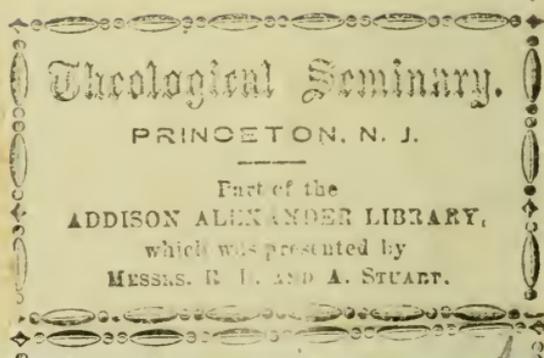




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The works of Nathaniel  
Lardner





LARDNER'S WORKS.

VOL. III.



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WORKS  
OF  
NATHANIEL LARDNER, D. D.

WITH A LIFE BY DR. KIPPIS.

IN TEN VOLUMES.

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THE  
CREDIBILITY  
OF THE  
GOSPEL HISTORY,

OR,

THE PRINCIPAL FACTS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT  
CONFIRMED BY PASSAGES OF ANCIENT AUTHORS,  
WHO WERE CONTEMPORARY WITH OUR SA-  
VIOUR, OR HIS APOSTLES, OR LIVED  
NEAR THEIR TIME.

PART II.





PRINCIPAL FACTS  
OF THE  
NEW TESTAMENT  
CONFIRMED, &c.

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PART II. CHAP. XLIV.

CYPRIAN, BISHOP OF CARTHAGE.

- I. *His history, and character, and testimonies to him.* II. *His works.* III. *His testimony to the books of the New Testament; and first, of the four angels.* IV. *Of the Acts of the Apostles.* V. *Of St. Paul's thirteen epistles.* VI. *Of the epistle to the Hebrews.* VII. *Of the catholic epistles.* VIII. *Of the Revelation.* IX. *Respect for the scriptures.* X. *General titles and divisions of the scriptures.* XI. *Of Christian apocryphal writings.* XII. *Of Jewish apocryphal writings.* XIII. *The sum of his testimony.*

THE account which St. Jerom has given of St. Cyprian, in his book of *Illustrious Men*, is but short. It is to this purpose: 'Cyprian<sup>a</sup> of Africa first taught rhetoric with great applause. Afterwards, being converted to christianity by a presbyter named Cæcilius, whose name he also took, he gave all his estate to the poor; and after no long

<sup>a</sup> Cyprianus Afer, primum gloriose rhetoricam docuit: exinde, suadente presbytero Cæcilio, a quo et cognomentum sortitus est, Christianus factus, omnem substantiam suam pauperibus erogavit; ac post non multum temporis electus in presbyterum, etiam episcopus Carthaginiensis constitutus est. Hujus ingenii superfluum est indicem texere, cum sole clariora sint ejus opera. Passus est sub Valeriano et Gallieno principibus, persecutione octavâ, eodem die quo Romæ Cornelius, sed non eodem anno. De V. I. cap. 67.

‘time he was made presbyter, and then bishop of Carthage. ‘It is needless to give a catalogue of his works, which are ‘brighter than the sun. He suffered under the emperor ‘Valerian and Gallienus, in the eighth persecution, the ‘same day that Cornelius died at Rome, but not in the same ‘year.’

A more particular history of St. Cyprian may be collected from his life, written by his deacon Pontius, from his own works, the mention made of him by other ecclesiastical writers, and those Acts of his martyrdom, which are generally reckoned genuine, and are allowed by<sup>b</sup> Basnage to contain for the most part matters of fact truly related, though he thinks they have some interpolations. It is fit I should here give a short history of this celebrated bishop of the third century.

Beside the name of Cyprian, he had that of<sup>c</sup> Thascius; and bore likewise, as we have already seen, the name of Cæcilius, from the presbyter by whom he was converted. His whole name therefore was Thascius Cæcilius Cyprianus. He was an African, as we have been assured by Jerom; but that he was born at Carthage is not certain. His conversion happened, according to<sup>d</sup> bishop Pearson, in the year 246: and therefore, since he suffered martyrdom, in the year 258, the greatest part of his life was spent in heathenism, and he might be born before the end of the second century. Cæcilius<sup>e</sup> was not only a presbyter by office, in the church of Carthage, but venerable likewise for his age, at the time of Cyprian’s conversion.

Jerom says, that Cyprian, in the former part of his life, taught rhetoric with great applause. Lactantius<sup>f</sup> writes to the same purpose; and the like occurs<sup>g</sup> in Eusebius’s Chronicle. Fabricius,<sup>h</sup> however, was of opinion, that Cyprian rather showed his eloquence at the bar, than taught it in the schools; which, he thinks, may be concluded from what

<sup>b</sup> Non enim legitima omnino sunt atque sincera, quæ cum Cypriani operibus edita sunt ex Vet. Cod. MS. Etsi multa in illis verissima contineri, faciles largiamur. Annal. Polit. Ecc. 257. num. 5.

qui et Thascius.—Pupieno S. Ep. Cyprian, 66. [al. 69.] Vid. et Passionis Act. p. 13.

<sup>d</sup> Vid. Ann. Cypr. p. 6.

<sup>c</sup> Cyprianus

<sup>e</sup> Erat sane illi

etiam de nobis contubernium viri justi et laudabilis memoriæ Cæcili, et ætate tunc et honore presbyteri, qui eum ad agnitionem veræ divinitatis a seculari errore correxerat. Cypr. Vit. per Pont. p. 3.

<sup>f</sup> Cyprianus magnam sibi gloriam ex artis oratoriæ professione quæsierat. Lact. Div. Inst. lib. v. cap. 1.

<sup>g</sup> Cyprianus primum rhetor, deinde presbyter, ad extremum Carthagensis episcopus, martyrio coronatur. Eus. Chr. p. 175.

<sup>h</sup> Non rhetoricam adeo in scholis docuisse, quam in foro exercuisse Cyprianus videtur. Confer quæ ipse de se Cyprianus libro ad Donatum, non longe ab initio. Fabric. annot. ad Hieron. de V. I. c. 67.

Cyprian<sup>i</sup> himself has intimated of his having lived in great plenty and splendour: but the words which that learned writer refers to, need not<sup>k</sup> to be understood as a description of Cyprian's own circumstances. Undoubtedly Cyprian had a good estate which he sold, and gave to the poor, soon after his conversion, as Jerom informs us; and still more particularly<sup>l</sup> Pontius, who mentions this as one of the extraordinary actions of Cyprian before baptism, whilst he was yet a catechumen: but Jerom, who was not ignorant, as it seems, of our bishop's circumstances, and has often mentioned him in his works, and<sup>m</sup> had a great opinion of his eloquence, never gives him the title or character of a pleader, or a magistrate; and in one<sup>n</sup> place, beside that already quoted from his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers, expressly says, that Cyprian taught rhetoric at Carthage. Not to add, that what he said of Cyprian to the same purpose<sup>o</sup> in the Chronicle ought to be reckoned Jerom's rather than Eusebius's. And that Cyprian taught rhetoric in the schools is plainly said<sup>p</sup> by St. Augustine, who must be reckoned a material evidence. But I do not perceive him, or any one else to say, that Cyprian ever pleaded, or exercised the office of a magistrate. And in that way he might come to have a good estate, and be greatly respected. The profession of rhetoric could not but be very profitable<sup>q</sup> at that time, especially if the professor himself was a man of ability in his way, as Cyprian was. Possibly Cyprian had a stated salary: if not, the gratuities of his numerous scholars could not but be very considerable. His reputation being great, all the youth in general in those parts, who were of any fortune, or who aimed to be magistrates and judges, or pleaders, would come to his

<sup>i</sup> Ad Donat. p. 2 et 3. Oxon. 1682.

<sup>k</sup> Vid. Vit. S. Cyprian. a Bened-

dictino Adornat. num. 1. p. 39. Paris. 1726.

<sup>l</sup> Nondum secunda

nativitas novum hominem splendore toto divinæ lucis oculaverat.—Distractis rebus suis ad indigentiam pauperum sustentandam tota prædia pretio dispensans,—&c. Pont. p. 2. Oxon.

<sup>m</sup> Beatus Cyprianus instar fontis purissimi, dulcis incedit et placidus. Hieron, Ep. 49. al. 13. ad Paulinum. p. 567. m. Ed. Bened. Cyprianus, vir eloquentiâ pollens et martyrio. Id. ad Magn. Ep. 83. p. 655.

<sup>n</sup> Proponamus nobis beatum Cyprianum, qui prius idololatriæ assertor fuit, et in tantam gloriam venit eloquentiæ, ut oratoriam quoque doceret Carthagini. Id. Comm. in Jonæ, cap. 3.

<sup>o</sup> See before, note 5.

<sup>p</sup> Inter quos et Cyprianus.—Qui enim in ludo perversitatis humanæ et suam et aliorum linguas docuerat loqui mendacium, ut quod ab adversario objiceretur, astutâ fallaciâ negaretur, jam in aliâ scholâ didicerat confitendo devitare adversarium. August. Serm. 312. Tom. v. Bened. [Al. de diversis 116.]

<sup>q</sup> Quid si etiam figuras locutionis, quæ illâ arte traduntur, in iis saltem quæ de Apostoli eloquio commemoravi, ostendere voluissem?—Hæc omnia, quando a magistris docentur, pro magno habentur, magno emuntur pretio, magnâ jactatione venduntur. Aug. de Doct. Christ. l. iv. cap. 7. n. 14. T. iii. P. i.

school. Besides, Cyprian was not only master of the theory of his art, but of the practical part likewise. He not only understood the rules of rhetoric, and how to teach others eloquence, but he was also eloquent himself; and very probably composed for others arguments, or pleadings, or harangues, or panegyrics, and such like discourses, for which he would be well recompensed: and in these two things, teaching persons rhetoric, or qualifying them for the bar, and perhaps sometimes composing pleadings for his scholars, or others, I take to be comprehended the full meaning and intention of St. Augustine's<sup>s</sup> words, where he speaks of Cyprian's promoting or improving forensic disputes and contentions.

Cyprian had a quick advancement to the highest offices in the church. This is intimated by Jerom, and more particularly related by<sup>t</sup> Pontius. Bishop Pearson<sup>u</sup> computes, that he was made presbyter in 247, and bishop of Carthage near the end of the year 248. The learned Benedictine, who writes the life of St. Cyprian prefixed to Stephen Baluse's edition of this father, thinks, that<sup>v</sup> he might be baptized in the year 244 or 245, and made bishop in 248 or 249, supposing it to be scarcely possible to determine exactly and with certainty the year of those events. Pagi likewise thought it to be doubtful, whether<sup>w</sup> Cyprian was advanced to the episcopate in the year 248 or 249.

Cyprian<sup>x</sup> was made bishop against his own inclination, at the general and earnest desire of the people of Carthage. But his election<sup>y</sup> was opposed by several presbyters of that church, five in number, who<sup>z</sup> afterwards gave him a great deal of uneasiness. It is no where expressly said who was

<sup>r</sup> Nunc probabo quas tu ab ore nostro laudes Cyprianæ desideres. Certe si adhuc in scholâ rhetorum verba discipulis venderem, prius ab eis mercedem sumerem. Vendere tibi volo laudem pudicissimæ conjugis tuæ; prius mihi mercedem da, pudicitiam tuam. Aug. Ep. 259. n. 4. al. 125.

<sup>s</sup> Et ut tantæ vocis tuba, quæ fœnsium mendaciorum certamina solebat acuere, ad prosternendum pretiosis sanctorum mortibus diabolium Christo militantes et in ipso gloriantes devotos martyres excitaret. August. Serm. 312. al. de diversis 116.

<sup>t</sup> Presbyterium et Sacerdotium statim accepit. Pont. p. 2. Judicio Dei et plebis favore ad officium sacerdotii et episcopatus gradum adhuc neophytus, et, ut putabatur, novellus, electus est. Id. p. 3.

<sup>u</sup> Pearson. Ann. Cypr. p. 8, 9. <sup>v</sup> Vit. S. Cypr. (ut supra) sect. ii. p. 42. et sect. iv. p. 45. fin.

<sup>w</sup> Vid. Pagi Crit. 248. n. 2.

<sup>x</sup> Non præteribo etiam illud eximium, quemadmodum cum in dilectionem ejus et honorem totus populus adspirante Domino prosiliret, humiliter ille secessit, antiquioribus cedens et indignum se titulo tanti honoris existimans, ut dignus magis fieret. Pont. p. 3.

<sup>y</sup> Quidam illi restiterunt, etiam ut vinceret. Pont. p. 3. Vid. etiam Cypr. Ep. 43. al. 40.

<sup>z</sup> Vid. Pear. Ann. Cypr. 251. n. 3.

his immediate predecessor; but<sup>a</sup> it is probably concluded by learned men, that his name was Donatus.

The beginning of St. Cyprian's episcopate was peaceable, under the emperor Philip; but<sup>b</sup> near the end of the year 249, or early in the year 250, began the Decian persecution. This bishop of Carthage was extremely obnoxious to the heathen people; and they often demanded in a clamorous manner, in the theatre, and other public places, that he should be thrown to the lions, as is related by<sup>c</sup> Pontius, and<sup>d</sup> by Cyprian himself. Hereupon he retired, (as Pearson supposeth,<sup>e</sup> in Jan. 250,) judging it to be<sup>f</sup> for the good of his people, and agreeable to the doctrine of Christ in the gospel, and<sup>g</sup> having also received a divine direction to that purpose. The government not being able to find him out, he was<sup>h</sup> proscribed, and proclamation was made at Carthage, That if any one had any goods of Cæcilius Cyprian, bishop of the christians, he should discover them. Nor is the place where he absconded known to this day. In this retirement, which lasted about fourteen months, he was not idle, nor unprofitable, as appears from the many epistles written by him during that time, a large part of which are still extant. Cyprian seems to have taken with him from Carthage, one of his deacons, named Victor, and some other friends. It is plain, he<sup>i</sup> had such company with him at the beginning of his retirement. They may be supposed to have been of great use to him in taking copies of his letters sent to Carthage and other places: and to their diligent and faithful attendance on their bishop, as well as perhaps to the kind assistance likewise of some others, who came to him afterwards, we ought to reckon ourselves indebted for the letters above mentioned, now in our hands.

The heat of the persecution being abated, in the year 251,

<sup>a</sup> Vid. Pears. Ann. Cypr. 248. n. 3. et Benedic. Vit. St. Cypr. n. 4. p. 45.

<sup>b</sup> Vid. Pagi Crit. 250. n. 4.

<sup>c</sup> ——— maxime cum et suffragiis

sæpe repetitis ad leonem postularetur. Pont. p. 4.

<sup>d</sup> Nec me in

conspectum publicum, et maxime ejus loci, ubi toties flagitatus et quæsitus fuisset, temere committere. Cypr. Ep. 14. [al. 6.] p. 31. Orto statimurbationis impetu primo, cum me clamore violento frequenter populus flagitasset, non tam meam salutem, quam quietem fratrum publicam cogitans, interim secessi, Ep. 20. [al. 15.] p. 42. Vid. et Ep. 59. [al. 55.] p. 130.

<sup>e</sup> Ann. Cyp. p. 17. n. 2. Conf. Pagi 250. n. 5.

<sup>f</sup> See note <sup>d</sup>.

<sup>g</sup> Et audietis omnia, quando ad vos reducem me Dominus fecerit, qui ut secederem jussit. Ep. 16. [al. 10.] p. 38. Credit se, nisi Domino latebram tunc jubenti paruisset, etiam ipsâ passione peccare. Pont. p. 5. in.

<sup>h</sup> Statim denique pro talibus meritis etiam proscriptionis gloriam consecutus est. Pont. p. 4. Persecutio enim veniens—me proscriptionis onere depressit, cum publice legeretur: Si quis tenet vel possidet de bonis Cæcili Cypriani episcopi Christianorum. Ep. 66. [al. 69.] p. 166.

<sup>i</sup> Salutant vos

Victor diaconus, et qui mecum sunt. Ep. 5.

soon<sup>k</sup> after Easter, Cyprian came out of the place of his retirement, and returned to Carthage. In the<sup>l</sup> month of May, in the same year, he held a council for regulating some affairs of the church, particularly the treatment of such as had lapsed in the persecution: and in the year following<sup>m</sup> a second council, in which the same affair was farther considered and regulated. There were, beside these, several other councils held at Carthage in the time of this bishop of that city; three of which were engaged about the question of the baptism of heretics, in which Cyprian differed from Stephen bishop of Rome, and some others. Cyprian was of opinion, that<sup>n</sup> all baptism out of the catholic church was null and void, and that they who had received such baptism only ought to be baptized when they come over from heretics to the church. What was Stephen's opinion is<sup>o</sup> disputed; whether he held that baptism by all sorts of heretics was valid, and that they who came from them needed not to be baptized; or, whether he maintained the validity of that baptism only which was performed in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. The most remarkable of these three councils was the last, at which were<sup>p</sup> present eighty-five or eighty-seven bishops, beside presbyters, and others. It was held in 256, and the acts of it are still in being. Of these councils I give no farther account, that I may have the more room to show the excellent conduct of Cyprian in some other matters, which deserve particular notice in this place.

About this time a pestilential distemper wasted the Roman Empire, raging in some part of it for several years. Some learned men think it begun in the reign of Decius, and increased very much under Gallus, about the year 252, in whose time it is placed by<sup>q</sup> Eusebius in his Chronicle,

<sup>k</sup> Vid. Ann. Cypr. p. 48. n. 3.

<sup>l</sup> Ann. Cypr. ib. n. 5. Conf. Pagi,

251. n. 17, 18, 21.

<sup>m</sup> Ann. Cypr. p. 35. n. 6, 7. Vid. etiam Cypr. Ep.

59. al. 55. et conf. Pagi, 252. n. 8.

<sup>n</sup> ———visum est ei cum ferme

octoginta coëpiscopis suis Africanarum ecclesiarum, omnem hominem, qui extra ecclesiæ catholicæ communionem baptizatus fuisset, oportere ad ecclesiam venientem denuo baptizari. August. de Bap. contr. Donat. l. i. cap. 18. p. 93, 94. T. ix. Bened. Ecce in unitate video Cyprianum et alios collegas ejus, qui facto concilio censuerunt omnes, qui extra ecclesiæ communionem fuerint baptizati, baptismum non habere; et ideo eis dandum esse, cum veniunt. Ib. l. ii. c. 6. p. 100. D. Conf. Cypr. ad Jub. Ep. 73. et Conc. Carth.

<sup>o</sup> Vid. Tillemont, Mem. Ecc. T. iv. St. Cyprien, art. 42, et note xxxix. Du Pin. Bibl. St. Cyprien, Basn. Ann. 256. n. 3, 4. Pagi Crit. in Bar. 256. n. 4, 5, 6.

<sup>p</sup> There were present eighty-five bishops, one of which had two proxies, who, at the same time he voted himself, gave in also the votes of two absent bishops, according to the power they had given him. The number of votes therefore was in all eighty-seven.

<sup>q</sup> Sub hoc [Gallo] pestilens morbus multas

and<sup>r</sup> by Eutropius, and by<sup>s</sup> several other ancient writers. Pagi<sup>t</sup> is of opinion, that this pestilence afflicted the Roman Empire fifteen years, beginning under Gallus and Volusian, in the year 252, and ceasing in 267. In this affliction Carthage had its share; and upon that occasion Cyprian was not negligent in the duties of his episcopal function. His deacon Pontius informs us, that<sup>u</sup> he called together his people, and discoursed to them of the obligation of compassion, showing out of the divine scriptures, how acceptable offices of kindness are unto God; adding, that it would be no extraordinary thing, if we should take care of our own people: "He only is perfect who does more than publicans and heathens;" Matt. v. 45, 46. We are to propose to ourselves, said Cyprian, the imitation of our heavenly Father, who causeth his sun to rise, and sendeth rain upon all men; and thereby to show that we are not unworthy of our high birth. This discourse had a good effect; and in the time of that calamity there were the most generous acts of goodness performed by the christians at Carthage, as<sup>v</sup> Pontius relates, and I sometime may have an opportunity to show more at large. Upon this occasion, likewise, Cyprian wrote a treatise entitled, Of Mortality, or of the Plague; and, as is<sup>w</sup> computed, in the year 252.

There was another occasion, in which the virtue of Cyprian and the people under his care was very conspicuous. Some barbarous people of Africa made inroads into Numidia, and carried off with them captives a great number of christians. The bishops of Numidia gave Cyprian notice of that disaster. Hereupon he made a collection at Carthage for the redemption of those who had been carried captive; and<sup>x</sup> the

totius orbis provincias occupavit, maximeque Alexandriam et Ægyptum, ut scribit Dionysius, et Cypriani de mortalitate testis est liber. Euseb. Chron. p. 47.

<sup>r</sup> Solâ pestilentia et morbis atque ægritudinibus notus eorum [Galli et Volusiani] principatus fuit. Eutr. <sup>s</sup> Vid. Pagi Crit. 252. n. 25.

<sup>t</sup> Vid. Pagi ib. 252. n. 24. et seq. 265. n. 5. <sup>u</sup> Aggregatum primo in loco uno plebem de misericordiæ bonis instituit, docens divinæ lectionis exemplis, quantum ad promerendum Deum prosint officia pietatis. Tunc deinde subjungit, non esse mirabile, si nostros tantum debito caritatis obsequio faveremus; eum perfectum posse fieri qui plus aliquid publicano vel ethnico fecerit.—Et qui se Dei filium profitetur, cur non exemplum Patris imitatur? Respondere, inquit, nos decet natalibus nostris, et quos renatos per Deum constat, degeneres esse non congruit. Pont. p. 5. <sup>v</sup> Id. p. 6.

<sup>w</sup> Vid. Pearson. Ann. Cypr. p. 39. n. 17. et Basn. 258. n. 14.

<sup>x</sup> Misimus autem sestertia centum millia nummorum,——Et optamus quidem nihil tale de cætero fieri,——Si tamen ad explorandam nostri animi caritatem, et examinandam nostri pectoris fidem, tale aliquid accideret, nolite cunctari nuntiare hæc literis vestris; pro certo habentes, ecclesiam nostram et fraternitatem istic universam, ne hæc ultra fiant, precibus orare; si facta fuerint, libenter, et largiter subsidia præstare. Ep. 62. al. 60.

whole sum contributed by Cyprian himself and his people, and some<sup>y</sup> bishops and other christians then at Carthage, amounted to about seven hundred and eighty pounds; which Cyprian sent to the bishops of the province of Numidia, together with his own and his people's prayers, that no such like disasters might befall them again; at the same time assuring them that, if there should, the christians with him would be always ready to send relief to their brethren.

But the most glorious scene of Cyprian's life remains. The emperor Valerian, who for some time had been very favourable to the christians, became their persecutor. Cyprian, having been brought before the proconsul, made a confession of the christian faith, and was banished to Curubis. So far we are informed by<sup>z</sup> Pontius, who<sup>a</sup> refers to the Acts for particulars; and by the Acts which we now have, we are informed that,<sup>b</sup> on the 30th day of August, 257, Cyprian was brought before the proconsul Aspasius Paternus; and being examined by him, owned himself to be a christian, and a bishop; declaring that he knew no other gods, beside the one true God, who made the heaven and the earth, the sea and all things therein. Being stedfast in this profession, the proconsul banished him to Curubis. His deacon,<sup>c</sup> Pontius, accompanied him to the place of his exile, where he arrived the 13th or 14th of September. Cyprian had many fellow-sufferers, great numbers of christians in the province of Numidia were apprehended, and sent to the mines. We have<sup>d</sup> a letter of Cyprian, written in his exile,

<sup>y</sup> Mr. Marshall, in a note upon this epistle of St. Cyprian, p. 177, says, 'that sum was collected from his own church only, over and above the several sums contributed from such bishops as happened to be at Carthage when this case was laid before our author.' And so Fleury understood it; see his Ecclesiastical History, B. vii. ch. 14. p. 420. But Tillemont takes it, as I have done above, that the contributions of Cyprian's church, and of some bishops then at Carthage, all together amounted to that sum. Tout cela ensemble fit une somme de vingt-cinq mille livres. Mem. Ec. St. Cypr. art. 37. p. 210. Which is rightest, I am not much concerned to determine. The thing is of no great importance.

<sup>z</sup> His tam bonis et tam piis actibus supervenit exilium. Pont. p. 6. Ut, imminentis martyrii pleniore fiducia, non exulem tantummodo Curubis, sed et martyrem possideret. ib. 7.

<sup>a</sup> Et ut, quid sacerdos Dei Proconsule interrogante responderet, taceam; sunt Acta quæ referant. ib. p. 6.

<sup>b</sup> Imperatore Valeriano quartum et Gallieno tertium Consulibus, tertio Calendarum Septembrium, Carthagine in secretario Paternus Proconsul Cyprianus dixit—Exquisivi ego de nomine tuo: quid mihi respondes? Cyprianus episcopus dixit: Christianus sum, et Episcopus. Nullos alios Deos novi, nisi unum et verum Deum, qui fecit cælum et terram, mare et quæ in eis sunt omnia.—Poteris ergo secundum præceptum Valeriani et Gallieni exul ad urbem Curubitanam proficisci. Cypr. Pass. p. 11.

<sup>c</sup> Nam et me inter domesticos comites dignatio caritatis ejus delegerat exulem voluntarium. Pont. p. 7.

<sup>d</sup> Ep. 76. al. 77.

which is inscribed to nine bishops by name, and beside them to others, presbyters, deacons, and the rest of the brethren in the mines, martyrs of God the Father Almighty, and Jesus Christ our Lord. And those confessors, who were not all in one and the same place, but in mines at some distance from each other, answer him again in three several letters, which are still extant in St. Cyprian's works.

Whilst<sup>e</sup> Cyprian continued at Curubis, Galerius Maximus succeeded Paternus as proconsul of Africa. He recalled Cyprian from his banishment, who then went to his gardens, or country house, near Carthage, by the orders, as it seems, of the proconsul. Those gardens had been sold by Cyprian, and the price of them given for the benefit of the poor, as was formerly observed; but,<sup>f</sup> by some favourable providence, they were again returned to the possession of our bishop.

Soon after his arrival there, Cyprian understood that there were orders given for bringing him before the proconsul, who was then at Utica, a city of Africa, about forty miles distant from Carthage; but, being desirous rather to die in the presence of his own people, he thought fit to go from his country seat, and conceal himself for a while. Of this he gives an account<sup>g</sup> in his last letter to his clergy and people. The proconsul being come from Utica to Carthage, Cyprian returned to his gardens, where many persons of the best rank in the city came to him, entreating him to retire, and offering him likewise a safe place of retreat: but he would by no means comply with those proposals. This is written<sup>h</sup> by his deacon Pontius.

On the 13th of September 258, an officer, with <sup>i</sup> soldiers,

<sup>e</sup> Cumque diu ibidem moraretur, successit Aspasio Paterno proconsuli Galerius Maximus, proconsul, qui sanctum Cyprianum episcopum ab exilio revocatum sibi jussit præsentari. Cumque Cyprianus sanctus martyr electus a Deo, de civitate Curubitanâ, in quâ exilio præcepto Aspasii Paterni tunc proconsulis datus fuerat, regressus esset, ex sacro præscripto in hortis suis manebat. Act. pass. p. 12.

<sup>f</sup> Ad hortos, inquam, quos inter initia fidei suæ venditos, et Dei indulgentiâ restitutos, pro certo iterum in usus pauperum vendidisset, nisi invidiam de persecutione vitaret. Pont. p. 8. fin.

<sup>g</sup> Cum perlatum ad nos fuisset, fratres carissimi, frumentarios esse missos, qui me Uticam perducerent, et consilio carissimorum persuasum esset, ut de hortis nostris interim secederemus, justâ interveniente causâ, consensi; eo quod episcopum in eâ civitate, in quâ ecclesiæ dominicæ præest, illic Dominum confiteri, et plebem universam præpositi præsentis confessione clarificari. Cypr. Ep. 81. [al. 83.] init. p. 238.

<sup>h</sup> Conveniebant interim plures egregii et clarissimi ordinis et sanguinis, sed et seculi nobilitate generosi: qui propter amicitiam ejus antiquam, secessum subinde suaderent: et, ne parum esset nuda suadela, etiam loca in quæ secederet offerebant. Ille vero jam mundum suspensâ in caelum mente neglexerat, nec suadelis blandientibus annuebat. Pont. p. 8.

