω φιλοι, απο τη ημε τηρη γενεης*, "There are some friends of mine amongst us Christians," &c †.

The Socinians of the last century, though they begun to nibble at this passage, did not perceive where the great strength of their argument lay. They had not attained to such skill in the use of ancient testimony; nor could they translate with such dexterity. It never occurred to them, that the *πλειστοι*, *the majority*, were their own good friends. They seem to have thought this the most *literal rendering*: "To whom I assent not; no, though very many of the
" same

* Ibid. p. 279.

† Apology, p. 160. Burgh's Inquiry, p. 96, 97.

“same opinion with me should speak it, since we are commanded,” &c.*

By the learned writer in the theological department of the *Monthly Review*, this passage was rendered; “To whom I could not yield my assent; *no, not even if* the majority of Christians should think the same †:” or in other words, “With whom I do not agree; neither *could I*, although the major part had adopted the same opinion ‡.” With due respect to the superior judgment of others, I would beg leave to suggest that the meaning of these words, *μοι δοξαζαντες*, has not hitherto been sufficiently attended to in this controversy. The English Unitarians of the last century seem to have been fully convinced of their force. They most probably appeared to them as an unsurmountable obstacle to any claim to the *πλειστοι*. The following seems to me the most natural translation: “With whom I do not agree: nor would the majority, who are of the same opinion with me, assert such things,” &c.

Thus, Justin not only gives his own judgment, but that of those with whom he held communion; as it is natural to suppose he would, and as he indeed does on other occasions, during this conference. Thus also, his language has a determinate meaning, perfectly in point, without the aid of any supplement. And surely we ought never to suppose an ellipsis, when it is unnecessary, especially where the sense is more simple without it.

This appears to me not *nearly*, but absolutely, the most literal reading. Our author, indeed, from his peculiar mode of expression, seems conscious that he had left room for something

* The Faith of One God, who is only the Father: Tract v. Testimonies of Irenæus, &c. p. 10.

† Rev. for June 1783.

‡ Rev. for Sept. 1783.

something of this kind, by tearing away *μοι* from *δοξασαντες*, he has given the words a sense directly contrary to that which is obvious. He has converted an *assertion* into an *objection*. It must be evident to every one, who is in the least acquainted with the language, that the pronoun and verb are inseparably connected with each other, and both with *πλιστοι*.

I shall not urge that the reason added, being expressed in the plural, is evidently meant by the Martyr to account, not merely for his own opposition to the Unitarian doctrine, but for that of the *majority*: "Since *we* are commanded," &c. Trypho's reply incontrovertibly shews that this is the true meaning. According to the Doctor's version it is; "They who say that Jesus was a man, and that he became Christ by election, seem to hold a doctrine more credible than yours." From this translation, one would naturally conclude that Trypho referred to the opinion of Justin as an individual; especially as the preceding sentence is made to represent the opposite opinion as that which was adopted by the major party. But our author is here chargeable with an important omission. For the words of the Jew respect the opinion of others agreeing with Justin. He says; "They who assert that Jesus was born a man, and anointed by election, and made Christ, seem to me to say something more credible than what is said by *you* who affirm these things which *thou* speakest*." So far is Trypho from understanding the preceding words of Justin as containing an insinuation that his opinion was contrary to the general and prevailing one, that

* Και ο Τρυφων, μοι μιν δοκουσιν, ειπεν, οι λεγοντες ανθρωπον γεγονεναι αυτον, και κατ' εκλογην κηρυχθειν, και Χριστον γεγονεναι, πιθανωτερον υμων λεγειν των ταυτα απερ' εης λεγοντων. Dial. p. 268.

that he evidently speaks of it as nowise uncommon. Therefore, he makes a remarkable transition from the plural to the singular. Indeed, the last words of the sentence evidently refer to those with which Justin had concluded the preceding address. $\Upsilon\mu\upsilon\sigma\upsilon$ — $\tau\omega\iota\ \tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha\ \alpha\pi\epsilon\iota\sigma\ \phi\upsilon\lambda\lambda\omicron\gamma\eta\tau\alpha$, is undoubtedly a reduplication upon Justin's $\mu\alpha\delta\ \xi\epsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$. Both expressions denote the same persons, and both refer to $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\epsilon\iota\alpha$, *the greatest part*, as opposed to $\tau\omega\iota\sigma\iota$, *some*. But our author seems to have thought it prudent to overlook this striking periphrasis.

In his History of Corruptions, he throws a most unmerited aspersion on Justin Martyr, when he says; "This writer even speaks of his own opinion of the pre-existence of Christ,—as a doubtful one, and by no means a necessary article of Christian faith *." As a proof of the justness of this assertion, he cites the words preceding these which we have already considered: "Jesus may still be the Christ, although I should not be able to prove that he pre-existed as God," &c. It has been justly observed in reply, that we are to understand the words of Justin only as a momentary concession of what he would not presently urge; as he was arguing with a Jew, "whom he chiefly aimed to convince of the general doctrine of Christ's being the Messiah," &c †.

It must be evident to any one who will be at the trouble of reading the works of Justin, that he frequently expresses himself in the language of Concession, gradually to lead on his antagonist, or his reader; when he has no design to give up the point, but to resume it after proving what is previously necessary. Of many instances I shall mention one only. When reasoning with Trypho, concerning the dignity of Christ, from his appearing to Abraham with two

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angels;

* Vol. i. p. 276.

† Month. Rev. Sept. 1793, p. 231.

angels, he says; "Though I should not be able to shew
 " you from the scriptures, that one of these three is called
 " both God and Angel, from his declaring, as I have alrea-
 " dy said, to whomsoever God the Creator of the universe
 " pleases, the things concerning him; yet it were proper
 " for you to think so of this very one, who appeared on
 " earth in the likeness of man to Abraham, in the same
 " manner as the two angels who accompanied him, and
 " who was God before the foundation of the world*." Shall we hence conclude that he "speaks of his own opi-
 " nion as" in this instance "a doubtful one?" If we do so, we shall find that the inference is false. For he afterwards resumes the argument, and proves that Christ receives the name both of a Messenger and of God †.

Trypho himself did not put this violent construction on the language of Justin. For we find him, a little below, proposing a question which he must have deemed entirely preposterous, had he imagined either that Justin hesitated in his opinion, or that he did not reckon the doctrine of the deity of Christ "a necessary article of the Christian
 " faith." For he says, "Answer me first, how you can
 " prove that there is another God beside the Creator of this
 " universe," &c. In this manner he speaks of the deity of Christ. For the objection unjustly derived from the unity of the divine nature, as if the doctrine of a plurality of persons destroyed it, is no new discovery, but may be traced up to the earliest ages of Christianity, and claims its origin from those who *said they were Jews and were not, but were of the synagogue of Satan.*

It is evident from this question, that Trypho reckoned Justin so confirmed in his opinion as to make it a first principle; and that he could not reason with him about other things till there was some solution of the difficulty arising

in

* Dial. p. 276.

† Ib. p. 251. 340. 356, 357.

in his mind from this doctrine. Therefore he says, “ Answer me *first*.” Strange, indeed, that an unbelieving Jew should do greater justice to the sentiments of this venerable Christian, than a professor of the same religion. But Trypho could gain nothing, by wilfully misrepresenting the doctrine of Justin.

It could easily be proved that there never was a charge more unjustly exhibited against any writer. Not only does Trypho repeat the same objection in the course of his reasoning, as being fully convinced that Justin was confirmed in the belief of the deity of Christ; but the latter, in his reply, informs him that he could produce arguments for it from Scripture, “ which would not require any explication, but only a hearing*.” Then he proceeds to shew that it was Christ who appeared to Abraham at Mamre. Indeed, he proves the deity of Christ by such cogent arguments, (the same that are still used in the defence of this doctrine) and with such warmth, that one is under the necessity of concluding, either that Dr P. when he brought this charge against Justin, had not himself read the dialogue, or that he flattered himself that no other would read it.

The inference deduced from the manner in which Justin speaks of those who denied this doctrine, as *τινες απο της ημετερας γενεας*, “ certain of our kind,” is as unnatural as it would be to conclude that because one, in our own time, in addressing Jews, Mahometans or heathens, should speak of those who denied the deity of Christ under the general name of Christians, he therefore did not consider them as heretics. Justin uses a very general word. Because of their profession of the Christian name, he speaks of them as of the same *genus*. But he pronounces them to be specifically different from the majority.

* Ibid. p. 274. D.

But this charge against Justin is not new. Episcopus long ago stepped forth as his accuser; and the falsity of his accusation was fully proved by the judicious and learned Bishop Bull. His conjecture concerning these words $\eta\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\sigma\upsilon\ \gamma\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$, seems highly probable. He supposes that it ought to be $\nu\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\sigma\upsilon$, *your race*: first, because, through the whole of this Dialogue, $\gamma\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\varsigma$ is used strictly to denote a nation; and secondly, because the Ebionites, here described, were still Jews, as adhering to the synagogue. I would presume to add, that the very expression, $\nu\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\sigma\upsilon\ \gamma\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$, is used by Justin, in the preceding page, to denote the Jewish nation*: and that Trypho, in his reply, not only prefers the opinion of those who believed Christ to be a mere man, but speaks as if the former words had respected those of his nation; “*For we all believe that Christ will be a man born of man.*” By the way, we may observe that, from this expression, our author even ventures to *predict* the future faith of the Jews. It “*shews,*” he says, “*in what light the Jews will always consider any doctrine which makes Christ to be more than a man †.*” As *all* the unbelieving Jews of that age also expected a temporal Saviour, may not Dr P. with equal safety foretell that those of this nation will never believe in any other?

Dr P. himself, though he formerly translated $\gamma\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\varsigma$ *profession* ‡, now renders it *race*. But it is with a design to extend his evidence; as he understands it of *Gentile* Unitarians, and would thence infer, that the majority of these were of a different opinion from Justin. But this restriction of his language can be of no service to our author, as the foundation is false.

In his new work, he seems to abandon the idea that

Justin

* Trypho uses the expression $\eta\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\sigma\upsilon\ \gamma\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ concerning his own nation Dial. p. 306. C.

† Hist. Cor. vol. i. p. 18.

‡ Ibid. p. 17.

Justin "speaks of his own opinion as a doubtful one." But he still asserts that the passage formerly considered "has all the appearance of an apology for an opinion different from that, which in his time was commonly received on the subject*." However, this vain imagination rests on these grounds, the insufficiency of which we have already proved.

But independently of this passage, the whole of the Dialogue with Trypho must, to a candid reader, afford the strongest presumptive evidence, that the doctrine of the divinity of Christ was indeed that of believers in general, that it was considered as fundamental, and that those were not accounted true Christians who denied it. We cannot otherwise account for Justin's enlarging so much, and reasoning so earnestly in defence of this doctrine, (as it is undoubtedly the principal subject of the Dialogue) while he knew that no other could be so disagreeable to Trypho and his friends. But were it true, as Dr P. has asserted, that Justin was conscious that his opinion was *novel*, and not received by the generality, that it needed an apology, that he did not reckon those who differed from him heretics but joined in communion with them; we must suppose either that he wished to harden them in their prejudices, though he professes his earnest desire of their conversion. or that he was totally unfit for argument, as being destitute of the least share of common prudence.

Although Dr P. should persist in his own construction of the disputed passage, he cannot do so, without supposing that the Martyr deliberately told and committed to writing a gross falsehood. For in that very passage, he plainly asserts the Unitarian tenets to be "the doctrines of men," and opposes them to "what was taught by the prophets, "and by Christ himself." It cannot be said that here he

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gives

* Vol. iii. p. 234.

gives his own *opinion* only. For if the doctrine of Christ's divinity was novel, especially if he had the chief hand in introducing it, he could not well be a stranger to its novelty. If Christ, or his apostles, taught another doctrine, he must have known that this was the case. Thus, it must either be granted, that the primitive church believed the Son to be God, or the character of a faithful witness must be denied to this venerable writer, who *refisted unto blood*.

Notwithstanding the clear evidence that has been produced by various writers, that Dr P., in his History of Corruptions, has misrepresented Justin Martyr, he again takes notice of the *respect* with which that writer treats the Unitarians, and still urges his not mentioning them as *heretics* *. On this head, he quotes two passages. Considering the texture of our author's arguments, it might be a sufficient reply, that as Justin mentions a book he had written *against all sects and heresies*, it is *more than probable* that he has given them their proper character there. But as the Doctor seems to rest his proof as to Unitarians not being accounted heretics in the time of Justin, on the two passages quoted, it may be necessary to consider them.

In the first passage, he replies to an objection made by Trypho to the truth of Christianity, from the lives of its professors. "I know that many," he says, "who pretend to be Christians, eat the things sacrificed to idols, and affirm that they receive no injury thereby †." Would it have been in point to have introduced the Unitarians here? There was great propriety in Justin's mentioning the Gnostics especially; because at this time their errors seem to have been spreading very extensively. But we have no evidence that those called Unitarians made any considerable figure. Dr P., notwithstanding all his violent efforts,

* Ear. Opin. vol. i. p. 269. iii. p. 286.

† Dial. p. 253. sec. auct. 208. Vol. i. p. 270.

efforts, cannot prove that, in the age of Justin, they were more than the *τινες, certain persons*. But the Gnostics considered as heretics, were *πολλοι, many*; as Justin declares in this passage, according to the Doctor's acknowledgment. But as Trypho's objection is founded on *practice*, not on opinion, we have another argument for the more particular mention of Gnostics; for all ancient writers charge them with gross immorality. In this point of view, our author will not pretend that it would have been proper to introduce the Ebionites, though viewed as heretics.

Besides, a particular practice is specified by Trypho, which was peculiarly stumbling to those accustomed to the bondage of the law; and from which all in communion with the church are said to have abstained, as long as heathenism was the religion of the empire.

Irenæus exhibits the very charge, which constitutes Trypho's objection, against the Valentinians. "They pretend that they are no wise injured by those gross actions in which they are engaged.—Wherefore, without fear they do all these things which are forbidden. For they freely eat the things offered to idols, not reckoning themselves defiled by them: and they are the first to run to every feast of the heathen, celebrated in honour of idols; so that none of them abstain from the bloody shews of the gladiators, which are hateful both to God and man*." Marcion himself is said by Tertullian to have been cast out of the church for defiling a virgin: and his opinions were such as tended to sap the very foundations of morality; for, according to Irenæus, he asserted that Cain, the Sodomites, the Egyptians, and others chargeable with the most abominable sins, were saved; but that Abel, Seth, Enoch, Noah, Abraham, the Patriarchs and Prophets were exclu-

* Iren. lib. i. c. 1, p. 26.

ded from salvation *. The Basilideans allowed fornication and polygamy †. Though some speak favourably of Basilides himself, it is granted that he “ affirmed it to be lawful for Christians to conceal their religion, to deny Christ when their lives were in danger, and to partake of the feasts of the Gentiles instituted in consequence of the sacrifices offered to idols ‡.” Saturninus was an enemy to marriage §. Thus, all the heretics here mentioned by Justin, erred as to morals: and the particular notice which he takes of them, corresponds with the nature of Trypho’s objection. However much Justin was convinced that the Ebionites were heretics, it would have been absurd to introduce them here; unless he had meant to exhibit the same charge against them as Epiphanius, that “ virginity and chastity were totally prohibited among them ||.”

The Martyr, it must be acknowledged, in his reply, takes a more ample range than the Jew: as he mentions some who taught not only to *do*, but to *speaking* things *atheistical* and *blasphemous*. But the Doctor has not yet disproved what was asserted by his learned critic **, that the character of those that were blasphemers of the God of Abraham, who according to Justin was the Son, naturally belongs to Unitarians. His own translation proves this. For if “ some taught to blaspheme the Christ, and the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, in one way, and others in another; Justin must have included Ebionites.” For while Gnostics blasphemed the God of Abraham *in one way*, making him inferior to the Supreme, or even calling him an evil being; Ebionites did so *in another*, as they blasphemously denied that Christ was the God of Abraham, and *taught* that he was “ a man born of man.”

But

* Iren. lib. i. c. 29.

† Ib. lib. i. c. 32.

‡ Mosheim, Cent. 2. p. 2. c. 5.

§ Iren. lib. i. c. 22.

|| Her. 30. sect. 2.

** Monthly Review for January 1724.

“mies to the worship of Jesus.” How favourable this quotation is to the case either of ancient, or of modern Unitarians, let the world judge. Though it were granted, that Justin had no eye to them, this article, which closes the indictment, shews what he thought of such men.

In that very passage in which, according to our author’s acknowledgment, Justin speaks of the Ebionites, though he does not expressly call them heretics, he gives them the same characters with unbelieving Jews. Trypho had said; “To assert that this Christ pre-existed, being God before ages, but that he afterwards condescended to be born, being made man, not man of man, appears to me not only paradox, but folly!” To this Justin replies; “I know that this discourse seems paradoxical, and especially to those of your race, who have never had any inclination, either to understand, or to do the things of God, but those of your teachers; as God himself exclaims against you!” This is the very introduction to that passage, whence it is inferred that Unitarians were the majority, and that Justin speaks of them with *respect*. This sentence immediately precedes the favourite passage of our author. It is surely most natural to understand that expression, *απο τη γενεος υμετερος*, as denoting Ebionites, who were confessedly of the Jewish race.

If this be refused, if it be urged that this refers to those who continued Jews, yet the word, *especially*, shews that he had an eye to others, to whom this doctrine seemed “paradoxical and absurd!” And whoever they were, he formed the same opinion of them all, that they were such as “had no inclination, either to understand, or to do the things of God.” This, then, is the great *respect* with which Justin mentions these men. One would think he could scarcely have devised a worse character for the grossest heretics. But according to the learned Gentleman’s
mode

mode of reasoning, though a writer of this age occasionally expressed his abhorrence at the doctrine of Socinians, describing them as men who had no inclination either to know, or to do the will of God; if he did not somewhere expressly call them *heretics*, it might safely be inferred that he did not think them such, nay, that he treated them with *respect*.

The other passage brought by Dr P. to prove that Justin reckoned Gnostics the *only* heretics, can be of as little use to him. For it contains a direct reply to a question proposed by Trypho, who wished Justin to tell him truly, if Christians believed that Jerusalem would at length be restored, and Jews and Gentiles, with the Messiah, and the patriarchs and prophets, be gathered together there. Justin first declares that this is his own opinion, and that of many others. Then, that it was denied by two kinds of persons; first, by many true Christians, holding "the pure and godly doctrine;" and secondly, by some who were called Christians, but were in fact "atheistical and ungodly heretics*." He mentions these as the very persons he had described before, only adding a new character, that of their denying the resurrection. This he introduces as intimately connected with Trypho's question. For it must have plainly appeared, that no man who denied the resurrection, could believe that scheme of restitution laid down by the Jew.

To what purpose would it have been to introduce new heretics here, whose doctrines did not, like those of the Gnostics, lay them under a necessity of disbelieving this? Who, but our author, would have ventured to say that Justin accounted none heretics, save the Gnostics, because no others are mentioned on this occasion?

His

* Dial. p. 306.

His last observation on this head is, 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*.” No one would think of answering these observations as *arguments*, did they not come from such a writer as Dr P., whose name with many will give weight to what he says. The argument now mentioned, though considered in the most favourable light, will turn either way. A Trinitarian might say; “ Justin certainly reckoned Unitarians heretics. For though he does not name them, he says he wrote a book against all heresies. By mentioning this to the Emperor, he insinuates that it was unnecessary for him to particularize their names. But as he had already given this character to the Gnostics, had he accounted none heretics but them, he would not have said that he had written a book against *all* heresies, but against *these* which he had already mentioned.”

But there would have been no more propriety in mentioning the Ebionites here, than in the passages already considered. Justin has a particular design, in taking notice of the Gnostics. For he is proving to the Emperor the unreasonableness of persecuting the Christians. This he does, first, from many being permitted to “ worship trees, and rivers, and mice, and cats, and crocodiles;” and from its being the only objection to Christians, that they would not join in such irapious worship. Secondly, because the heathen in general were allowed to worship deities of the most infamous character, as Bacchus, Venus, Adonis, &c. The prevalence of this worship he ascribes to the power of devils. Thirdly, because “ after the ascension of Christ, the devils ushered men into light, who called themselves
“ gods.”

“ gods ” “ So far,” says he, “ are they from being persecuted by you, that they are reckoned worthy of honour.” Then he mentions Simon, who by his magical arts acquired the honour of deity at Rome; next, Menander his disciple, who, he says, was also “ under the energy of devils, and seduced many by magic.” Then, he mentions Marcion as under the same influence. The conclusion of all is; “ That they are not persecuted, nor destroyed by you, for their doctrines, we are well assured.”

It is not the design of Justin to speak of Gnostics, or any other pretended Christians, under the formal idea of heretics. But he singles them out, because being wicked men, using magical arts, and acting, as he believed, by diabolical power, they were not only all exempted from suffering, but some of them even honoured as gods, by those very persons who persecuted true Christians*.

Here, therefore, Justin could not have mentioned the Ebionites with any propriety, unless he had meant to say that they were exempted from persecution as well as the Gnostics; nay, that they were equally devoted to magical arts, and under the agency of devils.

Dr P. sums up his evidence in favour of the majority being Unitarians in this manner; “ 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 †.” That they would pretend to be *afraid, offended, scandalized*, there is no reason to doubt; for conscience has still been the pretence of the greatest heretics. This proves nothing as to the antiquity of their doctrine. As little can it prove that they were brought

* Apol. ii. p. 69. 75.