<sup>i</sup> Cum ecce Proconsulis jussu ad hortos ejus—cum militibus suis princeps

was sent to Cyprian's gardens by the proconsul to bring him before him. Cyprian then knew his end was near; and with a ready and constant mind, and a cheerful countenance, he went without delay to Sexti, a place about six miles from Carthage, where<sup>k</sup> the proconsul was for the sake of his health. Cyprian's cause was deferred<sup>l</sup> for that day. He was therefore ordered to the house of an officer, where he was kept that night, but was well accommodated, and his friends had free access to him. The news of this having been brought to Carthage, a great number of people of all sorts, and the christians in general, flocked thence to Sexti; and Cyprian's people lay all night before the door of the officer, thus<sup>m</sup> keeping, as Pontius expresses it, the vigil of their bishop's passion.

The next morning, the 14th of September, he was led to the proconsul's palace, surrounded<sup>n</sup> by a mixed multitude of people, and a strong guard of soldiers. 'After<sup>o</sup> some time the proconsul came out into the hall; and Cyprian being set before him, he said, "Art thou Thascius Cyprian?" Cyprian the bishop answered, "I am." Galerius Maximus the proconsul said, "The most sacred emperors have commanded thee to sacrifice." Cyprian the bishop answered, I do not sacrifice." Galerius Maximus said, "Be well advised." Cyprian the bishop answered, "Do as thou art commanded: in so just a cause there needs no consultation." The proconsul having advised with his council, spoke to Cyprian in angry terms, as being an enemy

repente subitavit. id. ibid.

<sup>k</sup> — et in Sexti perduxerunt; ubi idem Galerius Maximus proconsul bonæ valetudinis recuperandæ gratiâ secesserat. Act. Pass. p. 12.

<sup>l</sup> Sed dilatus in crastinum, ad domum principis a prætorio revertebatur——Receptum eum tamen et in domo principis constitutum unâ nocte continuit custodia delicata; ita ut convivæ ejus, et cari in contubernio ex more fuerimus. Pont. p. 9.

<sup>m</sup> Plebs interim tota, sollicita ne per noctem aliquid sine conscientiâ sui fieret, ante fores principis excubabat. Concessit ei divina tunc bonitas, vere digno, ut Dei populus etiam in sacerdotis passione vigilaret. id. ib.

<sup>n</sup> Egressus est domum principis,——et agminibus multitudinis mixtæ ex omni parte vallatus est. Sic autem comitatu ejus infinitus exercitus adhærebat, quasi ad expugnandam mortem manu factâ veniretur. ib. p. 9.

<sup>o</sup> Cumque oblatu fuisset, Galerius Maximus proconsul Cypriano episcopo dixit, 'Tu es Thascius Cyprianus?' Cyprianus episcopus respondit, 'Ego.' Galerius Maximus dixit, 'Jusserunt te sacratissimi imperatores cæremoniari.' Cyprianus episcopus dixit, 'Non facio.' Galerius Maximus ait, 'Consule tibi.' Cyprianus episcopus respondit, 'Fac quod tibi præceptum est: in re tam justâ nulla est consultatio.' Galerius Maximus, collocutus cum consilio, sententiam vix ægre dixit verbis hujusmodi: 'Diu sacrilegâ mente vixisti, et plurimos nefariæ tibi conspirationis homines aggregasti——' Et his dictis, decretum ex tabellâ recitavit, 'In Thascium Cyprianum gladio animadverti placet.' Cyprianus episcopus dixit, 'Deo gratias.' Act. Pass. p. 13.

‘ to the gods, and a seducer of the people; and then read his sentence out of a tablet: “ It is decreed, that Thascius Cyprian be beheaded.” Cyprian the bishop said, “ God be thanked.”’ This is the account given in the Acts of St. Cyprian’s passion; and<sup>p</sup> Pontius writes to the like purpose.

Cyprian<sup>q</sup> was then led away to the field of Sexti, a<sup>r</sup> large level spot of ground, encompassed with trees, the boughs of which were then loaded with spectators; and, in the presence of a great number of people, Cyprian was there beheaded, according to the sentence pronounced upon him.

Lactantius, who himself<sup>s</sup> greatly commends the style of St. Cyprian’s works, says they were despised by the learned heathens that had looked into them: and informs us, that<sup>t</sup> he had heard a person, a man of considerable eloquence, altering one of the letters of his name, call him Coprian; thereby intimating, that when he was a man of good parts, and qualified for great things, he had followed silly fables. But it seems to me reasonable to suppose, that Cyprian, who was a man of bright natural parts, and no inconsiderable acquired abilities, had well informed himself, and had received some good evidence, of those principles, for the sake of which he abandoned a reputable and profitable employment, if not an honourable and plentiful station, without any worldly prospects whatever; and in the service of which he spent ten years, during his episcopate, in great labour and much opposition; and at length cheerfully resigned his life, as a confirmation of the truth of them, and as an example of constancy, by which his people, persons whom he tenderly loved, might be induced to suffer any thing rather than deny them. The whole tenor of Cyprian’s life, after his conversion, was peaceable, charitable, and beneficial to men of all characters in distress; the manner of his death, undaunted, willing, and ready, without seeking it, are a very valuable

<sup>p</sup> Pont. p. 9. f. 10. init.

productus est. Act. Pass. p. 13.

<sup>q</sup> Et die idem Cyprianus in agrum Sexti

pati contigit, ut arboribus ex omni parte densatis sublime spectaculum præbeat. Sed per enormitatem spatii longioris visu denegato per confusam nimis turbam, personæ faventes in ramos arborum repserant. Pont. p. 10.

<sup>s</sup> Unus igitur præcipuus, et clarus extitit Cyprianus, quoniam et magnam sibi gloriam ex artis oratoriæ professione quæsierat—Erat enim ingenio facili, copioso, suavi, et (quæ sermonis maxima est virtus) aperto; ut discernere nequeas, utrumne ornatior in eloquendo, an facilius in explicando, an potentior in persuadendo fuerit. Lact. Divin. Inst. lib. v. cap. 1. sub. fin.

<sup>t</sup> Hic tamen placere ultra verba, sacramentum ignorantibus non potest—Denique a doctis hujus seculi, quibus forte ejus scripta innotuerunt, derideri solet. Audivi ego quemdam hominem sane disertum, qui eum immutatâ unâ literâ Coprianum voceret; quasi quod elegans ingenium, et melioribus rebus aptum, ad aniles fabulas contulisset. ib.

testimony in behalf of the truth and excellence of the principles of the christian religion.

I have no design to draw at length Cyprian's character. What has been said just now may suffice. However, I cannot forbear observing, in the words of<sup>u</sup> Mr. Marshall, for giving my readers some farther idea of our author, that he was a bishop of a most flourishing church, the metropolis of a province; that he was a man made for business, had a diligent and active spirit, and talents equal to the charge wherewith he was entrusted; and I would add, that he was not only a man of great authority in his life-time, but likewise of great reputation afterwards. This has appeared in part from what has been taken from Jerom and Lactantius. They who are desirous of knowing more of the praises that have been given Cyprian by ancient writers, may consult<sup>v</sup> Ruinart and<sup>w</sup> Tillemont. I shall observe only a few things from St. Augustine. In his time the day of St. Cyprian's martyrdom was a festival not only at Carthage, but in other places of Africa, as appears from<sup>x</sup> five sermons of Augustine, still extant, delivered by him on that day at Hippo. It may be concluded from<sup>y</sup> what he says, as well as from some other ancient writers, that the anniversary of Cyprian's martyrdom was then observed also in other parts out of Africa. Augustine<sup>z</sup> calls Cyprian a most agreeable writer, as well as a blessed martyr. He assures us, that<sup>a</sup> Cyprian was then generally well known in the world, partly for the constancy and fortitude of his sufferings, partly for the charms of his most agreeable writings. A remark of Augustine<sup>b</sup> upon the dif-

<sup>u</sup> See Mr. Marshall's preface, p. 14.      <sup>v</sup> Admonit. in Vit. et Act. S. Cyprian. ap. Act. Mart. Sin. et. Sel. p. 198, 199.      <sup>w</sup> Tillem. St. Cyprien. art. 62, 63, 64.      <sup>x</sup> Serm. 309.—313. T. v. Bened.      <sup>y</sup> Quis enim hodie, non dicam in hac nostrâ civitate, sed plane per Africam totam, transmarinasque regiones, non Christianus solum, sed Paganus, aut Judæus, aut etiam Hæreticus, possit inveniri, qui non nobiscum dicat Natalem Martyris Cypriani? Aug. Serm. 310. al. de Diversis. 113. in.      <sup>z</sup> Nonne adspicimus, quanto auro et argento et veste suffarcinatus exierit de Ægypto Cyprianus, doctor suavissimus, et martyr beatissimus? quanto Lactantius, &c. Aug. de Doctr. Chr. lib. ii. cap. 40. n. 61.      <sup>a</sup> Verum quia non solum dixit quæ audirentur, sed scripsit etiam quæ legerentur;—et innotuit regionibus multis partim per famam fortissimæ passionis, partim per dulcedinem suavissimæ lectionis. Serm. 310. sub. fin.      <sup>b</sup> Est tale aliquid in epistolâ beatissimi Cypriani—Ait ergo quodam in loco: 'Petamus hanc sedem: dant secessum vicina secreta: 'ubi dum erratici palmitum lapsus pendulis nexibus per arundines bajulas 'repunt, viteam porticum frondea tecta fecerunt.' Non dicuntur ista nisi mirabiliter affluentissimâ fecunditate facundiæ, sed profusione nimia gravitati displicent. Qui vero hæc amant, profecto eos qui non ita dicunt, sed castigatius eloquuntur, non posse ita eloqui existimant, non judicio illa evitare. Quapropter ille vir sanctus et posse se ostendit sic dicere, et nolle, quoniam postmodum nunquam. Aug. De Doctr. Chr. lib. iv. cap. 13. n. 31.

ference of style in Cyprian's works may be esteemed a proof both of his own judgment, and of the judgment and abilities of our author in that way.

As my history of St. Cyprian is but short, I would refer my readers to<sup>c</sup> Cave, and others, who have written his life more at large; and particularly to<sup>d</sup> Le Clerc, who has done the same, in the free way. I should have been well pleased to insist upon Cyprian's visions and revelations; but it would require more room than I can spare here: besides, though I have sometimes taken notice of such things, as in the histories of Gregory of Neocæsarea, and Dionysius of Alexandria, and perhaps occasionally in some other chapters, that I might not leave this matter altogether untouched; there is another place in this work, where it may be proper to observe distinctly the continuance of miraculous powers, or extraordinary gifts of the Spirit, in the church after the time of the apostles; and for that place I reserve the farther consideration of Cyprian's claims to a share in such gifts.

II. St. Cyprian's works are distributed into two parts; Tracts, or Treatises; and Epistles. The tracts are upon a variety of subjects. Some are defences of the christian religion against Jews and Gentiles, some upon christian morality, others concerning the discipline of the church. His epistles were written partly in the time of his retirement under the Decian persecution, partly afterwards. With them are joined divers epistles of others sent to him; they are very useful and entertaining; I need not give a more particular account of<sup>e</sup> them. However, it may not be amiss to observe, that St. Jerom<sup>f</sup> does not reckon Cyprian to have written any commentaries upon scripture; though in a chain upon St. Luke's gospel, mentioned by<sup>g</sup> Montfaucon, Cyprian is said to be one of the ancient writers, from whom those interpretations are taken. James le Long<sup>h</sup> has put Cyprian among the commentators upon scripture; but it is only for the sake of his treatise on the Lord's Prayer.

Though I give no account of the several editions of St. Cyprian's works, I may be allowed to observe here, that<sup>i</sup>

<sup>c</sup> Cav. Hist. Lit. and Lives of the Primitive Fathers. Tillemont Mem. T. iv. Part. i. Du Pin Bibl. Ruinart. Act. Mart. Sinc. et Sel. Vit. S. Cypr. a Benedictino adornat. Basnag. Annal. Pagi Crit. Pearson Ann. Cypr. Dodwell. Diss. Cypr.

<sup>d</sup> Bibl. Univ. T. xii. p. 207, &c.

<sup>e</sup> It is said there are some letters of St. Cyprian at Venice, which have not been yet printed. Vid. Montfaucon. Diar. Ital. cap. 5. p. 75.

<sup>f</sup> Beatus Cyprianus instar fontis purissimi, dulcis incedit et placidus; et quum totus sit in exhortatione virtutum occupatus persecutionum angustiis, de scripturis divinis nequaquam disseruit. Hieron. ad Paulin. Ep. 49. [al. 73.] p. 567. m.

<sup>g</sup> Vid. Bibl. Coislin. p. 251.

<sup>h</sup> Vid. Le Long Bibl. Sa. T. ii. p.

693. Paris. 1723.

<sup>i</sup> I have made but little use of Mr. Marshall's

we have a beautiful edition of them in English, with useful and valuable notes, by the late Mr. Nathaniel Marshall, published in the year 1717.

Some pieces have been ascribed to St. Cyprian which are not his; but learned men are now so generally agreed what are his genuine works, what not, that I need not enlarge upon that point. As several of those tracts which formerly had been reckoned his, and some others, are still usually bound up together with his works, and are useful, and written by good hands, I shall make some extracts out of them in a chapter apart, and there give a short history or account of each of them.

All St. Cyprian's works, both tracts and epistles, abound with texts of the scriptures of the Old and New Testament. But there is one tract, entitled Testimonies against the Jews, to Quirinus, in three books; which tract is little more than a collection of texts of scripture under several heads; for there is nothing in it properly Cyprian's, beside two short prefaces, and those several heads, or the titles of the chapters of the work, and the names of the books of scripture, from which he takes his testimonies. The genuineness of this tract has been called in question by some, particularly

translation. All my passages out of St. Cyprian, except perhaps two or three, or four at most, were collected, translated, and put in the order they are now in, before I was acquainted with it. However, I have made some improvements by Mr. Marshall's performance, and have now taken care to make several references to him, which I hope the attentive reader will perceive. As I have not read over Mr. Marshall's translation, my testimony can be of no great value. But so far as I have had leisure and opportunity to read and examine it, it appears to be, together with the notes, a work of much labour and study, and to deserve great commendation. Nevertheless there is a particular or two, which I must remark. Mr. Marshall, in his preface, p. 17, 18. expresseth himself in these very words. 'I know not whether it be worth while to take notice of one particular liberty which I have taken, of prefixing the title of saint to the several apostles and evangelists, as they occur in our author, though he himself has named them simply and plainly, without any such appellation.' And afterwards he says: 'I have here and there also expressed my author's sense in the language of holy scripture, where he himself did not mean to quote it. But then in such cases, I never refer to the passage in the margin, as I always do where he particularly cites any verse or chapter of the inspired writers.' But it appears to me, that both these are unwarrantable and unjustifiable liberties, not proper to be taken in translating ancient authors. With regard to the first, though of no very great importance; it seems to me to be rather better to show primitive writers in their own original simplicity and plainness, as near as possible. With regard to the other liberty, which Mr. Marshall says he has taken, it appears to me altogether unjustifiable. Ordinary readers will be liable to be misled by that method: and I believe it must be attended with some bad consequences, which good Mr. Marshall was not aware of. Perhaps this remark will be illustrated and confirmed by somewhat to be taken notice of by and by, at numb. 6.

by<sup>k</sup> Rivet. Here books of scripture are expressly quoted by name, which is seldom done in Cyprian's other works. Here also texts of scripture are cited, according to different readings from those found in his other writings. Nevertheless, it is<sup>l</sup> generally thought by learned men, that these objections are of no great moment, this tract having been quoted as St. Cyprian's by several ancient writers. Bishop Pearson<sup>m</sup> placeth these books in the year 248. The learned Benedictine<sup>n</sup> before mentioned supposeth likewise that they were written whilst Cyprian was presbyter, or soon after he was made bishop; and he offers some arguments that deserve consideration. Bishop Fell thinks this one of the first of St. Cyprian's tracts; and upon the ground of this opinion, concerning the early date of this work, is founded a solution of<sup>o</sup> the difficulty taken from the different citations of scripture, in this and other writings of this father. Mr. Simon, who dislikes Fell's solution, gives<sup>p</sup> another; but whether it be better than the bishop's I cannot say. Basnage, who<sup>q</sup> makes no doubt of the genuineness of this tract, and even thinks Pontius has referred to it, supposeth it written when Cyprian was bishop, and after the Decian persecution. Stephen Baluze maintains the genuineness of this work; but then at the same time he allows that it has been much interpolated. The words of one, who was well furnished with manuscripts of St. Cyprian's works, are so remarkable to this purpose, that the reader may expect to see them in the<sup>r</sup> margin.

<sup>k</sup> Si tamen libri illi [ad Quirinum] sunt Cypriani omnes. Aliquos enim ad Quirinum scripsisse, ex Hieronymo, et aliis, qui eorum mentionem faciunt, probavit Pamelius. Sed an sint ii ipsi libri, quos habemus, dubium reddunt citationes librorum, quas his formulis enuntiat, præter Cypriani in aliis opusculis morem, *κατα* Lucam, *κατα* Marcum, &c. Rivit. Crit. Sacr. l. ii. cap. 15. p. 1097.

<sup>l</sup> Vid. Notas Ed. Oxon. p. 17. Du Pin. Bibl. Tillemont. Tom. iv. St. Cyprien, art. 64. et note 54. <sup>m</sup> Ann. Cypr. p. 9. num. 1.

<sup>n</sup> Vit. S. Cyprian, p. 44. num. 4. <sup>o</sup> ———varietatis istius ——— vix alia ratio reddi poterit, quam quod diversis temporibus scriberentur; et proinde dicendum tractatum hunc reliqua omnia quæ sequuntur prævertisse. Edit. Ox. in not. p. 17.

<sup>p</sup> Il [l'Evêque d' Oxford] n'a pas pris garde, que cette ancienne traduction, qui étoit entre les mains du peuple, et qu' on lisoit dans les églises, n' empêchoit point ceux qui savoient la langue Grecque de traduire le Grec des Septante, et celui du Nouveau Testament, à leur manière, quand ils le jugeoient à propos. C' est principalement à cela qu' on doit attribuer cette diversité de version des mêmes passages, qui est dans les differens livres de ce savant Evêque. R. Simon Critique des Comm. du N. T. chap. i. p. 15.

<sup>q</sup> Ni a vero aberret conjectura, non ex titulo, quo Quirinus afficitur, sed ex verbis Pontii, librum ab episcopo Cypriano, sed extinctâ Decii persecutione, confectum fuisse censemus: " Quis emolumentum gratiæ proficientis ostenderit?" quibus inuit libros ad Quirinum, quorum ad præfationem digitus Pontius intendisse videtur. Basn. An. 258. num. 14.

<sup>r</sup> Si qua sunt loca in operibus sancti Cypriani, de quibus pronuntiari non

And hence, if I mistake not, arises the truest and best solution of the difficulty before mentioned. Bishop Fell thought the different method of citing scriptures, and the different reading of texts or passages, in this and the other works of Cyprian, to be owing to the distance of the times of writing them. This was one of Cyprian's first pieces; the rest was written at different times afterwards.

Simon says, that though there was at that time a Latin version generally used by Latin christians, yet it was not uncommon for those who had learning, and understood Greek, to translate for themselves from the original when they saw fit. And to this principally, says he, we ought to ascribe that diversity of translation of the same passages, which is found in the different books of this learned bishop. Nor is it impossible that this method may have been used by some learned men at that time; Cyprian in particular. Massuet<sup>s</sup> indeed is pleased to make a doubt whether Cyprian understood Greek; but I think he is singular here: others have a better opinion of our bishop's learning; for it has been generally supposed, that Firmilian's letter written in Greek, was translated into Latin by him. I formerly referred<sup>t</sup> to several men of this sentiment. To them I would now add<sup>u</sup> the learned Benedictine, author of St. Cyprian's life: and it appears to be highly probable, that Cyprian, who in the former part of his life professed rhetoric with reputation in the city of Carthage, was not unskilled in the Greek tongue. And in his remaining writings we find mention of some Greek authors, particularly<sup>v</sup> Plato, and Hermes Trismegistus,<sup>w</sup> Hippocrates, and Soranus: and he mentions them

possit ea certe illius esse, id vero in primis asseri potest de libris Testimoniorum ad Quirium. Plures enim codices plus habent quam vulgatæ editiones, alii minus. Itaque, quoniam impossibile est discernere ea quæ vere Cypriani sunt ab iis quæ post illum a studiosis addita sunt, nos retinimus ea quæ reperta nobis sunt in antiquis exemplaribus manuscriptis. Porro duo tantum priores libri extant in editione Spirensi, in veteri Venetâ, et in eâ quam Remboldus procuravit. Erasmus tertiam emisit ex codice scripto monasterii Gemblacensis.

—Habui autem unum et viginti exemplaria vetera horum librorum, quorum tamen quinque habent tantum libros duos priores. Baluz. Not. ad Cyprian. p. 596.

<sup>s</sup> Cyprianum autem Græcè doctum fuisse, nullo argumento constat. Massuet. Diss. in Irenæ. ii. n. 54. p. 102. <sup>t</sup> See Vol. ii. ch. 39. note <sup>s</sup>.

<sup>u</sup> Hæc autem Firmiliani epistola, quæ Latine reddita exstat inter Cyprianicas septuagesima quinta, sic Cyprianicum stilum redolet, ut non alium interpretem habuisse videatur. Vit. S. Cypr. n. 31. p. 118. init.

<sup>v</sup> In quo et Plato pari ratione consentit; et unum Deum servans, cæteros angelos, vel dæmonas dicit. Hermes quoque Trismegistus unum Deum loquitur, eumque incomprehensibilem atque inæstimabilem confitetur. De Idol. Van. p. 14.

<sup>w</sup> Non invenio unde hoc nomen assumant; nisi forte qui plura et secretiora legerunt apud Hippocratem et Soranum κλινικῶς istos deprehenderunt. Ep. 69. al. 76. p. 186.

as if he was acquainted with their works, especially those of the two former.

But yet it seems to me that the forementioned reasons are not sufficient to account for the diversity we are speaking of: I rather think it to be chiefly owing to the additions and alterations that have been made in the books of Testimonies. Such a collection of texts of scripture is very liable to be altered. It is likely that some texts have been added in latter ages, according to the version or readings then in use: and other passages, which were in the work from the beginning, have been altered according to the readings in use in the age of the copier or transcriber. The account which Stephen Baluze gives of the manuscripts of these books appears to me to put this out of question. Such additions and alterations may have been made without any bad intention, barely with a view of rendering the work more useful and more generally acceptable; though they who are curious would be better pleased to see these books genuine and uncorrupted in their original size, however small, just as they came out of Cyprian's hands. And as I think such books as these, consisting chiefly of collections of texts of scripture, are more especially liable to alteration, both by interpolation or addition, and by changing the original readings for such as afterwards were in use and were more modern; so I likewise question whether we can be sure, that in St. Cyprian's other works we always have the passages in the Latin version made use of by him, and as they came from him. I think bishop Fell speaks in the same manner: I put his words at the bottom of the<sup>x</sup> page.

Upon the whole, there can be no doubt made but St. Cyprian published a work with this title; but it seems that the books of Testimonies which we now have, or at least some part of them, are liable to objections that have not been fully cleared up: for which reason it may be thought proper, that they should be quoted with some particular caution. Whenever therefore I take any thing out of the books of Testimonies, I intend to mention them expressly.

\* Sperabam quidem ex largo hoc quod in tractatu isto habetur scripturarum spicilegio, ad versionis Latinæ, quæ Hieronymianam præcessit, restitutionem, gradum aliquem præstrui potuisse. Et certe, si modo sibi ubique constaret Cypriani textus, loca illa quæ a lectione vulgatâ discrepare deprehenduntur, pro antiquæ versionis reliquiis non immerito haberemus. Sed cum ea sit lectionum in MSS. codicibus varietas, ut plura simul occurrant, quæ a vulgatis discrepent; et in his quid a Cypriano scriptum fuerit, codicibus sibi invicem non respondentibus, minime constet: porro, cum primorum seculorum patres in S. Scripturis laudandis diversimode se habeant; curam hanc tantum non deploratam censemus. Annot. ad Testim. Libros, p. 17.

There is another tract of St. Cyprian, which is written much in the same way with those books of Testimonies; it is entitled, An Exhortation to Martyrdom: but I do not know that such objections have been made against this as against the former.

III. As I have already set before the eyes of my readers such numerous passages of scripture in the christian writers, whose works we have perused, I might now perhaps begin to contract, and be more brief: however, I have determined to proceed in the method that has been hitherto taken, without much alteration, until we come below Eusebius of Cæsarea. And it is my design to omit nothing material, purely for the sake of brevity. Let such, therefore, as have not an opportunity of reading over the voluminous writings of the fathers, accept of the following account of the notice St. Cyprian has taken of the several books of the New Testament. I propose by this method to enable every one to judge in some measure of the difference between the books of Testimonies, as we now have them, and St. Cyprian's other pieces; and, besides, there are several citations in this writer's works that deserve some remarks.

1. St. Cyprian speaks expressly of <sup>y</sup> four gospels, which he compares to the four rivers of paradise: these gospels are received by the church, and are her property, within her circuit; by which she is overflowed, and her plants are enabled to bear fruit. As <sup>z</sup> paradise had its four rivers, so the church has its four gospels.

2. In the second book of Testimonies: 'Likewise<sup>a</sup> in the gospel according to Matthew; "Now when Jesus was born in Bethlehem of Judea, in the days of Herod the king, behold there came wise men from the east to Jerusalem;"' ch. ii. 1, 2. In this work is quoted also the first chapter of this<sup>b</sup> gospel. In other pieces this gospel is cited thus: 'Likewise<sup>c</sup> the Lord has commanded us in his gospel, "that we should call no man our father upon earth, forasmuch as one is our Father who is in heaven;"' ch. xxiii.

9. Again: in the gospel<sup>d</sup> the Lord speaks and says; "He

<sup>y</sup> Ecclesia, paradisi instar exprimens, arbores fructiferas intra muros suos intus includit, ex quibus quæ non facit fructum bonum, exciditur, et in ignem mittitur. Has arbores rigat quatuor fluminibus, id est, Evangeliiis quatuor, quibus baptismi gratiam salutaris cœlesti inundatione largitur. Num quid de ecclesiæ fontibus rigare potest, qui intus in ecclesiâ non est? Ep. 73. p. 202.

<sup>z</sup> See Mr. Nath. Marshall's note upon the place, p. 235.

<sup>a</sup> Item in evangelio *cata* Matthæum: Et cum Jesus natus esset in Bethlehem Judæ in diebus Herodis regis—Testim. l. ii. cap. 29. p. 50.

<sup>b</sup> Lib. ii. cap. 6. et 7. 36. <sup>c</sup> Item Dominus in evangelio suo præcepit, ne vocemus nobis patrem in terrâ, &c. De Orat. Dom. p. 142.

<sup>d</sup> In evangelio Dominus loquitur et dicit: Qui diligit patrem aut matrem super me, non est me dignus. De Exhorta. Mart. cap. 6. p. 173.

that loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of me," and what follows.'

3. In the third book of Testimonies: 'Likewise<sup>e</sup> in the gospel according to Mark; "And when ye stand praying forgive, if ye have ought against any, that your Father also which is in heaven may forgive you your trespasses;"' ch. xi. 25, 26. So this gospel is several times quoted in this work: in other tracts after this manner; 'Whom<sup>f</sup> the Lord reproves and blames in his gospel, saying: "Ye reject the commandment of God, that ye may keep your own tradition;"' ch. vii. 9.

4. In the first book of Testimonies: 'Likewise<sup>g</sup> in the gospel according to Luke; "And it came to pass, that when Elisabeth heard the salutation of Mary, the babe leaped in her womb, and Elisabeth was filled with the Holy Ghost——"' Luke i. 41, 42, 43. In the tract on the Lord's prayer; 'Which<sup>h</sup> the Lord teacheth in his gospel, saying: "Two men went up to the temple to pray, the one a pharisee, the other a publican,"' to the end of the parable, ch. xviii. 10—14. Again: 'So<sup>i</sup> the widow Anna, as it is written in the gospel, "departed not from the temple, but served God with fastings and prayers, night and day;"' ch. ii. 37.

6. In the first book of Testimonies: 'Likewise<sup>k</sup> in the gospel according to John; "He came to his own, and his own received him not. As many as received him, to them gave he power to become the sons of God, even to them that believe on his name:"' ch. i. 11, 12. In<sup>l</sup> the next book of Testimonies he quotes the first five verses of this gospel. In one of his epistles: 'Let<sup>m</sup> them imitate the Lord, who near the time of his passion was not more proud, but more humble; for then he washed his disciples' feet, saying: "If I your lord and master have washed your feet, ye also ought to wash the feet of others; for I have given you an example, that ye should do as I have done;"' John xiii. 14, 15.

<sup>e</sup> In evangelio, in prece quotidianâ: Remitte nobis debita nostra—[Matth. vi. 12.] Item *cata* Marcum: Et cum steteritis ad orationem, remittite, &c. Test. lib. iii. cap. 22. p. 72.

<sup>f</sup> Quos increpat Dominus et objurgat in evangelio suo, dicens: Rejicitis mandatum Dei, ut traditionem vestram statuatis. De Unitate Eccl. p. 117.

<sup>g</sup> Item in evangelio *cata* Lucam: et factum est, ut audivit salutationem Mariæ Elisabet. Testim. l. i. cap. 8. p. 37.

<sup>h</sup> Quæ Dominus in evangelio suo ponit, et dicit: Homines duo ascenderunt in templum orare, unus pharisæus, et unus publicanus. De Orat. Dom. p. 141.

<sup>i</sup> Sic Anna vidua—sicut in evangelio scriptum est. Ib. p. 155.

<sup>k</sup> Item in evangelio *cata* Joannem: In sua propria venit, et sui eum non receperunt. Testim. l. i. cap. 3. p. 21.

<sup>l</sup> Lib. ii. cap. 3. p. 32.

<sup>m</sup> Imitentur Dominum, qui sub ipso tempore passionis non superbiior, sed humilior fuit. Tunc enim apostolorum, [discipulorum, Baluz.] suorum pedes lavit, dicens: Si ego lavi pedes vestros magister et dominus, et vos debetis

IV. The book of the Acts of the Apostles is frequently quoted by St. Cyprian by that title; but he has no where, that I remember, mentioned the name of the writer. ‘According to<sup>n</sup> what Peter says to the Jews in the Acts of the Apostles; (ch. ii. 38.) “Repent, and be baptized every one of you in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost.”’ Again: ‘As<sup>o</sup> we read in the Acts of the Apostles; (ch. iv. 32.) “And the multitude of them that believed acted with one heart and soul.’ The same text is expressly quoted in another place, as scripture: ‘This<sup>p</sup> is evident from the divine scripture, which says, “The multitude of them that believed acted with one heart and soul,” that is, with great unanimity.’ Accordingly this book is cited by St. Cyprian for proof of what he asserts. Having quoted the book of Tobit, he adds; ‘Nor<sup>q</sup> do we so allege these things, my brethren, as not to prove what the angel Raphael says [in Tobit] by the testimony of truth. In the Acts of the Apostles the truth of this is showed; and that souls are delivered by alms not only from the second, but likewise from the first death, is made manifest by fact and experience.’ For this he alleges the history of Tabitha, Acts. ix. 36—41.

I must add one quotation more. In the third book of Testimonies: ‘Likewise in<sup>r</sup> the Acts of the Apostles, ch. xv. 28, 29, “It seemed good unto the Holy Ghost, and to us, to lay upon you no other burden than these things, which are of necessity, [or, these necessary things;] that ye abstain from idolatries, and effusion of blood, and fornication. And whatever things ye would not should be done unto you, neither do ye unto others.” This is a very extraordinary reading, and requires some remarks.

We ought here to recollect the substance of Stephen Ba-

aliorum pedes lavare. Exemplum enim dedi vobis, ut, sicut ego feci, et vos faciatis. Ep. 14. [juxta Pamel. vi. Baluz. v.] p. 32. <sup>n</sup> Secundum quod in Actis apostolorum Petrus ad eos loquitur, et dicit: Pœnitementi, et baptizetur unusquisque vestrum in nomine Domini Jesu Christi.—Ep. 73. p. 205.

<sup>o</sup> Sicut legimus in Actis apostolorum: Turba autem eorum qui crediderant, animâ et mente unâ agebant. De Opere et Eleemosynis, p. 208.

<sup>p</sup> Probat scriptura divina, quæ dicit: De Unit. Eccl. p. 119.

<sup>q</sup> Nec sic, fratres carissimi, ista proferimus, ut non quod Raphaël angelus dixit veritatis testimonio comprobemus. In Actibus apostolorum facti fides posita est, et quod eleemosynis non tantum a secundâ, sed a primâ morte animæ liberentur, gestæ et impletæ rei probatione compertum est Tabitha operationibus justis et eleemosynis præstandis plurimum dedita, &c. De Opere et Eleem. p. 199.

<sup>r</sup> Item in Actibus apostolorum: Visum est Sancto Spiritui et nobis, nullam vobis imponere sarcinam, quam ista, quæ ex necessitate sunt; abstinere vos ab idololatriis, et sanguinis effusione, et fornicatione. Et quæcunque vobis fieri non vultis, aliis ne feceritis. Testim. l. iii. cap. 119

luze's note before referred to; That these books of Testimonies are very much interpolated, and that whereas he had one and twenty manuscript copies of them, five of those manuscripts wanted the third book. Moreover, in<sup>s</sup> his note upon the passage just transcribed, he mentions one copy, where this passage, and what follows to the end of the third book, is wanting: so that this passage was wanting in six copies of the one and twenty.

I shall immediately observe a place in Irenæus, or rather in the Latin version of that father, where the texts of Acts xv. 20 and 29, are quoted very agreeably to the reading we have before us. In that place is recited Acts xv. from v. 7. to v. 29. There James in his speech says; 'Wherefore<sup>t</sup> my sentence is, that we trouble not them which from among the Gentiles are turned to God: but that we command them to abstain from the vanity of idols, and from fornication, and from blood: and that whatever things they would not have done unto them, neither should they do unto others.' And afterwards, reciting the epistle itself; 'For<sup>n</sup> it seemed good to the Holy Ghost, and to us, to lay upon you no greater burden than these, which are necessary things: That ye abstain from things sacrificed to idols, and blood, and fornication: and that whatever things ye would not have done unto you, neither should ye do unto others: from which if ye keep yourselves, ye shall do well, walking in the Holy Ghost.'

This Latin version of Irenæus was not published, according to Mr. Dodwell's<sup>v</sup> computation, till some time after the year of Christ 385; though<sup>w</sup> Massuet thinks it more ancient by a great deal; and<sup>x</sup> Mill supposeth that it was made in Irenæus's life-time, or soon after his death, before the end of the second century: but I am apt to think that Dodwell's date of this translation is early enough; and possibly some readings of texts in this translation, as we now have it, were not in being till afterwards.

Here the principal differences from our present reading may be reckoned two; an omission; and an addition. The omission is of that particular, "things strangled;" the ad-

<sup>s</sup> *Ista, et quæ deinceps sequuntur usque ad finem libri, desunt in codice Gratianopolitano. Baluz. Not. p. 601.*

<sup>t</sup> *Propterea ego secundum me judico, non molestari eos, qui ex Gentibus convertuntur ad Deum; sed præcipiendum eis, uti abstineant a vanitatibus idolorum, et a fornicatione, et a sanguine: et quæcumque nolunt sibi fieri, aliis ne faciant. Iren. contr. Hær. lib. iii. c. 12. p. 199. Massuet.*

<sup>n</sup> *Placuit enim Sancto Spiritui, et nobis, nullum amplius vobis pondus imponere, quam hæc, quæ sunt necessaria: ut abstinenceis ab idolothytis, et sanguine, et fornicatione: et quæcumque non vultis fieri vobis, aliis ne faciatis: a quibus custodientes vos ipsos, bene ageatis, ambulantes in Spiritu Sancto. Ibid.*

<sup>v</sup> *Vid. Diss. Iren. v. num. 9, 10.*

<sup>w</sup> *Massuet. Diss. in Iren. ii. num. 53, 54.*

<sup>x</sup> *Mill. Prol. n. 608.*

dition is of a precept, or prohibition rather, “not to do to others what they would not have to be done to themselves.” However, there are likewise some other variations that may require some notice as we go along.

1. To begin with the omission. Dr. Mill,<sup>y</sup> in his notes upon Acts xv. 20, is by all means for retaining “and things strangled” in the text, as the right reading: but in his Prolegomena<sup>z</sup> he expresseth himself as strongly on the other side that this particular is an interpolation of the original text. But let us see whether we cannot hold that learned writer to his first opinion.

He owns that all the Greek manuscripts of the Acts of the Apostles have this article of the decree except one; and all versions, and likewise all the Greek fathers and commentators in general: and it is very observable, that among those Greek fathers there are two of great antiquity who have cited the decree as we now have it; I mean<sup>a</sup> Clement of Alexandria, who has so cited it in two places, and<sup>b</sup> Origen. After this, what good authority can there be for the omission? Let us attend.

The main thing seems to be this, that as Dr. Mill supposeth the Italic version, as it is called, (that is, the ancient Latin version, chiefly in use among the Latin christians before St. Jeron’s time, and made, as<sup>c</sup> Mill thinks, about

<sup>y</sup> *Και τὰ πνικτὰ.*] Omittunt Cant. Iren. l. iii. c. 12. Tert. de Pud. c. 12. Cyprian. l. iii. ad Quirin. Hieron. Com. in Galat. v. (qui tamen in nonnullis exemplaribus scriptum dicit, et a suffocatis;) Ambros. in Galat. ii. (qui additum vult a sophistis Græcorum quos vocat;) Augustin. ut et Gaudentius ac Eucherius, quibus interpretamenti loco additum videtur *τὸ πνικτον*. Per sanguinem enim hic sanguinem suffocatum intelligi putant. Cæterum retinent Græca quæ quidem vidimus omnia, (excepto uno Cant.) Versiones omnes, etiam Vulgata Lat. Orig. lib. viii. Contra Celsum, Patres et Tractatores Græci universim; ut proinde minime sollicitandum arbitrer. Mill. in Act. Ap. xv. 20.

<sup>z</sup> *Και τῆς πορνείας, καὶ τῶν αἱμάτων.*] Act. xv. 20, 29. Cant. Irenæi interpres, Tert. Cyprian. Pacian. Ambr. Gaudentius, Eucherius, Fulgentius, Hieron. alii. Certe medium, *καὶ τῶν πνικτῶν*, ipsius Lucæ non est, sed Christianorum veterum, qui cum in hac epistolâ synodicâ omnem sanguinis esum sibi interdictum vidissent? eosque decretum extendebant, ut etiam a morticinis eo ipso sibi abstinendum fuisse censuerint; ne quo modo scilicet sanguine contaminarentur, vel inter viscera sepulto; ut loquitur Tertullianus. Ex hac, ecclesiæ praxi adscripsit quispiam, haud dubito, scholion, *τὰ πνικτὰ*, ad marginem codicis: quo ostenderetur in præcepto de abstinentiâ a sanguine, includi etiam abstinentiam a morticino, adeoque a quolibet suffocato. Hoc autem, ceu partem textûs genuinam, transtulerunt scribæ in corpus epistolæ hujus synodicæ, jam ante tempora Clementis Alexandrini. Mill. Proleg. n. 441, 442. ed Kuster, vid. etiam n. 641.

<sup>a</sup> *Ἐδοξεν, εἶπασαν, τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἁγίῳ καὶ ἡμῖν, μηδὲν πλέον ἐπιθεσθαι ἡμῖν βάρους, πλὴν τῶν ἐπιταγῶν ἀπεχεσθαι εἰδολοθῶν, καὶ αἱμάτων, καὶ πνικτῶν, καὶ τῆς πορνείας· ἐξ ὧν διατηρῶντες ἑαυτοὺς, εὐπραξέτε.* Clem. Al. Pæd. l. ii. cap. 7. p. 172. B. C. Paris. Vid. etiam Strom. lib. iv. p. 512. D. 513. A.

<sup>b</sup> See of this work Vol. ii. ch. 38. num. 28.

<sup>c</sup> Vid. Mill. Proleg. num. 377, &c.

the end of the second century,) had only three particulars in the decree, omitting "things strangled." But allowing this, it would not prove that to be the right reading; for, that "things strangled" were in some ancient Greek copies, and those good copies, is apparent from Clement and Origen: therefore it is probable that the ancient Latin version, if it wanted that article, was corrupted in this place; as, it is not unlikely, it might be also in many other.

But I see no certain nor probable evidence that the most ancient Latin version, or any Latin version whatever, before the end of the second century, wanted this particular. Indeed, Jerom<sup>d</sup> informs us, that in his time some Latin copies had "things strangled," others not: but he does not say that they which wanted that particular were the best or the most exact. It is highly probable that he preferred those which had it; inserting it<sup>e</sup> in the Latin New Testament<sup>f</sup> published by him, corrected by the Greek; as it is now also the reading of the Latin Vulgate.

Having thus considered this passage of Jerom, which I take to be one of Mill's main authorities for his supposition that the ancient Italic version wanted this particular, I shall now take things in the order of time: but we have no occasion to review the Greek writers, their sentiment having been already sufficiently owned. I would only just observe, that we have no way of knowing how Irenæus read this portion of scripture; his Greek being lost, and his Latin interpreter not strictly following his Greek original, but putting texts of scripture according to the Latin version in use in his time, as is fairly owned by<sup>g</sup> Mill himself; and possibly sometimes altering and corrupting even that according to his own sentiments, or the prevailing sentiments of the time in which he lived.

As for Tertullian, one would be apt to conclude, from his<sup>h</sup>

<sup>d</sup> In Actibus apostolorum narrat historia—Seniores, qui Ierosolymis erant, et apostolos, pariter congregatos, statuere per literas, ne superponeretur eis jugum legis, nec amplius observarent, nisi ut custodierent se ab idolothytis, et sanguine, et fornicatione; sive ut in nonnullis exemplaribus scriptum est, et a suffocatis. Hieron. Comm. in Ep. al. Gal. cap. v. 2. <sup>e</sup> Vid. Mill. Proleg. num. 849.

<sup>f</sup> Novum Testamentum Græcæ fidei reddidi. Hieron. De V. I. cap. 135. <sup>g</sup> In Latinis autem, [Irenæi] Interpreti id unum curæ erat, ut scripturæ testimonia, quæ in hoc opere occurrunt, exprimerentur verbis interpretationis, quæ Celtis suis, totique occidenti jam in usu erat, Italicæ, sive vulgatæ. Unde factum, ut paucis in locis, nec nisi ex contextu orationis, certo satis assequi possis, quanam fuerit codicis Irenæani lectio. Mill. Pr. n. 368.

<sup>h</sup> Erubescat error vester Christianis, qui ne animalium quidem sanguinem in epulis esculentis habemus; qui propterea quoque suffocatis et morticinis abstinemus, ne quo sanguine contaminemur, vel intra viscera sepulto, &c. Apol. cap. 9. p. 10. D.

Apology, written about the year 200, that he read all four things as we do. He then plainly understood the decree of the council at Jerusalem, to prohibit “things strangled:” and it is supposed that at that time, and for some while afterwards, all christians in general understood the decree to prohibit the eating the blood of brute animals. There are remaining<sup>i</sup> passages of ancient writings that seem to put this matter beyond all dispute. Nevertheless, Tertullian,<sup>k</sup> in his treatise *De Pudicitia*, written after his *Apology*, though the time is not exactly known, quotes the decree, as if he read only three things: but then it is observable that he there seems disposed to understand the prohibition of “blood” concerning murder or homicide; at least, he would bring in this by way of consequence. And besides, there is too much reason to suspect that this interpretation is given or hinted by him to serve a particular purpose, and increase the malignity and scandal of fornication.

The next author cited by Mill is St. Cyprian. I have transcribed the passage above<sup>l</sup> at length. It is the passage that gives occasion to our present inquiry: but it has been shown that we have no good reason to look upon it as Cyprian’s. Indeed it is highly probable that the reading we have now in this work is very late. In that passage every thing is to be understood as of a moral nature: instead of “blood” is put “effusion of blood,” that it might be the more certainly understood of murder, or homicide: for that this is what we are here to understand by “effusion of blood,” I think cannot be questioned. I am sure Dr. Hammond<sup>m</sup> took this passage, or this writer, whoever he is, in that sense.

The next author is Ambrosiaster, author of the *Commentary upon St. Paul’s thirteen epistles*, placed by Cave as flourishing about the year 354, who supposeth<sup>n</sup> the real author to be Hilary, deacon of Rome, and that this work was written

<sup>i</sup> Πως αν παιδια φαγοιεν οι τοιαυτοι, ος μηδε αλογων ζωνων αιμα φαγειν εξον; Epist. Eccles. Vienn. et Lugd. ap. Euseb. H. E. l. v. cap. 1. p. 159. A. Vid. etiam Clem. Al. Pæd. lib. ii. cap. 7. p. 172. B. C. Strom. l. iv. p. 512, 513. A. et Pæd. l. iii. cap. 3. p. 228. B. C. Tertullian ut supra, Ap. cap. 9. Vid. etiam Origenem, ut laudatum supra, p. 24, note <sup>b</sup>. Tantumque ab humano sanguine cavemus, ut nec edulium pecorum in cibis sanguinem noverimus. Minuc. Fel. cap. 30.

<sup>k</sup> Visum est, inquit, Spiritui Sancto et nobis, nullum amplius vobis adjicere pondus, quam eorum, a quibus necesse est abstineri, a sacrificiis, et a fornicationibus, et sanguine, a quibus observando recte agitis, vectante vos Spiritu Sancto. Sufficit et hic servatum esse mœchiæ et fornicationis locum honoris sui inter idololatriam et homicidium. Interdictum enim sanguinis multo magis humani intelligemus. de Pud. c. 12.

<sup>l</sup> See p. 22.

<sup>m</sup> Vid. Hammond, Annot. in Act. xv. 29.

<sup>n</sup> Hist. Lit. P. i. p. 168.

about the year 384. Richard Simon<sup>o</sup> is of the same opinion concerning the author of these Commentaries: but<sup>p</sup> the Benedictine editors of St. Ambrose are not so clear upon this point. This writer, whoever he be, probably however of the fourth or fifth century, omits<sup>q</sup> “things strangled.” He even contends that that clause ought to be left out, and that it is an interpolation of the Greek writers, or Greek sophists, as he calls them with much scorn and indignation. He<sup>r</sup> understands the prohibition “from blood,” of the blood of animals, not of homicide. We are obliged to him for one thing, the assurance he gives us that the Greek manuscripts of his time universally agreed in this clause, “and from things strangled.” If he had known of any Greek writers or Greek copies of the New Testament, that had favoured his omission, he would not have been quite so angry with the Greeks.

Pacian, bishop of Barcelona, about the year 370, is another writer who<sup>s</sup> omits “things strangled.” He understands “from blood,” to mean homicide; and says, that the direction given by the council to abstain from these three crimes; “things sacrificed to idols,” or idolatry; “from blood,” or from murder; and “from fornication;” is the sum and substance of the whole gospel, or christian revelation.

The next writer alleged by Mill is Gaudentius, placed by Cave at the year 387. He<sup>t</sup> seems to have read only three

<sup>o</sup> Hist. Crit. des Commentateurs du Neuf Testament, Ch. ix. p. 133, &c.

<sup>p</sup> Vid. Admonit. in Commentaria in 13. Ep. Beati Pauli. Ed. Bened.

<sup>q</sup> Denique tria hæc mandata ab apostolis et senioribus data reperiuntur, quæ ignorant leges Romanæ, id est, ut absterneant se ab idololatriâ, et sanguine, sicut Noë, et fornicatione. Quæ sophistæ Græcorum non intelligentes, scientes tamen a sanguine abstinendum, adulterârunt scripturam, quartum mandatum addentes, et a suffocato abstinendum. Ambrosiast. in Gal. cap. 2. p. 215. Ed. Bened.

<sup>r</sup> Ergo hæc illicita esse ostensa sunt gentibus, quæ putabant licere: ac per hoc non utique ab homicidio prohibiti sunt, cum jubentur a sanguine observare. Sed hoc acceperunt, quod Noë a Deo didicerat, ut observarent se a sanguine edendo cum carne. Id. ibid. p. 214. F.

<sup>s</sup> Visum est enim Sancto Spiritui, et nobis, nullum amplius imponi vobis pondus, præterquam hæc: Necessè est, ut absterneatis vos ab idololatriâ, et sanguine, et fornicatione; a quibus observantes, bene agetis. Valet. Hæc est Novi Testamenti tota conclusio. Despectis in multis Spiritus Sanctus hæc nobis, capitalis periculi conditione, legavit. Reliqua peccata meliorum operum compensatione curantur. Hæc vero tria crimina,—ut veneni calix, ut lethalis arundo metuenda sunt—Quid vero faciet contemptor Dei? Quid aget sanguinarius? Quod remedium capiet fornicator? Numquid aut placare Dominum deserter ipsius poterit? aut conservare sanguinem suum, qui fudit alienum? aut redintegrare Dei templum, qui illud fornicando violavit? Ista sunt capitalia, fratres, ista mortalia. Pacian. Paræn. ad pœnit. T. iv. p. 315. H. Bibl. Patr.

<sup>t</sup> Et idcirco Beatus Jacobus cum cæteris apostolis decretum tale constituit in ecclesiis observandum: “ut absterneatis vos,” inquit, “ab immolatis, et a san-

things, and understands "blood" of the blood of animals; for he explains it to mean "things strangled:" or, as <sup>u</sup> Mill expresseth it, Gaudentius and Eucherius thought this clause added by way of interpretation.

St. Augustine likewise, placed by Cave at the year 396, is <sup>v</sup> alleged upon this occasion by Dr. Mill: and, if the passage in the *Speculum* be his, he read only three prohibitions; "from things sacrificed to idols, from blood, and from fornication." From this passage it appears, that by many at that time all these prohibitions were understood to be of a moral kind. Their explication of them is idolatry, murder, and fornication, which they therefore thought to be the only three mortal sins. In <sup>w</sup> another place, Acts xxi. 25, is cited by Augustine, where "things strangled" are wanting. There is <sup>x</sup> yet another place, where Augustine speaks of this matter, and somewhat largely. Here again is mention made of the interpretation, which some gave of blood, meaning thereby murder; which sense Augustine himself rejects here, as he did before. Thence we learn likewise, that in St. Augustine's time the decree of the council in its ancient sense and interpretation was regarded <sup>y</sup> by very few christians among the

guine," id est, "a suffocatis." Prætermiserunt homicidium, adulterium, et veneficia; quoniam nec nominari ea in ecclesiis oporteret, quæ legibus etiam gentilium punirentur. Prætermiserunt quoque illas omnes minutiarum observationum legalium, et sola hæc, quæ prædiximus, custodienda sanxerunt; ne vel sacrificatis diabolo cibis profanemur immundis, vel ne mortuos [f. "mortuo"] per viscera suffocatorum animalium sanguine polluamur, vel ne in immunditiis fornicationum corpora nostra, quæ templa Dei sunt, violemus. Gaudent. de Maccabæis. Tract. xv. Bibl. Patr. Max. Tom. v. p. 967. F. G.

<sup>u</sup> Ut et Gaudentius ac Eucherius, quibus interpretamenti loco additum videtur. Mill. ad. Act. xv. 20.

<sup>v</sup> Ubi videmus apostolos, eis qui ex gentibus crediderunt, nulla voluisse onera veteris legis imponere, quantum adinet ad corporalis abstinentiam voluptatis; "nisi ut observarent ab his tribus, id est, ab eis quæ idolis immolarentur, et a sanguine, et a fornicatione." Unde nonnulli putant tria tantum crimina esse mortalia, idololatriam, et homicidium, et fornicationem; ubi utique et adulterium, et omnis præter uxorem concubitus intelligitur: quasi non sint mortifera crimina quæcumque alia sunt præter hæc tria, quæ a regno Dei separant, aut inaniter et fallaciter dictum sit: "Neque fures, neque avari, neque ebriosi, neque maledici, neque rapaces, regnum Dei possidebunt." [1 Cor. vi. 10.] August. Specul. de Libro Act. Apost. Tom. iii. Bened.

<sup>w</sup> De gentibus autem qui crediderunt, nos mandavimus, judicantes, nihil ejusmodi servare illos, "nisi ut se observent ab idolis immolato, et a sanguine, et a fornicatione. Aug. Ep. 82. n. 9. Bened. al. Ep. 19.

<sup>x</sup> Et in Actibus apostolorum hoc lege præceptum ab apostolis, ut abstinerent gentes tantum "a fornicatione, et ab immolatis, et a sanguine;" id est, ne quidquam ederent carnis, cujus sanguis non esset effusus. Quod alii non sic intelligunt, sed a sanguine præceptum esse abstinentium, ne quis homicidio se contamine. Aug. Con. Faust. lib. xxxii. cap. 13.

<sup>y</sup> —quis jam hoc Christianus observat, ut turdos vel minutiores aviculas non attingat, nisi quarum sanguis effusus est, aut leporem non edat, si manu a cervice percussus, nullo cruento vulnere occisus est? Et qui forte pauci adhuc tangere ista formidant, a

Latins, who thought all wholesome food generally eaten by men, to be lawful; or, that they were under no obligation to observe a distinction of meats.

Beside these writers, Mill refers also to Eucherius of the fifth, and Fulgentius of the sixth century, as favouring the omission of the particular in dispute. But I do not think it needful to go any lower.

However, we ought not to pass by the one single manuscript on that side the question: it is the famous Cambridge manuscript, which<sup>z</sup> Mill owns, with Simon, to have been written in the western part of the world by a Latin scribe, and<sup>a</sup> to be interpolated and corrupted to a great degree. I put<sup>b</sup> in the margin the character which Mr. Wetstein has lately given, in a few words, of this, and some other manuscripts, in his preface to the late edition of Curcellæus's New Testament with various readings. That character will have a good deal of weight with those who are acquainted with the author's exact skill in this part of learning.

I think it may not be amiss for us now to collect the evidence we have had before us, in a few propositions.

(1.) All the Greek writers read this text as we now have it in our Greek copies; and some of those Greek writers are very ancient, having flourished in the second century, or the beginning of the third.

(2.) All christians in general, all over the world, Greeks and Latins, in the second century, and probably in the third likewise, understood the decree of the council at Jerusalem to forbid the eating the blood of brute animals.

(3.) There is no clear proof, that in any Latin version, or any copies of the New Testament, of the second or third century, the reading of this text was different from ours; for the passages in the version of Irenæus, and in the testimonies of Cyprian, are not to be relied upon as genuine. And Tertullian may be reckoned to afford as much evidence for the

*cæteris iridentur: ita omnium animos in hac re tenuit illa sententia veritatis. Non quod intrat in os vestrum, vos coinquinat, sed quod exit; nullam cibi naturam, quam societas admittat humana, sed quæ iniquitas committit, peccata condemnans. Id. ibid.*

<sup>z</sup> Certe textus ipse codicis, Græcus pariter ac Latinus, est Latini scribæ: quod ostendit Simonius, *Hist. Text. Nov. Test. cap. 30. Mill. Proleg. n. 1271.*

<sup>a</sup> Et jam quidem ad ipsius codicis partes accedimus: Latina translationem Italicam exhibet, qualis tum temporis interpolata ferebatur, ante castigationem Hieronymi: Græca vero, textum mirifice corruptum, &c. *Id. ib. num. 1272.*

<sup>b</sup> Inter Bodleianos codices ille qui Acta apostolorum continet, item Cantabrigiensis, et Claromontanus,—a librario Latino scripti, et ad Versionem Italicam corruptam tam inepte atque imperite deformati atque depravati sunt, ut risum moveant, qui illis locum dignitatemque genuinorum codicum Græcorum conciliare studuerunt. *Præfat. in Nov. Test. Amstel. 1735*

common reading as against it. Jerom bears witness only for the reading of some Latin copies in his time, without saying that they who wanted this particular were ancient; and the other writers alleged by Mill, who cite the text without "things strangled," are likewise of the fourth century, or later.

(4.) We see a probable rise and occasion of omitting "things strangled," in some Latin copies about that time; I mean the fourth century, or towards the end of it: among the christians of the western part of the Roman empire, where the Latin tongue chiefly obtained, the decree of the council of Jerusalem ceased to be observed according to its original intent and meaning, and most ancient interpretation. As they no longer observed a distinction of meats, and often eat things strangled without any scruple, some took an unwarrantable liberty with the text, and left that particular out of their copies; that their conduct might not seem to be expressly condemned by a command or advice given by apostles and elders in council assembled. Now also it became a common thing, though not universal, to interpret that particular, "from blood," as a prohibition of homicide. These two things at least are extremely manifest; that at the end of the fourth century, and the beginning of the fifth, many among the Latin christians neglected the distinction of meats, and likewise understood that prohibition in the sense just mentioned. And I think it may be hence collected with probability, that this gave occasion for leaving out "things strangled" in some copies; for that clause appeared unsuitable to the general practice, and was a strong objection to a common interpretation of another article in the decree. In the passage, as it stands in the version of Irenæus, and in Cyprian's Testimonies, every thing in the proposal of James, and in the epistle of the council, is of a moral nature. This affords ground for suspicion of an undue liberty taken with the text, to make it agree with the prevailing sentiments and practices of some christians of later times. The passage in Cyprian's third book of Testimonies is absolutely unjustifiable in two particulars; "from idolatries," and "from effusion of blood;" which are readings altogether unsupported by good authorities, and I suppose will not now be defended by any man of sense.