† Vol. iii. p. 291.

brought up in it. Doubtless, our author feels the same *pious dread* at the doctrine of the holy Trinity. He will not, therefore, refuse that he received the education of a Trinitarian, and that he “prayed conscientiously,” and “in the serious simplicity of his heart, to all the three persons without distinction*.”

One of the proofs on which this theory is founded, is that “Novatian speaks of the Unitarians as *scandalized* at “the doctrine of the divinity of Christ.” Dr P. quotes part of the sentence in which the word *scandalizare* occurs. But as Novatian calls those of whom he speaks *heretics*, and asserts that “they struggled to draw away the controversy, in opposition to the truth of the sincere tradition “and Catholic faith;” of what avail is *their* pretence of being *offended*, to prove that the majority of the Catholic church was Unitarian? Novatian represents these men as shrinking from the test of antiquity and universal consent, and flying to the pitiful refuge of the offensive nature of the doctrine to their minds.

But has that writer said, without any restriction, that Unitarians were “scandalized at the doctrine of the divinity “of Christ,” as our author’s language implies? He has mentioned those, indeed, who asserted that Christ was mere man. But he at the same time mentions those who were so firmly persuaded of the divinity of Christ, as to affirm that he was *God the Father*. This is evident from the sentence immediately following Dr P.’s quotation †.

Our learned author is so candid as to acknowledge that some of his friends think that “the evidence he has produced,

* Vol. i. p. 41.

† Tam enim illi qui Jesum Christum ipsum Deum Patrem dicunt, quam etiam illi qui hominem illum tantummodo esse voluerunt, &c. De Trinitate, c. 32.

“ duced, in order to prove that the bulk of common Christians, in the early ages, were simply Unitarians, is not sufficient for the purpose *.” Particularly, it is their opinion that he has not proved, that those mentioned by Tertullian were offended at the doctrine of Christ’s pre-existence. Perhaps, the generality of readers will think that he ought to have paid more respect to the judgment of these honest friends, than to have hazarded, not merely his reputation as a writer, but the respectability of the cause he has espoused, on so insufficient a bottom.

But Dr P. seems to think that he can invalidate all their objections by observing 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.” A mighty concession, indeed! The learned Gentleman will pay so much respect to his friends, as to grant that their objection may have some weight, if they will insure him that it shall not be thrown into the opposite scale. He must have a security that these common people were not Gnostics. For not only would they be of no service to him, as he has granted that Gnostics were always accounted heretics; but their existence would prove that the doctrine of the pre-existence of Christ was not so *shocking to plain Christians* as Dr P. wishes it to appear. It would also follow, that “ the *rude and simple faith*, which the learned complained of, was *not* derived from the primitive Jewish converts †,” according to the character

* Vol. iv. Append. p. 390.

† Ib. p. 391, 392.

character given of the latter by our author, as believing that Jesus was a *mere man*.

It must also be proved that they did not follow the Platonizing Fathers. For, in this case, they would ruin his cause. This is a clear proof, that our author judges of evidence, in this controverfy at least, not according to its abstract value, but merely according to its particular bias. If it oppose his own system, it is unworthy of regard.

The fact seems to be, that, if his friends can prove that these *simple* believers were Arians, he will allow some *weight* to their objection. For he apprehends that they could do him no injury. Therefore he adds; "They certainly did not relish the notion of Christ being the uncreated *Logos*, for that was part of the same system with the *æconomy*, 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." But what was the Arian doctrine of a *created Logos*, but a new modification of that of the Gnostics? Dr P. has acknowledged their affinity*. But though some traces of Arianism could be found as early as the age of Tertullian, what could it avail our author? Must not this doctrine have appeared to the *simplices credentium*, as much opposed to the *personal* monarchy, as the Trinitarian? Undoubtedly, they would have reckoned it more so. For while the Trinitarians always professed that they admitted one God only, the Arians avowed a created God, essentially different from his Creator †, and yet entitled to worship.

But why would Dr P. grant that the objection of his friends *might have some weight*, if any common people could

* Vol. iv. p. 168.

† Ibid. p. 214.

could be found, belonging to that age, neither Gnostics nor Platonists, that is, Arians; unless he were convinced that these *simplices* seem, at least, to have believed the pre-existence of Christ in some sense? By the utmost stretch of charity, I cannot persuade myself that Dr P. is not conscious that they did. As he is assured that there were none who held the Arian doctrine *till a much later period*, he ought candidly to give that weight to the objection, which he would allow, if ancient history would bend to his wishes. For, independently of the conviction implied in his concession, it is incontrovertible, as has been formerly seen, from the connexion of the passage, nay, from the whole of that work in which Tertullian mentions these *simple* persons, that they not only believed the pre-existence of Christ, but held that he was personally one with the Father. While anxious to maintain their ideas of the unity, had they not been fully convinced of the true and supreme deity of the Son, they would never have gone to this extreme.

C H A P T E R III.

Examination of Dr P.'s Answers to Objections.

OUR author proceeds, in the next chapter, “fairly to state every objection he has yet met with to any part of the evidence produced” to prove that the Gentile Christians were generally Unitarians.

SECTION I.

Of the Testimony of Eusebius to the Novelty of the Unitarian Doctrine.

THE first objection is that founded on the testimony of Eusebius, when recording the language of Caius the Presbyter, (as it is generally thought) in answer to the claim of antiquity made by Unitarians in his time. “ They affirm,” he says, “ that all the primitive Christians, and “ the Apostles themselves both received and taught these “ things which are spoken by them : and indeed, that the “ true preaching was preserved even to the times of Vic- “ tor, who was the thirteenth bishop of the city of Rome “ from Peter ; but that from the time of Zephyrinus, “ who succeeded Victor, the truth was adulterated. And “ perhaps, what they assert might appear credible, unless, “ in the first place, the holy Scriptures directly opposed “ them. Then, there are the writings of certain brethren, “ prior to the age of Victor, which they have written in “ defence of the truth, against the Gentiles and the here- “ tics of their own time. I mean Justin, and Miltiades, “ and Tatian, and Clement, and many others besides ; in “ all whose books the divinity of Christ is maintained. For “ who is ignorant of the writings of Irenæus, and Melito, “ and the rest, proclaiming Christ to be both God and man ? “ Of which number are the Psalms and Hymns composed “ by the faithful, in the earliest times, which celebrate “ Christ the Word of God, ascribing divinity to him. Since “ then, the ecclesiastical doctrine was preached so many “ years back, how can it be that *all* even to the time of “ Victor have proclaimed that doctrine of which they “ speak ?

“ speak? How are they not ashamed to frame such falsehoods
 “ concerning Victor, when they certainly know that Vic-
 “ tor excommunicated Theodotus the currier, the chief
 “ and parent of this God-denying heresy, being the first
 “ that called Christ a mere man? For if Victor, as they
 “ pretend, was persuaded of the truth of their blasphemous
 “ doctrine, how did he cast out Theodotus, the inventor of
 “ this heresy *?”

That the pretensions of the party have been always abundantly high, few will be disposed to dispute. Many, on the contrary, may be willing to throw, into the scale of antiquity, a few years more than Unitarians have thought of asking. The first attack that was made on the Deity of Christ was, indeed, more modestly expressed than many that have been made since. That ancient heresiarch, to whom we refer, only insinuated a doubt of the doctrine: *If thou be the Son of God, &c.* All who have followed his plan have virtually had the same end in view. He wished to set himself up as the object of worship. And what else do Unitarians propose. They wish to *be as gods.* They *scorn the mystery of godliness, God manifest in the flesh,* because they sacrifice to their own reason. They reject an Omnipotent Saviour, because they idolize their own power, and vainly imagine that they can perform all that work which is proper to him.

But even in these early times, referred to by Eusebius, the pretensions of the party were considered as vain boasts, nay, roundly asserted to be “ impious falsehoods.” It is amusing, indeed, to observe the inconsistent conduct and retrograde motion of the friends of this heresy. None pour greater contempt on authority and universal opinion than they generally do. Yet to serve their own purposes, they discover as great anxiety as ever did the church of

* Hist. lib. 5. c. 29.

Rome to establish the antiquity and universal reception of heir tenets. But in proof of this universality, they have still found it necessary to refer back to some distant æra, of which the *numerous* memorials in their favour are—all perished.

Dr P., when, in his former work, referring to this passage of Eusebius, not only charged him with *apparent unfairness* in his treatment of these Unitarians, without observing that he only quoted the language of another writer, but called Victor the successor, instead of the predecessor, of Zephyrinus. Although, in his later work, he has given the latter his proper place, he has refused him his right name, calling him *Victorinus*. This is what an ancient Roman would have called an *unlucky* passage to our author. For he still stumbles *in limine*.

Before proceeding particularly to examine the evidence produced by Eusebius, he ensures himself against receiving any damage by it. He shews that it can be of no avail, because the writer is prejudged. “It has been seen,” he says, “that, by the general acknowledgment of the Fathers, and of Eusebius himself, among the rest, 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,—unless he had brought some sufficient proof to counteract that evidence*.” I have carefully examined the former part of the work, for this testimony of Eusebius which disqualifies him from being a witness in the present case. I can find only one passage that can be supposed to be referred to. According to Dr P., Eusebius says, that “John began the doctrine of the divinity of Christ, that being reserved for him as the
“ most

* Vol. iii. p. 298.

“ most worthy *.” But this is not what Eusebius really says. He asserts, in the preceding sentence, that “ Matthew and Luke having formerly delivered the genealogy of Christ according to the flesh, this was properly omitted by John.” But does he add, that John *began the doctrine of the divinity*? His language bears something very different. Having in his eye the conduct of Matthew, in *beginning his Gospel* with the genealogy, and of Luke, in making it the preface to his history of Jesus; he adds concerning John, “ But he began *from* the theology,” or “ doctrine of the divinity †.” To speak of a writer beginning his book *from* or *with* a particular doctrine, is certainly a very different thing from saying that he began the doctrine itself. Thus, the credibility of Eusebius, as a witness, is no wise affected by this testimony, how much soever that of Dr P. may suffer, as an interpreter.

He considers the appeal of Eusebius to the scriptures as of no weight, because it was merely “ matter of opinion that they were against the Unitarians.” But did the cause rest as much on the writings of Justin or Irenæus, as on the holy scriptures, there is no reason to doubt that Unitarians would labour as earnestly to avert the force of their testimony, as they have done to deprive the sacred writings of the ordinary sense of language. Dr P. has observed this plan in various instances; and his fellow-labourer Mr Lindsey boldly attempted to shew that all the writings of the three first centuries were Unitarian.

But Dr P. endeavours to invalidate the testimony of Eusebius from the consideration of his appealing to no writer before Justin. He considers this as an evidence that he

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could

* Vol. iii. p. 127.

† Εικοσις δὲ ἐν τὴν μὲν τῆς σαρκὸς τῆ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν γενεολογίαν, αὐτὸ Ματθαῖω καὶ Λουκᾷ προσηραφείσαν, ἀποσιωπησαὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην. Τῆς δὲ θεολογίας ἀπαρξασθαι, ὡς ἀν αὐτῶ πρὸς τὸ Θεὸν πνευματικῶν κρείττονι παραπεφιλολογίας. Hist. Eccl. 3. c. 24.

could not carry the antiquity of the doctrine any higher. Our author, however, ought to have observed that, in this proof, Eusebius has two objects in view. Like most of the fathers, indeed, he is not a slave to method. But he evidently means to answer two allegations of the Unitarians. One of these was, that "all the primitive Christians and the apostles received and taught" their doctrine. The other, that "the truth was preserved till the time of Victor, but corrupted from that of his successor Zephyrinus."

To shew the falsity of the first, he appeals to the holy Scriptures. And surely, he could not appeal to any authority so proper for demonstrating what was "received and taught by the primitive Christians, and by the apostles," who had been the very writers of these. But if this should be objected to as "matter of opinion," he refers to "the psalms and hymns composed by the faithful from the beginning."

To prove the falsity of the second allegation, he appeals to the writings of Christians, *older than the time of Victor*. There was no necessity for going farther back than the age of Justin. For as those against whom Eusebius wrote, asserted that "the truth was preserved till the time of Victor," it was sufficient for his purpose to prove that some Christian writers, *before Victor*, had maintained the contrary doctrine. Now, he was not bishop of Rome till the year 192* or 194 †. But Justin began to write more than half a century earlier ‡. Had Eusebius gone no farther back than to Irenæus, it would have been a sufficient answer to the charge. As the Artemonites maintained that *all*, before Victor, were Unitarians, had one writer only been produced, it would have proved the falsity of it. Eusebius, however, produces a multitude of witnesses, some of them long before the time of Victor.

But

* Cave Hist. Literar. Vol. i. p. 53.

† Baron. Annal. Vol. ii. p. 271.

‡ Cave, Vol. i. p. 36.

But our author has thought proper to omit one sentence, which contains the application of the argument. “ Since “ then,” the ancient writer says, “ the Ecclesiastical doctrine “ was preached so many years back, how can it be that ail, “ *even to the time of Victor*, have proclaimed that doctrine “ of which they speak *?” Our author could not but perceive that, had Eusebius been fully heard, his language would have sufficiently answered, if it had not prevented, the present objection.

Dr P., in his former work, had charged Eusebius with apparently acting a dishonest part. He had said, “ With “ such apparent unfairness, does Eusebius treat these Uni- “ tarians, as to say that Theodotus—was the first who held “ that our Saviour was a mere man † ” But the learned Gentleman has been so severely attacked on this head, and gained so little honour, that he does not now venture, in his own person, to return to the charge. He will not, however, entirely quit the field. But he provides himself with a couple of champions who shall fight this battle for him. That his adversaries may be more tender, he singles out two, whose orthodoxy has never been doubted. These are Bishop Pearson and M. Daillé. “ Pearson,” he says, “ 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 ‡.’

As these worthy and learned men seem to have understood the passage in Eusebius, it is not *strictly true*. But

B b 4

if

* Πως ουν εκ τωσούτων ετων καταγγελλομενου του εκκλησιαστικου φρονηματος, αναχεται τους μεχρι Βικτωρος ολους ως ουτοι λεγουσι κεινηρουχεναι; Hist. lib. 5. c. 28.

† Hist. Corrupt. vol. 1. p. 19.

‡ Vindiciæ, ap. Aucr. Vol. iii. p. 302. Patr. Apostol. Vol. ii. Addit. p. 351. vol. 2.

if they viewed it as meaning that Theodotus was absolutely the first who held this doctrine, they undoubtedly misunderstood it. For there is no evidence that this was the intention of Eusebius. Can it be rationally supposed that he had entirely forgot the particular notice he had taken of the Ebionites in different places, or what he had said of Aquila *, who flourished long before Theodotus? The ancient historian, only says that "Theodotus was the leader and "parent of this God-denying apostacy." The word *αποστασία*; clearly shews the sense of the writer. He does not mean, that he had no predecessor in the denial of the deity of Christ; but that he was the first, in communion with the church, who openly departed from the faith. When describing the Ebionites, he does not charge them with *apostacy*; because they were never considered as Christians, but classed with carnal Jews. He reserves this accusation for Theodotus. It may denote not only that he was the first who himself thus apostatized from the true faith, after having once embraced it; but that he was the first who led others, who had also been church members, into this impious doctrine. Therefore, he might be called the *leader* and *parent* of this *apostacy*; because there never had been a party of Unitarian apostates, before that formed by him.

This is the true reason why our author can discern no vestige of Gentile Unitarians, in a state of separation from the Catholic church, till the time of Theodotus, "when," he says, "it is possible that, upon his excommunication, "some of his more zealous followers might form themselves "into separate societies †." Thence, he vainly infers that they were allowed to continue in communion. But if we prefer the testimony of ancient history to the unsupported suppositions of a modern writer, we may rest assured that

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* Euf. Hist. lib. 5. c. 8

† Vol. iii. p. 237.

the doctrine of the simple humanity had never been avowed by any church-member before Theodotus.

Eusebius is not alone in this testimony. He is supported by that of Tertullian, or the author of the Addition to his *Prescriptions*, who says that Theodotus, “after being apprehended (by the civil power) for the name of Christ, denied, and did not cease to blaspheme, him. For he introduced that doctrine, according to which he asserted that Christ was merely a man, and denied that he was God*.” To him Epiphanius also seems to ascribe the origin of this doctrine, as avowed within the church. He informs us, that Theodotus invented it as his apology for denying Christ. For he said that he had not denied God, but man. Hence he persisted in asserting his doctrine, and the Theodotians had their origin from him, affirming that Christ is a mere man †. Epiphanius, indeed, calls the heresy of Theodotus (αποσπασμα) “a branch of that of the Alogi.” But he does not mean that the former originated from the latter. For he extends the name *Alogi* to Unitarians of every kind, and of every age. Therefore, he might call the Theodotian heresy a branch of that of the Alogi, although he knew that the followers of Theodotus were the first Gentiles, who held Christ to be a mere man. The origin of this doctrine was every way worthy of the doctrine itself. He who, from fear of suffering, had denied the Son of God, was prepared for being the parent and leader of such an apostacy.

The

* Accedit his Theodotus hæreticus Byzantius, qui postea quam Christi pro nomine comprehensus negavit, in Christum blasphemare non destitit. Doctrinam enim introduxit, qua Christum hominem tantummodò diceret, Deum autem illum negaret. De Præscript. c. 53.

† Εντευθεν ητως εαυτω εδογματισε δογμα, και οι απ' αυτου συσταεντες Θεοδοτιαναι, ψιλον ανθρωπον φασκοντες ειναι τον Χριστον. Hær. 54. sect. I.

The appeal made by the anonymous author in Eusebius to "the psalms and hymns written by the faithful from the beginning," shews that when this author wrote, they were well known, and in all probability still used in the church. They seem to have been the same that Pliny alludes to, in his epistle to Trajan, when, after giving an account of the Christians, he says; "They affirmed that this was the amount of their crime or error, that they were wont on a certain day to assemble before it was light, and to sing an alternate hymn to Christ as God *." This was the worst that the very apostates from Christianity, to whom *affirmabant* seems to refer, could say of their former brethren. Bad enough too, may our author think. For as they carried matters thus far, had he been in Pliny's place, with his present sentiments, he would not have passed a less severe censure on them, than that heathen, when he speaks of their faith and worship as "a wicked and immoderate superstition †."

Dr P. produces two exceptions to the argument from the use of these hymns. The futility of these can be only ascribed to the badness of the cause. "No inference," he says, "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 ‡." That, in the language of poetry,

divinity

* *Affirmabant autem hanc fuisse summam vel culpæ suæ, vel erroris, quod essent soli iurato die ante lucem convenire, carne que Christo quasi Deo dicere secum invicem.* Plin. Epist. lib. 10. ep. 97. The language of Pliny is almost a commentary on that of the apostle; *Speaking to yourselves, or among yourselves, that is, one to another, in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, singing and making melody in your heart to the Lord.* Eph. v. 19.

† *Nihil aliud inveni, quam superstitionem pravam et immodicam.* Ibid.

‡ Vol. iii. p. 302.

divinity hath been often ascribed to the creature, will not be refused. But that it hath been as often impiously ascribed, will be also acknowledged by all who have a just sense of the majesty of God. The *quidlibet audendi* of a heathen poet is of no avail, when opposed to the language of the Supreme Being; *My glory will I not give to another.* He hath at times deigned to dignify creatures with some of his names; but always with respect to a delegation of his own authority to them, and in connexion with other language expressive of their infinite distance. At any rate, God may use a freedom with his own names or titles, which we have no right to use. Because some in the madness of their poetical *inspiration*, have dared to deify the creature, shall we suppose that the primitive Christians thought themselves at liberty to do it? Can our author imagine that, in composing their sacred hymns, because they were "the language of poetry," they would celebrate, *as God*, one whom they believed to be a mere man; or make him the object of that worship, which, they knew, belonged to God only? Could they have reckoned all this *very innocent*? If this was the case, Dr P. may carry his account of the Corruptions of Christianity, and especially of the introduction of *idolatry*, higher than he has hitherto thought of doing. He may carry it back to the first assemblies of Christians.

But our learned author sees the same object in very opposite lights, according to its various connexion. When the Unitarian doctrine is not immediately in his eye, he seems to have the strictest ideas of the rights of deity. Thus, when speaking of the latter times of the Gospel, he says; "In this new condition of the world, there may still be *kings*, but they will be no longer *sovereigns*, or *supreme lords*, no *human* beings to whom will be ascribed such titles as those of *most sacred*, or *most excellent majesty*.
 " There

“ There will be no more such a profanation of epithets, be-
 “ longing to God only, by the application of them to mor-
 “ tals like ourselves*.” How can that be *very innocent* in
 one case, which is *profanation* in another, when the persons
 concerned are on a level as to nature? How can Jesus, if a
human being, a mortal like ourselves, be the object of praise
as God, if even such titles as these above-mentioned *belong*
to God only?

He further says; “ 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 no-
 “ velty.” The historian *has* mentioned the age of them
 in the most express terms. For he dates them *from the*
beginning. This is far stronger than if he had assigned them
 to any particular year. I agree with Dr P. in supposing
 that they were “ those very hymns which were rejected
 “ by Paulus.” The Historian gives the same description of
 them, in his account of this heretic: “ He set aside the
 “ psalms to our Lord Jesus Christ, as if they had been com-
 “ posed in later times, and by men of no antiquity †.” But
 is his rejection of these, under the pretence of novelty, a va-
 lid objection to their antiquity? With equal propriety might
 we sustain the objections of infidels to the prophecies of Da-
 niel, &c. It was the interest of Paulus to make this pre-
 tence. His shocking pride was one feature, in which he
 discovered so great a resemblance of the father of a lie,
 that he would be sanguine indeed, who would subscribe to
 his

* Dr Pricestley's Letters to Mr Burke, Let. 13. p. 148.