(5.) As for the Cambridge manuscript, it deserves no farther notice here. One single manuscript, and that corrupted and interpolated, can never be equal to many, to all other; no more than one witness, and he a suspected one, ought to be credited against forty others, and more.

(6.) I suppose it then to be highly probable, that our present common reading of this text is right; as I believe the first christians understood it right, when they took it to contain advice to abstain from eating the blood of animals.

2. We are now to take into consideration the addition to our common text: Acts xv. 20, and 29; which is, "And whatever things ye would not should be done unto you, neither do ye unto others." Of this I have already taken some notice in <sup>c</sup> the chapter of Theophilus bishop of Antioch, about the year 181, because Dr. Mill<sup>d</sup> had mentioned it as a conjecture of his, that that ancient father had referred to this reading in the Acts. But I then intimated, that I thought that conjecture to be entirely without foundation; and I gave some reasons, which I suppose might be satisfactory. I am now more fully confirmed in the same opinion, and think there is not any the least ground to suppose that Theophilus referred to this additional reading in the Acts. For, first, there is no reason to believe that this prohibition, or precept, call it what you please, was then in any copy of the Acts, as shall be shown more distinctly by and by. Secondly, allowing this prohibition to have been then in the Acts, yet Theophilus did not refer to it, but rather to some text of the gospels where this equitable rule is spoken of as the doctrine of the prophets; if indeed Theophilus referred at all to any part of the New Testament, and not solely to the writings of the prophets. And, since the publication of the forecited volume, I have observed that the learned Mr. Wolff,<sup>e</sup> in his edition of Theophilus, (which I had not then seen,) puts in the marginal note upon the passage of his author a reference to Luke vi. 31; which certainly is not improperly done; though I think it altogether as likely that Theophilus referred to Matt. vii. 12, or xxii. 40; if indeed he referred to any text of the New Testament. But, upon the whole, it appears to me somewhat probable, that Theophilus referred to the writings of the prophets themselves, and to them only; and I should think it must appear so to others likewise, who are pleased to read and consider the context.

Though Mill had a conjecture that Theophilus referred to this additional reading in the Acts, yet, with his wonted critical skill, he supposed this reading not to be genuine, but an interpolation, however ancient; which opinion I shall endeavour to support, except that I do not judge this interpolation to be very ancient, but very modern: nevertheless, that judicious critic has an observation upon this reading,

<sup>c</sup> See Vol. ii. chap. xx.

<sup>d</sup> Vid. Mill. ad Act. xv. 20.

<sup>e</sup> Vid. Theoph. ad Autol. l. ii. cap. 49. p. 228. Hamburg. 1724.

as it stands in Acts xv. 29, which will not hold; for he says that this reading in that place disturbs the sense, and breaks the connection; which indeed it would do, if this rule were there delivered in a preceptive, positive form: but as they who had this reading, put that equitable rule here in negative terms, in the form of a prohibition, the sense is not disturbed; and it might be added after this, as well as after the foregoing particular; “from which if ye keep yourselves, ye shall do well.”

The authorities for this additional reading are represented by Mill in his notes upon Acts xv. 20, and 29. They consist of eight manuscripts, five of which have this additional clause at v. 20; and three more at v. 29; one version, and three christian writers. All these authorities, especially the manuscripts, we shall observe particularly; and, as we examine their character and quality, we may possibly see reason to reduce their number.

The first manuscript alleged for this reading is that called Stephens's second manuscript. According to Mill himself, this manuscript<sup>f</sup> is very interpolated, especially in the Acts. He thinks this Greek manuscript agrees so much with the Latin Vulgate, that he cannot but conclude it to have been corrected, or formed upon that translation, and even a corrupt and faulty copy of that translation. This judgment of our Mill upon this manuscript of Stephens's is very observable; but Mr. Wetstein<sup>g</sup> asserts, and proves it to be the same with that called Beza's manuscript, or the manuscript of Cambridge.

The next is Stephens's tenth manuscript, which<sup>h</sup> Mill says likewise agrees mightily with the Latin Vulgate.

The third is the Cambridge manuscript. We formerly showed sufficiently what is its character: and are here farther to take notice, that it has been just now observed to be the same with Stephens's second manuscript. Mill therefore, though without knowing it, has twice mentioned one and the same manuscript under different names.

The fourth is a Geneva manuscript, of<sup>i</sup> which Mill gives a good character, though he thinks the scribe to have been careless and ignorant.

The fifth is that called Covell's fourth manuscript, which Mill says is a<sup>k</sup> modern, or late manuscript.

<sup>f</sup> —quæ haud concordarent cum versione vulgatâ, et quidem codice ejus corrupto, glossematibusque, et subinde integris *περικοπαις* satis prolixis, in Actis præsertim apostolorum interpolato. Mill. Proleg. n. 1160.

<sup>g</sup> Vid. Proleg. ad Nov. Test. Gr. edit. accuratissimum. cap. 4. p. 22—27.

<sup>h</sup> Mill. Prol. n. 1171.

<sup>i</sup> Ib. n. 1500, 1501.

<sup>k</sup> Manu

These are all the manuscripts, which are put by Mill in his notes upon Acts xv. 20, as having this additional reading. At v. 29 some more are mentioned, as having it there.

The first of these, and the sixth in our order, is that which Mill calls Stephens's first manuscript; by which Mill means the Complutensian edition,<sup>l</sup> as he has himself informed us. Therefore this is not a manuscript, but a printed copy.

The next, or seventh, is Laud's Second. It agrees mightily with that in the Vatican, as<sup>m</sup> Mill says.

The last and eighth is the Seidelian manuscript, mentioned by Kuster, supposed to<sup>n</sup> be about seven hundred years old, or written in the tenth century.

These are all the manuscripts said to have this additional clause. As placed in Mill's New Testament, they appear to be eight in number; but are really six only; Stephens's second manuscript being the same with that at Cambridge; and Stephens's first manuscript, as it is called, being no manuscript but a printed copy.

The only version that has this reading is the Ethiopic, a very inaccurate version, as some think, and of little value; by some others, however, it is judged not to be contemptible: I may not stay to examine its merit particularly; I therefore refer<sup>o</sup> to divers learned writers upon this head, who may be consulted by such as have leisure. I shall only observe, that it very seldom can be reasonable to follow one single version, where it differs from all others, especially when that version has no evidences of early antiquity, neither internal nor external, but what are very doubtful and uncertain.

The christian writers mentioned by Mill are, St. Irenæus, St. Cyprian, and Rabanus in the ninth century; for as for Theophilus, bishop of Antioch, Mill does not place him with these three. That learned critic mentioned it only as a conjecture, that possibly Theophilus might refer to this reading in the Acts. But I have already shown that conjecture to be without foundation; because, even allowing this clause to have been then in the copies of the Acts of the Apostles, there is no reason to think Theophilus referred to this text, but rather to some text in the gospels, if he refers to any place at all of the New Testament; and likewise because

recenti. ib. n. 1487.

<sup>l</sup> Ib. n. 1159.

<sup>m</sup> Ibid. n. 1439.

<sup>n</sup> Vid. Kusteri Præf. in Mill. Nov. Test. p. 8. fin.

<sup>o</sup> Vid. Scalig.

de Emendation. Temp. l. 7. p. 682. Walton Proleg. xv. p. 97. &c. Ludolf Præf. in Lexicon Æthiop. p. 2, 3, et ejusd. Hist. Æthiop. lib. iii. cap. 4. Ri. Simon. Hist. Crit. des Vers. du Nov. Test. Ch. xvii. p. 193, &c. Mill. Proleg. num. 1188, 1189. Beausobre et L'Enfan Préf. générale sur le Nov. Test. page 213.

there is no reason to suppose that this clause was then in the Acts, as we have now shown in part, and proceed to show still farther.

The only christian writers, then, who favour this reading, are the three above mentioned : but by Irenæus we are to understand only his Latin interpreter, whose age we do not certainly know ; and possibly that translation has been interpolated in some places since it was first made. Nor are we by St. Cyprian to understand St. Cyprian himself, but the interpolator of his third book of Testimonies, whose age we do not know, but possibly he lived as late as Rabanus, or since.

The very few, and those late quotations of this place in the Acts, according to this reading, show it to be an interpolation, and that it never was in many copies of that book of scripture, and those only late copies.

Beside that we do not find this reading in the most ancient writers, nor in any one Greek writer whatever, there is positive evidence as to divers of the ancient christian writers, both Greek and Latin, that they had not this clause in their copies. This appears from their citations of the whole decree of the council at Jerusalem, together with the last farewell, or the concluding words of the decree of the apostles and elders, or from some remarks made by those writers upon the decree. I mean, Clement of Alexandria, who has twice cited this text ; Tertullian, Ambrosiaster, Pacian, Gaudentius, Augustine. I have above cited their passages very much at length, in considering that particular, " things strangled," that every one might perceive as much. To those passages therefore, transcribed at the bottom of the page, I refer such as are pleased to examine them : and to those writers might be added Jerom. This shows, that in the fourth, as well as more early centuries, this clause was wanting in most, and those the best, if not in all copies.

There is one thing more, which may deserve to be mentioned here : I do not perceive that this clause is found at Acts xxi. 25. in any manuscript copy of that book, or in any version, or writer whatever. This is an argument, that neither was it originally in Acts xv. 20 and 29 ; for if it had been originally in both those places, it would have appeared here likewise.

I think, then, that there is not any reason to suppose this precept, or prohibition, to have been originally put in their epistle by the apostles and elders assembled at Jerusalem : but, on the other hand, there is very good evidence, that it is an interpolation, probably inserted some time near the end

of the fourth century, or afterwards, by some Latin christian, in order to render the whole decree of the council agreeable to the sentiments and practices that prevailed in the age and place in which he lived; for the few manuscripts that have this reading are of small weight against the much greater number that want it. One version, corrupt too and inaccurate, as it seems, is of no authority against all others. The christian writers that have followed this reading are so few, that they scarce deserve to be mentioned; especially considering, that the only one of them whose name we know is Rabanus, of the ninth century; for who was Irenæus's interpreter, and when he lived, and who was the interpolator of Cyprian's Testimonies, and when he lived, are things altogether uncertain and unknown.

I conclude, then, that the present readings of Acts xv. 20, and 29, in our ordinary copies of the New Testament are the true and genuine original readings: or, to be a little more particular and distinct, in proportion to the evidence of things, I reckon it highly probable, that the clause, "and from things strangled," was originally in the decree; and certain that, according to the most ancient interpretation of the decree, it was understood by all christians in general to forbid eating the blood of brute animals. As for the additional article, which we have just now considered, it is plainly an interpolation; and, unless there be some other evidence for it, which I am unacquainted with, I do not see how it can be received as a part of the apostolical decree by any christian critic, who is duly concerned for the integrity and purity of the sacred scriptures.

I have insisted thus long upon the reading of this portion of scripture, not only because Mill himself had pronounced a wrong judgment upon it in his Prolegomena, as I conceive, but because there is an agreement to the like purpose in<sup>p</sup> Curcellæus, for leaving out the clause of "things strangled." And I am apprehensive that unless we retain the true reading of this place, for the main part at least, we shall not rightly understand it; nor shall we, unless we have the true sense and design of this decree, maintain, as we ought to do, the dignity of the apostolical character and commission. Finally, the misunderstanding of this decree must be to the prejudice of the christian revelation itself, in the esteem of many.

Having now, as I hope, settled the true reading of the determination of the apostles and elders upon the point in controversy at that time, I wish I were likewise able to explain

<sup>p</sup> Vid. Curcellæi Diatr. de Esu sanguinis inter Christianos, cap. 11.

that determination to the satisfaction of the scrupulous and the judicious: but such a performance, even supposing that ability, would require a longer digression than could be allowed of in this place; for which reason that attempt must be deferred.

V. We are in the next place to consider St. Cyprian's testimony to the epistles of the apostle Paul.

1. 'According<sup>a</sup> to what the blessed apostle Paul writes 'in his epistle to the Romans; "Every one shall give an account of himself: therefore let us not judge one another:"' ch. xiv. 12, 13.

2. He quotes the latter part of the first chapter of the epistle to the Romans very agreeably to the reading we saw formerly<sup>r</sup> in Clement of Rome, ver. 32, "Who," says<sup>s</sup> he, "when they knew the righteousness of God, did not consider, that they who do such things are worthy of death; nor only they who commit them, but they also that consent to them that do them." The meaning of the text, according to this reading, is, that not only they who actually commit the sins beforementioned, are liable to punishment, but they also who approve of, and consent to such evil things. So it is said of Paul, that<sup>t</sup> he was "consenting to Stephen's death," Acts viii. 1.

3. In the first book of Testimonies: 'In<sup>u</sup> the first epistle of Paul to the Corinthians; "Moreover, brethren, I would not that ye should be ignorant, how that all our fathers were under the cloud." Likewise in the second epistle to the Corinthians; "Their minds are blinded unto this day:"' see 1 Cor. x. i. and 2 Cor. iii. 13, 14.

4. In one of his epistles, 'The<sup>v</sup> blessed apostle Paul also, chosen and sent of the Lord, and appointed preacher of the gospel, says the same thing in his epistle; "The Lord Jesus, the same night in which he was betrayed, took bread; and,

<sup>a</sup> Secundum quod beatus apostolus Paulus in epistolâ suâ ad Romanos scribit et dicit; Unusquisque nostrum pro se rationem dabit; non ergo nos invicem judicemus. Cypr. Ep. 69. al. 76. p. 188.

<sup>r</sup> See Vol. ii. p. 41. <sup>s</sup> Sed et hoc idem Paulus apostolus scribit, et dicit—Qui cum justitiam Dei cognovissent, non intellexerunt, quoniam qui talia agunt, morte sunt digni: non tantum qui faciunt ea, sed et qui consentiunt eis qui hæc agunt. Ep. 67. al. 68. p. 175.

<sup>t</sup> Σαυλος δε ην συνευδοκων τη αναρεσει αυτου. <sup>u</sup> In epistolâ Pauli ad Corinthios primâ: Nolo enim vos ignorare, fratres, quia patres nostri omnes sub nube fuerunt. Item in epistolâ ad Corinthios secundâ: Obtusi sunt sensus eorum, &c. Testim. lib. i. cap. 4. p. 22.

<sup>v</sup> Beatus quoque apostolus Paulus, a Domino electus et missus, et prædicator veritatis evangelicæ constitutus, hæc eadem in epistolâ suâ ponit, dicens; Dominus Jesus, in qua nocte tradebatur, accepit panem, et gratias agens, [egit, et, Baluz.] fregit, et dixit, Hoc est corpus meum, quod pro vobis tradetur. Hoc facite in meam commemorationem, &c. Ep. 63. p. 152.

giving thanks, broke it, and said, This is my body, which will be given for you : this do in remembrance of me :”’ 1 Cor. xi. 23, 24.

5. In one of his tracts : ‘ Likewise<sup>w</sup> the blessed apostle Paul, full of the inspiration of the Lord ; “ Now he that ministereth,” says he, “ seed to the sower, will both minister bread for your food, and multiply your seed sown, and increase the fruits of your righteousness, that ye may be enriched in all things ;” ’ 2 Cor. ix. 10, 11.

6. In the first book of Testimonies, ‘ Likewise<sup>x</sup> Paul to the Galatians ; “ But when the fulness of time was come, God sent forth his Son, made of a woman—” ’ Gal. iv. 4. In another work, ‘ The<sup>y</sup> apostle Paul, admonishing and saying, “ Therefore, whilst we have opportunity, let us do good to all men, especially to them who are of the household of faith. And let us not be weary in doing well ; for in due season we shall reap, if we faint not :” ’ so he transposeth the words of these two verses, Gal. vi. 10, 9.

7. St. Cyprian expressly quotes the epistle to the Ephesians, not only in the third book of<sup>z</sup> Testimonies, but likewise in one of his epistles, after this manner : ‘ But<sup>a</sup> the apostle Paul, speaking of the same thing more clearly and plainly, writes to the Ephesians and says, “ Christ loved the church, and gave himself for it, that he might sanctify and cleanse it with the washing of water ;” Eph. v. 25, 26. The text cited in the Testimonies is, ch. iv. 30, “ And grieve not the Holy Spirit of God, whereby ye were sealed in the day of redemption :” which is a remarkable and uncommon reading. However, it is found again in<sup>b</sup> St. Augustine.

8. In the third book of Testimonies, ‘ Likewise<sup>c</sup> Paul to the Philippians ; “ Who being appointed in the form of God, did not earnestly affect to be equal to God, but made him-

<sup>w</sup> Item beatus apostolus Paulus, dominicæ inspirationis gratiâ plenus : Qui administrat, inquit, &c. De Op. et Eleem.

<sup>x</sup> Item Paulus ad Galatas : At ubi advenit impletio temporis, misit Deus filium suum natum de muliere. Testim. l. i. c. 8. p. 37.

<sup>y</sup> Paulo apostolo admonente et dicente ; Ergo, dum tempus habemus, &c. De Op. et Eleem. p. 208.

<sup>z</sup> Paulus ad Ephesios : Nolite contristare Spiritum Sanctum Dei, in quo signati estis in die redemptionis. Test. l. iii. cap. 7. p. 64.

<sup>a</sup> Sed et Paulus apostolus hoc idem adhuc apertius et clarius manifestans ad Ephesios scribit et dicit : Christus dilexit ecclesiam, &c. Ep. 69. al. 76. p. 181.

<sup>b</sup> Ex hoc locutionis modo arbitrator dictum illud ab apostolo : Nolite contristare Spiritum Sanctum Dei, in quo signati estis in die redemptionis. Aug. de Gen. ad lit. l. iv. n. 18. p. 166. B. Tom. iii. P. i. Bened.

<sup>c</sup> Item Paulus ad Philippenses : Qui in figurâ Dei constitutus, non rapinam arbitratus est esse se æqualem Deo, sed se exinanivit, formam servi accipiens, in similitudinem hominis factus, et habitu inventus ut homo. Humiliavit se, factus obediens usque ad mortem, mortem autem crucis. Test. l. iii. c. 39. p. 76.

self of no reputation, taking the form of a servant, being made in the likeness of man, and found in fashion as a man, he humbled himself, becoming obedient unto death, even the death of the cross:” Philip. ii. 6, 7, 8. The same passage is likewise found in the second book of Cyprian’s<sup>d</sup> Testimonies, and plainly in the same sense. I have already quoted<sup>e</sup> this passage from some Greek writers, who interpret this text according to the translation just given. It is likewise found again, and plainly in the same sense, in<sup>f</sup> Novatus, or Novatian, as he is usually called, a Latin author, and contemporary with St. Cyprian. Mr. Marshall translates the first words of the passage above quoted from the third book of Cyprian’s Testimonies in this manner: That though he was appointed to appear in the form of God, he did not boast of his equality with God, but emptied himself. And besides, Mr. Marshall has a long and judicious note upon this citation of our author: he says, ‘ he cannot acquiesce in ‘ our common construction of the words, “ thought it no ‘ robbery,” &c. as if they intimated any thing like to his claim- ‘ ing an equality; because the apostle here is speaking of ‘ our Saviour’s humility and condescension, and rather re- ‘ presents him as receding from his just rights, than as in- ‘ sisting on them. Though he received so much honour ‘ from his Father, and was appointed to represent his person, ‘ yet when he came to suffer, he did not insist on his first ‘ pretensions; did not seem (then) to think he had any claim ‘ to the divinity, or might assume it; boasted not (then) of ‘ his near alliance to the Deity; but, instead of it, emptied ‘ himself, behaved and acted like a person void of any such ‘ powers. Novatian, in his book *De Trinitate*, cap. 17, ‘ understands our apostle in this sense; which I must ‘ acknowledge, with Mr. Le Clerc, seems to me the most ‘ natural and easy. See Mr. Le Clerc upon the place in his ‘ Supplement to Dr. Hammond; and Dr. Whitby, who gives ‘ instances out of Heliodorus, wherein the words *αρπαγμα* ‘ *ηγειτο*, which we translate, “ thinking a robbery,” plainly ‘ signify, catching at an opportunity, embracing any thing as ‘ extremely desirable.’ So writes Mr. Marshall. Mr. Wolff<sup>g</sup> has discoursed largely of this matter, and deserves to be consulted.

9. That passage, as was observed, is in Cyprian’s books of

<sup>d</sup> Test. l. ii. cap. 13.

<sup>e</sup> See Vol. ii. ch. 16. n. 7. ch. 38. n. 28.

<sup>f</sup> Qui cum in formâ Dei esset, non rapinam arbitratus est æqualem se Deo esse; sed semetipsum exinanivit, formam servi accipiens, in similitudine hominum factus, &c. Novat. de Reg. Fid. cap. 22. [al. 17.] p. 174. edit. Jo. Jacks.

<sup>g</sup> Vid. Wolff. Curæ in Ep. ad Philip. cap. 2. 6—8

Testimonies. In another work, ‘Mindful<sup>h</sup> of which the blessed apostle Paul says in his epistle [or in one of his epistles]: “For me to live is Christ, and to die is gain:”’ Philip. i. 21.

10. In the third book of Testimonies; ‘In<sup>i</sup> the epistle of Paul to the Colossians; “Continue in prayer, watching in the same:”’ Coloss. iv. 2. In another work: ‘Likewise<sup>k</sup> the blessed apostle Paul, full of the Holy Ghost, and sent to call and convert the Gentiles, warns and teaches: “Beware, lest any man spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit, after the tradition of men, after the rudiments of the world, and not after Christ: for in him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead.”’ Col. ii. 8.

11. In the books of Testimonies the<sup>l</sup> first and<sup>m</sup> second epistles of Paul to the Thessalonians are expressly cited: and in<sup>n</sup> other works also passages of both these epistles are cited by Cyprian as words of the apostle Paul.

12. ‘For<sup>o</sup> if the apostle Paul, writing to Timothy, said, “Let no man despise thy youth,” how much more may it be said to you by your colleagues, Let no man despise thy age?’ 1 Tim. iv. 12.

13. ‘Therefore<sup>p</sup> the apostle Paul writes to Timothy, and directs, “That a bishop should not strive, but be gentle, and apt to teach;”’ 2 Tim. ii. 24.

14. In the books of Testimonies<sup>q</sup> these two epistles are quoted by Cyprian distinctly, as the first and second to Timothy.

15. In the third book of Testimonies: ‘To<sup>r</sup> Titus, [that is, in the epistle of Titus, as appears from what there precedes,] “A man that is an heretic, after the first and second admonition, reject; knowing that such an one is subverted, and sinneth, being condemned of himself.”’ Tit. iii. 10, 11. In a synodical epistle of Cyprian, and other bishops in

<sup>h</sup> Cujus rei memor beatus apostolus Paulus in epistolâ suâ ponit et dicit: Mihi vivere Christus, et mori lucrum. De Mortal. p. 158.

<sup>i</sup> In epistolâ Pauli ad Colossenses: Instate orationi, vigilantes in eâ. Test. l. iii. cap. 120.

<sup>k</sup> Item beatus apostolus Paulus, plenus Spiritu Sancto, et vocandis formandisque gentibus missus, contestetur et instruat, dicens: videte ne quis vos deprædetur,—quia in ipso habitat omnis plenitudo divinitatis. De bono Patient. p. 210.

<sup>l</sup> Test. l. iii. cap. 88.

<sup>m</sup> Test. l. iii.

cap. 68.

<sup>n</sup> De Mort. p. 164. Ep. 14. [al. 5.] p. 32.

<sup>o</sup> Nam si apostolus Paulus, ad Timotheum scribens, dixit: Juventutem tuam nemo despiciat, &c. Ep. 3. [al. 65.] p. 6.

<sup>p</sup> Cui rei prospiciens

beatus Paulus apostolus ad Timotheum scribit et monet, episcopum non litigiosum, sed mitem et docibilem esse debere. Ep. 74. p. 215.

<sup>q</sup> Testim. lib. iii. cap. 67. 76, 77. et passim.

<sup>r</sup> Ad Titum:

Hæreticum hominem post unam aut secundam, &c. Test. l. iii. c. 78.

Africa, sent to some of their brethren in Spain; ‘Forasmuch’ as the apostle directs, that a “bishop must be blameless, as the steward of God.”’ Tit. i. 7.

Mr. Hallett, in his<sup>t</sup> learned Discourse of Heresy and Schism, explaining the forecited difficult text to Titus, expresseth himself in this manner: ‘What I take to be the true interpretation of the character, self-condemned, has been often published, and yet has been strangely overlooked of late years. The oldest writer that I have found it in is Jerom, who in his comment upon the place says, “A heretic is said to be condemned of himself, because (while a fornicator, an adulterer, a murderer, and other vicious persons, are cast out of the church by the priests) heretics pass sentence upon themselves, and of their own accord depart from the church; which departure is as a condemnation passed on them by their own consciences.”’ And Mr. Hallett there shows that this has been the opinion of divers learned moderns, particularly of Estius, bishop Barlow, and Dr. Hammond.

I shall here add a passage from Cyprian, which may show that interpretation to be older than Jerom; as Mr. Hallett likewise supposes, for he takes it to be the true meaning of the text. ‘Which,’ says<sup>u</sup> Cyprian, ‘the apostle Paul confirms, when he teaches and requires that a heretic be rejected, as being subverted, a sinner, and condemned of himself: for the ruin of such an one must be laid to his own charge, who is not cast out by the bishop, but of his own accord forsakes the church, passing sentence upon himself by his heretical presumption.’

16. The epistle to Philemon is not found quoted in the remaining works of Cyprian. The shortness of it may be supposed to be the reason.

VI. The epistle to the Hebrews is no where expressly quoted by St. Cyprian; nor are there in his works any passages that contain allusions to it. He may have some texts of the Old Testament which are cited, or alluded to, in the epistle to the Hebrews; but he does not take them from that epistle, but from the original books themselves.

<sup>s</sup> —quando et apostolus moneat ac dicat: Episcopum oportet esse sine crimine, quasi Dei dispensatorem. Ep. 67. [al. 68.] p. 173.

<sup>t</sup> See Mr. Hallett’s Notes and Discourses, Vol. iii. p. 377, &c.

<sup>u</sup> Quisquis autem de collectis foras exierit, id est, si quis, quamvis in ecclesiâ gratiam consecutus, recesserit, et ab ecclesiâ exierit, reum sibi futurum, id est, ipsum sibi quod pereat imputaturum. Quod apostolus Paulus explanat, docens et præcipiens hæreticum vitandum esse, ut perversum, et peccatorem, et a semetipso damnatum. Hic enim reus sibi erit, qui non ab episcopo ejectus, sed sponte de ecclesiâ profugus, et hæreticâ præsumptione a semetipso damnatus. Ep. 69. [al. 76.] p. 182.

This is so plain that I suppose no one will contest it. Dr. Mill<sup>v</sup> allows that this epistle is nowhere cited by St. Cyprian; and his not quoting this epistle, which is so large, in any of his tracts or epistles, may be reckoned an argument that he was not acquainted with it, or that he did not esteem it a part of holy scripture. Accordingly, Mr. Hallett,<sup>w</sup> in the Introduction to his Paraphrase and Notes on the three last Chapters of the Epistle to the Hebrews, admits it to be very likely that St. Cyprian was of the same opinion with some others of the Latin church at that time, who did not receive this as a canonical epistle.

And indeed, that this Latin father did not reckon the epistle to the Hebrews to have been written by the apostle Paul, is farther evident from an observation twice mentioned by him, concerning the number of churches to which that apostle had written. In the first book of Testimonies,<sup>x</sup> Cyprian having quoted the words of Hannah, “the barren has borne seven, and she that has many sons ‘[or children] is waxed feeble,” (1 Sam. ii. 5.) goes on: The seven sons are seven churches; for which reason Paul wrote to seven churches; and the Revelation has seven churches, that the number seven may be preserved.’ In another tract, having mentioned the seven golden candlesticks in the Revelation, the seven pillars in Solomon’s Proverbs, upon which Wisdom built her house, and likewise the forementioned seven in the first book of Samuel, and the seven women in Is. iv. 1, he adds; ‘And<sup>y</sup> the apostle Paul, who was mindful of this authorized, and well-known number, writes to seven churches; and in the Revelation our Lord sends his divine and heavenly instructions and commands to seven churches and their angels.’ By the seven churches, to which Paul wrote, Cyprian unquestionably meaneth the churches of Rome, Corinth, Galatia, Ephesus, Philippi, Colosse, and Thessalonica; as is also observed by bishop Fell<sup>z</sup> in a note upon this passage.