† Ταλμους δε της μιν εις τον Κυριον ημων Ιησουν Χριστον παντας,
 ως δε νεωτερουσ και νεωτερων αιδηων συγγραμματα. Hist. lib. 7.
 c. 30. p. 362.

his testimony. For, like that arch-rebel, he showed the real design of derogating from the honour due to the Son of God. When he prohibited these psalms addressed to Jesus, he “ employed women to sing psalms, in the midst of the church, in honour of himself.—He also permitted the bishops and presbyters, who were his sycophantish adherents, to harangue concerning him in their discourses to the people.” Although he “ denied that the Son of God had descended from heaven, he allowed those who sung these psalms, and preached these discourses, to declare that he was himself an angel sent down from heaven*.”

Whether, therefore, shall we believe the testimony of Eusebius, or of this man, who was *lifted up with pride*? We know that such a witness is rejected by the Spirit of God. *Behold, his soul, which is lifted up, is not upright in him.* The question, indeed, concerning the antiquity of these psalms, does not lie between Eusebius and Paulus; but between the latter and all the bishops, presbyters and others, who joined in his condemnation. For the passage referred to is an extract from the synodical epistle; as appears both from Eusebius, and from Nicephorus †.

Dr P.'s exception to Pliny's account is equally trifling. “ As to this writer,” he says, “ if he had been told that hymns were sung by Christians in honour of Christ, he would naturally imagine that they were such hymns as had been composed in honour of the heathen gods, who had been men.” Pliny's own ideas cannot affect the fact. He was not a man who asserted things on slight grounds. He examined both those who were, and those who had been, Christians. Whatever notions he might entertain concern-

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* Euseb. Hist. lib. 6. c. 30.

† Euseb. Hist. lib. 6. c. 30. p. 424, 425.

ing our Lord he undoubtedly considered him as the object of religious worship to his followers. He was satisfied, after the strictest inquiry, that they sung a hymn to Christ *as God*. Whether he imagined that "Christ was considered—as the Supreme God, or as a pre-existent Spirit, the "maker of the world under God *," is nothing to the purpose.

What the heathen gods *had been*, is of little avail. Although it should be supposed that, in Pliny's idea, these hymns were such as had been composed in honour of the gods; it would not alter his opinion of the conduct of Christians. Whatever Pliny, or others, might imagine with respect to the former state of their deities, they undoubtedly knew that, as thus addressed in sacred hymns, they were not considered as any longer *men*, but as *gods*.

SECTION II.

Of the Excommunication of Theodotus by Victor.

DR P. acknowledges that the most plausible argument against the antiquity of the Unitarian doctrine, is drawn from this circumstance. Therefore, he tries every method, which ingenuity can suggest, to evade the force of it. He finds himself so much at a loss with this argument, as it rests on the evidence of antiquity, that he first expresses a wish "that we had a few more particulars concerning this "excommunication †." The plain meaning of this is; our author wishes that he had a little more room for sophistry, as he is determined to impose on the public vague suppositions, not merely where there is no direct evidence,
but

* Vol. iii. p. 302.

† Ibid. p. 303.

but in direct contradiction to evidence of the clearest kind, and what has been universally received as such, during the lapse of many centuries.

Our author proceeds strenuously to work on those *particulars* he has. And first, he objects to Eusebius as a witness. It seems to be an established precaution with our author, to enter his protest against the testimony of this historian, before he ventures to give him a hearing. "It is to be observed," he says, "that it is not Caius, the writer quoted by Eusebius, who says that he (Theodotus) 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 quotation from the Greek, to which Dr P. refers, when viewed by itself, does not determine whether these are the words of Eusebius, or of Caius. But viewed in connexion, it appears that they belong to the latter. For the sentence preceding, and that following, are undoubtedly his; and there is not the least intimation that the quotation is interrupted. The reference, in the passage quoted, to what the writer had said before, (*ως εφην*) concerning Victor as the person who excommunicated Theodotus, proves that Caius is the speaker. For the whole narrative of this fact is in the language of that writer. Eusebius, in his own person, has not said that it was done by Victor.

But though these were the words of Eusebius, it could not affect the proof. If our author could prove that he was so much under the power of prejudice as, in other instances, to give a false statement of facts respecting the Unitarians, there might be some plausibility in this exception. But while it is undeniable that, in other instances, he has told the truth, it must appear to any impartial judge, that here
the

* Hist. lib. 5. c. 21. p. 253.

the objection is irrelevant. All that can be proved against Eusebius is, that he had a very bad opinion of the Unitarian system. But if this be a valid objection, the testimony of none ought to be admitted, who were not friendly to it. For all honest Trinitarians, though they may differ as to the manner of expressing themselves, according to their peculiar tempers, must have the same general sentiments of the Unitarian doctrine. Under a similar pretence, a pannel might have the liberty of objecting to any witness, however unexceptionable his character, when he knew that the evidence of this witness would deeply affect his cause.

But how great soever the prejudices of Eusebius may be supposed to have been, it is inconceivable that he would have hazarded his character in an assertion, which, if groundless, could easily have been disproved by his enemies. For this excommunication took place little more than a century before he wrote. Could he hope that when he had so keenly opposed Marcellus and others, they would tamely submit to a false accusation so very injurious to their cause. Although it could be proved, that these were the words of Eusebius himself; all the rest of the account, given by Caius is incoherent and *malapropos*, unless we understand him as meaning that Theodotus was excommunicated merely because of his Unitarian principles.

Theodoret, in his testimony, confirms what we find in Eusebius. For he says, that "the most blessed Victor, bishop of the Romans, excommunicated Theodotus, because he attempted to adulterate the decrees of the church.*"

Our author had good reason for wishing to set aside the evidence of Eusebius. As he meant to avail himself of the testimony of ancient Unitarians to the antiquity of their doctrine, it was the most prudent plan previously to give a finishing stroke to that historian. For the passage referred

to

* Hæret. Fab. lib. 2. ap. Baron. Annal. vol. ii. p. 275.

to contains an express and full refutation of this very claim. Having thus cleared his way, Dr P. observes; "The Unitarians, it has been seen, said that Victor favoured their doctrine." But, conscious perhaps, that it might fairly be replied, that there is at least as great reason to object to this claim, because of the prejudices of these heretics in their own favour, as to the testimony of Eusebius, because of his prejudice against them; our author wisely provides a champion to fight their battles. For it is added; — "and this we find asserted in the Appendix to Tertullian's treatise, *De Prescriptione*, which, whether written by Tertullian himself or not, is probably as good an authority as Eusebius. He says, that after the two Theodotus's 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, that Theodotus was excommunicated on some other account than that of his being an Unitarian †.'

Dr P. certainly feels the force of this spiritual sentence; or he would not be so anxious to disprove the real grounds of it. Although the assertion quoted should be reckoned a sufficient evidence that Victor supported Praxeas, still it is refused that it can be of any use to our author. Let it be supposed that Victor was deceived by the mode of explication adopted by Praxeas. Yet as the latter strenuously asserted the deity of Christ, will it follow that Victor

VOL. II.

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would

* Sed post hos omnes etiam Praxeas quidam hæresim introduxit, quam Victorinus corroborare curavit, &c. De Præser. ad fin.

† Vol. iii. p. 304.

would be nowise shocked at the doctrine of Theodotus, who denied that he was more than man? It is astonishing, that Dr P. should presume so far on the stupidity of his readers, as to imagine that they will give him credit, when he asserts that Victor would thus have "patronized in Praxeas the same doctrine for which he had excommunicated Theodotus." Is it the same thing to say that Jesus is God, and that he is mere man? There was a greater difference between the Unitarianism of Praxeas and Dr P.'s, than there is between the latter and that of Mahommed.

But Tertullian, even after his apostacy to the errors of Montanus, does not pretend that the doctrine of Praxeas was known, when his testimony against the Montanists was so favourably received by the Bishop of Rome. Though we should suppose that the addition to the book, *De Præscriptionibus*, was written by Tertullian, and that Victor was meant, all that could be designed by the reflection concerning him, is, that by his kind reception of Praxeas, and confidence in him, he had virtually strengthened his hands. In this view, the language ascribed to Tertullian contains the same idea exhibited more fully in his work against Praxeas, written after Tertullian had left the Catholic church. There he says that Praxeas "prevailed with him who was then Bishop of Rome, who had already acknowledged the prophecies of Montanus,—to recal his letters of peace already sent forth:—and that Praxeas thus got two pieces of the devil's work effected at Rome; as he expelled prophecy, and introduced heresy; as he banished the Paraclete, and crucified the Father*." Tertullian, while a member of the Catholic church, would not be so much offended at Victor. But, knowing the fatal influence of the doctrine of Praxeas, especially in Africa, even then he might believe that Victor's attention to him, in other respects, was a virtual support to his heresy.

He

* Adv. Prax. c. 1.

He must have known, however, that Victor, when he encouraged Praxeas, was a stranger to his heresy.

But as Praxeas boasted of his imprisonment for the sake of Christ, it is highly probable that, when afterwards diffusing his errors, he would avail himself of the confidence that Victor had put in him, and even pretend that he was no enemy to his system. Could I believe that Tertullian himself was the author of this reflection, I would reckon it very likely that it was all the foundation which the Artemonites had, for pretending that Victor favoured their doctrine.

It is the general opinion, however, that this catalogue was added to the work of Tertullian, after the time of Jerom *. It is, indeed, highly improbable, that Tertullian who wrote a book against Praxeas, or that any one residing in Africa, where his heresy had diffused itself so much, should speak of him as *Praxeas quidam, one Praxeas*. But will any impartial person, who believes that this addition was made by an Unitarian writer, after the age of Jerom, think “that it is probably as good an authority as Eusebius?” It seems most natural to suppose that this writer, whoever he was, had borrowed the reflection from what Tertullian had said of the Bishop of Rome, in the passage quoted from his work against Praxeas †. This seems highly probable from that writer’s erring as to the name of the Bishop, as Tertullian had not mentioned it.

But can a general reflection of this kind, concerning one who, if he was Bishop of Rome, is misnamed, counterbalance the direct testimony of Caius and Eusebius to his or-

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thodoxy?

* Cave Hist. Lit. vol. i p. 59.

† Nam idem tunc Episcopum Romanum agnoscentem jam prophetias Montani, — coegit et literas pacis revocare jam emissas. — Ita duo negotia diaboli Praxeas Romæ procuravit, prophetiam expulit, et hæresim intulit; Paracletum fugavit, et Patrem crucifixit. Adv. Prax. c. 1

thodoxy? We are also certain that Irenæus held communion with Victor. This appears from the circumstance of Irenæus writing to him in the name of the churches of Gaul, and exhorting him not to break up communion with them and others, because of their difference as to the time of observing Easter*. But would Irenæus have courted his fellowship, had he known him to be an avowed friend to what he accounted heresy?

On the whole, it is evident that nothing certain can be inferred from this testimony. The difference of the names is a more powerful objection than the prejudice attributed to Eusebius. Our author cannot prove that another person, of whom all other accounts are now lost, is not here meant. There is nothing in the language of this anonymous writer, which shews that it respects a Bishop of Rome, or any other Bishop whatsoever.

Dr P. next observes that the excommunication of Theodotus "as an Unitarian, is not consistent with that general prevalence of the Unitarian doctrine in the time of Tertullian (which was also that of Victor) which," he says, "we have seen that Tertullian expressly asserts." It is *not*, indeed, *consistent* with that general prevalence supposed: and therefore, we are persuaded, is Dr P. so anxious to disprove the real reason of this anathema. The reader, we hope, is convinced that the Doctor fails in his proof, not from Tertullian only, but from the other writers introduced. Therefore no conclusion from it can be admitted.

But as if he knew that he was venturing on an insecure ground, when attacking the credit of Eusebius, he is willing to compound matters. He will give up Eusebius to the orthodox, if they will give him Tertullian. "However," he subjoins, "the account of Eusebius, though improbable, may be admitted without denying that of Tertullian,

* Euf. Hist. lib. 5. c. 24.

“tullian, when the circumstances attending them are duly considered.” What are these circumstances? “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.” What these are, we are left to conjecture. He can make nothing of the only one mentioned. For Sabellius did not make his appearance for more than half a century after the excommunication of Theodotus: and our author proves nothing unless he can shew that those who followed Sabellius denied the deity of Christ. Besides, as the churches of Rome and Africa were then in a state of intimate fellowship, we must infer that whatever was done at Rome, was approved by the African church; unless the contrary can be clearly demonstrated.

But Dr P. inadvertently discovers a remarkable defect in his system, of the Unitarian being the universal doctrine of the church, in the earliest ages. “There seems to have been a greater inclination for it,” he says, in Africa, “than at Rome.” How does he account for this? Was not the church of Rome planted in the apostolic age? Was she not visited by Apostles? Whence then this reluctance to the *apostolic* doctrine? Will he give us leave to suppose that, as the *faith* of this church was *spoken of throughout the whole world**, she had hitherto retained it more stedfastly than some other churches. that never had so high a character?

But though the Doctor should be obliged to relinquish his objections to the character of Eusebius as a witness, he is determined to make good another attack. For he immediately turns his arms against Victor himself. “We should likewise consider,” he says, “the peculiarly violent character of Victor, who was capable of doing what few o-

* Rom. i. 8.

“thers 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.”

This is indeed a sufficient proof of the violence of Victor Irenæus, and the many bishops who censured his conduct, considered it as such. But the proper question is, Was the excommunication of Theodotus viewed in the same light? Do we find the Asiatic bishops employing Polycrates, to testify their disapprobation of this sentence, as they did with respect to the other? Or did Irenæus address him on this subject, in the name of the bishops of Gaul, as he undoubtedly did with respect to Easter? Did other churches admit Theodotus, notwithstanding Victor's fulmination; as we know that they disregarded it in the other instance? So far is this from being the case, that his followers were universally accounted heretics, and called by his name.

The violence of Victor's character proves more than Dr P. wishes. For if, as has been pretended, he favoured heretical Unitarianism, he would undoubtedly have excommunicated all who opposed it. If, on the other hand he was strictly orthodox, had Unitarian principles prevailed as much as our author imagines, the man who excommunicated those churches who differed from him, merely concerning the day of Easter, would certainly have pointed his anathema against all who opposed his doctrine in a matter of unspeakably greater importance. Would so *peculiarly violent* a man account it an immaterial difference, that, according to his particular view, whatever it was, either *new gods* were introduced by some, or that those persons, whom the church had always adored as divine, were blasphemed by others?

Dr P. has thought of another plan of weakening the force of this sentence. “Such an excommunication as this,” he

says, “ 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.” This is one of the many ductile arguments employed by this learned writer, which will turn either way. It is more forcible, when reversed. Had Theodotus been excommunicated by a church of which he had been long a member, as his principles must have been well known, and his opportunity of diffusing them greater; it would have been a far more dubious proof of their being generally offensive. But as he was excommunicated at Rome, where he was a stranger, had most probably resided for a short time only, and during this had little opportunity of making proselytes, it is evident that, in this early age, the Catholic church held Unitarian opinions in the greatest abhorrence.

“ But it is very possible,” Dr P. subjoins, “ that the body of the Christian church did not interest themselves in the affair; the bishop and his clergy only approving of it.” This, I suppose, is because Theodotus was a stranger: and it is evidently with a design to retain the *common people*, even at Rome, on the Unitarian side of the question. But should another say, “ As Theodotus was a stranger, it is very possible that he was excommunicated, because his principles gave great offence to the church in general;” the one *possibility* will be fully as good as the other. Indeed, as there is no evidence that Theodotus formed a party at Rome, and not the least insinuation that the laity were offended at the sentence; it is a strong presumption that, in this instance, they universally approved of the conduct of the clergy.

Dr P.’s reason for supposing that the clergy alone approved, contains a very important concession in favour of the antiquity of Trinitarian principles. “ For I readily grant,”

he says, "that though there were some learned Unitarians in all the early ages of Christianity, the majority of the clergy were not so." The structure of this sentence is such, that these words, *all the early ages* extend to the negation in the last clause, as well as to the preceding affirmation. I suppose, however, that the Doctor did not mean to include the apostolic age.

He adds, "Theodotus—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 infligated to what he did, by some quarrel between them, of which we have no account." Here none of the proofs are produced by which these Unitarians might attempt to verify their assertion. It will by no means agree with the most ancient accounts of the reason of Theodotus going to Rome. Epiphanius testifies, that having denied Christ in his own country, when in danger of suffering for him, he was so ashamed, that he could stay no longer there, but fled to Rome; that being known by some persons there, he fell under the same disgrace, and that when asked, how a man of such knowledge had denied the truth, he devised this as his apology, that he had not denied God, but man*. Dr P. insinuates, that *jealousy* might be Victor's motive. But he must be credulous indeed, who can believe that the Bishop of Rome was jealous of a poor fugitive, who had abjured Christianity, and who was ashamed to be known.

It seems to be true, as Dr P. observes, that "there is no instance of any person having been excommunicated for being an Unitarian before Theodotus." For the Jewish Unitarians were never considered as belonging to the church. But he adds; "Had the universal church been Trinitarian from the beginning, would not the first Unitarians,

* Har. 54. sect. 1.

rians, 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? We cheerfully admit our author's conclusion, but on premises very different from his. But it may be previously observed that by this single stroke, he cuts that *Gordian* knot which he has been at so great pains to tie. As he feels himself much embarrassed by the known orthodoxy of almost all the early writers after the apostolic age, a great part of his preceding labour is meant to prove that Justin, and the Fathers who followed him, did not reckon the Unitarian doctrine heresy. He has evidently felt himself as much embarrassed in the proof, as by the fact which it is meant to oppose. This appears from the strange shifts he has been reduced to. But though he has wasted so much labour in attempting to shew that these Fathers were mild, peaceable and moderate men, who had no objection to the most intimate fellowship with those who blasphemed him whom they worshipped as God; the truth, after being so long kept under, at length breaks out so forcibly as to hurry along with it a redoubled declaration of universality, with respect to the offence given by the Unitarian doctrine. "In *all* ages it has *ever* been—so exceedingly offensive to" Trinitarians as to provoke "their utmost indignation," and expose its friends to the certainty of being "expelled from all Christian societies with horror." Is this the *great respect* with which it was *treated* even by the keenest patrons of the Trinitarian system?

Our author cannot disentangle himself by pretending, that the violence of individuals was checked by the circumstance of the majority being Unitarians. For he has also granted that "though there were some learned Unitarians in *all* the early ages, the majority of the clergy were not so;" and admitted that the clergy of Rome approved of the

the excommunication of Theodotus. He has likewise asserted that the majority of the common people were Unitarians, for more than a century after the age of Victor. Therefore, as the clergy of Rome approved of the excommunication of Theodotus, though the majority of the common people are supposed to have adhered to his principles; if, as Dr P. grants, the majority of the clergy were Trinitarians in former ages; if also the opposite doctrine was, as he asserts, "in all ages so exceedingly offensive to" such; the Unitarianism of the common people would have been no greater obstacle to the Trinitarian clergy in the preceding age, than it was in that of Victor. Their *horror*, according to our author's principles, must have been the same then as afterwards. *Peculiarly violent* as Victor was in one cause, there is another in which he does not seem to have exceeded his brethren in violence. For, in this respect, a common spirit is ascribed to Trinitarians *in all ages*.

Because Theodotus was the first who was excommunicated for being an Unitarian, our author concludes that the universal church was *not* Trinitarian from the beginning. But according to his own principles already considered, the reverse is the native inference. For the majority of the clergy being Trinitarians before this period, they being *ever* equally offended at the contrary doctrine, and passing their censures without regard to the common people; it must unavoidably follow that, had any broached this doctrine, they would have "experienced their utmost indignation, "and been expelled from all Christian societies with "horror." Therefore, according to the Doctor's own principles, we must conclude that Theodotus was the "first "broacher" of this doctrine within the pale of the church, or in the words of Eusebius, "the leader and parent of "this God-denying apostacy."

SECTION III.

A Review of the Section entitled, 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,” Dr P. observes, “that 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 Noetus, about A. D. 220, with Sabellius, about A. D. 255, Paulus Samofatenfis, A. D. 269, or Photinus, A. D. 344 *.”

From the first of these *remarkable* circumstances, our author would most probably wish to infer, either that the Unitarian heresy was not reckoned so bad as some others, or that the number of its friends was so great, that the councils durst not venture to extend their censures to the laity. There is no ground for the first inference, because, in their synodical acts, they express their horror at that doctrine in the strongest terms, as if every error and blasphemy were concentrated in it. The second must appear equally groundless, unless it can be proved that it was the general custom of councils, in the condemnation of heresiarchs, to particularize those of the laity who adhered to them. I have not met with any evidence of this having been the case. The overseers of the flock seem to have thought that it was enough,

* Vol. iii. p. 303.

nough, at first, to single out the wolves who sought their destruction. They might reckon themselves bound in charity to suppose that the laity were deceived by their false teachers; and that nothing more was required of them, in the first instance, than to testify their sense of this, by depriving these teachers of their official character, and of communion with the church. It might appear that, if they prosecuted all who adhered to an heretical teacher before he had been formally ejected, they, by their severity, might provoke many to go a much greater length than they otherwise would have done. Before his condemnation, it must also have been difficult to discover, who were his proper abettors. How great soever his heresy, the church could not with propriety condemn any for submitting to his ministrations, while he was not yet deprived of his function by those who alone had the right of judging him.

They seem also, in their sentences, to have denounced an anathema against all who adhered to the sentiments of the condemned heresiarch; though without particularizing names. Thus, they proposed a test, by which it would soon appear, whether the laity had been deluded by the ambiguous expressions and false representations of their corrupt teachers, or were really attached to their errors, when plainly unfolded. If they adhered to the Catholic church, after the ejection of a heretic, it was to be concluded that they abjured his doctrine. If they preferred his ministrations, they renounced the doctrine and authority of the church, and were thenceforth treated as heretics. As the ancients would not excommunicate the founder of a heresy, without previous admonitions, they could not, according to this rule, proceed against his followers, till they had been first admonished by means of his condemnation. Augustine did not reckon him a heretic, who adhered to the Photinian doctrine, believing it to be that of the Catholic church, having

having been baptized in this communion; unless he persisted in his error, after it had been manifested to him that the Catholic church held the opposite doctrine *. As soon as any one submitted to the ministrations of an excommunicated heretic, he, in consequence of the general anathema, and of bringing himself under the lash of it by leaving the communion of the church, was accounted *ipso facto* excommunicated: and thus there was no absolute necessity for pronouncing the sentence on him individually.

It seems to have been customary with councils, when they excommunicated false teachers, to publish a confession of their faith, extending their anathemá to all who adhered to the heresy.

But though we do not observe that ancient historians in general have mentioned the excommunication of particular laymen, in consequence of their attachment to heretical teachers, we may safely presume that such were often *formally* excommunicated. For according to one of the Apostolical Canons, if any clergyman, or layman, went into a synagogue of Jews or heretics, to pray, he was to be deposed or excommunicated †. Now, these canons are generally admitted, as giving a just account of the discipline of the church in the second and third centuries.

But why all this demur with respect to the excommunication of laics, or the part taken by them in the excommunication

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* *Constituamus duos aliquos isto modo, unum eorum verbi gratia, id sentire de Christo quod Photinus opinatus est, et in ejus hæresi baptizari extra Ecclesiæ Catholicæ communionem: alium vero hoc idem sentire, sed in Catholica baptizari, existimantem istam esse Catholicam fidem. Istum nondum hæreticum dico, nisi manifestata sibi doctrina Catholicæ fidei resistere maluerit, et illud quod tenebat elegerit. Aug. de Baptism. lib. iv. c. 16.*

† *Εἰ τις κληρικὸς, ἢ λαϊκὸς, εἰσελθοὶ εἰς συναγωγὴν Ἰουδαίων ἢ αἱρετικῶν προσερχομένου, καθαρῶσθαι καὶ ἀφοριζέσθαι. Can. 65. Patr. Apost. Vol. i. p. 446.*

nication of heretical teachers? It is meant to ward off an important objection. This the Doctor does not state, in the present section. But it is founded on the certainty of all the Unitarian teachers of any note having been excommunicated. He hopes to avert the force of this objection, if he can make it appear that none of the flock suffered with them, or that they did not formally approve of the sentence. Though there were no evidence of either of these circumstances, the objection would not be removed. But let us attend to what is offered as proof.

“None of the laity,” he says, “were excommunicated along with Noetus.” But certainly, he has hazarded this assertion, without examining whether it had any foundation. Epiphanius says that Noetus, being summoned before the Presbytery of Ephesus, at first denied the heresy laid to his charge; but that afterwards, when he had joined about ten others to himself, he openly disseminated his doctrine. “Then,” he adds, “these same Presbyters summoned him, and also his adherents before them;—and as he persisted in his opinion, they cast him, and at the same time, his disciples, out of the church*.” There is every reason to think that these were laymen. Thus we have a very early instance of a general excommunication.

Dr P. asserts the same thing with respect to Sabellius. Whether any of the laity were excommunicated at the same time with him, we cannot say. But Dionysius, writing to Xystus, concerning the Sabellian heresy, informs him that the rule which he had received from his blessed predecessor
Heraclas,

* Πάλιν δὲ αὐτοὶ οἱ αὐτοὶ Πρεσβυτέρου προσκαλεσάμενοι αὐτὸν τε, καὶ τὰς προσφθαρέντες αὐτῷ ἀνθρώπους.—ὡς ἐν ἐν ταῖσις ἐμένεν, ἐξέωσαν αὐτοὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ὑπ’ αὐτῶν δόγμα μεμειωμένοις. Hæc. 57. sect. 1. Vol. i. p. 480.

Heraclas, was, that “ those who returned from heresies, “ having apostatized from the church, and even such as did “ not apostatize, but who, while they seemed to be of the “ same mind with their brethren, secretly resorted to any “ of the false teachers, were cast out of the church, and “ not received again, notwithstanding many intreaties, un- “ til they openly declared all that they had heard from the “ adversaries *.” No one, who reads this passage, can doubt, whether the lay-adherents of Sabellius were excommunicated. It deserves our notice, that this heresy had its rise, and chiefly prevailed in Ptolemais, one of the cities of Pentapolis in Libya †. Dionysius, being Bishop of Alexandria, must therefore have been well acquainted with circumstances. Indeed, the churches of that province were under the care of Dionysius, by reason of the patriarchal authority of the see of Alexandria ‡.

I do not know that any of the laity were excommunicated with Paulus Samosatensis. But unless the council, that deposed and excommunicated him, had proceeded on the principles already mentioned, how can Dr P. account for the circumstance of none of the clergy sharing in his fate; when it is known that some, both bishops and presbyters, formerly supported him in his errors? The only reasonable supposition is, that the members of the council wished to give others time to think, and fairly to try whether they would adhere to Paulus after his expulsion from the church. That those who did so were either formally excommunicated afterwards, or reckoned virtually excommunicated, is undeniable from one of the Canons of the Council of Nice. It was ordained that the Paulianists (for
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* Euf. Hist. lib. vii. c. 7. p. 327.

† Ibid. c. 6.

‡ Athanas. de Sent. Dionys. Vol. i. p. 552.

fo were the followers of Paulus denominated) who returned to the Catholic church, should without exception be rebaptized. That this Canon respected laymen as well as others, is evident from what follows; “ If any of them have in “ time past been of the number of the clergy, if they shall “ appear to have been free from blame,” *viz.* as to their moral characters, “ being rebaptized, let them be ordained by a bishop of the Catholic church *.”

There is no reason to suppose that his former abettors, among the clergy, were spared because of their number. For it is most probable, that the generality of those bishops and presbyters, who, during his prosperity, had been his flatterers, like all of this description, deserted him when they saw that he could no longer support himself. For as it is said, that “ he allowed the bishops of the neighbouring “ cities and villages to harangue the people in his praise,” we find the “ bishops of the neighbouring cities” mentioned, without exception, as joining in his condemnation †. But, at any rate, the *number* of his abettors cannot be supposed to have been the obstacle to their excommunication. For as the synodical decrees were enforced by the authority of Aurelian, it would have been as easy to have cast them out, as Paul himself.

But we must attend more particularly to the history of this heresiarch, as recorded by Dr P. “ After the bishops “ had deposed Paulus,” he says, “ it is observable that only sixteen signed the condemnation.” Here he refers to Eusebius as his authority. When the learned Gentleman
excites

* De Paulianistis, qui deinde ad Ecclesiam Catholicam confugerant, statutum est, ut ii omnino rebaptizentur. Si qui verò tempore præterito in clericorum numero, siquidem a culpa et reprehensione alieni vifi fuerunt, rebaptizati ordinentur a Catholice Ecclesie Episcopo. Can. 19.

† Euf. Hist. lib. vii. c. 30.

excites the reader's attention by the terms, *remarkable*, *particularly remarkable*, or *observable*, he naturally expects something not only true, but really worthy of observation. Here, one would suppose that Eusebius had spoken of this subscription, and of the number who subscribed. But when the passage referred to is consulted, it appears that the whole foundation of this assertion is, that Eusebius, in his extract from the synodical epistle, mentions the names of sixteen bishops only; or perhaps, no more names were inserted in the epistle itself. But there is no notice of any particular number, nor is there a syllable with respect to their *signing the condemnation*. Sixteen bishops only are mentioned by name, as addressing Dionysius and Maximus, to whom the epistle was written. But Dr P. is almost the only writer who thence would be bold enough to assert, that "only sixteen signed the condemnation;" evidently insinuating that it was approved by no more. For after the names of these sixteen, it immediately follows; — "and all the rest, assembled with us, being bishops of the adjoining cities and provinces, and the presbyters and deacons, and the churches of God, to our beloved brethren, in the Lord, Peace." Must not *all* these referred to be supposed to have approved of the matter of this epistle, as much as if their names had been particularly inserted? Now, the whole epistle is a defence of the condemnation of Paulus. Eusebius does not mention the exact number of bishops assembled in this council. But he says, there were *very many*. Athanasius says, there were seventy; Hilary, eighty*.

That these were unanimous in his condemnation, there is not the least reason to doubt. For Eusebius adds; — And "the leader of the heresy at Antioch was discovered, and
" by

* Not. Varior. in. Euf. Hist. l. vii. c. 29.

“ by all manifestly convicted of another doctrine than that
 “ which is preached by the whole Catholic church under
 “ heaven *.” If he was convicted of heterodoxy *by all*,
 it is natural to think that he was condemned *by all*. Je-
 rom, indeed, is quoted as saying that “ Paul had many
 “ friends and admirers among the bishops and presbyters
 “ of the neighbouring churches and villages;” and that
 he “ was much beloved and admired by others.” But in
 the time of his necessity, these *brethren* seem, like those of
 Job, to have *dealt deceitfully as a brook, and as the stream
 of brooks that pass away*. It does not appear that he was
 supported by one of them, at this council. For *all*, who
 were present, convicted him of preaching a doctrine dif-
 ferent from that universally maintained by the church. The
 language of Alexander, Bishop of Alexandria, and cote-
 mporary with Eusebius, evidently implies that Paulus was
 deposed by the unanimous voice of the council †.

Dr P. adds concerning Paulus; “ He could not be ex-
 “ pelled from the episcopal house till the aid of the Em-
 “ peror Aurelian 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.” It seems to be granted
 that he was in the interest of this Princess. According to
 Athanasius, she was a Jewess ‡. It is, at any rate, univer-
 sally

* Καθ' ον τελευταίας συγγροηθεισης πλειων οτων επισκοπων συν-
 οδα, φωρεθεις και προς απαντων ηδη σαφως καταγιωθεις ετεροδοξίαν
 ο της κατ' Αντιοχειαν αιρεσεως αρχηγος, της υπο τον θρανιον καθολικης
 εκκλησιας αποκρητυλεται. Euf. Hist. lib. vii. c. 29. Nicephor.
 Hist. lib. vi. c. 28.

† Συνοδα και κρισι των απαιτηχη επισκοπων αποκρητυθεις της
 εκκλησιας. Epist. ap. Theodoret. Hist. lib. i. c. 4.

‡ Opera, Vol. i. P. i. p. 386.

fully allowed that she was greatly attached to their principles. As the Jews denied the divinity of the Messiah promised, it would appear that Paulus conformed his faith to theirs. For Nicephorus says that he, “wishing to make court to Zenobia, as she adhered to the Jewish opinions, and stretching as far as possible to gain her favour, fell into the heresy of Artemon*.” It would seem that Paulus was so much in her *interest*, as to be appointed one of her ordinary judges at Antioch. Therefore, Eusebius says that he chose rather to be called a Ducenarius than a Bishop †.

But there is not the least reason for supposing that Aurelian was “offended at Paulus for his having been in the interest of his rival.” No one would hazard such a supposition, unless he were, either a stranger to the circumstances of this affair, or unwilling that others should know them. Had the Emperor been under the influence of prejudice against Paulus, immediately on the application made to him by the bishops of the council of Antioch, he would have cast him out; eagerly embracing such an opportunity of revenge. But he acted very differently. Though attached to heathenism, he attended to the principles of equity. Knowing that the episcopal house properly belonged to those who adhered to the doctrine of the universal church, and

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* Παυλος εως τα προς Θεραπειαν εκεινη δεδων ποιει τα Ιουδαιων φοιησαν, και Θεραπειειν ως πλειστον πειρωμενος, εις την Αρτεμωνος εξωκειλεν αιρησαι. Hist. lib. vi. c. 27.

† Και δεκναριος μωλλον η επισκοπος θελων κωλεισθαι. Hist. lib. vi. c. 30. p. 361. The Ducenarii were inferior judges, in the Roman empire, who determined in disputes about smaller sums †. It is thought that they were so called, because they had each a salary of two hundred sesterces.

† Sueton. Vit. Augusti, sect. 32.

fearing, perhaps, that those who had condemned Paulus might themselves be the heretics; he “commanded the house to be delivered to those, whom the Italian bishops, adhering to Christianity, and the bishop of Rome, should approve by their letters.” These are the words of Eusebius, in that very sentence to which Dr P. refers *. That writer, instead of mentioning any thing that might infuse a suspicion that the Emperor acted from prejudice, commends the impartiality of his decision. Whether shall we suppose that the Doctor had not examined the chapter he quoted, or that he wished to conceal the real state of matters? Either of these suppositions must reflect dishonour on one who pretends to be the historian of Christianity.

Dr P. further observes concerning the aid of Aurelian; “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.” The first supposition is, indeed, the great point our author has had in his eye. But the reasoning is somewhat singular.

“Paulus could not be expelled from the episcopal house, without the aid of Aurelian;

“But Paulus was in the interest of his rival Zenobia, who had hitherto been in possession of Antioch;

“*Ergo*, Paulus had the majority of his people with him.”

One, who could not boast much of reason or philosophy, would be apt to imagine that the only conclusion, deducible from these premises, was that, while Paulus had kept possession

* Βασιλευς επιτυχθεις Αυρηλιανος, αισιωτατα περι τε πρακτες διελθηφθ' τετοις νειμαι προσατλων τον οικον, οισ αν οι κατα την Ιταλιαν και την Ρωμαιων πολιν επισκοποι τε δογματος επισελλοιεν. Hist.

session of the house, he had the *female head* of the “ people “ with him.” But it is observed by an antiquated writer on the Socinian controversy, that “ a rational divine has “ two peculiar privileges and incommunicable properties ; “ one, that he may call whom he will *irrational*; and the “ other, that he may canonize what he will for reason*.”

But our author seems so well pleased with his inference, that he ventures to try its strength by suspending another from it. From the majority of his people being with Paulus, as the Doctor has so well proved, he concludes that “ *therefore*, his deposition was, in fact, unjust.” From what principles of ecclesiastical discipline can it be proved, that an heretical teacher, because he is so successful as to pervert the majority of his flock, acquires a right to continue in his office? Paulus had been admitted Bishop of Antioch, only as adhering to the faith of the Catholic church, of which he was a member : and could his supposed success in detaching his people from that faith justly screen him from the censures of those who were his proper judges? Here, undoubtedly, our author will not plead the sanction of antiquity. Justice is as little on his side. It must be granted by every thinking person, that those, from whom he had immediately received his official trust, had a right to recal it, when it was abused in direct opposition to the ends for which it was given, and to stipulations expressly made at his ordination.

But the very reverse of Dr P.'s inference, with respect to the majority being with Paulus, appears from direct evidence. He was, indeed, the idol of some women, not of the fairest characters. Some of his presbyters and deacons adhered to him ; but not all of them. For Malchion, his persecutor, was one of his presbyters. According to the language of the synodical epistle, as quoted by both Euse-

* Alfop's Antifozzo, p. 89.

bis and Nicephorus, “ he indulged these women, and also his presbyters and deacons in crimes past healing, that he might have them in his power; that thus, being afraid for themselves, they might not dare to accuse him of the impieties which he spoke and did:—that he also enriched them; and that therefore he was beloved and admired by those who were desirous of such things,” that is, of criminal indulgences and of money*.

With respect to his people in general, it is said in the same epistle; “ On account of these things, all groan and lament in secret; but they are so afraid of his tyranny and power, that they dare not accuse him †.”

But Dr P. seems determined to prove that all the transactions against Paulus proceeded from malice. Not only is it supposed that Aurelian was actuated by prejudice in expelling him, but “ the prosecution,” our author says, “ was vehemently urged by his presbyter Malchion, who had a quarrel with him. Having been disobliged, he could not be satisfied, till he was deposed.” There is not a shadow of authority offered for this charge: and we must reckon it unjust, till it be supported. Malchion was perhaps the only man among the clergy of Paulus, who had honesty and firmness enough openly to appear against him. Therefore, Dr P. concludes, that he had a quarrel with Paulus. This was, indeed, a sufficient reason with our author: as he seems disposed to quarrel with every man who has not treated his venerable predecessors with *great respect*. Eusebius gives Malchion a high character; but does not afford

* Euf. Hist. ib. p. 362. Niceph. Hist. l. 6. c. 30.

† Ων ενικα τειραζοσι μεν κ' οδυρονται παντες καθ' εαυτες* ητω δε την τυραννιδα κ' δυνασειαν αυτη πεφοβενται, ωσε κατηγορειν μη τολμααν. Ibid.

ford the most distant hint of his having had any personal prejudice against his bishop. Nor does it appear, that any ancient writer has given the least ground for this accusation.

But our modern historian has yet something new to offer to the world, and totally unknown to those who, in early times, wrote the history of Paulus. "He could not be expelled," it is said, "in the first council, in 264, when Firmilian of Cappadocia, and Gregory of Neocæsarea were present." If Dr P. claim any consistency as a writer, his language must have the same meaning here, as when it is asserted a little before, that "he *could not* be expelled —till the aid of Aurelian was called in." Only, the expression may here respect his bishopric in general; while it is there restricted to "the episcopal house." The natural inference from his language is, that Paulus had been condemned, or at least, convicted; but that owing to some peculiar circumstance, (the attachment of the people, doubtless, and the strength of his party) his opponents had it not in their *power* to expel him.

But the truth is, the council did not make any attempt of this kind. For before he could be expelled, there was a step necessary, which was out of their power. They could not convict him. But this was not owing to the attachment of his people, or the strength of his party in the council. For Eusebius speaks of the members, without exception, as labouring to bring to light his heresy and blasphemy against Christ. What then was their hinderance? It was merely the duplicity of Paulus. The language of the historian will indeed bear that, not Paulus only, but also his adherents, attempted still to conceal his heresy*. But this clearly

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shews

* Των μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν Σιμωναρχ, τὰ τῆς ἑτεροδοξίας ἐπιχειροῦντων ἐστὶ

shews how weak they were in the council, and affords a strong presumption that they had not the support of the people. Had the doctrine of Paulus been generally believed among the people, there would have been no occasion for attempting to conceal it. Eusebius elsewhere says, that Firmilian himself was deceived by the language of Paulus *. Nicephorus asserts that he purged himself by oath of the error imputed to him, solemnly declaring that he held no such opinion but adhered to the apostolical decrees and doctrines. In consequence of this, before the dissolution of the council, they all joined in a hymn celebrating the Saviour as God †.

The second council was held at Antioch, not that they might expel or condemn a heretic who had been too powerful in the first, but that they might convict one who had then imposed upon them. For they at length assembled again, because “it was universally reported of Paulus, that he had departed from the truth †.”

Our author next produces the character of Paulus, as drawn by Dr Lardner †. But that a Socinian should view every thing respecting this heretic in a partial light, and ascribe the charges, exhibited against him by the ancients, to prejudice, is not surprising. What though “we have his history,” as Dr Lardner says, “from adversaries only?” If it is unfairly related, it is astonishing that not one of the friends of Paulus, or of his doctrine, in ancient times, should vindicate his character. Should it be said that such memorials, though they had once existed, would be destroyed

ἢ παρεκκλυπησθαι περιμεριαν τῶν δὲ αποστεινῶν ἢ εἰς φανερὴν
ἀγειν τὴν αἵρεσιν καὶ τὴν εἰς Χριστὸν βλασφημίαν αὐτῆ, διὰ σπυδαί
ποιεμεριαν. Euf. Hist. lib. 7. c. 28.

* Eut. Chronic. lib. vii. c. 24. ap. Baron. Annal. vol. ii. p. 663.

† Hist. lib. vi. c. 27. † Niceph. Hist. lib. vi. c. 28.

‡ Credibility, Vol. iv. p. 644.

destroyed by the orthodox; as little credit could be given to this pretence as Doctors Lardner and Priestley themselves allow to that of modern infidels, when they assert that the writings of the philosophers against Christianity were destroyed; or suffered to perish by the Christians. Had such vindications of Paulus been written, we would have had the same proofs of their existence, as of the writings of Celsus and others. They would not have passed without any reply: and some extracts from them, or references to them, would still be found in the writings of the orthodox.

But we have all the evidence that an unprejudiced inquirer can demand, that the character of Paulus, as transmitted to us, has been justly delineated. We have it not from any individual. It appears, in its various traits, in the epistle written by that very council which condemned him. If the members of this council knew that he was "well respected by the neighbouring bishops, in esteem with the great, and beloved by the common people," as Dr Lardner asserts, and above all, that he had the favour and protection of Zenobia, a powerful princess, to whom Antioch, the very place of their meeting, was then subject; though they had been all men of the most villanous dispositions, from regard to their character and interest, they would assert nothing that was not well known to be fact. It must have occurred to them, that a single assertion, liable to contradiction, would ruin their whole scheme. But, indeed, the Asiatic bishops seem to have acted, in the case of Paulus, with the greatest moderation and tenderness. Thence were they deceived by his artifices, in the former council. Had they not been moderate in the extreme, there was enough in his character, independent of heresy, to exclude him from his office, if not from the pale of the church.