<sup>v</sup> Tertullianum nescio an secutus sit Cyprianus; in cujus operibus epistolam hanc [ad Hebræos] nusquam citatam reperias. Prol. n. 216.

<sup>w</sup> See Introd. p. xviii.

<sup>x</sup> Item in Basileiōn primo: ‘Sterilis septem peperit, et quæ plurimos habebat filios, infirmata est.’ Filii autem septem sunt ecclesiæ septem. Unde et Paulus septem ecclesiis scribit, et Apocalypsis ecclesias septem ponit, ut servetur septenarius numerus. Test. l. i. cap. 20.

<sup>y</sup> Et apostolus Paulus, qui hujus numeri legitimi et certi meminit, ad septem ecclesias scribit. Et in Apocalypsi Dominus mandata sua divina et præcepta cœlestia ad septem ecclesias et earum angelos scribit. De exhort. Mart. cap. 11. p. 179.

<sup>z</sup> Ad septem ecclesias scribit.] Nimirum ad Romanos, Corinthios, Galatas, Ephesios, Philippenses, Colossenses, et Thessalonicenses. Si requiratur, quo in loco Paulus hujus legitimi et certi numeri meminerit, forte dicendum, hoc ab eo præstitum. Hebr. xi. 30.

Nevertheless, that learned writer adds there a remark which appears to me very particular : ‘ If it be asked,’ says he, ‘ in what place Paul has mentioned [so he understands ‘ the word *meminit*] this authorized and well-known number, ‘ perhaps it must be said, that it is done by him in *Hebr. xi. 30.* “ By faith the walls of Jericho fell down, after they ‘ were compassed about seven days.” ’ But I suppose it can scarce be doubted but Cyprian’s meaning is, that as a regard had been had to the number seven by many persons upon various occasions ; so likewise Paul had remembered, ‘ was ‘ mindful of,’ showed his respect to, that number, by writing epistles to seven churches, and no more.

From these passages then it may be reckoned evident, that Cyprian supposed the apostle Paul had written to no more than seven churches, and that his other epistles were sent to particular persons. Cyprian therefore did not compute the epistle to the Hebrews among the works of the apostle Paul.

Since the writing what is above, relating to this epistle to the Hebrews, I have had an opportunity to consult Mr. Marshall’s English translation of St. Cyprian. The passage of our author last cited is there rendered after this manner ; ‘ Thus<sup>a</sup> ‘ the apostle St. Paul, bearing in his mind this remarkable ‘ and distinguished number, hath written precisely to seven ‘ churches. And in the Revelation our blessed Lord directs ‘ his heavenly instructions to seven churches and their seven ‘ angels.’ And in the notes upon this place Mr. Marshall omits the above-mentioned remark of bishop Fell, which I have taken the liberty to censure, without translating it, or saying any thing about it. He likewise adds another remark of his own, which is much better, in these very words ; ‘ So ‘ that our author (I observe) did not ascribe the Hebrews ‘ to Paul.’

Here therefore it will be very proper to take notice of Mr. Marshall’s translation of a passage in St. Cyprian’s works. It is in the Acts of the council at Carthage in the year 256, where our bishop presided. There a part of the thirty-third suffrage, that of Felix of Amaccora, is thus rendered ; ‘ Wherefore to me it is manifest, that neither heretics nor ‘ schismatics are capable of the heavenly gift, who have been ‘ so presumptuous as to expect it from men who are sinners ‘ and aliens from the church.’ Here that expression, heavenly gift, seems to be taken from *Hebr. vi. 4*, but there is no such expression in the original Latin. Felix says, that<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> See Mr. N. Marshall’s *St. Cyprian*, p. 179.

<sup>b</sup> *Et ideo manifestum est, nec hæreticos nec schismaticos aliquid cœlestis*

heretics and schismatics are not capable of any thing heavenly; that is, spiritual or divine. This wrong version seems to be owing to the liberty which Mr. Marshall gave himself, and which I observed<sup>c</sup> formerly. He says in his<sup>d</sup> preface, ‘ I have here and there also expressed my author’s sense in the language of holy scripture, where he himself did not mean to quote it: but then in such cases, I never refer to the passage, as I always do where he particularly cites any verse or chapter of the inspired writers.’ But yet here Mr. Marshall has not only expressed his author’s sense in the language of the epistle to the Hebrews, ‘ where he himself did not mean to quote it,’ but he has also marked and distinguished this expression by putting it in the body of his translation in *Italic* letters, and by referring in the margin to the epistle to the Hebrews, and also by putting this reference or quotation at the end of the volume in the table of the texts of scripture cited by St. Cyprian. To what shall we ascribe this? I conceive of this matter thus: In translating this suffrage, Mr. Marshall put in practice the liberty we have noted; he then, at first, wrote out that passage without any distinction of letters, and without any marginal reference to a book of holy scripture; but some good while after, when he came to review and read over his version, and no longer had the original before him, seeing this expression, he thought it worthy of observation; and therefore presently marked it with his pen for *Italic*, and put a reference in the margin, whence it came also into the table of texts at the end of the volume. This, I think, is a likely way of accounting for this matter; however, it may be partly accounted for another way; for the marking that expression for *Italic*, the marginal reference, and its place in the table of texts, may be all owing to some person employed under Mr. Marshall. But still the translator is accountable for all that ensued upon his wrong translation; and if Mr. Marshall was not deceived and misled by his own version, some one else very near him was imposed upon; and in like manner must all others be deceived who read this passage in his translation, and have no opportunity of consulting the original.

VII. I shall now observe this writer’s testimony to the catholic epistles.

1. We find no quotations or allusions to the epistle of St. James in St. Cyprian’s works.

posse suscipere, qui a peccatoribus hominibus, et ab ecclesiâ extraneis audeant accipere. ap. Cypr. p. 236.

<sup>c</sup> See before, p. 16, note <sup>a</sup>.

<sup>d</sup> P. xviii.

2. The apostle Peter's first epistle is often quoted by St. Cyprian. 'Likewise<sup>e</sup> Peter, upon whom by the gracious vouchsafement of the Lord the church is built, says in his epistle, (1 Pet. ii. 21, 22, 23,) "Christ suffered for us, leaving you an example, that ye should follow his steps; who did not sin, neither was guile found in his mouth; who, when he was reviled, reviled not; when he suffered, he threatened not, but committed [or yielded] himself to them that judged him unrighteously:"' meaning Pontius Pilate. So Cyprian must have read this text, it being quoted by him after the same manner likewise in the<sup>f</sup> books of Testimonies. I may not stay to consider which reading is preferable, whether this, or that now more commonly received, to him that judgeth righteously: I would therefore refer my readers, for farther satisfaction, to<sup>g</sup> Mr. Wolff's notes upon the place.

This epistle is several times quoted in the third book of Testimonies with this title, The<sup>h</sup> epistle of Peter to the people of Pontus: who are the persons first named in the inscription of the epistle.

In his other works, Cyprian quotes this as<sup>i</sup> the epistle of the apostle Peter, and<sup>k</sup> of Peter the apostle of Christ.

3. The second epistle of St. Peter is not at all quoted by Cyprian. One may be well apt to think it was not received by him as a sacred book; otherwise it could not have been omitted by a writer whose works so much abound with citations of scripture, and who had such controversies about the treatment of heretics. If this epistle had been a part of Cyprian's canon, it is likely he would have applied divers passages of it to the heretics and schismatics of his own time, as he does<sup>l</sup> the texts of St. John's first Epistle relating to antichrist.

This may well bring to our mind the<sup>m</sup> passage formerly cited out of Firmilian's letter to our author, where we were willing to suppose that Firmilian had a reference to St.

<sup>e</sup> Item Petrus, super quem ecclesia Domini dignatione fundata est, in epistolâ sua ponit et dicit: Christus passus est pro nobis, relinquens vobis exemplum, ut sequamini vestigia ejus; qui peccatum non fecit, nec dolus inventus est in ore ejus: cum malediceretur, non maledicebat; cum pateretur, non comminabatur; tradebat autem se judicanti injuste. De Bono Pat. p. 213, 214.

<sup>f</sup> Tradebat autem se judicanti injuste. Test. l. iii. cap. 39.

<sup>g</sup> Vid. Joh. Chr. Wolff. Cur. Philolog. et Crit. Tom. v. p. 122, 123.

<sup>h</sup> De hoc ipso in epistolâ Petri ad Ponticos. Test. l. iii. c. 36. vid. et c. 37. 39.

<sup>i</sup> Secundum quod Petrus apostolus in epistolâ suâ præmonet et docet, dicens: Sobrii estote, &c. De Zel. et Livore p. 221.

<sup>k</sup> Petrus etiam apostolus ejus docuerit, ideo persecutiones fieri, ut probemur:—posuit enim in epistolâ suâ dicens: Ep. 58. [al. 56.] p. 121.

<sup>l</sup> See below 4. note<sup>t</sup> and num. 10.

<sup>m</sup> Vol. ii. Ch. 39. num. 14.

Peter's second Epistle. Nevertheless, perhaps Cyprian's entire silence about this epistle may induce some to doubt whether Firmilian did really refer to it. Farther, the entire silence of Cyprian, and the very small notice taken of this epistle by<sup>n</sup> Origen, another acquaintance, and a very intimate friend of Firmilian, may occasion a doubt, whether this second epistle was received by Firmilian as an epistle of Peter.

I have no desire to set aside our second Epistle of Peter, as not genuine; but I think it incumbent upon me to mention such observations as these when they offer: and I must still proceed to observe, that we have Firmilian's letter to Cyprian in a Latin translation only, nor do we certainly know by whom it was made. The expressions in the translation are very strong; that Peter and Paul in their epistles have cursed, or pronounced censures upon heretics, and admonished us to avoid them; but perhaps the words of the original were not so express. What we now have rendered 'their epistles,' possibly might be only some<sup>o</sup> general word denoting writings, or the scriptures: and in what Firmilian says of Peter, he might refer to that apostle's censure of Simon Magus, reputed an arch heretic, and recorded in<sup>p</sup> the Acts of the Apostles; a book of holy scripture, and universally received. It is certain, that it is no uncommon thing for ancient christian authors to quote Peter and Paul, meaning some words of theirs recorded in the Acts of the Apostles, without naming that book, or hinting where the intended passage is to be found. We shall see in the<sup>q</sup> next chapter a remarkable instance of this kind, where the apostle Paul is quoted. I place here<sup>r</sup> in the margin several such quotations of the apostle Peter in divers authors, one of which contains a part of his reproof of the forementioned Simon.

4. The first Epistle of St. John is often expressly quoted by Cyprian: 'And<sup>s</sup> the apostle John, mindful of the com-

<sup>n</sup> See ch. 38. num. 12.

<sup>o</sup> Ex. gr. *ταῖς γραφαῖς, τοῖς γραμμασίω.*

<sup>p</sup> Acts viii. 20—23.

<sup>q</sup> See below, chap. xlv. num. vii. 7.

<sup>r</sup> Et apostolus [Petrus de Salvatore testatus est, dicens: Hujus anima non derelicta est in inferno, nec caro ejus vidit corruptionem. [Vid. Act. ii. 27.] Philastr. de Hær. n. 69. 138, Ed. Fabric. Et Petrus apostolus Mago Simoni dixerat: Age pœnitentiam, si quo modo dimittatur tibi quod fecisti. [Vid. Act. viii. 22.] Philast. Hær. 82. p. 159. Adtende enim, quid Petrus apostolus, Spiritu Sancto docente, commoneat, qui ait: Et nunc ergo vos quid tentatis Deum, imponere jugum collo discentium, &c. [Act. xv. 10, 11.] P. Oros. de lib. arb. p. 620. Ed. Havercamp. 1738. Sicut Petrus ad Judæos exclamavit: Dexterâ Dei exaltatus, acceptum a Patre Spiritum effudit, &c. [Act. ii. 33.] Victorin. in Apocal. ap. Bib. Patr. T. iii. R. 415. D.

<sup>s</sup> Et Joannes apostolus, mandati memor, in epistolâ suâ postmodum ponit: In hoc, inquit, intelligimus, quia cognovimus eum, si præcepta ejus custodiamus.

mand, writes in his epistle: "Hereby," says he, "we perceive that we know him, if we keep his commandments: He that saith, I know him, and keepeth not his commandments, is a liar, and the truth is not in him:"' 1 John ii. 3.

4. I shall add one passage more<sup>t</sup> in the margin, where this epistle is quoted as written by the blessed apostle John.

There are two passages, where Cyprian is supposed by some to quote or refer to the disputed text, concerning the three witnesses in heaven. The first is to this purpose: 'The<sup>u</sup> Lord says, "I and the Father are one." And again, of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit it is written: "And these three are one:"' 1 John v. 7. The other passage I shall not translate. However, I put it<sup>v</sup> in the margin, for the sake of those who may choose to see it here. I do not enter into the merits of the question, whether this clause be genuine, or whether it was quoted or referred to by St. Cyprian. The reader who is desirous of information concerning this matter, may consult the<sup>w</sup> authors who have treated of it largely; but in a following<sup>x</sup> chapter will be found an argument of no small weight in favour of the supposition, that this clause was wanting in St. Cyprian's copies of St. John's epistle.

5. In a passage cited just now it is said, John writes in his epistle, meaning our first Epistle of St. John: and it must be owned, that St. Cyprian has no where quoted any other epistle of this Apostle. But this may be accounted for by the brevity of the two other epistles. It is certain, that form of quotation is no proof of his knowing or owning no other epistle of St. John, the like form being also often used by him in quoting an epistle of St. Paul. There are some instances of

—Ep. 28. [al. 25.] p. 54.

<sup>t</sup> Item beatus Joannes apostolus nec ipse ullam hæresin aut schisma discrevit, aut aliquos speciatim separatos posuit; sed universos qui de ecclesiâ exiissent, quique contra ecclesiam facerent, antichristos appellavit, dicens: Audistis quia antichristus venit. Nunc autem antichristi multi facti sunt, &c. [1 Joh. ii. 18. 19.] Ep. 69. [al. 76.] p. 180.

<sup>u</sup> Dicit Dominus: Ego et Pater unum sumus. Et iterum de Patre et Filio et Spiritu Sancto scriptum est: Et hi tres unum sunt. De Unitate Ec. p. 109.

<sup>v</sup> Nam si baptizari quis apud hæreticos potuit, utique et remissam peccatorum consequi potuit. Si peccatorum remissam consecutus est, et sanctificatus est, et templum Dei factus est, quæro cujus Dei? Si creatoris, non potuit qui in eum non credidit. Si Christi, nec hujus fieri potuit templum, qui negat Deum Christum. Si Spiritus Sancti, cum tres unum sint, quomodo Spiritus Sanctus placatus esse ei potest, qui aut Patris aut Filii inimicus est? ad Jubaianum Ep. 73. p. 203.

<sup>w</sup> There may be seen a large collection of such authors in Mr. Wolff's *Curæ Philolog. &c.* in loc. Tom. iv. p. 293, &c. I therefore refer only to a very few. Vid. Mill. in loc. Emlyn's *Tracts*. Ri. Simon. *Hist. Crit. du Texte du Nou. Test.* ch. xvii. Le Clerc. *Bib. Univ. T. xii.* p. 450—455, et passim, and Mr. David Casley's *Preface to the Catalogue of the manuscripts of the king's library.*

<sup>x</sup> See below chap. xlv. numb. vi. 10, 11, 12.

this to be found in the passages already cited. I shall add here one more: ‘And<sup>y</sup> again the blessed apostle says in his epistle, (1 Cor. xii. 26.) “Whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it; or one member rejoice, all the members rejoice with it.”’ It is reasonable to suppose, that the second Epistle of St. John was owned by Cyprian, because it is expressly cited by one of the bishops in the council of Carthage held in 256, of which Cyprian was a principal part. That bishop there delivers his opinion upon the point in debate in this manner: ‘The<sup>z</sup> apostle John writes in his epistle, [that is, in one of his epistles,] “If there come any unto you, and bring not the doctrine of Christ, receive him not into your house; neither bid him God speed. For he that biddeth him God speed is partaker of his evil deeds:” 2 John 10, 11. And St. John’s third epistle likewise may have been owned by Cyprian.

6. There is no notice taken of the Epistle of St. Jude in the works of this writer.

VIII. The book of the Revelation is frequently quoted by Cyprian; but he has no where said that it was written by John the Apostle, and but once mentioned the name of the writer. ‘And<sup>a</sup> in the Revelation, the angel, when John would have worshipped him, refused it, and said, “See thou do it not; for I am thy fellow-servant, and of thy brethren: worship the Lord Jesus.”’ So it is in Cyprian. We have it, “Worship God,” Rev. xxii. 9.

The Revelation was esteemed by him a book of authority, as is evident from the manner in which he quotes it. Recommending works of goodness, ‘Hear, says<sup>b</sup> he, in the Revelation, the voice of thy Lord justly reprovng such men as these: “Thou sayest,” says he, “that I am rich and increased in goods, and have need of nothing; and knowest not that thou art wretched, and miserable, and poor, and blind, and naked:” ch. iii. 17, 18. Again: ‘So in the<sup>c</sup> holy scriptures, by which the Lord would have us to be

<sup>y</sup> Et iterum posuit [beatus apostolus] in epistolâ suâ, dicens: Si patitur membrum unum, &c. Ep. 17. [al. 12.] p. 39.

<sup>z</sup> Joannes apostolus in epistolâ suâ posuit dicens: Si quis ad vos venit, et doctrinam Christi non habet, nolite eum admittere in domum vestram, et Ave illi ne dixeritis. Qui enim dixerit illi Ave communicat factis ejus malis. Tract. p. 242.

<sup>a</sup> Et in Apocalypsi angelus Joanni volenti adorare se resistit et dicit: Vide ne feceris, quia conservus tuus sum, et fratrum tuorum. Jesum Dominum adora. De Bono Pudicitiaë. p. 220.

<sup>b</sup> Audi in Apocalypsi Domini tui vocem, ejusmodi homines justis objurgationibus increpantem: Dicis, inquit, dives sum, et ditatus sum, et nullius rei egeo. De Op. et Eleem. p. 202.

<sup>c</sup> Sic in scripturis sanctis, quibus nos instrui Dominus voluit et moneri, describitur civitas meretrix, compta pulchrius et ornata. De Habitu Virg. p. 97.

instructed and warned, is the harlot city described.' He then cites Rev. xvii. 1, 2, 3. Once more: 'And<sup>d</sup> that waters signify people, the divine scripture shows in the Revelation:' ch. xvii. 15.

I may add here, that words of this book are cited together with other texts of the New Testament, in a letter of some presbyters and deacons, and others, confessors of the church of Rome, to Cyprian, written in 250. 'And to him<sup>e</sup> that overcometh will I give to sit upon my throne, even as I also overcame, and am set down upon my Father's throne.' Rev. iii. 21.

IX. St. Cyprian's respect for the scriptures of the New Testament appears, in his very numerous quotations of them, in his appeals to them as decisive in matters of dispute and controversy, and in divers forms of citation, particularly such as these: "The<sup>f</sup> Lord says in the gospel:" or "in his gospel," as in several passages cited above; "divine scriptures," of the Acts; "sacred scriptures," and "divine scriptures," speaking of the Revelation; "the blessed apostle Paul, full of the grace of the inspiration of the Lord; the blessed apostle Paul, chosen and sent of the Lord; the blessed apostle Paul, full of the Holy Ghost, and sent to call and convert the Gentiles;" as we have seen already. Farther: 'The Holy Spirit,<sup>g</sup> foretelling and forewarning us by the apostle, "In the last days," says he, "perilous times shall come,"' 2 Tim. iii. 1. Again: 'Paul<sup>h</sup> in his epistles, in which he forms us to a holy course of life, by his divine instructions, says, (1 Cor. vi. 19, 20.) "Ye are not your own, for ye are bought with a great price; glorify and carry God in your body."' So Cyprian,<sup>i</sup> and some other ancient writers, read that text. In another place, 'The<sup>k</sup> Holy Ghost forewarns by the apostle, and says, "There must be also heresies, that they which are approved may be made manifest among you,"' 1 Cor. xi. 19. Again; 'And<sup>l</sup> therefore it is written; "Hold fast that which thou

<sup>d</sup> Aquas namque populos significare, in Apocalypsi scriptura divina declarat, dicens: Aquæ, quas vidisti, &c. Ep. 63. p. 153. <sup>e</sup> Ep. 31. [al. 26.] p. 63.

<sup>f</sup> In evangelio Dominus loquitur, dicens: Qui confessus me fuerit coram hominibus, &c. De Lapsis. p. 130.

<sup>g</sup> Prænuntiante per apostolum nobis, et præmonente Spiritu Sancto: In novissimis, inquit, diebus aderunt tempora molesta. De Unit. Ec. p. 115.

<sup>h</sup> Paulus in epistolis suis dicit, quibus nos ad curricula vivendi per divina magisteria formavit; Non estis vestri; empti enim estis pretio magno. Glorificate [al. Clarificate] et portate Deum in corpore vestro. De Habit. Virg. p. 93. <sup>i</sup> Vid. Mill. in loc. <sup>k</sup> Per apostolum præmonet Spiritus Sanctus, et dicit: Oportet et hæreses esse. De Unit. Ec. p. 111:

<sup>l</sup> Et ideo scriptum est: Tene quod habes, ne alius accipiat coronam tuam De Unit. Ec. p. 117.

‘hast, that another take not thy crown,’” Rev. iii. 11. One of the bishops at the council of Carthage, in the year 256, says; ‘I<sup>m</sup> am of opinion that blasphemous and ‘wicked heretics, who pervert the sacred and adorable ‘words of the scriptures, ought to be accursed.’ Afterwards another bishop, in the same assembly, says; ‘I<sup>n</sup> also, following the authority of the divine scriptures, am of opinion ‘that heretics are to be baptized.’ Cyprian<sup>o</sup> earnestly exhorts all in general, but especially christian ministers, in all doubtful matters to have recourse to the gospels, and the epistles of the Apostles, as to the fountain where may be found the true original doctrine of Christ. He begins his discourse on the Lord’s prayer on this manner; ‘The<sup>p</sup> precepts of the gospel, my beloved brethren, are to be considered as the lessons of God to us; as the foundations of our hope, and the supports of our faith; as spiritual consolations to us, showing us the paths of righteousness, and setting us forward in the way of salvation: for, whilst with teachable and willing minds we receive upon earth the instructions conveyed to us, we are led on insensibly to the kingdom of<sup>q</sup> heaven.’

The respect for the scriptures, particularly of the New Testament, appears in the public reading of them in the church. Cyprian, in two different letters, written in his retirement, gives his people an account of his having there ordained two persons, Aurelius and Celerinus, who were before confessors, to be readers. In the former of those two letters he relates the many sufferings of Aurelius, and gives him a great character: and then adds; ‘That<sup>r</sup> he had de-

<sup>m</sup> Hæreticos blasphemos et iniquos, verbis variis decerpentes sancta et adorabilia scripturarum verba, execrandos censeo. Num. 31. p. 236.

<sup>n</sup> Et ipse secutus divinarum scripturarum auctoritatem baptizandos hæreticos esse censeo, *ibid.* num. 33. *vid.* et num. 37. p. 337.

<sup>o</sup> Nam si ad divinæ traditionis caput et originem revertamur, cessat error humanus.—Si canalis aquam ducens, qui copiose prius et largiter profuebat, subito deficiat, nonne ad fontem pergitur—? Quod et nunc facere oportet Dei sacerdotes præcepta divina servantes, ut, si in aliquo nutaverit et vacillaverit veritas, ad originem Dominicam et evangelicam, et apostolicam traditionem revertamur, et inde surgat actûs nostri ratio, unde et ordo et origo surrexerit. Ep. 74. p. 215.

<sup>p</sup> Evangelica præcepta, fratres dilectissimi, nihil sunt aliud quam magisteria divina, fundamenta ædificandæ spei, firmamenta corroborandæ fidei, nutrimenta fovendi cordis, gubernacula dirigendi itineris, præsidia obtinendæ salutis; quæ, dum dociles credentium mentes in terris instruunt, ad cœlestia regna perducunt. De Orat. Dom. p. 139.

<sup>q</sup> That passage I have put down as translated by Mr. Marshall.

<sup>r</sup> Merebatur talis clericæ ordinationis posteriores gradus et incrementa majora, non de annis suis, sed de meritis æstimandus. Sed interim placuit, ut ab officio lectionis incipiat; quia et nihil magis congruit voci, quæ Dominum gloriosâ prædicatione confessa est, quam celebrandis divinis lectionibus personare; post verba sublimia quæ Christi

served, though young, a higher degree in the clergy, but he thought it best that he should begin with the office of a reader. Nothing,' says he, 'can be more fit than that he, who has made a glorious confession of the Lord, should read publicly in the church; that he who has shown himself willing to die a martyr should read the gospel of Christ, by which martyrs are formed; and that he should be advanced from the rack to the desk.' Of Celerinus he writes in the following letter; 'That<sup>s</sup> it was very fit and becoming that he who was already so illustrious in the world should be placed upon the pulpit, that is, the tribunal of the church; that being conspicuous to the people he may read the precepts and gospel of the Lord, which he faithfully and courageously observes and maintains:' and more there to the like purpose in behalf of his fitness, as a confessor, for the office to which Cyprian had ordained him.

We have not remaining any sermons or homilies of our author: but it may be reckoned very likely that the scriptures, which were so much read in the church of Carthage by a person particularly appointed to that office, were also explained there by the bishop, sometimes at least; and that, from the portions of scripture publicly read in the assemblies of the faithful, he gave them exhortations to the practice of virtue. And there is a passage in Cyprian's last letter to his clergy and people, which seems to put this matter out of question. He is there giving them some directions for their conduct in that time of persecution. 'As<sup>t</sup> for you, my dearest brethren, I must charge you to be quiet and peaceable, according to the commandments of the Lord, which I have frequently recommended to you, and upon which you have very often heard me preaching.'

X. I would now put down some general titles and divisions of the books of the New Testament, which we find in

martyrium prolocuta sunt, evangelium Christi legere, unde martyres fiunt, ad pulpitum post catastam venire; illic fuisse conspicuum gentilium multitudini, hic a fratribus conspici: illic auditum esse cum miraculo circumstantis populi, hic cum gaudio fraternitatis audiri. Hunc igitur, fratres dilectissimi, a me et a collegis qui præsentes aderant, ordinatum sciatis. Ep. 38. [al. 33.] p. 75.

<sup>s</sup> —illustrem, quid aliud quam super pulpitum, id est, super tribunal ecclesiæ oportebat imponi, ut loci altioris celsitate subnixus, et plebi universæ pro honoris sui claritate conspicuus, legat præcepta et evangelium Domini, quæ fortiter et fideliter sequitur?—Nihil est in quo magis confessor fratribus prosit, quam et dum evangelica lectio de ore ejus auditur, lectoris fidem quisquis audierit, imitetur. Ep. 39. [al. 34.] p. 77.

<sup>t</sup> Vos autem, fratres carissimi, pro disciplinâ, quam de mandatis Dominicis a me semper accepistis, et secundum quod me tractante sæpissime didicistis, quietem et tranquillitatem tenete, &c. Ep. 81. [al. 83.] p. 239.

this ancient writer: we shall at the same time observe more tokens of high esteem for them.

It is fit, however, that we should first take notice of his general division of all the scriptures received by christians, which is<sup>u</sup> that of Old and New. The study of both these Cyprian recommends as very beneficial for confirming our virtue and increasing our knowledge; and he calls them the books of the Spirit, or inspired writings, the divine fountains, and fountains of the divine fulness. So he writes in his preface to his first two books of Testimonies.

The general titles and divisions of the New Scriptures are such as these: Cyprian himself, delivering his sentiment in the forementioned council, says; ‘My<sup>v</sup> opinion is, that heretics, which by the evangelic and apostolic authority are declared adversaries of Christ, and antichrists, when they come to the church, are to be baptized with the one only baptism of the church.’ In another place<sup>w</sup> he observes what is written of obtaining remission of sins ‘in the gospels and the epistles of the apostles.’ Again; ‘Whence,’ says<sup>x</sup> he, ‘is that tradition? Does it descend from the authority of the Lord and the gospels, or does it come from the commandments and epistles of the apostles? For those things ought to be done which are written, as God taught Joshua the son of Nun:’ Josh. i. 8. And soon after; ‘If<sup>y</sup> therefore it is commanded in the gospel, or is contained in epistles or Acts, that they who come over from any heresy should not be baptized, but only have imposition of hands in order to penance, let that sacred and divine tradition be observed.’ From this passage it may be argued, that the book of the Acts of the Apostles was joined with the epistles, not with the gospels. We see plainly that this general division of

<sup>u</sup> —quæ legenti tibi [al. legentibus] interim prosint ad prima fidei lineamenta formanda. Plus roboris [tibi] dabitur, et magis ac magis intellectus cordis operabitur scrutanti scripturas veteres ac novas plenius, et universa librorum spiritualium volumina perlegenti. Nam nos nunc de divinis fontibus implevimus modicum, quod ibi interim mitteremus. Bibere et saturari copiosius poteris, si tu quoque ad eosdem divinæ plenitudinis fontes nobiscum pariter potaturus accesseris. p. 18.