They describe him as rising from the state of a beggar to great riches, by villany and sacrilege, and by exactions from the brethren, under pretence of relieving them from injuries; and as preferring secular to episcopal dignities. They give many instances of his unsupportable pride and arrogance, which greatly prejudiced the interests of Christianity. While, in his discourses, he defamed other interpreters of the word, he greatly extolled himself. He kept women of infamous characters. He was terrible to his people, by reason of his tyranny. Many other particulars, some of which have been formerly mentioned, are to be found in the synodical epistle.

It is a striking proof of the great difficulty Dr Lardner had in making out a tolerable character for this ancient heresiarch, that a man of his learning should argue so childishly "from what is said by the Fathers, of his rejecting some hymns as modern, and composed by moderns." The Bishop of Antioch "was a critic," forsooth! This, Dr Lardner observes very sagely, "is a valuable acquisition at all times, especially when uncommon." Paulus must have been a *Phœnix* indeed. For we hear of no other in that age, who gave a proof of critical powers any wise *similar*. In any other case, however, Dr Lardner would never have inferred more from such *data*, than that Paulus pretended to be a critic. But as he was a friend, the good Doctor was disposed to take his own word for it.

Dat veniam corvis, vexat censura columbas.

Juv.

I shall only add that, from the same synodical epistle which contains an account of the deposition of Paulus, it is evident that it was a fact universally known, that not only Artemon, whose error Paulus adopted, but all his followers, whether

whether clergy or laity, were held as excommunicated. For the venerable writers of this epistle, after observing to Dionysius and Maximus, that they had informed them concerning Domnus, whom they had ordained in the place of the deposed bishop, that they might write to him, and receive letters of communication from him, add; “But let this man (Paulus) write to Artemon, and let the followers of Artemon communicate with him*.”

Dr P. asserts that “none of the laity were excommunicated along with—Photinus †.” Whether any of them were formally excommunicated at the same time with him, I cannot pretend to say. But it is certain that all his followers, after he was himself cast out of the church, were considered as excommunicated persons, nay, formally anathematized. For we have the decrees of several councils, respecting the manner of their admission to the church, in case of their return from this heresy. It was enacted by the council of Laodicea, A. D. 365, that the Photinians should not be received, unless they should abjure their heresy ‡. The council of Constantinople, A. D. 385, anathematized the Photinians in general, and ordained that those returning from them should not be received, without anathematizing the doctrine they formerly held, and being rebaptized ||. An ordinance of the same nature was framed, with respect to these heretics, in the second council of Arles, A. D. 389 §.

Photinus, indeed, retained possession of his bishopric, after

* Το δε Αρτεμα εις επισηλεια και οι τα Αρτεμα φρονητες τετω κοινωαιτωσαν. Ep. Synod. Antioch. ap. Euf. Hist. lib. vii. c. 30. p. 363.

† Vol. iii. p. 308.

‡ Howel. Synopf. Concil. vol. i. p. 73.

|| Jutiglii Hist. Photin. p. 460. § Howel. Snyopf. vol. ii. p. 110. can. 16.

ter being condemned by different councils. But there is great obscurity in the writings of the ancients, and great diffension among the moderns, with respect to the dates and decisions of the different councils, which took cognisance of this heresy. Dr P. says of Photinus, that "his solemn deposition by two councils could not remove him from his see *." Others think, with greater probability, that in the first council of Sirmium, his opinions only were condemned; and that it was not till the second, that he was deposed †. Cave fixes the first council of Sirmium to the year 350, and gives the second to the following year ‡. But though it be uncertain how long it was from the first condemnation of Photinus to his expulsion, it would seem that his continuance at Sirmium was owing to the attachment of his people. On this fact our author makes the following reflection; "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." He plainly means to infer from the attachment of the people of Sirmium to Photinus, that the majority of Christians in general were Unitarians. There is, indeed, some appearance that this was the case in the diocese of Sirmium. But even this certainly cannot be inferred. Those of the same persuasion with Photinus have generally, in every age, discovered so much of the wisdom of the serpent, that it has been no easy matter to develope their real principles. We have seen that even Firmilian, Gregory, and many other great and learned men, were cozened by the duplicity of Paulus. In our own times, even in Britain, many congregations may be found, consisting of Trinitarians, while the
pastors

* Vol. iii. p. 311.

† Ittig. Hist. Photin. sect. 43.

‡ Hist. Literar. vol. i. p. 159.

pastors are Photinians. In other respects, the latter use so many arts to retain the good opinion of the former, that though their real principles are well known to those who can distinguish doctrines, any attempt to persuade their people, that they think differently from themselves is vain. The same might happen at Sirmium. Photinus was a man of abilities. He is said to have had great powers of persuasion. He might easily make the *simple* believe, that malice was the sole motive of the prosecution.

But let us suppose that the majority under his charge believed his doctrines. Shall we therefore admit Dr P.'s inference? Because this might be the state of matters in Sirmium, a city of Pannonia, must we infer that it was the same throughout the Christian church? Our author undoubtedly knows, though he does not wish to apply the common rule, *A particulari ad universalem non valet consequentia* *.

Even the history of Photinus affords a proof directly the reverse of what Dr P. wishes to establish. Ancient writers acknowledge that this heretic drew many into his doctrine †. But even this candid confession of his success implies that his profelytes formerly adhered to another faith. It is uniformly declared that he was admitted as a Catholic, and that he gradually discovered his errors ‡. But though he deceived many by his eloquence, others, however much attached to him, when they perceived his errors, deserted his ministrations. Vincentius Lirinensis says, that “ though they admired the eloquence of their pastor, they were notwithstanding watchful over the Catholic faith; and though they had formerly followed him as the he-goat
“ of

* Particular premises do not warrant an universal conclusion.

† Sozomen. lib. iv. c. 6. p. 735. Nicephor. Hist. vol. i. p. 149.

‡ Epiphani. Her. 71.

“ of the flock, they afterwards began to fly from him as a “ wolf *.”

That the doctrine of Photinians, the same with that of Socinians in our times, should be attended with success, will not appear surprising, when the divided state of the church is considered. Dr P. indeed, does not give the name of *Unitarians* to the followers of Arius. But the great prevalence of the Arian doctrine would clear the way for the reception of the Photinian. For when men derogate from that honour essentially due to Christ, as *over all, God blessed for ever*, by representing him as a creature; having lost the true object of faith, there is nothing that can be a sufficient antidote against degrading him still more, till he be brought down to the ordinary standard of human nature. Our author boasts of the diffusion of his doctrine in this age: and it is to be feared that the prevalence of Arianism in England has prepared its way. In his own apostacy from the Trinitarian faith, the Arian doctrine, if I mistake not, was the first step to his present principles. He acknowledges that “ it is very common at this day for “ persons to pass from Athanasianism to Arianism, and *then* “ from Arianism to proper Unitarianism †.”

It cannot be denied that, in consonancy with what has been observed, the Unitarians of this age have, in their apprehensions concerning the Saviour, fallen greatly below the level of that doctrine generally held by their predecessors since the Reformation. They not only deny him all religious worship, and wish to get rid of the miraculous conception: but Dr P. has dared to speak of the temptations in the wilderness, ascribed to Satan, as the thoughts that “ might occur to Jesus himself, in his private medita-
“ tions.”

* Ap. Ittig. Hist. Photin. sect. 15.

† Vol. iv. p. 235, 236.

“ tions *.” He has the impiety to suppose this concerning him who *knew no sin, whose heart was pure, and in whom the prince of this world had nothing.*

It does not appear, however, that Photinus had much influence beyond his own see. We find the council of Aquileia complaining of the meetings held in Sirmium contrary to law. This refers to the exception of Photinians from that toleration granted to most of the sects which bore the Christian name, by the Emperor Gratian †. Now, this council met, A. D. 381, thirty years after the expulsion and banishment of Photinus; and only four years after his death, before which it would seem that he had been restored to his bishopric, most probably in the reign of Julian. But if the doctrine of Photinus had been generally diffused, the complaints of the council of Aquileia would by no means have been confined to the illegal meetings at Sirmium. This nearly amounts to a proof, that if these meetings were not peculiar to this city, they did not extend beyond the diocese. Epiphanius declares, that the Photinian heresy was dissipated in a short time ‡.

But we may safely reason with our author on his own principles. Were the people of Sirmium, whom Photinus had profelyted, so warm in their attachment to his doctrines, that they poured contempt on the reiterated decisions of the church universal? Did they retain him as their bishop, regardless of his being “solemnly deposed by two councils?” And is it conceivable, that if, according to Dr P.’s hypothesis, the body of Christians, in those days had been generally Unitarians, there would not have been
more

* Institutes, vol. ii, p. 435.

† Socrat Hist. lib. v. c. 2. p. 264. Sozomen. lib. vii. c. 1. p. 279.

‡ Ἦδη γὰρ καὶ διεσκεδάσθη εἰς ὀλίγον χρόνον ἡ τελευτῶν τοῦ ἡπικτημένου αἰρέσεως. Hæc. 71. ad fin.

more than one or two bishops of this persuasion in the whole church? Were the people of Sirmium of a different mould from all other Christians? Were they so tenacious of their principles as to retain a deposed heretic? And would no other church, consisting mostly of Unitarians, venture to complain of a bishop, known to hold doctrines contrary to those of the *body*, or even dare to choose one whom they accounted orthodox? When councils proceeded to such violent measures against what must have appeared the true faith, and that of the majority of Christians, how submissive soever before, must not this have exasperated them? Our author's system is built on obvious contradictions. From the conduct of the people of Sirmium, we may with far greater justice observe, that "had the body of Christians in those times been generally *Unitarians*, the common people would, no doubt, have been ready enough to take an active part against their *Trinitarian* bishops."

Dr P. is extremely anxious to deprive Eusebius of his long-established character, as an ecclesiastical historian. Nor is this surprising; as, during its continuance, it must be no inconsiderable obstacle to the establishment of his own. To serve his purpose, he charges him with being "inconsistent with himself." This is a heavy charge against an historian. But how is it proved? Why, Eusebius accuses Beryllus, Bishop of Bosra, of introducing *new* doctrines; while he hath himself granted that the same were taught long before. But our author has here forgot the old advice, *Festina lente*. His zeal has hurried him on too fast. For Eusebius does not use a word corresponding with *new* in the Doctor's translation; which seems to have been made from the Latin of Valesius, who, without any reason, renders *ἄνωγε* by *nova et aliena*. But though the same doctrine had

had been taught by others, as it was not that of the church, Eusebius might surely take leave to say that "Beryllus attempted to introduce certain things *foreign* to the faith*." And this is his whole crime.

Dr P. brings the same charge against Sozomen, and against Socrates also: as it is necessary that the whole succession of ancient ecclesiastical historians should be proved unworthy of regard in these enlightened times, (except in as far as their testimony can be turned against their own faith) and give place to others, whose superior judgment and consistency, candour and information, qualify them unspeakably more for being historians of the corruptions of Christianity. The immediate design is to invalidate the testimony of these historians to the *novelty* of the Unitarian system. "Sozomen says," according to our author, "that Marcellus introduced a new doctrine——; and yet, in the same section he says of him, that he adopted the opinion of Paulus Samosatensis †." But the Doctor must know that the term which he translates *introduced*, may with as much propriety be rendered, *persuaded to*, and that it is often used in this sense. He also renders in the singular number, what in the Greek is plural, and ought to have been *new doctrines*. Perhaps, the Doctor thought that by this change, the self-contradiction of the historian might be most clearly manifested; as he wishes it to appear that the *new doctrine* was what is afterwards called the *opinion* of Paulus. But the expression *new doctrines*, may refer to some peculiarities in the system ascribed to Marcellus, though it was supposed to be substantially the same with that of Paulus. For one doctrine is here attributed to the former, which is not mentioned among the heretical opinions of the

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latter.

* *Ἐὰν τὰ τῆς πίστεως παροισφισσὺν ἐπιεικῶς.* Hist. lib. vi.

c. 33. p. 297.

† Vol. iii. p. 313.

latter. He is said to have asserted that "the kingdom of Christ should have an end." Besides, if Marcellus was, as Dr P. elsewhere affirms, a Philosophical Unitarian, he differed very much from Paulus.

But the truth is, the language of Sozomen is not fairly represented by Dr P. For though that historian says, that Marcellus adopted the opinion of Paulus, the other assertion is not properly his. He is giving the sentiments of the council that condemned him, expressing himself thus; "The bishops, who met at Constantinople, deposed and excommunicated Marcellus, — as the author of," or "as persuading to new doctrines*." He farther observes, that Sozomen "calls Photinus the introducer of a new heresy, when in the same chapter, he says that he held the same opinions with Sabellius and Paulus Samosatensis †." But this was still a *new heresy*, in the sense in which the ancients used that term. For though the doctrine of Theodotus, of Artemon, of Paulus, and of Photinus, was the same, they speak of these as distinct heresies; because they appeared at different times, and successively gave *new* disturbance to the church. These various heretics were followed by distinct bodies of men, who received different names.

He says "that Photinus is also charged with being the author of his own opinion by Socrates," though "he had before mentioned him as a disciple of Marcellus." But the former expression simply signifies that "Photinus declared more openly the doctrine which he had hit upon," or "found
" as

* Εν δε τω τοτη κ̄ Μακελλον Αγκυρας επισκοπον της Γαλατων, ως καινων δογματων εισηγητον, και τον υιον τ̄ς Θε̄ς λεγοντα εκ Μαρίας την αρχην ειληφεναι, κ̄ τέλος εξιν την αυτη βασιλειαν, κ̄ γραφην τινα περι τ̄της συνταξαντα, συνελθοντες εν Κωνσταντινα πολει καθῑλον, και της εκκλησιας εξ̄βαλον. Hist. lib. 2. c. 33. p. 91.

† Hist. lib. 4. c. 6. p. 135.

“ as it were by chance *.” But Dr P. seems resolved to infer a great deal more from the words of these historians than themselves meant. For he observes, concerning them in general, “ that no Unitarian is mentioned, but he is said to have been the *first* to have taught the Unitarian doctrine †.”

Yet all this reasoning, from the use of the term *new*, is employed by Dr P. after making the following concession; “ But it is possible, as I have observed before, that “ by *novelty*, these writers might sometimes mean nothing “ more than *heresy* †.” Here it is only *possible* that this might be their meaning. But the Doctor was in no doubt about it, before he seems to have observed, that this use of the term might be converted into a proof of the inconsistency of these historians. For having said that Tertulian and others appealed to the churches planted by the Apostles, and defined that to be the true faith, which was the most ancient, he adds; “ 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 †.” Certainly the Doctor has not sufficiently attended to this circumstance, though it was in his eye, when attempting thence to prove the inconsistency of ancient historians. He seems, indeed, to *fall into the pit, which he has digged for others.*

Our author continues the attack on the ancient historians

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† Τότε δὴ καὶ Φωτεινὸς οἰκτιροῦντος τῆς ἐκκλησίας προσετίκασεν, τὸ παλαιὸν εἶναι αὐτῶν διγμὰ φανερωτέρον ἐξῆραλλεν. Hist lib 2. c 29. p. 123.

† P 312.

† Ibid.

‖ Vol. i. p. 245, 246.

in general; and, after a little distant skirmishing on the ground he had formerly occupied, and through which we have already followed him, he again singles out Eusebius. "This," he observes, "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*." But if these heretics did not contradict themselves as to the general claim of antiquity, they at least contradicted one another. For while the Sabellians and Noetians, whom our author dignifies with the name of *Unitarians*, and who so firmly believed the deity of Christ, that they made him to be the Father, asserted that their doctrine was that of the Apostles; Theodotus, Paulus Samosatensis, Photinus and their adherents, who held Christ to be a mere man, claimed the same origin. Dr P. himself cannot pretend that the claims of both were well-founded. Like the witnesses suborned by the Jews, who agreed in accusing Jesus, these different classes of heretics were equally enemies to the truth. But like them also, *their witness did not agree together.*

But how is it proved that Eusebius *contradicts himself*? "He certainly knew," it is said, "that Justin Martyr had not only mentioned Unitarians as existing in his time, but had also treated them with much respect." But though this were true, how could it amount to a proof of self-contradiction in Eusebius? Though he had *known* that Justin had actually acknowledged them to be the first Christians, if Eusebius had not *said* so, whatever might be thought of his candour, he could not be charged with self-contradiction: Where is our author's own candour here, which he formerly displayed when treating of this very passage of Justin?

*P. 315.

“ I am no doubt influenced,” he says, “ 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.—Another person, having a different persuasion concerning the state of opinions in that age, will naturally be inclined to put a different construction on this passage.” Before it can appear, that Eusebius *knew* that Justin had treated the Unitarians “ with much respect,” it must be proved that he saw with Dr P.’s eyes. Has our author found any Trinitarian, ancient or modern, who can perceive this great respect in Justin’s treatment of them? Why is Eusebius the only orthodox writer, to whom the liberty of seeing differently from Dr P. must be refused? It is evidently supposed, in this assertion, that the ancient historian knew the justness of the Unitarian claims. Yet, in the page immediately preceding, speaking of Eusebius and other writers, as testifying that “ the primitive church was orthodox in their sense of the word,” Dr P. says; “ They were, no doubt, willing to have it thought so, and, without considering it very particularly, *might presume that it was so.*” Pray, whether is it the ancient, or the modern historian, who is chargeable with *self-contradiction*?

But this is certainly meant only as the preamble; though it appears rather out of place. It is immediately added;— “ And to say nothing of his own testimony to the Apostle John having been the first who taught with clearness, and with effect, the doctrine of the divinity of Christ; he himself speaks of the Ebionites as cotemporary with Cerinthus, who by his own account lived in the time of the Apostle John.” That Eusebius has said nothing of this kind concerning John, has been already proved †. Dr P.

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shews,

* Vol. iii. p. 234.

† See above, p. 338.

shews, indeed, how much he is at a loss to prove his charge against Eusebius. It is true that the latter speaks of the Elibionites as cotemporary with Cerinthus, and quotes Irenæus as relating the story of John meeting Cerinthus at the bath. But has Eusebius also said that the doctrine of the Elibionites was that of the Apostles? Then, indeed, he would have been liable to the charge of self-contradiction. *Let* he not assert that they were "under the power of a malignant demon?"

But our author makes no scruple of inferring the divine origin of the doctrine from the antiquity of the persons; nor of charging Eusebius with self-contradiction for granting the one, though it does not appear, that the poor man was so sharp-sighted as to perceive its necessary connexion with the other. With equal ease it might be proved that the most ancient heresy, which consisted in denying the threatening of death, was the true revelation. For it was practised in paradise, the author of it was cotemporary with the first believers, and his doctrine was preferred by them to the other. Nay, in every age, it has had the assent of the *majority*. It might easily be proved that modern Elibionites, by denying original sin and eternity of suffering, still reject the threatening in its proper sense, and view this most ancient heresy as the doctrine of God.

As if our author had been apprehensive that his unnatural inferences from the writings of Eusebius, in proof of the antiquity of the Unitarian doctrine, could be of no avail; he seems resolved to invalidate, as far as possible, his evidence on the other side. He pretends to account for the *vicious part* which that writer *always* takes against Unitarians, from his being "himself strongly suspected of Arianism" when the Athanasian doctrine was prevalent; and supposes that he "would wish to make the most of such
"pretensions

“pretensions to orthodoxy as he had, and incline to shew his
 “zeal by invectives against those who were more here-
 “tical than himself*.” But still this is reasoning from
 mere supposition; and the supposition made is destitute of
 a proper foundation. Eusebius has been thus calumniated
 by Le Clerc and other modern writers of the Socinian par-
 ty. Some of the ancients also suspected him of Arianism;
 though, it would seem, without sufficient reason. But till it
 be proved that he lay under this suspicion by the generality
 of the orthodox in his own time, and knew that he was
 thus suspected, we must refuse the very foundation of Dr
 P.’s hypothetical reasoning.

He closes this chapter by endeavouring to answer an ob-
 jection which must have occurred to every unprejudiced
 reader, in perusing the preceding part of his work: “It
 “may be said, if the majority of Christians in early times
 “were Unitarians, why did they not excommunicate the
 “innovating Trinitarians?” To this the Doctor replies;
 “The doctrine of the Trinity was not in its origin, such as
 “could give much alarm, as I have already explained.”
 The explanation referred to is, I suppose, the account given
 from Justin, and others, of the Son as the Logos of the Fa-
 ther. Our author thinks that Justin “was the first, or
 “one of the first, who advanced the doctrine of the perma-
 “nent personality of the Logos †.” Therefore, he seems
 to date the *origin* of the doctrine of the Trinity from his
 time. Now, Dr P.’s assertion must mean that this doctrine
 as taught by him, could not “give much alarm.”

But though we do not find the very term *τρις* (as cor-
 responding with *Trinity*) in any of the works ascribed to
 Justin, which are generally allowed to be genuine, we have
 the doctrine clearly enough expressed. It has been seen
 that, in various parts of his works, Justin expressly declares

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that

* P. 316.

† Vol. ii. p. 53

that he and his fellow Christians worshipped three Persons ; and this may be yet more fully proved. He declares this to heathens *. He evidently maintains a distinction of persons. He speaks of the person of the Holy Spirit as distinct from that of the Father † ; and declares that the Son is *numerically* distinct from him who made the world ‡. He acknowledges that the worship given to Jesus was objected to Christians by their adversaries, as a proof that they were so mad as to prefer a crucified man to the unchangeable and eternal God the Father of all §.