<sup>v</sup> Hæreticos secundum evangelicam et apostolicam contestationem adversarios Christi et antichristos appellatos, quando ad ecclesiam venerint, unico ecclesiæ baptismo baptizandos esse. p. 243.

<sup>w</sup> Quod enim in evangelii et apostolorum epistolis Jesu Christi nomen insinuatur ad remissionem peccatorum, non ita est quasi aut sine Patre, aut contra Patrem prodesse cuiquam solus Filius possit. Ep. 73. p. 205.

<sup>x</sup> Unde est ista traditio? utrumne de Dominicâ et evangelicâ auctoritate descendens, an de apostolorum mandatis atque epistolis veniens? Ea enim facienda esse, quæ scripta sunt, Deus testatur et proponit ad Jesum Nave, dicens, &c. Ep. 74. p. 211.

<sup>y</sup> Si ergo aut in evangelio præcipitur, aut in apostolorum epistolis aut Actibus continetur;—observetur divina hæc et sancta traditio. ibid.

the books of the New Testament very much obtained at that time; they were all contained in two codes, volumes, or general divisions; one called the gospels or scriptures of the Lord; the other the Apostle, or the epistles of the apostles; and in this latter division was usually placed the book of the Acts of the Apostles. I shall put<sup>z</sup> in the margin a few more examples of those two general titles from our author. We likewise see very clearly that in these two codes were included all the scriptures of the New Testament, which christians esteemed divine, and received as the rule of faith and practice, to which all were bound to submit, and whose sacred and supreme authority was readily and cheerfully owned by all good christians.

Nor were there any christian books of authority beside the four gospels, the Acts and epistles of apostles. It does hence clearly appear that no epistles or other doctrinal writings of any person, who was of a rank below that of an apostle, were received by christians as a part of their rule of faith. There are in Cyprian's works very numerous citations of the four gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, the thirteen epistles of the apostle Paul, (excepting only that to Philemon,) the first epistle of the apostle Peter, the first epistle of the apostle John, and the Revelation, which it is highly probable he believed to be written by John the apostle: and all these are quoted as writings of authority. But in all the works of Cyprian there is not any one such citation of any other christian book or author. It is therefore manifest that the writings of scriptures above-named were of authority, and that no writings of christians, nor apostles, were esteemed to be so, except the historical writings of Mark and Luke. I inculcate this observation upon my readers: I think it is founded upon good evidence; and I believe it will appear to be of signal use and great importance.

XI. Nor have I observed in Cyprian any quotations of spurious apocryphal christian writings. Mr. Jones<sup>a</sup> indeed, in his Alphabetical Table of Apocryphal Pieces not extant, mentions a book under the name of Paul. See Cypr. Ep. 23. But that book is really nothing but a note of Paul, a martyr of Cyprian's own time, containing a kind of absolution of some

<sup>z</sup> Scias nos ab evangelicis et apostolicis traditionibus non recedere. Ep. 4. [al. 62.] p. 7. Prænuntiata sunt hæc futura in seculi fine: et Domini voce, atque apostolorum contestatione prædictum est: [Vid. Luc. xviii. 8. 2 Tim. iii. 1] Ep. 67. [al. 68.] p. 174. Nec episcopus computari potest, qui evangelicâ et apostolicâ traditione contemptâ, nemini succedens, a seipso ortus est. Ep. 69. [al. 76.] p. 181.

<sup>a</sup> Mr. Jones's New and Full Method, &c. Vol. i. p. 148.

one or more persons who had lapsed in the Decian persecution, and forged by one Lucian, as appears from<sup>b</sup> Cyprian's complaints about that matter. Mr. Jones afterwards perceived this mistake, and acknowledged it somewhere, as I well remember, though the place does not now offer itself to me.

XII. Nevertheless, Cyprian often quotes apocryphal books of the Old Testament; such as Tobit, the book of Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, two books of Maccabees, and others, and in terms of high respect: for instance, quoting the book of Wisdom he<sup>c</sup> says, "the Holy Spirit therein teacheth us." And<sup>d</sup> the book of Tobit is quoted by him as divine scripture: but yet I do not think those citations prove that Cyprian esteemed these books to be of authority. It is not difficult for the reader to recollect some things to this purpose already alleged from Greek writers, and our observations upon them: so Origen<sup>e</sup> often quotes the Shepherd of Hermas as an useful book, as scripture, and divinely inspired; but yet he did not suppose passages alleged thence to be decisive proofs, or evidences of any doctrine. There was allowed to these writers some degree and measure of inspiration, but not that fulness of the Spirit, or that high degree of inspiration, which was afforded to the prophets of the Old Testament, and the apostles of the New. It seems very evident, from the catalogue of the books of the Old Testament left us by<sup>f</sup> Melito bishop of Sardis, about the year 170, that none of the books we now call apocryphal had a place in it. The<sup>g</sup> catalogue of the Jewish sacred books found in Origen's works has a great agreement with Melito's. It appears from what we have observed from<sup>h</sup> Africanus, and<sup>i</sup> Origen, that it was generally well known among christians of the eastern part of the world at least, that the scriptures of the Old Testament, or Jewish canon, were written in Hebrew; and that the books we now call apocryphal were not written in Hebrew, but in Greek; and that they were not received by

<sup>b</sup> Nam frater noster Lucianus, et ipse unus de confessoribus, fide quidem calidus et virtute robustus, sed minus Dominicâ lectione fundatus, quædam conatus est, imperiti jampridem se vulgi auctorem constituens, ut manu ejus scripti libelli gregatim multis nomine Pauli darentur. Cypr. Ep. 27. [al. 23.] p. 52.

<sup>c</sup> Per Solomonem Spiritus Sanctus ostendit et præcavit, dicens: Et si coram hominibus tormenta passi sunt, spes eorum immortalitate plena est. [Sap. iii. 4.] Cypr. De Exhort. Mart. cap. 12. p. 182.

<sup>d</sup> Et ideo scriptura divina instruit, dicens: Bona est oratio cum jejunio et elemosynâ. [Tob. xii. 9. 9.] De Or. Dom. p. 153. <sup>e</sup> See Vol. ii. ch. 38. num. xxiii.

<sup>f</sup> See Vol. ii. ch. 15. and Euseb. H. B. iv. 26.

<sup>g</sup> See Vol. ii. ch. 38. num. xxvi. 1.

<sup>h</sup> Vol. ii. ch. 37. num. v.

<sup>i</sup> Vol. i. ch. 38. num. xxv.

the Jews as a part of their sacred scriptures. And that the Latin christians, who lived in the western part of the Roman empire, had for the most part the like knowledge and sentiments upon this point with those in the east, may be argued from Rufinus, and Jerom; not to insist now upon any others. Rufinus, as <sup>k</sup> formerly cited, assures us, that there were some books, not reckoned canonical, but called by the ancients ecclesiastical: and of this last sort he says were the books called the Wisdom of Solomon, Ecclesiasticus, Tobit, Judith, and the Maccabees. He adds, that <sup>l</sup> these were read in the churches, but no article of faith was to be taken from them: and he delivers this as the ancient belief of christians. Jerom writes to the like purpose. He says that <sup>m</sup> the book of Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Judith, Tobit, and the Maccabees, are not in the canon, but are to be reputed apocryphal. In <sup>n</sup> another place he says again expressly, that the church reads Judith, Tobit, and the Maccabees, but does not receive them as canonical scriptures. These, he adds, and the book of Wisdom, and Ecclesiasticus likewise, may be read for the edification of the people, but no doctrine of religion can be proved by their authority. So write these two learned authors of the fourth century. And that Cyprian was exactly of the same judgment upon this point may be argued from a passage <sup>o</sup> cited above; where, having quoted the book of Tobit, he shows that he did not desire the text alleged thence should be taken as a decisive proof of what he advanceth; and adds, that he should confirm what was said there by the testimony of truth, meaning the Acts of the Apostles: which is enough to satisfy us that he really made a distinction, and that this distinction was well known, though it is often expressly mentioned. Those books therefore of the Old Testament, which we call apocryphal, were quoted by way of illustration, but not as of authority, or alone decisive in any point of

<sup>k</sup> Ib. num. xxiii. 3. fin.

<sup>l</sup> —quæ omnia legi quidem in ecclesiis voluerunt, non tamen proferri ad auctoritatem ex his fidei confirmandam. Cæteras vero scripturas apocryphas nominârunt, quas in ecclesiis legi noluerunt. Hæc nobis a patribus, ut dixi, tradita opportunum visum est hoc in libro designare, ad instructionem eorum qui prima sibi ecclesiæ ac fidei elementa suscipiunt. Rufin. in Symb.

<sup>m</sup> Hic prologus scripturarum, quasi galeatum principium omnibus libris, quos de Hebræo vertimus in Latinum, convenire potest: ut scire valeamus quidquid extra hos est, inter *αποκρυφα* esse ponendum. Igitur Sapientia, quæ vulgo Salomonis inscribitur, et Jesu filii Syrach liber, Judith, et Tobias, et Pastor, non sunt in Canone. Præf. Hieron. de omnib. libr. V. T. Seu Præf. in libr. Reg.

<sup>n</sup> Sicut ergo Judith, et Tobit, et Maccabæorum libros legit quidem ecclesia, sed inter canonicas scripturas non recipit: sic et hæc duo volumina legat ad ædificationem plebis, non ad auctoritatem ecclesiasticorum dogmatum confirmandam. Ejusd. Præf. in Libr. Salom. ad Chrom. et Heliod.

<sup>o</sup> See p. 22.

doctrine, unless confirmed by the inspiration of prophets or apostles. Mr. Marshall, in his notes upon St. Cyprian, has divers useful remarks<sup>p</sup> upon the citations of the apocryphal scriptures found in our author.

XIII. We have now seen in St. Cyprian a large canon of scripture; all the books of the New Testament commonly received by christians at this present time, except the epistle to Philemon, (which may have been omitted for no other reason but that he had no particular occasion to quote it,) and the epistle to the Hebrews, and the epistle of St. James, and the second epistle of St. Peter, and the epistle of St. Jude. There is no particular citation of the third epistle of St. John; but, considering its shortness, and that the other two epistles of that apostle are expressly mentioned, there seems not to be any good reason for supposing it to have been rejected by this writer, or unknown to him. Excepting these few, all the other books of the New Testament have an ample testimony given them in the works of St. Cyprian; and they appear to have been esteemed inspired books, and writings of authority, the rule of faith and practice to all christian people. Nor is there in this eminent and celebrated African bishop of the third century one quotation of any christian spurious, or apocryphal scriptures.

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## CHAP. XLV.

### WRITINGS ASCRIBED TO ST. CYPRIAN, OR JOINED WITH HIS WORKS.

- I. *Pontius.* II. *An anonymous author concerning shows.*  
 III. *Anonymous author concerning discipline and the benefit of chastity.* IV. *Anonymous author of the praise of martyrdom.* V. *Anonymous author against the Novatian heretic.* VI. *Anonymous author concerning rebaptizing; or, of the baptism of heretics.* VII. *Anonymous author of a computation of Easter.*

I. I HAVE several times quoted The Life of St. Cyprian, written by his deacon Pontius, which is now usually pre-

<sup>p</sup> See the title of apocryphal writings, &c. in the Table of matters, at the end of Mr. Marshall's St. Cyprian.

fixed to the works of that father. St. Jerom<sup>a</sup> calls it an excellent performance. Rigaltius<sup>b</sup> will scarce allow that it deserves to be reckoned a history, it is so defective and so rhetorical; it is however useful: and if Pontius was not a fine writer, he was a good man. We have no reason to question his being worthy of the confidence and friendship with which that eminent bishop honoured him. He triumphed in<sup>c</sup> Cyprian's glorious martyrdom, though at the same time he was not a little grieved that he did not accompany him. He is said to have died a martyr himself; but there is scarce any good authority for that supposition. St. Jerom says nothing of it; nor has he mentioned any work of his, beside this one of Cyprian's Life and Passion, as he expressly calls it. This writer is placed by Cave at the year 251.

Trithemius says that<sup>d</sup> Pontius converted the two Philips, emperors of Rome, to the faith of Christ: but<sup>e</sup> it is thought that he confounds our Pontius, deacon of Cyprian and an African, with another of this name in Gaul, who is said to have suffered martyrdom<sup>f</sup> in the time of Valerian and Gallienus; of whom there are<sup>g</sup> Acts of martyrdom still extant, where that story is related: but<sup>h</sup> Pagi has shown that those Acts are not to be relied upon in that matter, as being the forgery of a late writer. And Tillemont<sup>i</sup> has been at the pains to demonstrate at large that they are good for nothing.

Pontius, in his Life of Cyprian, has quoted the gospels of St. Matthew, St. Luke, the<sup>k</sup> first chapter in particular, and St. John, and several of St. Paul's epistles, and the book of the Acts of the Apostles<sup>l</sup> expressly by that title. There is

<sup>a</sup> Pontius, diaconus Cypriani, usque ad diem passionis ejus cum ipso exilium sustinens, egregium volumen vitæ et passionis Cypriani reliquit. De V. I. cap. 68.

<sup>b</sup> Vita Cypriani, quæ fertur ab ejus diacono Pontio perscripta, rhetoricæ dictionis gratiam magis quam narrationis historicæ diligentiam præfert. Rigalt. Not. ad Cypr. Ep. 81. [al. 83.] ed. Oxon. p. 238.

<sup>c</sup> Inter gaudium passionis, et remanendi dolorem, in partes divisus animus, et angustum nimis pectus affectus duplices onerant. Dolebo, quod non comes fuerim? Sed illius victoria triumphanda est. De victoriâ triumphabo? Sed doleo, quod comes non sim?—Mulum, et nimis multum de gloriâ ejus exulto: plus tamen doleo, quod remansi. Pont. in fine.

<sup>d</sup> Hic Pontius suâ mellifluâ prædicatione et industriâ duos Philippos imperatores ad Christum convertit, &c. Trithem. de Scr. Ec. cap. 42. p. 14. Ed. Fabr.

<sup>e</sup> Vid. Fabric. ib. not. m. <sup>f</sup> Vid. Baron. Ann. 246. n. 9. Tillem. Persécution de l'église sous l'empereur Valérien. Art. 7. Mem. Ec. T. iv. P. i. p. 26, 27. Acta S. S. per Bolland. &c. ad diem. 14 Maii. Ruinart. Act. Mart. p. 215. not. 62. <sup>g</sup> Ap. Baluz. Miscell. l. ii. p. 124. &c.

<sup>h</sup> Pagi Crit. in Bar. 244. n. 6.

<sup>i</sup> Not. 7. sur la persécution de Valérien. p. 337—340. M. E. T. iv. P. i. <sup>k</sup> Sane et in scripturis tale aliquid invenio. Nam Zacharias sacerdos, promisso sibi per angelum filio, quia non crediderat, obmutuit: [Luc. i. 20, et 64.] Pont. p. 8.

<sup>l</sup> Sed etsi in apostolorum Actis eunuchus ille describitur,

no necessity to be more particular here, since it may be relied upon, and taken for granted, that this deacon's canon was the same with his bishop's.

II. There are several treatises, which sometimes have been ascribed to St. Cyprian, but are now generally allowed by learned men not to be his. I shall here speak of four of them: Of shows; Of discipline and the benefit of chastity; Of the praise of martyrdom; Against the heretic Novatian, or, Against the Novatian heretic. Of the first two, and the last, Du Pin<sup>m</sup> says, they are ancient and useful; that they appear to have been all three written by one and the same person, and that they might be reckoned pieces of St. Cyprian, if it were not for the difference of style; and that they are not ascribed to him in the manuscripts, but only in the printed editions. As I do not see any plain marks of these three pieces having one and the same author, I shall give a distinct account of all the four treatises just mentioned, according to the order they are placed in above, which is the same they have in the appendix of St. Cyprian's genuine works in the Oxford edition. Afterwards I shall make some extracts out of the book of an anonymous author, Concerning the rebaptizing of heretics: and lastly, out of a small piece, entitled, a Computation of Easter; all these being now usually joined in the volume of St. Cyprian's works.

1. I begin<sup>n</sup> with the piece, Of shows, which is called an epistle of an unknown author. It seems to have been written by a bishop, then<sup>o</sup> unwillingly separated from his people, and who had not frequent opportunities of writing to them. Tillemont<sup>p</sup> says that, whoever was the author, it is an excellent work: that<sup>q</sup> it was written in the times of heathenism, when<sup>r</sup> exorcisms were frequent in the church, and<sup>s</sup> whilst it was yet the custom to carry the eucharist home. That it was written in the time of heathenism, I think apparent from divers passages. This book is much commended by the<sup>t</sup>

quia toto corde crediderat, a Philippo statim tinctus; non est similis comparatio. Ibid. p. 2. <sup>m</sup> S. Cyprien. Bibl. des Aut. Ecc. T. i. p. 172.

<sup>n</sup> De Spectaculis. Epistola ignoti auctoris. <sup>o</sup> Ut me satis contristat, et animum meum graviter affligit, cum nulla mihi scribendi ad vos porrigitur occasio, (detrimentum enim est meum vobiscum non colloqui,) ita nihil mihi tantam lætitiā hilaritatemque restituit, quam cum adest rursus occasio. p. 2. Ed. Ox.

<sup>p</sup> Mem. Ec. T. iv. St. Cyprien. art. 22. See also note xxviii.

<sup>q</sup> Quod enim spectaculum sine idolo? quis ludus sine sacrificio? quod certamen non consecratum mortuo? p. 3. a. vid. quæ sequuntur.

<sup>r</sup> Impudenter in ecclesiā dæmonia exorcizat, quorum voluptates in spectaculis laudat. p. 3. a. <sup>s</sup> Qui festinans ad spectaculum,

dimissus, et adhuc gerens secum, ut assolet, eucharistiam inter corpora obscena meretricium tulit. p. 3. b. m. <sup>t</sup> Vit. S. Cypri. sect. xxxv.

Benedictine, who writes the life of St. Cyprian; but yet he does not allow it to be his: for though it has in it those marks of antiquity which have been observed by Tillemont, and though among the works ascribed to Cyprian, none resemble his style more than this, there is no notice at all taken of it by Pontius, and there is in it a difference of style, which may be perceived by all who are well acquainted with Cyprian's works.

2. In this book there are few texts of scripture quoted; which is different from Cyprian's ordinary method, whose works abound with them. However, the author informs us that<sup>u</sup> some at that time endeavoured to defend their practice of frequenting the theatre, by the apostle's allusions to the heathen games, referring particularly to 1 Cor. ix. 25. and Eph. vi. 12: he is likewise supposed to refer to<sup>v</sup> Matt. xxvii. 52. He calls the scriptures of the New Testament<sup>w</sup> sacred writings, and<sup>x</sup> divine scriptures, and<sup>y</sup> heavenly scriptures. He also shows his respect for these books, by his indignation against those who<sup>z</sup> pretended to justify their frequenting the public shows by the authority of the heavenly scriptures. And at the end of his book, or letter, he recommends to christians, instead of attending the theatre, the study of the scriptures, after this manner; 'I<sup>o</sup> say then, that a good christian ought to employ himself in diligent reading the sacred scriptures; there he will find more worthy objects for the entertainment of his faith and hope.'

3. So far of this book, which, though short, ought not to be reckoned unprofitable to us; and I hope it appears to deserve the account I have here given of it.

<sup>u</sup> Apostolus quoque dimicans cæstus et dimicationis nostræ adversus spiritualia nequitia proponit certamen. Rursus de stadiis sumit exempla, coronæ quoque collocat præmia. Cur ergo homini Christiano fideli non liceat spectare quod licuit divinis literis scribere? p. 2. b. in. <sup>v</sup> Considerabit etiam de sepulchris admirabiles ipsorum consummatorum jam vitas corporum redactas: [consumptorum jam ad vitam corporum (animas) reductas. Baluz. p. 343.] p. 4. b. fin. <sup>w</sup> Præscribat igitur istis pudor, etiamsi non possunt sanctæ literæ. p. 2. b. f. <sup>x</sup> Vid. supra<sup>u</sup>.

<sup>y</sup> See the next note. <sup>z</sup> —tamen, quoniam non desunt vitiorum assertores blandi et indulgentes patroni, qui præstant vitiis auctoritatem, et, quod est deterius, censuram scripturarum cœlestium in advocationem criminum convertunt,—Non pudet, non pudet, inquam, fideles homines et Christiani sibi nominis auctoritatem vindicantes, superstitiones vanas gentilium cum spectaculis mixtas de scripturis cœlestibus vindicare, et divinam auctoritatem idololatriæ conferre.—Hoc in loco non immerito dixerim, longe melius fuisse istis nullas literas nôsse, quam sic literas legere. p. 2. a. b. ed. Ox. Conf. ed Baluz. p. 339. <sup>a</sup> Scripturis, inquam, sacris incumbat Christianus fidelis, et ibi inveniet condigna fidei spectacula.—Quam hoc decorum spectaculum, fratres, quam jucundum, quam necessarium! intueri semper spem suam, et oculos aperire ad salutem suam. p. 4. b. fin.

III. The second piece ascribed by some to Cyprian is entitled, Of<sup>b</sup> discipline and the benefit of chastity: In the Oxford and Benedictine editions it is called an epistle of an unknown author: the time of it too is uncertain: it is evident from the beginning of it that it was written by a bishop: I shall transcribe<sup>c</sup> the words by and by. The learned Benedictine before mentioned says this<sup>d</sup> piece is very ancient, and not unworthy of Cyprian himself; but the difference of style, and silence of Pontius about it, are good reasons why it ought not to be reckoned the work of that father. Whoever was the author, he has cited the words of divers books of the New Testament.

1. 'This,' says<sup>e</sup> he, 'our Lord taught, when he said, that a wife ought not to be divorced, "saving for the cause of adultery:"' Matth. v. 32.

2. 'Hence he [the apostle] says<sup>f</sup> also, that "the members of Christ ought not to be joined to the members of an harlot"—hence deservedly adulterers do not "inherit the kingdom of God:"' 1 Cor. vi. 15, and 9.

3. 'The<sup>g</sup> apostle declares the church to be the "spouse of Christ:"' See 2 Cor. xi. 2.

4. 'Hence<sup>h</sup> also the apostle has observed that "that man is the head of the woman," [1 Cor. xi. 3; Eph. v. 23.] Nevertheless he adds; "He that loveth his wife, loveth himself. For no man hateth his own flesh, but nourisheth and cherisheth it, even as Christ the church." ' Eph. v. 28, 29.

5. 'Hence<sup>i</sup> the apostle says; "This is the will of God, that ye should abstain from fornication." ' 1 Thess. iv. 3.

6. The respect which this bishop had for the writings of the New Testament appears at the beginning of this tract, or epistle, sent to his people. 'I reckon,' says<sup>k</sup> he, 'that I

<sup>b</sup> De Disciplinâ et bono Pudicitiz.

<sup>c</sup> See below num. vi.

<sup>d</sup> Ubi supr. sect. 35.

<sup>e</sup> Hanc sententiam Christus, quando uxorem

dimitti non nisi ob adulterium dixit. p. 6. a.

<sup>f</sup> Hinc et illud dicit:

Membra Christi membris meretricis non esse jungenda—Hinc merito regnum cœlorum non tenet adulteri. p. 6. a.

<sup>g</sup> Nam si apostolus ecclesiam

sponsam Christi pronunciat. p. 5. a.

<sup>h</sup> Inde et apostolus caput

wulteris pronuntiavit virum—Addit tamen et dicit: Quoniam qui uxorem suam diligit seipsum diligit. Nemo enim carnem suam odio habet, sed nutrit et fovet eam, sicut et Christus ecclesiam. p. 6. a.

<sup>i</sup> Hinc apostolus

dicit: Hæc est voluntas Dei, ut abstinatis vos a fornicatione. p. 6. a.

<sup>k</sup> Aliquas officiorum meorum partes non æstimo præterisse, dum semper enitor, vel maxime quotidianis evangeliorum tractatibus, aliquando vobis fidei et scientiæ per Dominum incrementa præstare. Quid enim aliud in ecclesiâ Domini utilius geri, quid accommodatius officio episcopi potest inveniri, quam ut doctrinâ divinorum, per ipsum insinuatâ collatâque, verborum, possint credentes ad repromissum regnum pervenire cœlorum? Hoc certe mei et operis et

do not neglect to discharge some part of my office, whilst I endeavour, especially by daily tracts upon the gospels, to make some improvements and increases of your faith and knowledge of the Lord: for what more useful service is there in the church of the Lord? What is there more becoming the office of a bishop than, by instructions from the divine words of the Lord himself, to lead the faithful to the enjoyment of the promised kingdom of heaven? This is my constant and daily labour and desire, though absent from you: and after my accustomed manner I endeavour to be present with you by the discourses I send you, that, being built on the firm foundation of the gospel, ye may always “stand armed against all the wiles of the devil:”’ Eph. vi. 11. And presently afterwards; ‘For this purpose we not only allege words from the sacred fountains of the scriptures, but with the words themselves we join our prayers to the Lord, that he will open both to us and you the treasures of his mysteries, and enable us to act according to our knowledge: for great will be his misery, “who knew the Lord’s will, and neglected to do it:”’ Luke xii. 47.

7. He concludes with recommending the study of the scriptures; ‘I<sup>1</sup> have said a few things only, because it is not my design to write a volume, but to send you a discourse [or homily]. Do you look into the scriptures, and improve yourselves by the precepts there delivered, relating to the virtue I have been recommending to you. My dearest brethren, farewell.’

8. I think we may consider this as an example of the homilies of the time in which this bishop lived: but it would be an additional pleasure to know more exactly the time itself, and the place of his ordinary residence.

IV. The third piece, sometimes ascribed to St. Cyprian, but now generally<sup>m</sup> discarded by learned men as unworthy of that great name, is entitled, Of<sup>n</sup> the praise of martyrdom.

muneris, quotidianum votivum negotium, absens licet, obtinere conitor, et per literas presentiam meam vobis reddere conor. Dum vos solito more allocutionibus missis in fide interpello, ideo convenio, ut evangelicæ radicis firmitate solidati, adversus omnia diaboli prœlia stetis semper armati.—Non solum proferimus verba, quæ de scripturarum sacris fontibus veniunt, sed et cum ipsis verbis preces ad Dominum et vota sociamus, ut tam nobis quam vobis et sacramentorum suorum thesauros aperiat, et vires ad implenda, quæ cognoscimus tribuat. Periculum enim majus est voluntatem Domini cognovisse, et in Dei voluntatis opere cessasse. p. 5. a.

<sup>1</sup> Ego pauca dictavi, quoniam non est propositum volumen scribere, sed allocutionem transmittere. Vos scripturas aspiciate, exempla vobis de ipsis præceptis hujus rei majora conquirit. Fratres carissimi, bene valete. p. 8. b.

<sup>m</sup> Vid. Pagi Crit. in Baron. 251. n. xv. Basnag. Ann. 258. n. xv.

Martyrii.

<sup>n</sup> Liber De Laude

Bishop Fell thinks this to be<sup>o</sup> only a declamation written by some one for the exercise of his style. Basnage<sup>p</sup> and<sup>q</sup> Du Pin speak of it in the like manner. But<sup>r</sup> the learned Benedictine has a more favourable opinion of it, though he does not take it to be a genuine work of St. Cyprian. It appears to me an oration in form, and there is a good deal of affectation in the style. It is allowed to be ancient, but the exact time of it is not easily determined. Considering the character of this book, a short account of it will be sufficient.

1. There are here cited passages of divers books of the New Testament, particularly of the four gospels;<sup>s</sup> of Matthew,<sup>t</sup> Mark,<sup>u</sup> Luke, and<sup>v</sup> John.

2. He has in like manner quoted or referred to the following epistles of Paul; to the epistle to the Romans, the first to the Corinthians, the epistles to the Galatians, the Philippians, the Colossians, and second to Timothy.

3. He quotes 1 Cor. ix. 24, after this manner; ‘It is<sup>w</sup> the voice of the most blessed Paul, saying; “Know ye not that they which run in a race strive many, but one receiveth the prize? But do you so run that all may obtain.”’