He, with equal plainness, proclaims the same doctrine to Jews. Now, as according to Dr P., the primitive Christians had precisely the same ideas of the divine unity with the Jews, what objections soever were made to the doctrine of the Trinity, in its origin, by the latter, must also have been made by the former ; and therefore, whatever alarm it gave to the one, the same it must have given to the other. But how does Trypho the Jew receive the doctrine of Justin concerning the Logos? It appears to him to be the introduction of a new God. " Answer me," he says, " how you can prove that there is another God, beside the " Maker of all," &c ||. He compares the doctrine of Christ's divinity to the folly of the Greeks, in asserting that Perseus derived his origin from Jupiter by the virgin Danaë **.

Now, if this doctrine, in its pretended origin, gave so great alarm to Jews ; according to Dr P.'s system, the primitive Christians must have been alarmed in the same manner

* Apol. ii. p. 56, 60.

† Απεκρίνεται αυτοις το πνευμα το αγιον, η απο προσωπη τε Πατρος, και απο τριδω. Dial. p. 255.

‡ Ibid. p. 276.

§ Apol. p. 60.

|| Dial. p. 269.

** Ibid. p. 267.

ner and degree. Though it were true, in his sense, that Justin and the other Ante-Nicene Fathers held the Son and Spirit to be inferior to the first person; it would not in the least invalidate our argument. For still they ascribed to them the honours of deity, and gave them religious worship.

Instead of giving less alarm in what is called its origin, it may easily be proved that this doctrine must have given more, than in any subsequent period. For universal experience testifies that any doctrine, which at first view strikes at the root of long-established opinions, (as this, according to Dr P.'s hypothesis, must undoubtedly have done) excites most horror when first broached. As Polycarp, and most probably, many others, who had heard the truth from some of the apostles themselves, were alive, when Justin began to write; their alarm must have been in proportion to the force of the impression made by such indubitable evidence. The sacred Scripture is, indeed, the *more sure word of prophecy*. But those who immediately heard the apostles, could appeal, as to the doctrines they held, to one kind of evidence unknown in succeeding ages. They had *heard with their ears*.

Dr P. adds, that this doctrine "was not obtruded on 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*." That the contrary is the truth, appears from the very writings of Justin Martyr. For he evidently makes the divinity of Christ a fundamental article in the whole of his Dialogue. Trypho, indeed, is supposed to have been a Rabbi. But shall we thence conclude that those, who are said to have introduced this doctrine, thought that one faith was required of the learned, and another of the unlearned?

What

* Vol. iii. p. 317.

What Dr P. further observes is equally insufficient to solve the difficulty:—"And before it became very formidable, there was a great majority of the learned and philosophizing Christians on its side." But it has been seen, that it was fully as obnoxious and alarming at first, as it could ever be; because even Justin urged the worship of Jesus, and the adversaries of Christians, both Jews and heathens, charged them with the worship of a man. If those who were without the church were so well acquainted with this doctrine; if Jews were so much *alarmed* at it as to make it the great objection to Christianity, (as Trypho undoubtedly does) can it be supposed, with the least shadow of reason, that the whole body of Christians, steadfastly adhering to the apostolic doctrine of the *simple humanity*, should take no alarm whatsoever? Were they not alarmed, when many of their teachers preached the deity of Christ, as the only scriptural doctrine. *Not at all*, our author virtually replies. They gave themselves no trouble, till it had "the majority of the learned on its side." Then, indeed, like wise men, they raised a great outcry. They were not afraid of the disease, though its symptoms were still mortal, till it was evidently past remedy. But when this was the case, they tried various methods for effecting a cure. Some left the church. Others kept their own *truly* orthodox bishops, though condemned by all their brethren. But as for their predecessors, though mighty good men, they were so very peaceable, and so different from those who followed them in the same faith, that they patiently submitted to their teachers, while they, to *their* conviction, held forth a plurality of gods. They were even willing to join with them in the worship of a mere man, if they were themselves suffered to continue in the church. When one man, Theodotus by name, was so honest

ness as to *contend earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints*, he, as far as can be learned, stood alone. Though he was so unjustly treated as to be excommunicated, merely for holding what the great majority knew to be the apostolical doctrine, we have no evidence that he had any adherents. For Dr P. observes, that “ we have no certain account of any separate societies of Unitarians, till the excommunication of Paulus,” fifty years after.

CHAPTER IV.

Direct Evidence that the primitive Christians were Trinitarians ; with some other Considerations.

MR LINDSEY attempted to prove that all the Fathers of the three first centuries were Unitarians. The extravagance of this claim has been so clearly demonstrated, especially by Mr Burgh, that our learned author, the fellow-labourer of the gentleman formerly mentioned in the glorious work of derogating from the Saviour, has found it necessary to fall in his demands. As nothing can be made of the Fathers, he will be content with the children. He has granted that the learned, from the time of Justin at least, were almost all believers in the divinity of Jesus. His attempts to shew that the majority of the common people were Unitarians, I have fully considered ; and shall now oppose some *direct evidence* to what he has produced under this name.

A variety of passages might be quoted from the *Apostolical Fathers*, directly proving that the primitive church was Trinitarian. But our author holds himself in readiness to object to any evidence from them, unless it be in his own favour.

favour. However, I shall beg leave to insert a proof or two from the Epistle of the Church of Smyrna, concerning the martyrdom of Polycarp; as its authenticity is attested by Eusebius. From this Epistle we learn that Polycarp, when he was at the stake, addressed a prayer to God, which he concluded with this doxology; “ For all things, I praise thee, I bless thee, I glorify thee, together with the eternal and heavenly Jesus Christ, with whom, unto thee and the Holy Spirit, be glory both now and for ever, world without end. Amen *.” As Bingham observes †, although this be read, as it is recorded by Eusebius, it makes no alteration in the sense. For the prayer still concludes with a doxology to the three divine Persons;—“ By whom, to thee, together with him and the Holy Spirit, be glory both now and for ever. Amen ‡.”

In the same Epistle, the Church of Smyrna informs the other churches to which she wrote, that the Jews suggested to the Roman Proconsul, and insisted on it, that he should not deliver up the body of Polycarp to be buried, lest the Christians, “ leaving him who was crucified, should worship the other.—‘ Not knowing,’ say they, “ that we can never either forsake Christ, who suffered for the salvation of the whole world of them that are saved, the just for the unjust, or worship any other. For we worship him, as being the Son of God. But we love the martyrs, according to their desert, on account of their imperable

* Περὶ πάντων αἰνῶ σε, εὐλογοῶ σε, δοξάζω σε, σὺν τῷ αἰωνίῳ καὶ ἑπερανίῳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, ἀγαπητῷ σε παιδί, μεθ’ ἡ σοὶ καὶ πνευματὶ ἁγίῳ ἢ δοξᾷ καὶ νύκ, καὶ εἰς τὰς μελλούσας αἰώνας. Ἀμην. Epist. Eccl. Smyrnenfis ap. Coteler. Patr. Apostol. Vol. 2. p. 199.

† Antiquities of the Christian Church, Book xiii. c. 2.

‡ Δια τῶ αἰωνίῳ ἀρχιερέως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τῷ ἀγαπητῷ σε παιδί. διὰ σοὶ σὺν αὐτῷ, ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ ἢ δοξᾷ, &c. Euseb. Hist. lib. 4.

“perable regard to their own King and Master*.” Here they distinguish, in the clearest manner, between that worship which they gave to Christ, and that affection which they had for his most eminent disciples. Hence also it appears that, even in this early age, it was well known to the enemies of the Christians, that they worshipped their Lord.

It has formerly been proved from Justin, that faith in the Trinity was required of the most rude and illiterate, in order to their admission to baptism †. In one of his Apologies, he says; “We adore and love the Word of the unbegotten and invisible God ‡.” In the other, he replies to the charge of Atheism in the following manner; “Him (the Father of righteousness) and that Son who hath proceeded from him, and taught these things to us and also to that army of others who are his servants and conformed to him, viz. the good angels, and the prophetic Spirit, we worship and adore, honouring them in word and in truth, and candidly delivering these things to every one who is willing to be instructed, as we ourselves have been taught §.” If all who were acknowledged to be

* Μη, φησιν, αφεντες τον εσαυρωμενον, τητον αρξωνται σεβισθαι. και ταυτα ειπον, υποβαλλοντων και ενισχυοντων Ιουδαιων, οι και ετηρησαν, μελλοντων ημων εκ τς πυρος λαμβανειν* αγνωστες οτι υτε τον Χριστον ποτε καλιλιπεν διητομεθα, τον υπερ της τς παυλος κοσμου των σωζομενων σωτηριας παδοντα, αμαμων υπερ αμαρτωνων, ουτε στερον τινα σεβισθαι. τητον μεν γαρ, υιον οντα τς θες, προσκυουμεν* της θε μαρτυρας, ως μαθητας και μιμητας τς κυρις, αγαπωμεν αξιως, ενεκα ευνοιας ανυπερβλητης της εις τον ιδιον βασιλεια και διδασκαλον. Epist. Eccl. Smyrn. Coteler. Patr. Vol. i. p. 200.

† See above, p. 307.

‡ Του γαρ απο αγεινητε ης αρετης Θεω λογον μετα τον Θεον προσκυουμεν ης αγαπαμεν. P. 51.

§ Αλλ' ειχονον τε, και του παρ' αυτη υιον ελθοντα και διδασκοντα
ημας

be Christians did not worship the Son and Spirit as well as the Father. there was an impious fallacy in the answer to the accusations of their enemies, totally unworthy of the character of Justin, nay, of any sincere Christian. Besides, this holy Martyr declares that the worship of the Father, Son and Spirit, was inculcated by him and his brethren on every one inclining to learn, that is, on all who wished to qualify themselves for admission to the privileges of Christianity. And they inculcated this, not as an innovation of their own, but as what they had *themselves been taught*.

Afterwards, in answer to the same charge, when Justin has observed that they *rationaly* “(δια λογης) celebrate the “Maker of all things,” he adds, “And having, in the second place, him who hath become our instructor in these things, and for this end been born Jesus Christ, and been crucified under Pontius Pilate, being taught that he is truly the Son of God himself,—and the prophetic Spirit in the third order, we shall shew that we honour them rationally. For herein they charge us with madness, asserting that we give the second place, after the unchangeable and eternal God, to a crucified man; being ignorant of the mystery which is in this, which, while we explain to you, we beg your attention *.”

Justin here seems to speak of the *order* of subsistence, as generally regulating the order of address, and not of different kinds or degrees of worship. But this is of no consequence to the argument; as Dr P. denies that the generality

ημας ταυτα, και τον των αλλων επομενων και εξομοιουμενων αγαθων
αγγελον εργατον, πνευμα τε το προφητικον σεβουμεθα, και προσκυνου-
μεν, λογω και αληθεια τιμωμεντες, και παντι βεβλομενω μαθειν, ως εδι-
δαχθημεν, αφδονως παραδιδυντες. Apol. ii. p. 56.

* Ib. p. 60.

rality of Christians, in that early age, gave any religious adoration to the Son, or to the Spirit as a distinct person. This passage proves that it was understood by the heathen, that Jesus was worshipped by Christians in general; and that Justin had no thought of denying the charge. But he accuses their enemies of ignorance of that mystery, which was the foundation of this worship. This is that of the Son being of the same essence with the Father. For he immediately proceeds to shew, that he was "the Reason, and the Word of God,—the power of God,—and his own Word;" as he had already asserted that he was "truly the Son of God himself."

It would be vain to pretend that the Martyr gives an account of his own practice only, and that of a few who were of his opinion. For the charge of worshipping a crucified man was evidently exhibited against the Christians as a body. If the general faith and practice had not been correspondent with those of Justin, he certainly would have denied the charge as laid. He was bound in justice to do so. For as the worship of one who had been crucified was the greatest obstacle to the progress of Christianity, and peculiarly excited the indignation of their adversaries, whether Jews or heathens; the works referred to being called *Apolo- gies for the Christians*; Justin was bound fairly to represent the faith and practice of the body, and not his own private opinions.

Had the majority been on the Unitarian side, Justin, if we may believe our author, would have been the last man to have acted such a part as he undoubtedly does. For, according to Dr P., the doctrine of the Trinity "was not ob- truded upon the common people, as an article of faith necessary to their salvation; or, indeed, as a thing that they were at all concerned to know*." According to him,
Justin's

* Vol. iii. p. 317.

Justin's defence of his own opinion "has sufficiently the air of an apology, and he even intimates some degree of doubt with respect to it*." Can it be supposed that so *modest and candid* a writer would subject the whole church to hatred and persecution, by daring to publish his *own opinion* as that which was generally received?

But as he presented these Apologies to the Emperors, in the name of the Christian world, their contents must have been generally known. Now, had they contained a declaration of doctrines not generally believed, or an acknowledgment of customs not generally observed, nay, directly opposed to the faith and practice of the majority; instead of being venerated as the able apologist of the Christians, he would have been abandoned as a base calumniator, who falsely charged his friends with gross idolatry; if not denounced to those in power as a traitor, who wished, on unjust grounds, to excite the indignation of the Emperor against them. Had Christians in general entertained the same ideas concerning the faith and worship of the Trinity, with those who now pretend to be their genuine successors, and possessed but the one half of their assiduity; from a laudable principle of self-defence, they would have opposed the pretended Apologies of Justin, by giving a true account of their faith and worship; and would have been especially careful to remove the great stumbling-block of their adversaries, by shewing that they acknowledged God the Father as the only object of their adoration.

Justin, in his Dialogue, lays it down as a first principle, that the prophecies of the Old Testament harmonize in declaring that the Messiah should be God. Therefore, when Trypho desires him to prove that Jesus is the Messiah, he postpones this proof, till he has advanced the other †. In the course of this dispute, it is evident that the doctrine of the

* Ibid. p. 287.

† Dial. p. 254.

the divinity of Jesus is the great stumbling-block to his Jewish antagonists. Now, Trypho and his friends reply merely by a contemptuous sneer; then, by endeavouring seriously to confute the Martyr's arguments. Now, they grant their force in part; but in a little, they represent the whole system as paradoxical and absurd*. Trypho, at least, being a man of learning, must have known the doctrine of the generality of Christians on so important a point. Yet, notwithstanding all the time consumed in this part of the argument, and all the objections made, it is never once insinuated by him that Justin's doctrine was an innovation among Christians, and not generally believed. This objection he undoubtedly would have made, had he known it to be well-founded; as it would not only have shortened the debate, but tended to silence his adversary.

When Trypho and his companions express their wish to know the proofs of the deity of Christ, Justin replies that these "would appear strange to them, though they daily read them;" adding, "that you may thence know that, on account of your own wickedness, God hath withheld from you the power of understanding his wisdom in these words †." If Justin thought that the knowledge of this doctrine was hid from the Jews because of their wickedness, could he think or speak with *much respect* of those amongst professed Christians, from whom this doctrine was equally hid? Were they entitled to more forbearance, because they wounded the Saviour *in the house of his friends*?

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* Dial. p. 267.

† Είναι δὲ σοὶ δοξαστὶν εἶναι καίπερ καθ' ἡμέραν, ἀναγιγνωσκόμενα
ἐξ' ὑμῶν ὡς καὶ ἐκ τούτων συκείναι ὑμᾶς, ὅτι διὰ τῆς ὑμετέρας κακίας
ἀπεκρύβη ὁ Θεὸς ἀφ' ὑμῶν τὸ δύνασθαι νοεῖν τὴν σοφίαν τοῦ ἐν τοῖς
λογοῖς αὐτοῦ. Dial. p. 274.

We have Justin's true estimate of such persons, in another place, where he continues his proof of the deity of Christ. After proving that two divine persons are mentioned as engaged in the destruction of Sodom, he subjoins; "And again, when the word declares that God in the beginning said, *Behold, Adam is become as one of us*; this expression, *as one of us*, even this is declarative of number. But these words are not to be understood figuratively, as the sophists attempt to explain them, who can neither utter nor understand the truth *."

It is evident that, during the dispute, Trypho still reasons as a Socinian would do in our own times, and Justin replies like one who has no title to the honourable appellation of a *rational believer*. "You attempt," the Jew says, "to demonstrate a thing incredible and nearly impossible, that God should submit to be born, and to become man." "If I attempted to prove this," the simple Christian replies, "by human doctrines and arguments, you ought by no means to bear with me. But since I have again and again mentioned so many passages of Scripture expressive of this, as it is reasonable to believe that you acknowledge them, you become obdurate against the knowledge of the mind and will of God. But if you are resolved to continue in this situation, it can do me no injury. But I shall leave you, still holding the same sentiments I held before we met †".

In another place, Justin having demonstrated from Psal. xlv. that Christ is "God, and the object of worship,"
plainly

* Και παλιν οταν λεγη ο λογος ειρηκεναι τον Θεον εν αρχη, ιδε Αδαμ γεγονεν ως εις εξ ημων. το δε, ως εις εξ ημων, και αυτο αριθμο δηλωτικον εστιν, αλλ' ε τροπολογικων χωρεσιν οι λογοι, ως εξηγησθαι επιχειρεσιν οι σοβισται, και μηδε λεγειν την αληθειαν, μηδε νοειν δυναμειοι. Dial. p. 358. 359.

† Ibid. p. 292, 293.

plainly intimates that this was acknowledged by all who were accounted Christians. For he adds; “ And that the Word
 “ of God speaks to them who believe, as being one soul,
 “ and one synagogue, and one church, even to the church
 “ as to a daughter begotten from his name, and bearing
 “ this very name (for we are all called Christians) the
 “ words in like manner clearly declare.” Then he quotes, *Hearken, O daughter, &c* *. Had the generality of Christians refused the worship of the Son as idolatry, Trypho’s reply was at hand, that this exposition was contrary to the general faith of the church. It is not supposable that he who objected the offensive practice of the Gnostics, would have overlooked this. Had there been a difference of sentiment on this head, among those who called themselves *one church*, he would have given the lie to Justin, when he described them as *one soul*.

But on the contrary, Trypho admits this as the faith of Gentile Christians at least, without any exception. For he says; “ Be it so, that, as these scriptures signify, he is acknowledged the Lord, and Christ, and God, of you Gentiles, who also all affect to be called Christians from his name. But we, being the worshippers of that very God who made this person, have no occasion, either to confess, or to adore him †.”

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* Και οτι τοις εις αυτον πιστευουσιν ως εστι μια ψυχη, και μια συναγωγη, και μια εκκλησια, ο λογος του Θεου ως θυγατρι, &c.

Ibid. p. 287.

† Και ο Τρυφων, εσω υμων εξ εθνων κυριος, και Χριστος, και Θεος γνωριζομενος, ως αι γραφαι σημαινουσιν, οι τινες και απο του ονοματος αυτου Χριστιανοι καλεισθαι παντες εσχηκατες. ημεις δε, του Θεου του και αυτου τετουτοι ποιησαντο λατρευται οντες, η δεμεθα της ομολογιας αυτου, υβι της προσηκουσεως. Ibid.

As Theophilus, who was cotemporary with Justin Martyr, asserts the doctrine of the Trinity, we may safely infer that both he and the church of Antioch, over which he presided, adored the Three-one God. Speaking of the creation, he says; “ The three days, which preceded the formation of the luminaries, represent the Trinity, God, “ and his Word, and his Wisdom *.” The Chronicle of Alexandria has preserved an extract from the Apology of Melito, Bishop of Sardis, a writer of the same age, which clearly shews the nature of the Christian worship. “ We “ are not,” he says, “ worshippers of stones,—but we are “ worshippers of the one God, who is before all, and “ in all, in his Christ, who is truly God, the eternal “ Word †.”

Although Tatian, after the death of his master Justin, adopted several absurd and heretical opinions, yet as he has never been accused of error as to the object of worship, he may be sustained as a sufficient witness on this subject. In reply to the accusations of the heathen, he says; “ We do “ not, O Grecians, act the part of fools, nor do we tell “ you idle stories, when we declare that God was born in “ the human form ‡.”

Athenagoras;

* Ωσαυτως και αι τρεις ημεραι προ των Φωστηρον γιγονυιαι, τυποι εισιν της τριαδος, τα θεα, και τα λογω αυτα, και της σοφιας αυτα. Theophil. ad Autolyc. lib. ii. p. 94.

† I can insert the passage, only as it is given by Spanheim, partly in the Greek, and partly translated into Latin. Non sumus cultores lapidum, εδεμιαν ασθησιν εχοντων, sed εσμεν θρησκευται solius Dei qui est ante omnia, et in omnibus, ut est επι τα Χριστω αυτα, οντως Θεω Λογω προ των αιωνων. Chron. Alexandr. Olymp. cccxxvi. p. 259. Ed. R. ap. Spanheim. Hist. Christ. p. 610.

‡ Ου γαρ μαραινουμεν, ανδρες Ελληνες, εδε ληρους απαγγελομεν.

Αποστ.

Athenagoras, who flourished A. 177. refutes the charge of the heathen, in the same manner as Justin Martyr. “Who is not filled with admiration,” he says, “that we who declare God the Father, and God the Son, and the Holy Spirit, shewing both the power of their unity, and the distinction of their order, should be called perverse atheists*?” “We are not atheists, who reckon as God the Maker of the universe, and his Word who proceedeth from him †.”

We have formerly considered the various attestations given by Irenæus. as to the faith of the universal church in his time; from which it clearly appears that Jesus was acknowledged as the object of worship.

There is no occasion to prove that Clemens Alexandrinus was a Trinitarian. This is undeniable. But it is evident that he had no idea of the majority of Christians in the Catholic church being Unitarians, or of persons, known to be of this principle, being suffered in her communion. He flourished towards the latter part of the second century; and he, in the strongest terms, declares the *unity* of the church, in his time. “From these things,” he says, “it is evident, in my opinion, that the true church is one, that which is truly primitive, to which those belong who are just according to pre-ordination. For as there is one God, and one Lord, therefore also that which is honour-
F f 3 “able

θειον εν ανθρωπινη μορφη γεγονεναι καταγγελλοντες. Tatian. cont. Græcos, p. 159.

* Τις εν εκ αν απορησαι, λεγοντας θεον πατερα και υιον θεον και πνευμα αγιον, δεικνυντας αυτων και την εν τη ενωσει δυναμιν, και την εν τη ταξει διαιρισιν, ακυσας αθεωσ καλυμενους; Athenagor. Legatio, p. 11.

† Ουκ εσμεν αθεοι, θεον αγωντες τον ποιητην τουδε του παντος, και τον πατρ' αυτε λογον. Ibid. p. 34.

“ able in the highest degree has the commendation of unity, being an imitation of the one beginning. Therefore unity of nature is given by lot to the one church, which heresies attempt to divide into many. Therefore, with respect to subsistence, and sentiment, and beginning, and excellence, we assert that the ancient and Catholic church is one, in the unity of one faith, according to her proper testaments, or rather, according to that testament which is one, with the difference of time only; that church,—in which are gathered together, by the will of one God, through one Lord, those who have been already ordained, whom God hath predestinated, having known them, as those who would be just, before the foundation of the world. But the excellence of the church, as being the principle of conjunction, consists in her unity, surpassing all other things, and having nothing of the same kind, or equal to herself*.”

Then he proceeds to speak of the different classes of heretics; among whom he reckons the *Phrygians* and *Peraticians*. Elsewhere speaking of heretics, he says; “ These are they who from the beginning have left the church. But he who falls into heresy, passes through a wilderness wherein there is no water.” Applying to them the words of the wise man, according to the Septuagint version of Prov. ix. 28. he says that the *strange water* spoken of is heretical baptism, which he denies to be “ proper and genuine water †.”

As Clemens presided over the famous school of Alexandria for the instruction of youth in the principles of religion, if the majority of Christians had then been Unitarians, especially if they had abounded as much in Africa as is pretended by Dr P., it is inconceivable that church-members

* Stromat. lib. vii. p. 549.

† Stromat. lib. i. p. 232, 233.

bers would have submitted to have their children instructed in principles so contrary to their own, and initiated in a worship which they must have accounted idolatrous. His *Pædagogus* may be considered as exemplifying the manner in which he taught those entrusted to his care. For near the close, he uses this address; “ O foster-children of blessed instruction, let us fill up the beautiful person of the church, and as children run to our good mother; and if we become hearers of the Word, let us glorify the blessed œconomy, by which man (*παιδαγωγείται*) is indeed trained up, and sanctified as a little child of God.—The Logos acts and teaches, and instructs in all things.—He governs the state, presides over agriculture, rules and ministers, and is the universal architect.—This is that Logos: This is the Pedagogue (or Instructor) the Creator of man, and of the world, and by these means now also the Instructor of the world; by whose command we both stand together, waiting the judgment.—What then remains, after such a panegyric of the Logos. Let us pray to the Logos. Be propitious to thy children, O Pedagogue, Father, Director of Israel, Son and Father, both one, Lord. Grant that,—praising night and day, even to the perfect day, we may give thanks to, and praise, the only Father and Son, the Son and Father, the Pedagogue, and the Son the teacher, with the Holy Ghost, all in one; in whom are all things; through whom are all things in one; through whom is eternity; of whom we are all members; whose is glory, eternity; to him who is in all things good, in all things beautiful, universally wise and just, to whom be glory both now and for ever. “ Amen.”

F f 4

Then

* — Τῷ λογῷ προσευξομῆθα· Ἰλαθὶ τοῖς σοῖς παιδαγωγῆ παι-
δίοις, πατρὸς, ἡνιοχὲ Ἰσραὴλ, υἱὸς καὶ πατὴρ, ἐν ἀμφῷ, κυριε. δὸς
δ:

Then he calls his disciples to join with him in celebrating the Logos by a hymn of praise. Here he uses the following language; “Gather together thy simple children to praise in a holy manner, to celebrate without guile—Christ the Leader of children,—Eternal Logos, Infinite Age, Eternal Light, Fountain of mercy, &c. Filled with the dew of the Spirit, let us sing together sincere praises, genuine hymns, to Christ our King.—Let us at the same time praise the God of peace*.”

We have seen how great a handle Dr P. makes of a single expression of Tertullian, as if it were an undoubted proof that, in his time, the majority were Unitarians. It has been proved that it cannot bear this meaning. But if any doubt remain with the reader let Tertullian himself remove it. In his work against the Jews, after mentioning almost every nation in the world, he has this striking passage; “But the kingdom of Christ is every where extended, and his Name; it is every where believed, it is wor-
“ shipped

δε ημιν ——— υκτωρ, μεθ' ημεραν, εις την τελειαν ημεραν, αιωντας ευχαρισειν, αιειν, τω μονω πατρι κ̅ υιω, υιω κ̅ πατρι παιδαγωγω, και διδασκαλω υιω, συν δε τω αγιω πνευματι* παντα τω ενι* εν ω τα παντα* δι' ον τα παντα εν' δε ον το αιει. ε μελη παντες* ε δοξα, αιωνες* παντα τω αγαθω, παντα τω καλω, παντα τω σοφω* τω δικαιω τα παντα* ω η δοξα και νυν και εις της αιωνας. Αρην. Pædagog. lib. iii. p. 195.

* Της σης αφιλης
παιδας αγειρον,
αιειν αγιως,
υμνειν αδολως,
παιδων ηγητορα Χριστον.
λογος αιεταος,
αιων απλετος,
φωσ αιδιον,
ελεισ πηγη.

πνευματι δροσερω
εμπιπλαμενοι,
αιωνσ αφιλης,
υμνησ ατρεκεισ,
βασιλει Χριστω
μελοπομεν ομω.
Υαλωμεν ομω Θεον ειρηνης.
Ibid. p. 195, 196.

“ shipped by all the nations above enumerated ; he reigns
 “ every where, he is adored every where ;—he is alike
 “ to all, a king to all, a judge to all, and to all a God and
 “ Lord *.”

Again, after speaking of the sufferings of Christ, and of the destruction of Jerusalem, he says ; “ Behold all nations
 “ henceforward emerging from the gulf of human error, to
 “ the Lord God the Creator, and to God his Christ †.”
 And afterwards ; “ For this day these nations invoke
 “ Christ who did not know him ‡.”

Would Tertullian have ventured to assert such things, whatever should be thought of his probity, and to make such appeals to the Jews, the most bitter enemies of Christianity, and well acquainted with its doctrines ; had they not been well-founded ? Had these nations, or the majority of Christians among them, believed Jesus to be a mere man ; would the Jews have been at any loss for an answer ? If Tertullian proceeded on false grounds, it not only destroys his credibility as a writer, but is totally inconsistent with the acknowledged strength of his understanding.

The same wriler, in his *Apology* addressed to the Roman Emperor, speaking of the prejudices of the heathen against Christianity, says ; “ But the vulgar also are now
 “ taught to consider Christ as some man whom the Jews
 “ condemned, that they may more easily consider us as
 “ worshippers †

* *Christi autem regnum et nomen ubique porrigitur, ubique creditur, ab omnibus gentibus supra enumeratis colitur, ubique regnat, ubique adoratur :—omnibus equalis, omnibus rex, omnibus iudex, omnibus Deus et Dominus. Advers. Judæos, c. 7. p. 139.*

† *Aspice universas nationes, de voragine erroris humani exinde emergentes ad Dominum Deum Creatorem, et ad Deum Christum ejus. Ibid. c. 12. p. 145.*

‡ *Christum enim invocant nationes, qui eum non sciebant. Ibid. ad §. p. 148.*

“ worshippers of a man. But we are neither ashamed of Christ, as it is our delight to be debased and condemned for his sake ; nor do we entertain any other apprehensions of God. It is therefore necessary to say a few things concerning Christ, as the whole respects God *.”

Hence, it is evident that the Christians were traduced to those in power as worshippers of a man ; and that this calumny was so generally spread, as to gain credit even among the vulgar heathen. If the worship of Jesus had not been general among Christians, Tertullian, whatever might be the ideas or practice of a few, would have denied the charge as affecting the body. He was bound in justice to declare, that the bulk of Christians believed him to be a mere man, and that, for this good reason, they did not worship him. But when he says, “ we do not blush for Christ,” he plainly means that they were not ashamed of worshipping him. He only denies the charge as founded upon the idea of Christ being a mere man. For he immediately proceeds to vindicate this worship by shewing that he is God.

Minucius Felix, who flourished A. 220. takes notice of the same calumny. “ Ye are greatly mistaken,” he says, “ in ascribing to our religion the worship of a guilty man who was crucified ; and in thinking, either that a guilty man should, or that a mere man could, be acknowledged by us as God. He is miserable indeed whose hope is wholly in a mortal man ! For his help perishes, with the destruction of the mortal nature †.”

The

* Sed et vulgus jam scit Christum, ut aliquem hominem qualem Judæi judicaverunt, quo facilius quis nos hominis cultores existimaverit. Verum neque de Christo erubescimus, quum tub nomine ejus depictari et damnari juvat, neque de Deo aliter præsumimus. Necessè est igitur pauca de Christo, ut de Deo totum, Apolog. c. 21. p. 50.

† Nam quod religioni nostræ hominem noxium, et crucem ejus ascribitis,

The faith and worship of Christians in general, in the days of Origen, may be certainly learned from his work against Celsus. We have already given several extracts from this work, on the same head * ; and therefore, shall add a few only. Celsus had objected that they worshipped Jesus, whom he impiously calls a mere upstart. Origen grants that they did worship him ; but denies that they worshipped a man, or one of the ministers of God. For after declaring our Saviour's unity of essence with the Father, he adds ; “ Therefore, we worship one God,—the Father, and the Son ; and we invariably oppose that of all others ; and we do not exalt one to the highest honours, who is an upstart, as having had no former existence. For we believe him when he says, *Before Abraham was, I am.*—The one God, and his only Son, and Word, and Image, to the utmost of our power, we worship with supplications and honours, offering prayers to the God of the universe, through his only begotten ; to whom we first present these, intreating that he, who is the propitiation for our sins, may deign, as our high priest, to offer up our prayers, and oblations, and intercessions to God over all †.”

It is remarkable that, in this very place, Origen introduces that exception, from which our author attempts to prove that Unitarians were tolerated in the communion of the faithful ; “ Be it so, that some, as in the multitude of them who believe, and who are subjected to difference, through their temerity affirm that the Saviour is God over all.”

tis, longe de vicinia veritatis erratis, qui putatis Deum mercedi, aut meruisse noxium, aut potuisse terrenum. Næ ille miserabilis, cujus in homine mortali spes omnis innititur ; totum enim ejus auxilium, cum extincto homine finitur. Minucii Octavius, p. 280.

* See above, p. 179, &c.

† Cont. Cels. lib. viii. p. 386.

“all*.” It has been shewn that this passage does not prove what Dr P. wishes †; and it is evident that, at any rate, it directly opposes his main point, which is to prove that the original doctrine was that of the *simple humanity*.

The passage quoted above not only demonstrates what the faith and practice of the majority were, in the time of Origen, but certainly shews what they were well known to be a century before, as Celsus was cotemporary with Adrian. Then it was so well known that the Christians worshipped Jesus, as to be a calumny against them, proceeding from the more learned heathen. Thence Celsus says; “If these men indeed worshipped no other God, they might seem justly to despise others. But now they superlatively worship one who has made his appearance of late; and fancy that they are chargeable with no offence against God, while they adore his minister ‡.” It is unnecessary to repeat the language ascribed to the Jew whom he introduces, as addressing his countrymen who had embraced Christianity. But had it not been generally known that the Christian church, in the reign of Adrian, held Christ to be God; had not this been constantly objected by unbelieving Jews; will Dr P. please to inform us, how it could have occurred to an heathen philosopher to introduce a Jew as exhibiting such charges against Christians?

In the same work, we have another remarkable testimony to the Catholic faith concerning Christ. Origen, speaking of the assertion of Josephus the Jewish historian, who ascribes the destruction of Jerusalem to the murder of James the Just, says; “Is it not more probable, that this took place on account of Jesus Christ, of whose divinity so many churches of men, who have been delivered from the pollution of the wicked, are witnesses*.”

When

* Ibid. p. 387. † See above, p. 336. ‡ Cont. Cels. lib. ii. p. 62.

† Πως εχει ευλογωτερον δια Ιησου τον Χριστον ταυτο φασκειν γεγο-

When this writer elfewhere fpeaks of fome who were perplexed about the doctrine of the Trinity, though they may feem to be included in the general name of believers, we are not to conclude that they were really accounted fuch, and far lefs that they conftituted the majority. In other places, he gives them their real character. “When you confefs one God,” he fays, “and affert, in the fame confession, that the Father, and Son, and Spirit, are one God, how perplexed, how difficult, how inextricable, does this feem to *the unbelieving* ! Again, when you fay that the Lord of glory was crucified, and that it was the Son of man who defcended from heaven, ‘How perplexed !’ cries he who hears, *but bears not with faith*. ‘How difficult do thefe things appear !’ “because they are themfelves in an error. But do thou hold faft, nor entertain a doubt concerning this faith, knowing that God hath fhewed this way of faith to thee*.” And again ; “There are fome indeed, who make a declaration concerning the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, but *not in fincerity, nor in truth*. Such are all *heretics*, who indeed profefs the Father, and Son, and Spirit, but not in a right and believing manner. For they either feparate the Son from the Father, that they may afcribe one nature to the Father, and another to the Son ; or they erroneoufly confound them, by
“ thinking

γεναι ; ὃ τῆς θειοτητος μαρτυρες αι τοσαυται των μεταβαλοντων απο της χυστεος των κακων εκκλησιαι. Cont. Celf. l. 1. p. 35, 36.

* Cum confitearis unum Deum, eademque confessione Patrem, et Filium, et Spiritum Sanctum afferis unum Deum, quam tortuosum, quam difficile, quam inextricabile videtur hoc esse infidelibus ! Tu deinde cum dicis Dominum majestatis crucifixum, et Filium hominis esse qui descendit de cælo, quam tortuosa hæc videntur, et quam difficilia ! qui audit, si non cum fide audiat, dicit ; quia errant ipsi. Sed tu fixus esto, nec dubites de hujusmodi fide, sciens quia Deus tibi ostendit hanc fidei viam. Orig. in Exod. Homil. vi. vol. i, p. 44.

“ thinking to make of three a compound God, or by sup-
 “ posing only three different names. But he who rightly
 “ confesses the truth, will indeed ascribe to the Father, Son
 “ and Holy Ghost, their distinct properties, but confess that
 “ there is no difference as to nature or substance * ”

Speaking of the ordinance of baptism, as understood by the church in general, he says; “ When we come to the
 “ grace of baptism, renouncing all other gods and lords, we
 “ acknowledge one God only, the Father, the Son, and the
 “ Holy Spirit †.” And again; “ I believe that faith of
 “ the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, *which is believed by all*
 “ *who are united to the church of God* ‡.” If either the
 majority were Unitarians, or if Unitarians were considered
 as church-members, I wish to know from our author, how
 we are to understand such passages ?

According to Dr P.'s hypothesis, what are we to make
 of the language of Cyprian, the cotemporary of Origen ?
 “ He (Christ) is our God, that is not of all, but the God
 “ of the faithful and believing, who shall not keep silence,
 “ when

2

* Sunt enim nonnulli qui annunciant quidem et predicant de Patre, et Filio, et Spiritu Sancto. non sincere, non integre : ut sunt omnes hæretici, qui Patrem quidem, et Filium, et Spiritum Sanctum annunciant, sed non bene, non fideliter annunciant. Aut enim male separant Filium a Patre, ut alterius naturæ Patrem, alterius Filium dicant : aut male confundunt, ut ex tribus compositum Deum, vel trinæ tantummodo appellationis in eo esse vocabulum putent. Qui autem bene annunciant bona, proprietates quidem Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto suas cuique dabit, nihil autem diversitatis esse confitebitur in natura vel substantia. Orig. in Epist. ad Rom. cap. x lib. viii. vol. ii. p. 383.

† Cum ergo venimus ad gratiam baptismi, universis aliis diis et dominis renunciantes, solum confitemur Deum Patrem, et Filium, et Spiritum Sanctum. Hom. 8. in Exod. xx. vol. i. p. 52.

‡ Credo fidem Patris, Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, in quam credunt omnes qui sociantur ecclesiæ Dei. Hom. 5. in Levit. vol. i. p. 77.

“ when he shall be manifested in his second coming ; for as
 “ he was formerly hid in his humiliation, he shall come ma-
 “ nifested in power *.”

That none were tolerated in the church who were known to deny the divinity of our Saviour, at the time of the condemnation of Paulus Samosatensis, is evident from the epistle of the council of Antioch. It will be granted that the members of this council knew the state of opinions, in their own time, fully as well as any writer in the eighteenth century ; and it is scarcely supposable that they would have told the whole world a falsehood, which almost every individual could have contradicted. “ In the whole church,” they say, “ he is believed to be God, who emptied himself indeed from “ a state of equality with God, and man, of the seed of Da-
 “ vid according to the flesh †.”

Dr P., indeed, wishes us to believe a strange paradox, that, though the great majority of the teachers were undoubtedly orthodox, this was far from being the case as to those who were taught by them. There was a succession of Trinitarian Bishops and clergy in the church, who were so very useful in their labours as to train up the multitude in Unitarian errors. But it happens unluckily for his hypothesis, that, as to the very time when the Unitarian doctrine is supposed to have appeared most formidable, (when Paulus was enabled to hold the episcopal house, after his deposition,

* Hic est Deus noster, id est, non omnium, sed fidelium et credentium Deus, qui cum in secundo adventu manifestus venerit, non silebit ; nam cum in humilitate prius fuerit occultus, veniet in potestate manifestus. De Bono Patientiæ, c. 14.

* Εν τη εκκλησια παση πεπιστευται Θεος μεν κηρωτας εαυτη ατι-
 τε ειναι ισα Θεω, ανθρωπος δε εκ σπερματος Δαβιδ το κατα σαρκα.
 Epist. Episcop. Synod. Antioch. ap. Labbæi Concil. vol. i.
 p. 481. Vid. Burgh's Inquiry, p. 369.

deposition, in consequence of the strength of his party) we have the clearest evidence of the concurrence of the multitude in the sentence of their spiritual rulers. For from the introduction to the Synodical epistle we not only learn that all the bishops, presbyters and deacons, assembled at Antioch, (including those of the neighbouring cities and villages) concurred in the condemnation of Paulus; but *the churches of God* are joined with them, as undoubtedly signifying that all the churches, of which these clergy were the overseers, firmly believed the deity of the Son, and believed him to be personally distinct from the Father*.

Arnobius Afer, who flourished A. D. 303, like other writers before him, replies to the hereditary calumny against Christians. Thus he states the objection of heathens. "But the gods are not offended at you, because you worship the Omnipotent God; but because you urge that he was born a man, and which must be infamous to the vilest, that he was crucified, and that he was God, and believe that he still survives, and adore him with daily supplications." He grants the truth of the charge; but shews, that he who is adored is God in the fullest sense of the word †.

Dr

I

* Και οι λοιποι παντες οι συνημιν παροικουντες τας εγγυς πολεις κη εβνη επισκοποι, και πρεσβυτεροι, κη διακονοι κη αι εκκλησαι τε Θεου, αγαπητοις αδελφοις εν Κυρια χειρειν. Euf. Hist. lib. vii. c. 30. p. 360.

† Sed non (inquit) idcirco 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 superesse adhuc creditis, et quotidianis supplicationibus adoratis.—Ergone, inquit aliquis furans, iratus et percitus, Deus ille est Christus? Deus, respondimus, et interiorum potentiarum Deus.—Deus ille sublimis fuit, Deus radice ab intima, Deus ab incognitis regnis, et ab omnium principe Deus SOSPITATOR est missus. Arnob. cont. Gentes, lib. i,

Dr P. lays great stress on some loose expressions concerning the *οι πολλοι*, *the multitude*, in later ages. But Eusebius informs us that Pilate, who condemned our Lord, afterwards wrote to Tiberius an account of his miracles, and declared his resurrection from the dead, and that he “was already believed by *τοις πολλοις*, the multitude to be God*.” Eusebius appeals to Tertullian, who says that “Tiberius had received accounts from Palestine of the things which manifested the truth of his (Christ’s) divinity.”

Perhaps, our author may, with Mr Gibbon, ridicule the whole account of the acts of Pilate. Without entering into the controversy, I shall only observe, that it is inconceivable that such writers as Justin Martyr and Tertullian should appeal to these acts, when addressing the Roman Emperors, if they had never existed; and equally so, supposing them to have existed, had they not certainly known their contents †.

Various heathen writers, besides those mentioned, have left their testimony to the nature of the Christian faith and worship in early times. Ælius Lampridius relates, that the Emperor Alexander Severus designed to dedicate a temple to Christ and to receive him among the Gods; and that Adrian is said to have intended this, when he ordered temples, without images, to be erected in every city; but that he was prohibited by those who consulted the oracles, because they found that if this was done, all men would become Christians, and that the rest of the temples would be de-

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fected,

* *Ἡδη Θεὸς εἶναι παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐπιπιστευτο.* Euf. Hist. lib. ii. c. 2. p. 47.