4. I shall put down a passage of this Latin writer, which may be thought to contain a reference to Heb. xi. but I do not think it to be clear: however, it deserves to be taken notice of for the sake of the sense as well as for the seeming reference. ‘If,’ says<sup>x</sup> he, ‘you are a good man, and believe in God, why are you unwilling to lay down your life for him, who you know has so often suffered for you; who has been sawn asunder in Isaiah, killed in Abel, offered up in Isaac, sold in Joseph, crucified in the flesh? I omit other things, which words cannot express, nor the mind conceive.’

<sup>o</sup> Exercendi styli gratiâ hæc videntur scripta, cum plenos theatri cuneos, et populi strepitum sibi repræsentet orator. Not. p. 8. ed. Oxon.

<sup>p</sup> Basn. ut supra.

<sup>q</sup> Nouv. Bibl. St. Cyprien.

<sup>r</sup> Vit. St. Cyprian. n. xxxv.

<sup>s</sup> Legis, scriptum esse, usque ad

quadrantem nos ultimum reddere. [Matt. v. 26.] p. 11. b.

<sup>t</sup> Quæso repetas verba cœlestia; nam et vox dicentis est Christi: Qui perdidit animam suam pro nomine meo, recipiet in hoc seculo centuplum, et in futuro vitam æternam possidebit. [Marc. x. 30.] p. 12. b.

<sup>u</sup> Sicut scriptum est: Qui me confessus fuerit in terris coram hominibus, et ego confitebor eum coram patre meo, et coram angelis suis. [Luc. xii. 8.] p. 11. a.

<sup>v</sup> Sed quoniam ita Dominus suo ore testatus est, esse habitacula penes patrem multa. [Johan. xiv. 2.] p. 14. b.

<sup>w</sup> Vox est beatissimi Pauli, dicentis: Nescitis, quoniam qui in agone currunt, multi certant, unus autem accipit palmam? Vos autem sic currite, ut omnes coronemini, [comprehendatis, Baluz.] p. 15. a.

<sup>x</sup> Si justus es, et Deo credis, quid pro eo sanguinem fundere metuis, quem pro te toties passum esse cognoscis? In Esaiâ sectus, in Abel occisus, in Isaac immolatus, in Joseph venundatus, in homine crucifixus est; et de cæteris quidem taceo, quæ nec oratio potest dicere, nec animus sustinere. p. 15. a.

5. Finally, perhaps he refers to some passages of the Revelation in some words which I intend<sup>y</sup> to put in the margin as an example of this author's oratorical flights. See Rev. xiii. 8; vi. 11; vii. 13, 14.

V. The fourth piece, ascribed by some to Cyprian, is entitled, *To, or<sup>z</sup> Against, the heretic Novatian; or, Against the Novatian heretic; That hope of pardon ought not to be denied to those who have lapsed.* In the late editions it is called a tract of an unknown author. Du Pin calls it a homily. Tillemont,<sup>a</sup> who allows that the style of this work is different from Cyprian's, and that therefore it is not his, thinks however that it might be written soon after the persecution of Decius, and then of Gallus, in the former part of the reign of Valerian, about the year 254, or 255. He refers to<sup>b</sup> two passages of this work, which compared together seem to render his opinion very probable. The<sup>c</sup> Benedictine author of *St. Cyprian's Life*, agrees with Tillemont about the age of this piece. He says, it is certain the author was contemporary with Cyprian, and that it cannot be questioned but he lived near the beginning of the reign of Valerian, whilst the church had peace. He supposes him likewise to have been an African, and a bishop. Nevertheless, he does not allow this to be a work of Cyprian. And to the argument taken from the difference of the style he adds another, not insisted on by Tillemont.

1. This piece abounds with texts of scripture.

2. 'Whose<sup>d</sup> future ruin,' says he, 'the Lord represents in the gospel, saying; "And he who hears my words, and does them not, I will liken him unto a foolish man, who built his house upon the sand."'—Matth. vii. 26, 27. This

<sup>y</sup> O beati, et quibus vere dimissa sunt peccata; si tamen qui Christi compares estis, aliquando peccastis. O beati, quos a primordio mundi Domini sanguis infecit, et quos merito splendor iste nivei amictus induerit, et candor stolæ ambientis ornarit! p. 15. b.

<sup>z</sup> Ad Novatianum hæreticum: Quod lapsis spes veniæ non est deneganda.

<sup>a</sup> See Mem. Ec. T. iv. Part i.

<sup>b</sup> St. Cyprien. Art. 41.

<sup>c</sup> Cataclysmus ergo ille, qui sub Noë factus est, figuram persecutionis quæ per totum orbem nunc nuper supereffusa ostendit.—Duplex ergo illa emissio [columbæ] duplicem nobis persecutionis tentationem ostendit; prima in quâ qui lapsi sunt, victi ceciderunt: secunda in quâ hi qui ceciderunt, victores extiterunt. Nulli enim nostrum dubium vel incertum est, fratres dilectissimi, illos, qui primâ acie, id est, Decianâ persecutione, vulnerati fuerunt, hoc postea, id est, secundo prælio, ita fortiter perseverasse, ut, contemnentes edicta secularium principum, [Galli et Volusiani,] hoc invictum haberent: quod non metuerunt, exemplo boni pastoris animam suam tradere, et sanguinem fundere, nec ullam insanientis tyranni sævitiam recusare. p. 17. b.

<sup>d</sup> Vit. St. Cyprian. n. xxxv.

<sup>e</sup> Quorum Dominus ruinam in evangelio futuram his verbis significaverat, dicens: Qui audit verba mea, et non facit ea, &c. p. 17. b.

gospel is quoted here in a like manner several times. I have not observed any thing taken from St. Mark.

3. 'Which<sup>e</sup> power the Lord gave to his disciples, as he says in the gospel; "Behold, I give unto you power to tread on all the power of the enemy, and upon serpents and scorpions, and they shall not hurt you:"' Luke x. 19. In this piece are many texts taken out of this gospel.

4. 'Whom<sup>f</sup> the Lord Christ reckons thieves and robbers, as he himself declares in the gospel, saying; "He that entereth not by the door into the sheepfold, but gets down some other way, the same is a thief and a robber;"' John x. 1.

5. In this piece are also passages of divers epistles of St. Paul, particularly the epistle to the Romans, first to the Corinthians, the epistles to the Galatians, Ephesians, and Philippians; which passages are cited expressly as the apostle's, meaning Paul, though the churches to whom those epistles were sent are not named.

6. 'The<sup>s</sup> scripture saying; "Vengeance belongeth to me: I will repay, saith the Lord."' In the margin of the Oxford edition here is a reference put to Heb. x. 30. But the quotation might be taken from Deut. xxxii. 35, or Rom. xii. 19; and very probably was taken from one or other of those places.

7. 'Have you<sup>h</sup> not read, that "The Lord resisteth the proud, but giveth grace to the humble."' Here too are placed in the same edition James iv. 6, and 1 Pet. v. 5. But the same thing is said also, Prov. iii. 34. However, if the writer intended any text of the New Testament, he may be supposed rather to refer to the first epistle of Peter, which was more universally received than that of James, whose authority, it is certain, was not then fully established. Besides, as<sup>i</sup> St. Augustine observes, there is scarce a page of the holy scriptures which does not teach us that "God resisteth the proud, and giveth grace to the humble." There was no occasion therefore for that reference to the epistle of James. However, we have no good ground to say that this author rejected, or did not receive this epistle; for he may

<sup>e</sup> Quam potestatem tradidit Dominus discipulis suis, sicut in evangelio ait : —p. 17. b. <sup>f</sup> Quos Dominus Christus fures et latrones designat, sicut ipse in evangelio declarat, dicens:—p. 16. b. <sup>s</sup> Dicente scripturâ : Mihi vindictam, et ego retribuam, dicit Dominus. p. 18. a.

<sup>h</sup> Non legisti: Quia Dominus superbis resistit, humilibus autem dat gratiam? p. 19. b. <sup>i</sup> —ut apostolica illa sententia ubique tremenda sit, quæ ait, Quapropter qui videtur stare, videat ne cadat. Nulla enim fere pagina est sanctorum librorum, in quâ non sonet, quod Deus superbis resistit, humilibus autem dat gratiam. Aug. de Doctr. Chr. lib. iii. cap. 23.

have owned it, though he has not quoted it in this work of his.

8. 'Have<sup>k</sup> you not read; "He that hateth his brother is in darkness, and walketh in darkness, and knoweth not whither he goeth, because that darkness has blinded his eyes?"' 1 John ii. 11. In another place, 'Whom<sup>l</sup> John calls "antichrists;"' referring probably to 1 John ii. 18, or 2 John 7.

9. 'As<sup>m</sup> it is written; "Behold he cometh with ten thousands of his angels, to execute judgment upon all, and to destroy all ungodly men, and to convince all flesh of all the deeds of the ungodly, which they have ungodly committed, and of all the ungodly words which sinners have spoken of God:"' Jude 14, 15.

10. The book of the Revelation is much quoted in this treatise. 'But<sup>n</sup> John speaks more plainly [than Daniel before quoted] both of the day of judgment, and of the end of the world, saying; "And when he had opened," says he, "the sixth seal, behold there was a great earthquake;"—Rev. vi. 12—17. Likewise in the same Revelation John says, this also was revealed unto him; "I saw," says he, "a great throne—" xx. 11, 12. Thus he has twice ascribed this book to John. He has twice more cited it by the name of Apocalypse or Revelation. In the first of those places thus; 'Hear<sup>o</sup> in the Revelation the voice of the Lord justly reproving thee, ch. iii. 17. "Thou sayest," says he, "I am rich, and increased with goods, and have need of nothing; and knowest not that thou art wretched, and miserable, and blind, and poor, and naked."' The other passage is Rev. xvii. 15. In two other places of this treatise it is quoted after this manner; "And<sup>p</sup> since it is written, that the dogs shall remain without:" xxii. 15. Lastly, 'the<sup>q</sup> scripture proclaiming, and saying; "Remember from whence thou

<sup>k</sup> Non legisti: Quia qui odit fratrem, in tenebris est? &c. p. 19. b.

<sup>l</sup> Quos Joannes antichristos appellat. p. 16. b. <sup>m</sup> Sicut scriptum est: Ecce venit cum multis millibus nuntiorum suorum, facere judicium de omnibus, et perdere omnes impios, et arguere omnem carnem de omnibus factis impiorum quæ fecerunt impie, et de omnibus verbis impiis, quæ de Deo locuti sunt peccatores. p. 20. b.

<sup>n</sup> Joannes autem et de die judicii et consummatione mundi declarat, dicens: Et cum aperisset, inquit, sigillum sextum—Item in eadem Apocalypsi hoc quoque Joannes dicit sibi revelatum: Vidi, inquit, thronum magnum, et candidum sedentem super eum, &c. p. 21. a. b.

<sup>o</sup> Audi in Apocalypsi Dominicam vocem justis te objurgationibus increpantem.—p. 16. a. Sicut Apocalypsis docet, dicens: Aquæ, quas vidisti, populi sunt. [cap. xvii. 15.] p. 17. b.

<sup>p</sup> Et cum scriptum sit, Canes foris remansuros. p. 16. a. <sup>q</sup> Clamante scripturâ, et dicente: Memento unde excideris, et age pœnitentiam. p. 19. b.

art fallen, and repent:" '—ii. 5. Thus he has quoted this book six times, beside a reference or two more, which I do not insist on: and he sufficiently shows that he esteemed it a book of authority; but he has no where called the writer apostle, or evangelist. However, it may be reckoned very probable that by John he means the apostle of that name; the same who wrote the gospel and the epistle which he has quoted.

11. The passages that have been already taken from this treatise evidently show that the scriptures the writer quotes were esteemed by christians the rule of their faith and practice. Nevertheless, I shall add one or two more, containing some forms of citation, and marks of respect for these books.

12. Having largely quoted some books of scripture, particularly St. Luke's gospel, he says; 'Let<sup>r</sup> us then, my beloved brethren, stir up ourselves as much as possible; and, breaking off the sleep of sloth and security, let us be watchful to observe the commands of the Lord: let us seek with all our heart what we have lost, that we may find; because "to him that seeketh," saith the scripture, "it shall be given, and to him that knocketh it shall be opened:"' Matth. vii. 7, 8. Let us cleanse our house with a spiritual cleansing, that all the secret and hidden parts of our breast, being illuminated by the light of the gospel, may say, "Against thee only have I sinned:"' Ps. li. 4.

13. 'We<sup>s</sup> read and adore, says he to the Novatians, and do not overlook the heavenly sentence of the Lord, in which he says; "Him that denies him he also shall deny:"' Matt. x. 33. Again; 'Hear<sup>t</sup> therefore, ye Novatians, with whom the heavenly scriptures are rather read than understood: it is well if they are not interpolated.'

14. We have now taken so much from this writer, that it may be proper to sum up his testimony. He has cited texts of all the four gospels, except St. Mark's; and likewise the epistle to the Romans, the first to the Corinthians, the epistles to the Galatians, the Ephesians, and the Philippians, the first epistle of St. John, the epistle of St. Jude, and the books of

<sup>r</sup> Excitemus nos quantum possumus, fratres dilectissimi, et, abrupto inertiae et securitatis somno, ad observanda Domini præcepta vigilemus. Quæramus totâ mente quod perdidimus, ut invenire possimus: Quia quærenti, ait scriptura, dabitur, et pulsanti aperietur. Mundemus domum nostram munditiâ spirituali, ut secreta quæque et abdita pectoris nostri, vero evangelii lumine radiata, dicant: Tibi soli deliqui.—p. 20. b.

<sup>s</sup> Legimus et adoramus, nec præmittimus cœlestem Domini sententiam, quâ ait negaturum ad negantem. p. 19. a.

<sup>t</sup> Audite igitur, Novatiani, apud quos scripturæ cœlestes leguntur potius, quam intelliguntur, parum si non interpolentur. p. 16. b.

the Revelation. Though he has not quoted all the books of the New Testament, because, it is likely, he had not occasion so to do in this one treatise, yet it may be well supposed his canon differed very little from ours, if at all. And he has given many proofs, in a short compass, of his high respect for the books of the New Testament, and for the doctrine contained in them.

VI. In the late editions of St. Cyprian's works is a treatise<sup>u</sup> of some anonymous author, first published by Rigaltius, entitled, *Of rebaptizing*; or, *Of the<sup>v</sup> baptism of heretics*: that they ought not to be baptized again, who have been once baptized in the name of Jesus Christ. This writer is placed by Cave at the year 253. Of this book Du Pin speaks to this purpose: 'The<sup>w</sup> treatise of the baptism of heretics, published by Rigaltius, against the sentiment of St. Cyprian, is 'the work of an ancient author, who lived before the time of 'St. Augustine, and probably at the time with St. Cyprian.' Of this piece Fleury<sup>x</sup> expresseth himself in this manner: 'The opinion of St. Stephen, and the greatest part of the 'churches, was at that time defended by a certain author, 'whose treatise remains, but whose name we know not. He 'speaks<sup>y</sup> as being a bishop: and he, perhaps, was St. Stephen 'himself, or some one of his successors.' The Benedictine<sup>z</sup> before quoted delivers his judgment as follows: 'That the 'author of this piece was a bishop: and that in the work itself 'are plain marks of his writing in the third century, and 'whilst the controversy about the baptism of heretics was on 'foot, and probably whilst Cyprian was still living.' Cave not only admits the episcopal character of this author, and that he was contemporary with Cyprian, but is likewise<sup>a</sup> inclined to think him to have been of the same country.

1. This book is a good deal larger than any one of the four preceding pieces: it affords a very valuable testimony to the books of the New Testament.

2. St. Matthew's gospel is not expressly quoted in this

<sup>u</sup> Anonymi liber de Rebaptismate. Non debere denuo baptizari qui semel in nomine Domini [nostri] Jesu Christi sint tincti. <sup>v</sup> De baptismo hæreticorum.

<sup>w</sup> Nouv. Bib. des Auteurs Ec. St. Cyprien. p. 173. Amst.

<sup>x</sup> Fleury's Eccl. Hist. Book vii. ch. 31, p. 438, English version.

<sup>y</sup> Et ideo cum salus nostra in baptismate Spiritûs, quod plerumque cum baptismate aquæ conjunctum, sit constituta, siquidem per nos baptismata tradetur, integre et solenniter et per omnia quæ scripta sunt adsignetur, atque sine ullâ ullius rei separatione tradatur: aut si a minore clero per necessitatem traditum fuerit, eventum expectemus, ut aut suppleatur a nobis, aut a Domino supplendum reservetur. p. 26. b. ed. Ox. confer ibid. Rigaltii notas.

<sup>z</sup> Vit. S. Cyprian. sect. xxxv.

<sup>a</sup> Denique stilius, totaque scribendi ratio, Tertulliani vel Cypriani ætatem, quin et gentem, satis aperte prodit. H. Lit. P. i. p. 93.

book by name, though there are many references to it, and divers texts transcribed from it. The author says, that the disciples did justly believe our Lord to be the Christ, for several reasons he there mentions; and among others, because<sup>b</sup> his star was seen in the East, and he was diligently inquired of, and worshipped by the wise men, and honoured by them with rich and splendid gifts and offerings: Matt. ii. 2—11.

3. And, not to take notice of any other places, he quotes also some of the last words of this gospel in this manner, 'Nor<sup>c</sup> imagine that to be contrary to this argument which the Lord said; "Go, teach the nations, baptize them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."

4. He expressly quotes St. Mark's and St. Luke's gospels both together after this manner; 'In<sup>d</sup> the gospel according to Luke he says to his disciples: "I have another baptism to be baptized with." Likewise [in the gospel] according to Mark, he had said to the like purpose to the sons of Zebedee; "Are ye able to drink of the cup that I drink of, or to be baptized with the baptism that I am baptized with?"' See Luke xii. 50; Mark x. 38.

This passage seems to afford a probable argument that, in the code, or collection, or volume, of the four gospels, St. Mark's gospel was placed before St. Luke's. This I suppose to be the meaning of that expression, quoting Mark after Luke; likewise he had said; or, he had said to the like purpose. But I do not mention this as a certain proof. He refers likewise to divers things in<sup>e</sup> the second chapter of St. Luke's gospel.

5. 'As<sup>f</sup> it is written in the gospel according to John, "They also baptized others:"' see ch. iv. 2.

6. He has largely cited the book of the Acts of the Apostles, and argues from divers things related in it. He has quoted it at least five or six times expressly by that name: 'And<sup>g</sup> our

<sup>b</sup> —quod in Oriente visa ejus stella sollicitissime fuisset a Magis requisitus et adoratus, et illustribus donis et insignibus muneribus honoratus. p. 25. b. Oxon.

<sup>c</sup> Nec æstimes huic tractatui contrarium esse quod Dominus dixit: Ite, docete gentes, tinguite eos nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritûs Sancti. ibid. p. 25. a.

<sup>d</sup> In evangelio secundum Lucam ad discipulos suos locutus est, dicens: Habeo aliud baptismum baptizari: Item secundum Marcum ad filios Zebedæi, eâdem ratione dixerat: Potestis bibere calicem quem ego bibo, aut baptismate, quo ego baptizor, baptizari? p. 28. b.

<sup>e</sup> Vid. p. 25. b. <sup>f</sup> Et, quod multo gravius est, sicut in evangelio *cata* Joannem scriptum est, etiam alios baptizabant. p. 26. b.

<sup>g</sup> Nam et Dominus, hanc eandem vocem Joannis post suam resurrectionem in Actis apostolorum confirmans, præcepit eis, ab Hierosolymis ne discedere, sed expectare illam promissionem Patris, quam audistis a me, quia Joannes quidem baptizavit aquâ, vos autem baptizabimini Spiritu Sancto non post multos hos dies. p. 22. b.

Lord likewise confirming this same word of John, after his resurrection in the Acts of the Apostles, commanded them [the disciples] that they should not depart from Jerusalem, "But wait for that promise of the Father, which ye have heard of me: for John truly baptized with water, but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost not many days hence:"' Acts i. 3, 4.

7. This author has quoted or referred to several of St. Paul's epistles, particularly the epistle to the Romans, the first to the Corinthians, the epistles to the Ephesians and the Philippians, and first to the Thessalonians.

8. 'Because<sup>h</sup> that being baptized in the name of Christ, they "are redeemed with the most precious blood" of the Lord:' 1 Pet. i. 19.

9. 'As<sup>i</sup> also the evangelist John says; "Every one that loveth is born of God, and knoweth God, for God is love,"' 1 John iv. 7, 8. The author therefore had no doubt but that this epistle was written by the same John who wrote the gospel.

10. 'For<sup>k</sup> John teaching us says in his epistle, (1 John v. 6, 7, 8.) "This is he that came by water and blood, even Jesus Christ: not by water only, but by water and blood. And it is the Spirit that beareth witness, because the Spirit is truth. For there are three that bear witness, the Spirit, and the water, and the blood; and these three agree in one."'

11. 'I<sup>l</sup> think, likewise, that I have rightly represented the doctrine of the apostle John, who says; "For there are three that bear witness; the Spirit, and the water, and the blood; and these three are one."'

12. These quotations show that this bishop, contemporary with St. Cyprian, had not in his copies of St. John's epistle the disputed text concerning the witnesses in heaven: and they afford likewise a strong and cogent argument for the supposition, that neither had St. Cyprian that text in his copies.

13. There are some expressions made use of by this author, which may seem to imply that the books of the New Testament were divided into sections or chapters.

<sup>h</sup> Quia baptizati in nomine Christi redempti sunt pretiosissimo sanguine Domini. p. 20. a.

<sup>i</sup> Sicut et Joannes evangelista dicit: Et omnis qui diligit, ex Deo natus est, et cognoscit Deum, quia Deus dilectio est. p. 28. b.

<sup>k</sup> Ait enim Joannes de Domino nostro in epistolâ suâ nos docens: Hic est, qui venit per aquam et sanguinem, Jesus Christus. Non in aquâ tantum, sed in aquâ et sanguine. Et Spiritus est, qui testimonium perhibet, quia Spiritus est veritas. Quia tres testimonium perhibent, Spiritus et aqua et sanguis. Et isti tres in unum sunt. p. 29. a.

<sup>l</sup> Arbitror autem, et apostoli Joannis doctrinam nos non inepte disposuisse, qui ait: Quia tres testimonium perhibent, Spiritus et aqua et sanguis, et isti tres unum sunt. p. 30. b. 31. a.

‘ And, therefore, says<sup>m</sup> he, we shall be obliged to bring together the several paragraphs [literally, short chapters] of the sacred scriptures, relating to this purpose.’ Afterwards; ‘ Forasmuch<sup>n</sup> as it is manifestly declared by our Lord in that sentence, (Matt. x. 33.) “ Whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I also deny before my Father which is in heaven.” But the phrases used in these places may denote no more than a text or passage, and do not certainly imply that the books themselves, whence they are taken, were divided into larger or smaller sections.

14. We are now, according to our usual method, to observe a few forms of citation, and some tokens of respect for the scriptures.

‘ Nor<sup>o</sup> shall I omit,’ says the author, ‘ what the gospel deservedly relates; for our Lord said to the man sick of the palsy, Matt. ix. 2; “ Son, be of good cheer, thy sins be forgiven thee.” ’ Again; ‘ This<sup>p</sup> we find mentioned in the gospel.’ In another place; ‘ To<sup>q</sup> which things perhaps you will weakly answer, according to custom, that the Lord hath said in the gospel, John iii. 5; “ Except a man be born of water, and of the Spirit, he cannot enter the kingdom of God.” ’ To which he replies by an observation upon<sup>r</sup> the New Testament, as he expressly calls it. Farther; ‘ As<sup>s</sup> the holy scripture declares, out of which we shall bring plain proofs of what we assert.’ He means particularly the New Testament. ‘ The<sup>t</sup> holy scripture foretold, that they who should believe in Christ, should be baptized with the Spirit:’ as John vii. 39; Matt. iii. 11; and in other places. ‘ As<sup>n</sup> the scripture saith; “ Out of his belly flowed rivers of the living water:” ’ John vii. 38. He observes, that<sup>v</sup> the Jews received only the ancient scriptures. ‘ The scriptures of the New and Old Testament,’ he<sup>w</sup> says, clearly declare’

<sup>m</sup> Et ideo quæcumque sanctarum scripturarum ad hanc partem pertinentia sunt capitula, necessario in unum congeremus. p. 22. b.

<sup>n</sup> Per hujusmodi clausulam quia manifestissime a Domino dictum est: Quicumque me negaverit coram hominibus, negabo eum et ego coram patre meo, qui est in cælis. p. 23. a. <sup>o</sup> Sed nec illud omiserim, quod evangelium merito prædicat. Ait enim paralytico Dominus noster, &c. p. 30. b.

<sup>p</sup> Sicuti non solum Petrum hoc passum esse in evangelio deprehendimus. p. 25. a. <sup>q</sup> Ad quæ fortasse tu continuo impatienter respondeas, ut soles, dixisse in evangelio Dominum: &c. p. 23. a.

<sup>r</sup> Sed in eodem Novo Testamento. p. 23. a. <sup>s</sup> Sicut declarant nobis sanctæ scripturæ, quarum per singula quæque eorum quæ enarrabimus, adferemus perspicuas probationes. p. 23. a.

<sup>t</sup> Quoniam eos, qui in Christum credituri essent, scriptura sancta prædixit oportere in spiritu baptizari. p. 23. b.

<sup>u</sup> Sicuti scriptura dicit: Flumina de ventre ejus currebant aquæ vivæ. p. 29. a. <sup>v</sup> Sicuti nec super Judæos, qui veteres tantum scripturas recipiunt. p. 27. b. <sup>w</sup> Quanquam scripturæ novi et

what he there asserts. Again; of<sup>x</sup> this he ‘has no advantage who has not the love of that God and Christ who is preached by the law and the prophets, and in the gospel.’ ‘Because that<sup>y</sup> both prophets and apostles have thus taught; for James says in the Acts of the Apostles:’ Acts x. 14. Finally he complains of some who advanced things<sup>z</sup> contrary to the precept of the law and of all the scriptures.

Here are many marks of high respect for the books of the New Testament, which are equalled with, or reckoned superior to, those of the Old Testament; and together with them are esteemed the rule of christian belief and practice. And the apostles are joined with the prophets.

15. There is still a remarkable passage to be transcribed concerning an apocryphal writing, which passage farther confirms the authority of the sacred scriptures of the New Testament.

He argues against some heretics who made use of fire, as well as water, in the administration of baptism. ‘But,’ says<sup>a</sup> he, ‘the principal foundation (not to mention any other) of this false and pernicious baptism, is a book forged by those same heretics for the sake of this very error, which is called the preaching of Paul. [Some think it should be Peter. It<sup>b</sup> might be called by both these names.] In which book, contrary to all the scriptures, you will find Christ, who alone never offended at all, both making confession of his own sin, and almost against his will compelled by his mother Mary to receive John’s baptism: likewise, that when he was baptized, fire was seen upon the water; which is not written in any gospel. And when a considerable time had passed, you will find also, that Peter and Paul, after they had had a conference together about the gospel at Jerusalem, and there had been some mutual difference be-

veteris testamenti manifeste prædicant. p. 28. b.

\* Quia hoc facto nihil proficit, qui non habet dilectionem ejus Dei et Christi, qui per legem et prophetas et in evangelio hoc modo prædicatur. p. 28. b.

<sup>y</sup> Quia et prophetæ et apostoli ita prædicarunt. Ait enim Jacobus in Actis apostolorum. p. 27. b.

<sup>z</sup> Contra præceptum legis et omnium scripturarum. p. 22. b.

<sup>a</sup> Est autem adulterini hujus, immo internecini baptismatis, si quis alius auctor, tum etiam quidam ab eisdem ipsis hæreticis propter hunc eundem errorem confictus liber, qui inscribitur Pauli Prædicatio. In quo libro contra omnes scripturas, et de peccato proprio confitentem, qui solus omnino nihil deliquit, et ad accipiendum Joannis baptisma pene invitum a matre suâ esse compulsus. Item, cum baptizaretur, ignem super aquam esse visum, quod in evangelio nullo est scriptum; et post tanta tempora Petrum et Paulum, post conlationem evangelii in Hierusalem et mutuam altercationem et rerum agendarum dispositionem, postremo in urbe quasi tunc primum invicem sibi esse cognitos. Et quedam alia hujuscemodi absurde ac turpiter in illum librum invenies congesta. p. 30.

<sup>b</sup> Vid. Baluz. Notas ad h. l.

tween them, and an agreement had been entered into about the disposition of things for time to come; after all these things, I say, you will find them meeting in the city [meaning Rome] as if they had never known each other before. And some other things of this kind there are absurdly and shamefully forged: all which you may see heaped together in that book.'