† Vide Tertullian. Apolog. cap. 5. Bargh’s Inquiry, p. 386 — 399. *Traité de la Vérité de la Religion Chrétienne*, par Jean Vernet, tom. x. Dr Enskine’s Sketches and Hints of Church History, p. 155.

ferted*. I do not reason merely from the circumstance of proposing to receive Christ among the gods of the Romans, as it may be said that it was common with them to give divine honour to dead men; but especially from the conviction of the heathen priests as to the effect of the proposed innovation. They would never have thought of saying that all men would become Christians, had they not been assured that the Christians worshipped Christ as God. Had they known that, on the contrary, the disciples of Jesus detested the idea of such idolatry; they would most probably have accounted it a piece of excellent policy for dividing Christians among themselves, and for eventually ruining Christianity, by converting it into polytheism.

Hierocles, in his abridgment of the life of Apollonius Tyanaeus by Philostratus, compares the gravity of the heathen with the levity of Christians. "We indeed," he says, "do not account the person (Apollonius) who has performed such actions God, but a man favoured by the gods. But they, because of a few miracles, proclaim Jesus to be God †."

The attestations of Lucian, to the general belief of the divinity of the Son among Christians, have been often referred to. But as Dr P. has not yet proved that they are unworthy of regard, they may have another hearing. This heathen asserts that "the Christians adore that man who
"was

* Christo templum facere voluit, eumque inter Deos recipere. Quod et Adrianus cogitasse fertur, qui templa in omnibus civitatibus sine simulacris jufferat fieri:—sed prohibitus est ab iis qui consulentes sacra, repererant omnes Christianos futuros si id optato evenisset, et templa reliqua deferenda. Vita Alexandri Severi, Histor. August. Script. Sex, p. 129.

† Επερ ημεις μει τον τοιαυτα πεποιηκατα εθειαν, αλλα θεοις κε-
χρησμενον ανδρα ηγκριβλ' οι δε δι' ολιγας τερατειας τινας τον Ιησου
θεου αναγγεζουσι. Hierocl. ap. Eul. Vid. Burgh's Inquiry, p. 403.

“ was crucified in Palestine ; that they indeed deny the
“ gods of Greece, but worship that crucified deceiver of
“ theirs, and live according to his laws *.”

In his *Philopatris*, he introduces a Christian under the feigned name of *Triepbon*, (which may be rendered a *preacher of the Trinity*) as reproving an heathen for swearing by the name of Jupiter, and desiring him to “ swear by the
“ Supreme God, by the Son of the Father, by the Spirit
“ proceeding from the Father, one of three, and three of
“ one. These,” he adds, “ account Jupiter, reckon this
“ your God.” To this the heathen replies ; “ You teach
“ me to have recourse to numeration, and give me an arith-
“ metical oath.—I know not what you say ; *one three*, and
“ *three one*.”

This very passage is quoted by Dr P. † But his design is extremely different from that of those who have generally quoted it before. It is introduced in support of his allegation, that “ from the very beginning—the orthodox were charged
“ with making more gods than one ‡,” and particularly, to prove that the heathen were wont to “ upbraid the ortho-
“ dox fathers with their own polytheism, while they pre-
“ tended to reclaim them from theirs.” However, it is enough for us, that our author grants that this language is used by Lucian “ in ridicule of the Christian doctrine of
“ the Trinity ||.”

Now, Lucian was cotemporary with Justin Martyr and Theophilus Bishop of Antioch : for he died A. D. 171. Lucian himself had resided for some considerable time at

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Antioch,

* Εκεινον ετι σεβησιν ανθρωπον, τον εν τη Παλαισινη ανασκολοπισθητα.—Θεος μιν της Ελληνικης απαρηγεται, τον δε ανασκολοπιστην εκεινον σοφιστην αυταν προσκυνησι, κη κατα της εκεινη λογης βησισι. De Morte Peregrini, ap. Burgh, p. 407.

† Vol. ii. p. 444.

‡ Ibid. p. 441.

|| Ibid. p. 444

Antioch, where there was a famous church, which had been planted by the apostles. The Christian doctrine of the Trinity must have been generally known, else it could not have been matter of *ridicule* to heathens. When its form was so perfect in the days of Lucian, we cannot suppose that it was then "in its origin." It could not be known to heathens, in the form delivered by Lucian, without being at least equally well known, in this very form, to Christians in general. It could not be thus known to Christians, without being either firmly believed, or being held in the greatest abhorrence by them. For our author accounts for the silence of the multitude of believers, in early ages, as to this doctrine, by supposing that it "was not in its origin, such as could give much alarm," and acknowledges that it did give "very great alarm, as it began to unfold itself †."

Observe the consistency of this writer! When attempting to shew that the Unitarian was the original doctrine, he finds it necessary to assert that the other "was not in its origin, such as *could give* much alarm:" for he can discover no alarm that it *did give* to Christians. Now, when does he date its origin? In the time of Justin Martyr, whom he considers as the first who broached the doctrine of the deity of Christ. Yet when hurried away by his enmity at the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, he asserts that, in the time of Lucian, who was *cotemporary* with Justin, the idolatrous innovator, nay, that "*from the very beginning*, the orthodox were charged with making more gods than "one." He even affirms that "this appears by the apologies which *all* the orthodox writers make on this subject †." Thus he acknowledges the force of the argument from the Apologies of Justin, Tertullian, &c.

Was the doctrine of the Trinity, even in that early period,

† Vol. iii. p. 317.

‡ Vol. ii. p. 441.

riol, so plain to heathens, and *could* it or *did* it give no alarm to Christians? We have seen that in Lucian's time, it was not merely *beginning* to unfold itself, but that it was fully unfolded in its most exceptionable form, so as to excite the *ridicule* of heathens, and to prove the occasion of the charge of polytheism, Dr P. himself being judge. Had it been in any degree offensive to Christians in that age, they must have had the same views of the doctrine which Unitarians now have, which Jews and heathens then had. It must have been accounted ridiculous and absurd. It must have been condemned as polytheism. The church must have ejected her idolatrous members. At any rate, this doctrine must have kindled a violent flame. Lucian must have known that it was believed by a few only; and that these were considered by the rest as merely baptised heathens. Therefore, he would have availed himself of the contentions among Christians, as to the very object of worship. He would have urged that, zealous as the ignorant were for unity, the learned still retained their primitive heathenism.

We must, therefore, conclude that this doctrine was generally received and avowed by the church of Antioch. It must have been taught not by Theophilus only, but by his predecessor. For it would seem that Lucian had removed from that city, before Theophilus was bishop. This carries us back within half a century of the apostolic age. Can it, therefore, be supposed that a church, consisting of so many members as that of Antioch, would universally agree in changing the very object of worship, in the course of fifty years? Let Dr P. apply his own maxim; "Great bodies of men do not soon change their opinions." However Theophilus and others might qualify the doctrine of the Trinity, as it subjected them all to the charge of polytheism, and must have appeared an unsurmountable obstacle

to the conversion of the heathen, the church would never have born with the mere found of it, had it not been universally believed that this was the very doctrine received from the apostles.

By Dr P.'s own confession also, Julian the Apostate acknowledges that John dared to call Jesus God *. This circumstance is mentioned with the same design as the former, to prove that the doctrine of the Trinity was a reproach to the Christians. But he inadvertently supplies his opponents with no inconsiderable argument against his view of the Introduction to John's Gospel, and his system of the late origin of the doctrine of the Trinity. The Doctor, indeed, translates no more of the language of Julian, than to serve his own purpose. His quotation from the Greek is more full than the translation, which is in these words; "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 nei-
 " ther Paul, nor Matthew, nor Luke, nor Mark dared to
 " call Jesus God, but only that good man John."

What the Doctor translates, "but have added," &c. ought to be rendered, "and the things which are worse
 " and more impious have been accomplished by those who
 " succeeded them." For it is clear from what follows that Julian refers to their immediate successors, nay, to the apostle John, who wrote after the other Evangelists: "But
 " that good man John, *knowing that there was already a*
 " *great multitude, in most of the cities of Greece and Italy,*
 " *under this disease*; and hearing, as I apprehend, that the
 " commentaries of Peter and Paul were held in great ve-
 " neration, although secretly, was the first who dared to
 " assert this," viz. that Jesus is God *. Julian also says that,

* Vol. ii. p. 446.

‡ Ἀλλ' ὁ χριστός Ἰωάννης, αἰσθημένος ἤδη πολὺ πλῆθος, ἐβλάπησεν ἐν πολλαῖς

that, according to this Evangelist, John Baptist “ testified “ concerning Jesus Christ, that it is he whom we should “ believe to be God the Word *.”

We need not wonder that this inveterate enemy of divine truth should assert the same thing of the three first Evangelists, and of Paul, that is now asserted by some who call themselves Christians. But he was so fully convinced of the contrary with respect to John, that he is a reluctant witness of the plain meaning of his language. Such a testimony from a bitter adversary, universally allowed to have been a man of great ability and learning, is a striking proof of the absurdity of any Socinian interpretation of the Introduction to the Gospel of John, and of its direct contrariety to the common sense of mankind.

As Julian could not deny that John had ascribed deity to Christ, as little could he deny that this doctrine was believed by the great multitude of Christians, even during the life of this apostle. Had not this been an indisputable fact, he would have asserted the contrary with as much boldness as any modern writer. For Julian being as bitter against the deity of Christ as any Unitarian, it was no less his interest to prove that this was an innovation among Christians: because it served his design, which was, to the utmost of his power, to expose the Christians. It was correspondent with his general policy. For he fostered the dissensions amongst them, that they might ruin the cause in general. His fixing the origin of this doctrine at so early an era, clearly shews that he durst not venture to mention one more recent.

G g 4

THE

πολλαις των Ελληνιδων κ̅ Ιταλιωτιδων πολειαν υπο ταυτης της νοση, ακθων δε, σιμαι, κ̅ τα μνηματα πετρος και παυλου, λαβρα μ̅ν, ακθων δε σιμας αυτα θεραπειουμενα, πρωτος ετολημητην ειπει. Julian ap. Cyrill. lib. 10. Vid. Lampe Proleg. in Joan. Vol. i. p. 231.

* Ibid.

T H E

C O N C L U S I O N .

I N that work which has been the subject of the preceding review, Dr P. has especially laboured to prove, that the Jews never expected any other than a human Messiah ; that our Lord, in the course of his ministry, never claimed any superior character ; that the Apostles, and their fellow-labourers, gave no evidence whatsoever that they viewed him in any other light ; that all their immediate disciples, and all their successors of the Hebrew race, considered him as a mere man ; nay, that, for several centuries, the majority of Gentile Christians were of the same opinion.

He has endeavoured to establish the first of these positions, which is indeed the basis of his whole system, by appealing to those passages of the Old Testament that declare the unity of the divine *essence*, taking it for granted that they necessarily imply *personal* unity ; to those testimonies of the fathers which respect the opinions of such Jews as, being unbelievers, neither knew Christ, nor the Father who sent him ; and to the assertions of some later Jews, who, persisting in the infidelity of their nation, have done every thing in their power to blacken Christianity, and to exhibit their own religion as essentially different.

Finding the doctrine of Philo, concerning the Logos, an insurmountable obstruction to the establishment of his system, he has strained every nerve to get rid of it. For a while, he humbly plodded in the beaten path of Socinians ; representing the doctrine of that ancient Jew as allegory, or as a modification of Platonism : But conscious that, after all his efforts, the evidence of Philo still impeded his progress,

gress, and that he could not persist in refusing that this writer exhibits the Logos as a person; he has hit upon an expedient, the honour of which is wholly his own. He boldly asserts that Philo considered the Logos merely as an *occasional* person^s; and that, in his idea, he had no more relation to the Messiah than to any other prophet. The same difficulty arising from the doctrine of the Chaldee Paraphrasts, concerning the Logos under the name of *Memra*; our author, despising the cumbersome fetters of consistency, denies that these interpreters meant to ascribe to him distinct personality of any kind, whether permanent or occasional.

In reply, it has been proved, that Philo was not indebted to Plato for his doctrine, that Plato himself was not the inventor of it, that the heathen in general entertained some notions

* The following paragraph, which ought to have been inserted, vol. i. p. 41. at the end of chap. iii. but was omitted in the transcribing, may be here introduced as a note.

After all the pains that Dr P. has taken to shew that Philo ascribed only an occasional personality to the Logos, after proclaiming his success in this attempt; by the time he has got a little farther in his work, he entirely forgets that he has made so important a discovery. He at once flings away all his well-won laurels. He has told us, in Vol. ii. p. 3. that Philo "was far from advancing so far as the platonizing Christians;" for "he did not, like them, make a *permanent intelligent person* of the divine Logos." But, as if the Doctor meant that the public should interpret his writings by the rule of contrariety, he says, in Vol. iii. p. 34. "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." Here the truth bursts forth involuntarily, notwithstanding all Dr P.'s endeavours to suppress it; and the conviction of his own mind seems to force its way, notwithstanding all the false colours that have been hung out. The whole of Philo's system of the *occasional personality* of the Logos, vanishes into his "*occasional assumption* of a visible Epim." Can such lucubrations be seriously entitled an History?

notions concerning the Trinity ; that Philo was an entire stranger to the idea of occasional personality ; that he appropriated to the Logos all the scriptural attributes of the Messiah, while he does not seem to have known any other to whom this character belonged ; and that the Paraphrasts must necessarily be understood, as describing the same divine person. It has been seen, that some of the Jews, even in a later age, have explained the divine unity as involving a personal plurality, and have ascribed such characters to one Angel as are proper to God only ; nay, that, independently of all uninspired testimony, there is the clearest evidence from scripture, that he, who was the God of the patriarchs, and of their believing posterity, was revealed to them, and acknowledged by them, as the messenger of another divine person, and that he was at the same time known as the personal Word and Wisdom of God.

In opposition to Dr P.'s hypothesis, that the Logos proclaimed by the Apostle John is a mere attribute, it has been proved that the characters of his Logos are such as can only apply to a person ; and that this designation, so well known to the ancient church as the name of a divine person, and the characters connected with it, are in fact appropriated to Jesus, not only by John, but by other writers of the New Testament.

From what has appeared in the course of this investigation, every impartial reader must be convinced that, according to the gospel history, our Saviour, in the plainest terms, claimed essential equality with the Father ; that he appealed to his works in support of this claim ; and that these works, considered in all their circumstances, were incontestible proofs of the divinity of the agent. We have found his Apostles and other disciples unanimously confessing, worshipping and announcing him to others as an almighty Saviour. A blaze of divine glory has been seen to break

break forth from that single character, *the Son of God*, as understood by the church under the Old Testament, proclaimed by the Father, appropriated by the Son, as acknowledged by holy angels, and by the disciples; nay, as applied by devils, and interpreted by those Jews who crucified the Lord of glory. It has been proved that the claim of deity contained in the appropriation of this character, was the very ground of his condemnation; and that, if he was not a divine person, he was justly condemned by his enemies as a blasphemer.

The futility of those arguments advanced by Dr P., against the divinity of Christ, has been evinced. It has appeared that the general tenor of scripture, so far from being adverse to this doctrine, is entirely in its favour; that it is vain to reason from the pretended difficulty of tracing the time when it was first divulged to the Christian church, as it beams on the face of Revelation in the whole of its extent; that it is directly contrary to fact that Christ is not exhibited in Scripture as the object of prayer; that the doctrine of the Trinity implies no contradiction; and that, however useless it may seem to our author, it is of manifold advantage to the sincere Christian.

The fictitious character of Dr P.'s history of Jewish Christians must be evident. For it has been proved, that the believing Hebrews were not Ebionites; that the Nazarenes were entirely distinct from the latter, although attached to the law; and that there were many Christians of this nation who entirely renounced the ceremonial yoke. It has been shewn, that he labours in vain to prove that Gnostics were the only heretics; that this character was imposed on the Ebionites by the universal consent of the primitive church; and that, instead of being removed as far as possible from Gnostics, their doctrine and conduct have uniformly demonstrated the greatest affinity.

The

The evidence brought to prove that the majority of Gentile Christians, in the first ages, was Unitarian, has been tried and found extremely defective. We have heard the harmonious voice of antiquity denouncing Unitarians as heretics, and singling them out by every mark expressive of this character. They were excluded by the creed. They were stigmatized by distinctive names, derived from their leaders, their tenets, or their situation. The arch-heretics were excommunicated; and all who adhered to them were either formally or virtually included in the sentence. The validity of their ordinances was denied. They were not even accounted Christians.

In a word, it has been proved by the clearest evidence, that, in primitive times, the universal church held the doctrine of the Trinity, and worshipped the Father, Son and Holy Ghost as one God.

I have not particularly considered what our author advances with respect to the prevalence of Unitarians after the Council of Nice; because he does not pretend that they henceforth constituted the majority.

Dr P. could scarcely observe a more direct course, although it were his fixed design to betray Christianity into the hands of its enemies. He virtually vindicates the Jews in ejecting and crucifying Jesus for *making himself equal with God*. He prefers the Mahomeddan idol to the deity of Christians. He represents the worship of a Trinity as on a level with that of heathens. He meets infidelity more than half way. He joins with Toland, in exhibiting a miserable band of heretics as the only genuine disciples of Christ. To Collins and his successors he abjures the doctrine of *possessions*, and thus cripples the argument from miracles; nay, gives a suspicious air to all this kind of evidence. Not satisfied with subjecting Revelation to the authority of that

Reason

Reason which it is meant to rectify ; he unhinges the whole frame of Revelation, by denying a *plenary*, or *any particular* inspiration. He grants a dispensation for scepticism, and for indifference with respect to our holy religion ; by leaving it as a doubtful matter, whether the author of it was himself infallible, or even free from sin. Partially, at least, does he adopt the atheistic system, by denying the existence of a soul.

Our author may please himself with the idea of the utility of his labours in recommending Christianity to infidels. But by them he is undoubtedly viewed as a traitor to its interests ; if the judgment of that acute and subtle adversary, Mr Gibbon, may be admitted as a just indication of the sentiments of his brethren. “ The pillars of revelation,” he says, “ are shaken by those men who preserve the name “ without the substance of religion, who indulge the license “ without the temper of philosophy.” In support of his observation, he refers to Dr Priestley’s History of Corruptions ; evidently considering it as “ the ultimate tendency of his “ opinions,” totally to subvert the Christian faith *.

Is it surprising that one who has treated revelation with so little ceremony, should use the greatest freedom with human testimony ? Our author, indeed, has broken down or overleaped all the barriers of history, and managed this species of evidence, as if it were intentionally endowed with so pliant a form that it would bend any way, according to the humour or interest of the reader. In various instances has he treated it, as if it were meant to be understood in direct opposition to the plain sense of the language, and to the obvious design of the writer.

* History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, Vol. 17. p. 540. Quarto Edit.

UPON the whole, it must be evident to every unprejudiced reader, that the work which first appeared as an *History of the Corruptions*, whether in its original or in its enlarged form, would be far more justly entitled, *Corruptions of the History of Christianity*.

ACCOUNT
OF THE EDITIONS OF THE
ANCIENT,
AND OF SOME OF
THE MODERN WRITERS,
QUOTED IN THIS WORK.

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Baronii Annales Ecclesiastici, 11 vol. Antwerp. 1589.
Bafnage's History of the Jews, translated by Taylor,
Lond. 1708.
Biblia Hebraica Buxtorfiana, cum Paraphr. Chaldaicis
et Comment. Rabbinicis, 2 vol. Basil. 1620.
Cameronis Opera, Francof. 1642.
Cave Historia Literaria, 2 vol. Lond. 1688.
Clementis Alexandrini Opera, Gr. et Lat. cura Sylbur-
gii et Heinfii, Lugd. Bat. 1616.
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Dion Cassius, Gr. et Lat. Leunclavii, Hanov. 1606.
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Historiæ Augustæ Scriptores sex, Paris. 1620.

Howel Synopsis Conciliorum, 2 vol. Lond. 1708.

Irenæi Opera, Gr. et Lat. Feu-Ardentii, Colon. 1596.

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Slichtingii Commentaria, Irenopoli, 1656.

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Avoda Sara, e Gemara Babylonica, G. El. Edzard, Hamb. 1705.

Bisterfield

- Bisterfield de Uno Deo, contra Crellium, Lugd. Bat.
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Cellarii Notitia Orbis Antiqui, 2 vol. Lips. 1731.
Cudworth's Intellectual System of the Universe, Lond.
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Deylingii Observationes Sacræ, Lips. 1720.
Fabricii Bibliotheca Græca, 14 vol. Hamb. 1708, &c.
Faith of one God, who is only the Father; or a Collec-
tion of Socinian Tracts, Lond. 1691.
Gale's Court of the Gentiles, 2 vol. Oxf. 1672.
Glassii Philologia Sacra, Lips. 1705.
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Ignatii Epistolæ, cum Annotat. Pearson et Smith, Gr.
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Maimonidis More Nevochim, sive Doctor Perplexorum,
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Schickardi Jus Regium Hebræorum, Argent. 1625.

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Fathers Vindicated, touching the Trinity, Lond. 1697.

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Orosii (Pauli) adversus Paganos Historiarum Libri septem, Colon. 1542.

Pfaffii Dissertatio de Genuinis Librorum Novi Testamenti Lectionibus, Lugd. Bat. 1716.

Plinii Secundi Epistolæ, cura Boxhornii, Oxon. 1660.

Stehelin's Tradition of the Jews, 2 vol. Lond. 1742.

Suetonius Tranquillus, cura Grævii, Amstel. 1697.

Sulpicii Severi Opera, cura Clerici, Lips. 1709.

Wake's Genuine Epistles of the Apostolical Fathers, Lond. 1719.

A

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N. B. Those referred to as in Vol. II. have the numerals (ii.) prefixed to the page.

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