16. There are then in this treatise many quotations of words of the gospel of St. Matthew. The gospels of St. Mark, St. Luke, and St. John, are expressly quoted by name; as is also the book of the Acts of the Apostles, very often; beside other places where passages are taken out of it; but he has not mentioned the name of the writer of that book. Here are likewise quotations, or references, to several epistles of St. Paul; but the epistles themselves, or the persons to whom they were sent, are not expressly named. It is likely that one main reason of this method of citing was, that those scriptures were so well known among christians, that almost every one would know whence the passages were taken, without citing the epistles by name expressly. Words of the first epistle of St. Peter are adopted by him. The first epistle of St. John is quoted, and ascribed to John the apostle and evangelist: and we have observed several forms of citation, and also marks of the greatest respect for the scriptures, and the New Testament in particular. Finally, he mentions an apocryphal spurious book, on which he has made divers just criticisms, showing it to be a forgery, and expressing the utmost indignation against it; but he affords no plain proofs that the books of the New Testament were then divided into any chapters or sections.

VII. There is yet another piece, called,<sup>c</sup> A Computation of Easter; of which I shall here give an account, it being placed, in the Oxford edition, in an appendix to St. Cyprian's works; and there being good reason to believe it was written about his time. Du Pin<sup>d</sup> and<sup>e</sup> Tillemont allow the antiquity of it: though they think the difference of style so manifest, as to show plainly that it is not a work of Cyprian. Cave<sup>f</sup> says it is an ancient tract; and if not written by Cyprian, it is, however, the work of some contemporary. In the Oxford edition of St. Cyprian's works this piece is published as being probably genuine; and in his notes the learned editor delivers his judgment upon it to this purpose, in answer to Seneschal, who had denied it to be written by

<sup>c</sup> De Pascha Computus.

<sup>d</sup> Nouv. Bibl. St. Cyprien.

<sup>e</sup> Mem. Ec. T. iv. St. Cyprien. art. 65.

<sup>f</sup> Hist. Lit. P. i. p. 89.

Cyprian: 'That<sup>g</sup> he will not be positive it is the work of that father; but, if it be falsely ascribed to him, yet it is not spurious, or supposititious, but manifestly ancient, and written about that time.' It is indeed, so far as I am able to judge, all over ancient; abating only the errors of the copies, which seem to be not a few.

There are in it divers marks of antiquity: the author<sup>h</sup> concludes his chronology at the fifth year of Gordian, and the consulship of Arrianus and Papus, which is the year of our Lord 243. It is likely, therefore, that<sup>i</sup> he wrote not much after that time. Pagi<sup>k</sup> thinks this book was published in that very year. Farther, the author says, 'that<sup>l</sup> Christ, having been baptized in the fifteenth year of Tiberius, was crucified in the sixteenth year of the same reign;' which opinion is ancient, and is more than once insisted on by him. I might add, that<sup>m</sup> the doxology at the conclusion of this work is ancient and unexceptionable.

If Pagi be in the right, that the fifth year of Gordian, mentioned in this piece, is the year of its publication, this is an additional argument, beside the difference of style, that it is not Cyprian's; it being probable that he was not converted so soon.

1. Though I do not by any means suppose this to be a work of St. Cyprian, it deserves to be taken notice of on account of its antiquity. And it is valuable for the testimonies it contains to some facts, as well as the books of the New Testament, which I am now to observe.

2. This writer says, expressly, that<sup>n</sup> there are four gospels;

<sup>g</sup> Ego me vatem non spondeo. Sed si psaudepigraphus sit, at spurius non est, et supposititius; sed antiquum esse liquet: et Cypriani ætate scriptum, res ipsa docet. Not. p. 63.

<sup>h</sup> A quo tempore, id est, a passione, usque ad annum quintum Gordiani, Ariano et Papo consulibus, suppleti sunt anni ccxv. p. 70. b.

<sup>i</sup> Vid. Not. ed. Ox. p. 70.

<sup>k</sup> Fellus V. C. in notis ad Computum de Pascha, cujus S. Cyprianum auctorem credit, quique perducitur usque ad annum quintum Gordiani, observat, Chronicorum Scriptores res perducere ad annum aliquem insigniorem etiam paulo præteritum; idque in eo opere videri factum, nimirum ad annum Gordiani Imp. ultimum. Verum auctor non ad ultimum Gordiani annum, sed ad ejus Quinquennalia respexit, quibus scriptores de more opera sua publicabant. Pagi Crit. in Bar. A. D. 243.

<sup>l</sup> Hi sunt apostoli, quorum sermonibus ædificati recognovimus Dominum nostrum anno sexto decimo imperii Tiberii Cæsaris passum, cum esset ipse annorum xxxi. p. 69. b.—quibus suppletis Dominus Jesus a nativitate suâ baptizatus est a Johanne anno quinto decimo imperii Tiberii Cæsaris; cujus anno sexto decimo passus est, et resurrexit. p. 70. b.

<sup>m</sup> Ac propterea Deo Patri Omnipotenti, qui nos ad gratiam tantam vocavit, et divina sacramenta manifestavit, per Jesum Christum filium ejus Dominum et Salvatorem nostrum semper sine cessatione gratias agamus. p. 70. b.

<sup>n</sup> Et sic, per hanc multififormem trinitatem, et ipsæ duodecim horæ evangelium unum in quatuor partes divisum ostenderunt,

or, as another copy has it, evangelists; and twelve apostles; and that the gospel is one divided into four parts.

3. He has not mentioned the names of the evangelists, but he has quoted words of the gospels of St. Matthew, St. Luke, and St. John. I shall transcribe a few passages, chiefly to show the author's method of citing, and his respect for the scriptures in general.

4. 'These<sup>o</sup> are the days, of which the Lord says in the gospel; "And except those days were shortened, there should be no flesh saved:"' Matt. xxiv. 22.

5. 'Of whom<sup>p</sup> Simeon, a just man, holding him in his hands, said to Mary, his mother; "Behold this [child] is set for the fall and rising again of many in Israel, and for a sign which shall be spoken against:"' Luke ii. 28, 34.

6. 'And rightly<sup>q</sup> said our Lord and Master himself to the Jews; "If ye were Abraham's children, ye would do the works of Abraham:"' John viii. 39.

7. He has a remarkable quotation of the Acts in this manner; 'From<sup>r</sup> Joshua the son of Nun to Samuel the judge, and priest of God, according to the blessed apostle Paul, who has taught by the Spirit of God, were filled four hundred and fifty years:' See Acts xiii. 20.

This seems to show at once that the Acts was esteemed a book of the inspired scriptures, and that it was well known; otherwise, the author would have shown more particularly where these words of the apostle Paul were to be found.

8. He<sup>s</sup> says, 'We are built upon the words of the apostles.' Perhaps he refers to Eph. ii. 20: but whether he does or not, this observation is worthy of our notice.

9. 'Which make,' says<sup>t</sup> he, 'according to the Revelation, "a thousand two hundred and sixty days;" in which days that antichrist will make a great destruction; and therefore no christian will be able to offer sacrifice to God, because that most wicked one will begin to sit in the temple of God, and to say to the ignorant that he is God; whom our Lord

et tres menses per quatuor tempora, id est, per quatuor evangelia, a Christo electos xii. apostolos nobis demonstraverunt. p. 69. b.

<sup>o</sup> Ipsi sunt dies, de quibus ait Dominus in evangelio, &c. p. 68. b.

<sup>p</sup> P. 69. a. b.

Judæis, &c. p. 67. a.

<sup>q</sup> Et merito Dominus et Magister noster dicebat

<sup>r</sup> —a Jesu filio Nave usque ad Samuelem

judicem, et Dei sacerdotem, secundum Pauli B. apostoli sermonem, qui Spiritu Dei edoctus retulit eos implevisse annos ccl. p. 67. a.

<sup>s</sup> See before note <sup>l</sup>. <sup>t</sup> —qui fiunt dies, secundum Apocalypsim, mille cclx. in quibus diebus ille antichristus magnam faciet vastationem: et ideo tunc nemo Christianorum poterit Deo sacrificium offerre, quoniam ipse nequissimus incipiet in templo Dei sedere, et ignorantibus se Deum affirmare: quem oportet Jesum Dominum et Salvatorem nostrum spiritu oris sui interficere, et præsentiam adventus sui evacuare. p. 68. a. b.

and Saviour Jesus will kill [or consume] “with the breath of his mouth, and destroy with the brightness of his coming.” Here is a quotation of Rev. xii. 6; and a reference to 2 Thess. ii. 4, 8.

10. I forbear to insist on any other allusions to the books of the New Testament, or any other expressions that<sup>u</sup> may seem to intend the whole collection of them. He speaks of<sup>v</sup> the holy and divine scriptures in words, which may more directly relate to the Old Testament; but it cannot be questioned, that he had an equal respect for the New; which contains the words of our Saviour, and of our Lord and Master Jesus Christ, and his apostles.

## CHAP. XLVI.

ST. CORNELIUS AND ST. LUCIUS, BISHOPS OF ROME.

### I. *St. Cornelius.* II. *St. Lucius.*

I. ‘CORNELIUS,<sup>a</sup> bishop of the city of Rome, to whom ‘there are eight of Cyprian’s letters still extant, wrote an ‘epistle to Fabius, bishop of Antioch, concerning the synod ‘at Rome, in Italy, and Africa; and another concerning Novatus, and of those that had lapsed; a third concerning the ‘acts of the synod; a fourth to the same Fabius, which is very ‘long, and contains the rise and condemnation of the Novatian ‘heresy. Having been crowned with martyrdom for Christ, ‘he was succeeded by Lucius.’ So writes St. Jerom in his Catalogue or Book of Illustrious men.

Fabian, who sat in the see of Rome fourteen years, of whose ordination Eusebius<sup>b</sup> has given us a very remarkable

<sup>u</sup> —in quibus oportet primo Enoch et Eliam venire, et per suam prophetiam magnæ multitudini evangelium, id est, Novum Testamentum confirmare. p. 68. a.

<sup>v</sup> Multo quidem non modico tempore anxii fuimus et æstuantés, non in sæcularibus, sed in sanctis et divinis scripturis, quærentes invenire, quisnam, &c. p. 63. a.

<sup>a</sup> Cornelius, Romanæ urbis episcopus, ad quem octo Cypriani exstant epistolæ, scripsit epistolam ad Fabium, Antiochenæ ecclesiæ episcopum, de synodo Romanâ, Italicâ, Africanâ; et aliam de Novatiano, et de his qui lapsi sunt; tertiam de gestis synodi; quartam ad eundem Fabium valde prolixam, et Novatianæ hæreseos causas et anathema continentem. Rexit ecclesiam annis duobus sub Gallo et Volusiano, cui ob Christum martyrio coronato successit Lucius. De V. I. cap. 66.

<sup>b</sup> H. E. L. vi. cap. 29.

history suffered martyrdom<sup>c</sup> in the month of January, 250. After his death there was a vacancy for about the space of sixteen months, upon account of<sup>d</sup> the troubles they were in, during which time the clergy of Rome governed the church. In the beginning of June, 251, the heat of the persecution being somewhat abated at Rome, even before the death of Decius, Cornelius was chosen bishop and successor of the above-named Fabian with the general approbation<sup>e</sup> of the clergy and people of the church of Rome, and the concurrence<sup>f</sup> of sixteen bishops, then in the city, as St. Cyprian writes.

The election, however, was not unanimous. Some, both of the clergy and people of Rome, dissented: by whom Novatus was chosen bishop, who was ordained also by three Italian bishops.

Both Cornelius and Novatus sent abroad<sup>g</sup> letters and deputies to foreign bishops and churches, notifying their election and ordination: but Cornelius's letters and deputies met with, generally, the most favourable reception. he therefore was approved of as rightful possessor of that see; and Novatus is esteemed the first antipope, and the first author of schism at Rome.

In<sup>h</sup> October, 251, Cornelius convened a numerous council at Rome, consisting<sup>i</sup> of sixty bishops, and a much larger number of presbyters and deacons, who all confirmed his election, and condemned Novatus, and the rigid doctrine he now went into concerning the lapsed. Cornelius likewise took the sentiments of other bishops of Italy, who could not be present at the council held at Rome; which is, probably, what<sup>k</sup> Jerom means by the Italian synod. And the same things having been resolved upon in a council at Carthage, we

<sup>c</sup> Vid. Pagi Crit. 250. n. vii.

<sup>d</sup> —quibus, post excessum nobilissimæ memoriæ viri Fabiani, nondum est episcopus propter rerum et temporum difficultates constitutus. Cleri Roman. Epist. ap. Cyprian. Ep. 30. [al. 31.] p. 58. Oxon.

<sup>e</sup> Factus est autem Cornelius episcopus de Dei et Christi ejus judicio, de clericorum pene omnium testimonio, de plebis quæ tum affuit suffragio, et de sacerdotum antiquorum et bonorum virorum collegio; cum nemo ante se factus esset, cum Fabiani locus—vacaret. Cypr. Ep. 55. p. 104.—qui episcopo Cornelio in catholicâ ecclesiâ de Dei judicio et cleri ac plebis suffragio ordinato, profanum altare erigere,—tentaverit. Id. Ep. 68. Pam. 67. p. 177.

<sup>f</sup> Et factus est episcopus a plurimis collegis nostris, qui tunc in urbe Româ erant, qui ad nos literas honorificas, et laudabiles, et testimonio suæ prædicationis illustres de ejus ordinatione miserunt. Cypr. Ep. 55. [Pam. 52.] p. 104. Episcopo in ecclesiâ a sedecim coëpiscopis facto. Ibid. p. 112.

<sup>g</sup> Vid. Cypr. Ep. 44. init. et Ep. 45. [42.] p. 87. Oxon.

<sup>h</sup> Vid. Pagi Crit. 251. n. xxvi. Basn. 251. n. viii.

<sup>i</sup> Vid. Euseb. l. vi. cap. 43. p. 242. A.

<sup>k</sup> Vid. Pagi ibid. et Tillemont, St. Corneille. Art. 8. p. 33, 34. Tom. iii.

P. iii.

have at length the three synods mentioned by Jerom, and the sense<sup>1</sup> of Eusebius, whom Jerom copied.

There is little certainly known of Cornelius's life, before he was advanced to this bishopric; except that<sup>m</sup> Cyprian says he had passed through all the lower offices in the church, and behaved well therein.

St. Jerom in his Catalogue, as we have seen already, says that Cornelius was crowned with martyrdom. He speaks to the like purpose<sup>n</sup> elsewhere. St. Cyprian<sup>o</sup> likewise calls Cornelius a martyr: but, though Jerom seems to say that Cornelius died at Rome, it is at present the general<sup>p</sup> opinion that he died at Circumcellæ, now Civita Vecchia, whither he had been banished by Gallus. Jerom having said of Cyprian, that<sup>q</sup> he died on the same day of the month, though not in the same year, with Cornelius, it is concluded that Cornelius died on the 14th of September, 252.

Jerom says that Cornelius governed the church two years, under Gallus and Volusian. But those two years must not be reckoned complete; for the most learned critics and chronologers compute that<sup>r</sup> his episcopate was not above one year, three months, and ten days; part under Decius, and part under Gallus: and yet Eusebius gives him<sup>s</sup> about three years. However, he may be supposed to allow him all the space of time from the death of Fabian, including the vacancy of the see. But Du Pin<sup>t</sup> is greatly mistaken in saying that he died near the end of the year 253, having been bishop two years and some months.

Cornelius has a place in Jerom's Catalogue of ecclesiastical Writers, who mentions four of his letters sent to Fabius; though it is<sup>u</sup> supposed now, by some learned men,

<sup>1</sup> Euseb. l. vi. cap. 43. p. 242. B. Conf. eund. p. 245. D.

<sup>m</sup> Nam quod ad Cornelium—non iste ad episcopatum subito pervenit, sed per omnia ecclesiastica officia promotus, et in divinis administrationibus Dominum sæpe promeritus, ad sacerdotii sublime fastigium cunctis religionis gradibus ascendit. Cypr. Ep. 55. [al. 52.] p. 103.

<sup>n</sup> Sub Decio et Valeriano persecutoribus, quo tempore Cornelius Româ, Cyprianus Carthagine, felici cruore martyrium pertulerunt.—De Vit. Paul. Erem. T. iv. P. ii. Edit. Bened.

<sup>o</sup> Unde illic repentina persecutio nuper exorta sit, unde contra ecclesiam Christi et episcopum Cornelium beatum martyrem, vosque omnes secularis potestas subito proruperit. Cypr. Ep. 61. [al. 58.] p. 144. Si vero apud Cornelium fuit, qui Fabiano episcopo legitimâ ordinatione successit, et quem, præter sacerdotii honorem, martyrio quoque Dominus glorificavit. Id. Ep. 69. [al. 76.] p. 181.

<sup>p</sup> Tillemont, St. Corneille. Art. 16. Pearson. Annal. Cypr. 252. n. xii. xiii. Pagi 252. n. xii. xiii. Basn. 252. n. x.

<sup>q</sup> Passus est—eodem die quo Romæ Cornelius, sed non eodem anno. D. V. I. cap. 67.

<sup>r</sup> Vid. Pearson. An. Cypr. 251. n. vi. Pagi 251. n. xix. Tillem. ut supra, Art. 16. p. 70. et note 14.

<sup>s</sup> H. E. l. vii. cap. 2.

<sup>t</sup> Nouv. Bibl. T. i. p. 180. Amsterd.

<sup>u</sup> Vid. Basnag. Ann. 252. n. xi.

that Eusebius<sup>v</sup> speaks of but three epistles of Cornelius to that bishop of Antioch. However, it cannot be questioned but Cornelius wrote other letters beside those mentioned by Jerom. Eusebius<sup>w</sup> speaks of a letter of his to Dionysius of Alexandria. He likewise wrote several letters<sup>x</sup> to Cyprian, two of which<sup>y</sup> we still have. And Trithemius expressly says, that<sup>z</sup> Cornelius wrote many letters to Cyprian bishop of Carthage, and other letters to others. The eight letters of Cyprian to Cornelius, mentioned by Jerom, still remain.

I shall by and by make use of the long letter to Fabius, mentioned by Jerom, there being considerable fragments of it preserved by Eusebius in his Ecclesiastical History.

There are not many texts of scripture quoted in the two remaining letters of Cornelius to Cyprian, or the just-mentioned fragments: but it may be well taken for granted, that he received the same books with Cyprian and other christians of that age.

I take no notice of the pieces which, without ground, have been ascribed by some to this bishop of Rome. Such as desire farther information of these may consult<sup>a</sup> Basnage,<sup>b</sup> Tillemont, and others.

II. Cornelius, as St. Jerom says, was succeeded by Lucius. Herein he agrees with<sup>c</sup> Eusebius, who adds, that Lucius did not sit out full eight months. At present, the day of his ordination and the duration of his episcopate are reckoned<sup>d</sup> uncertain. However, bishop Pearson thought it probable that<sup>e</sup> Lucius was ordained on the 25th of September, and sat five whole months and ten days, dying on the fourth of March, 253. Basnage<sup>f</sup> differs very little from him. Lucius was banished from Rome under Gallus; but he soon<sup>g</sup> returned. Of his speedy release there is no reason known, beside the divine goodness. We have a letter of St. Cyprian to Lucius, wherein he congratulates him<sup>h</sup> upon his return from

<sup>v</sup> H. E. L. vi. cap. 43. p. 242. B. C. D.

<sup>w</sup> —και Κορηλιω τω

κατα Ῥωμην γραφει, δεξαμενος αυτε την κατα τε Νοσατα επιστολην. H. E. l. vi. cap. 46. p. 247. D.

<sup>x</sup> Vid. Basnag. *ibid.*

<sup>y</sup> Apud Cyprian. Ep. 49, 50. [juxta Pamelium.] 46, 48.

<sup>z</sup> Ad Cyprianum Carthaginensem episcopum plures scripsit epistolas, et alias ad alios. Trithem. de Script. Ec. cap. 40.

<sup>a</sup> Ann. 252. n. xii.

<sup>b</sup> Mem. Ecc. T. iii. P. iii. Saint Corneille, Art. 17. p. 71. et Note xv.

<sup>c</sup> Lib. vii. cap. 2.

<sup>d</sup> Pagi Crit. 252. n. 14—17.

<sup>e</sup> Annal. Cyprian. 252. n. 15.

<sup>f</sup> Ann. 252. n. 13.

<sup>g</sup> Pearson. *ib.* n. 18.

<sup>h</sup> Et nuper quidem tibi, frater carissime, gratulati sumus, cum te honore geminato in ecclesie sue administratione confessorem pariter et sacerdotem constituit divina dignatio. Sed et nunc non minus tibi et comitibus tuis atque universae fraternitati gratulamur, quod cum eadem gloria et laudibus vestris re-

his exile, as he says he had done before upon his ordination and confession. In another letter, written afterwards to Pope Stephen, Cyprian<sup>i</sup> calls Lucius a martyr; but that word is not here to be understood strictly; for, properly speaking, Lucius was only a confessor.

We know of no writings of Lucius<sup>k</sup> but such as are ascribed to him without ground.

## CHAP. XLVII.

### NOVATUS, OTHERWISE CALLED NOVATIAN.

- I. *His history.* II. *His and his followers' peculiar opinions.*  
 III. *The time of his taking up his particular sentiment.*  
 IV. *History of his followers.* V. *His works.* VI. *His character.* VII. *His testimony to the books of the New Testament.* VIII. *Scriptures received by the Novatians, his followers.*

ST. JEROM'S chapter of<sup>a</sup> Novatus, next following that of Dionysius of Alexandria, being short, I shall transcribe it here entire: 'Novatus,<sup>b</sup> presbyter of the city of Rome, having endeavoured to invade the episcopal chair in opposition to Cornelius, formed the sect of the Novatians, whom the Greeks call pure; not allowing apostates to be received, though they repent. The first author of this rigid principle was Novatus, Cyprian's presbyter. His works are such as these; Of Easter, Of the Sabbath, Of Circumcision, Of

duces vos denuo ad suos fecerit benigna Domini et larga protectio. Cypr. Ep. 61. [al. 58.] init. <sup>i</sup> Servandus est enim antecessorum nostrorum beatorum martyrum Cornelii et Lucii honor gloriosus.—Illi enim pleni Spiritu Dei et in glorioso martyrio constituti dandam esse lapsis pacem censuerunt. Ep. 68. [al. 67.] p. 179. <sup>k</sup> Vid. Basnag. *ibid.* n. xiv.

<sup>a</sup> Of Novatus.] He is now generally called Novatian: but I hope to show at the end of this chapter, that his true name is Novatus.

<sup>b</sup> Novatianus Romanæ urbis presbyter, adversus Cornelium cathedram sacerdotalem conatus invadere. Novatianorum, quod Græce dicitur *καθαρων* [al. *καθαρον*] dogma constituit, nolens apostatas suscipere pœnitentes. Hujus auctor Novatus, Cypriani presbyter, fuit. Scripsit autem de Pascha, de Sabbato, de Circumcisione, de Sacerdote, de Oratione, de Cibis Judaïcis, de Instantiâ, de Attalo, multaque alia, et de Trinitate grande volumen, quasi *επιτομην* operis Tertulliani faciens; quod plerique nescientes, Cypriani existimant. Hieron. de Vir. Ill. cap. 70.

‘ the<sup>c</sup> high-priest, Of prayer, Of Jewish meats, [another<sup>d</sup>  
 ‘ piece, the title of which I do not understand,] Concerning  
 ‘ Attalus; and many others; and, Of the Trinity, a large  
 ‘ volume, being a kind of epitome of a work of Tertullian.  
 ‘ Many by mistake consider this as a work of Cyprian.’

There is another authentic account of Novatus in the fragments of the before-mentioned long letter of Cornelius to Fabius, bishop of Antioch, which we have preserved in Eusebius’s Ecclesiastical History. As it is the usual method of this work to take the history of writers, as often as we can, from contemporaries, it is fit we should hear Cornelius.

In this letter, written after the council of Rome, where Novatus and his principles had been condemned, near the end of the year 251, or at the beginning of 252, Cornelius informs Fabius, that several of those, who had sided with Novatus, had now deserted him. ‘ Maximus,’ says<sup>e</sup> he, ‘ a  
 ‘ presbyter among us, and Urbanus, who have acquired  
 ‘ great honour by the confessions they have made of our  
 ‘ religion; and Sidonius, and Celerinus, a man who, through  
 ‘ the divine mercy, has patiently endured all kinds of tor-  
 ‘ ments, and by the strength of his faith, surmounting the  
 ‘ weakness of his body, completely vanquished the enemy;  
 ‘ all these, he<sup>f</sup> says, having detected Novatus’s subtilty, his  
 ‘ lies, perjuries, unsociable and wolfish disposition, were  
 ‘ returned to the holy church, giving proofs of all these  
 ‘ things in the presence of divers bishops and presbyters,  
 ‘ and a great number of the laity; lamenting and confessing  
 ‘ their fault, that, being seduced, they had for a time with-  
 ‘ drawn themselves from the church.’ And soon after, as Eusebius says, Cornelius adds; ‘ This<sup>g</sup> wonderful man, this  
 ‘ zealous defender of church discipline in all its strictness,  
 ‘ when he had determined to seize the episcopate, which was  
 ‘ not assigned him by heaven, chose out two of his associates,  
 ‘ men of an abandoned character: these he sent into an  
 ‘ obscure corner of Italy, to fetch thence three bishops, sim-  
 ‘ ple and illiterate men, whom they persuaded to believe that,  
 ‘ a difference having arisen at Rome, they ought by all means  
 ‘ to hasten thither to assist as mediators, together with other

<sup>c</sup> Of the high priest.] In the Latin, de Sacerdote. But whether my translation be right, I cannot say. Du Pin translates, du Souverain Pontife; Tillemont, sur le Pontife.

<sup>d</sup> Another piece, the title of which I do not understand.] In the Latin of Jerom, de Instantiâ: in the Greek version of Sophronius, περι των ενεσιωτων: by Du Pin translated, de la Fermeré; by Tillemont, sur l’Instance.

<sup>e</sup> Ap. Euseb. H. E. l. vi. cap. 43. p. 242. D.

<sup>f</sup> Ibid. p. 243. A.

<sup>g</sup> Ibid. C. D. et p. 244.

‘ bishops, in composing it. When they were come to Rome, they being, as I said, persons of little experience, and unacquainted with the arts and subtilties of designing men, he shut them up in a private apartment with some of his confidants; and when he had made them eat and drink to excess, at four of the clock in the afternoon<sup>h</sup> he compelled them to ordain him bishop, by a vain and ineffectual imposition of their hands. Not long after one of those bishops came to the church, with tears lamenting and confessing his fault; whom we received to communion as a layman, at the earnest entreaties of the people. Having deposed the other two, we appointed successors in their room, whom we have sent to take possession of their sees. Such disturbances and divisions has this zealous defender of the gospel caused in a church where he knows there are forty-six presbyters, seven deacons, and as many sub-deacons; forty-two acolyths, exorcists, readers, and porters, fifty-two; and above fifteen hundred widows and other indigent persons; who are all maintained by the grace and bounty of the Lord. But no respect for all these, nor for the vast multitude of the people of this large and flourishing church, could restrain him from so desperate an attempt.’ Then, says Eusebius, after some other things intervening, he proceeds; ‘ And what was the grounds of these aspiring thoughts? upon what worthy deeds of his did he build his hopes of a bishopric? was it, that<sup>i</sup> he had been always, and from the beginning of the church; or had sustained many combats in its defence; or had been in many dangers for the sake of religion? No: the<sup>k</sup> first occasion of his faith was a dangerous distemper; and, when all hopes of life were gone, he received baptism by the pouring on of water as he lay in his bed, if that may be called baptism. Moreover, afterwards, through fear and fondness of life, in the time of persecution he disowned his being a presbyter. For being desired by the deacons to come out of his chamber, where he had shut himself up, and to comfort and encourage the brethren as became a presbyter to do, he was so far from complying with their entreaties, that he put them off with scorn, saying he would be no longer a presbyter, and that he was for another sort of philosophy.’ And to pass over some other things, says Eusebius, he observes; ‘ Thus<sup>l</sup> behaved this person, who

<sup>h</sup> Ὁρα δεκατη. ib. p. 243. D.

<sup>i</sup> Ἀρα γε δια το εξ αρχης εν τη εκκλησια ανεγραφθαι; ib. p. 244. B.

<sup>k</sup> Ἀλλ' εκ εσιν. η γε αφορμη τω πιπευσαι γεγονεν, — κ. λ. ib. C.

<sup>l</sup> P. 245. A.

‘ had been made presbyter by the special favour of the bishop  
 ‘ of that time, when all the clergy and most of the people op-  
 ‘ posed it; forasmuch as it was not a regular thing, to admit  
 ‘ a man into the number of the clergy, who had only been be-  
 ‘ sprinkled as he was in his bed under a distemper.’ Cornelius  
 says likewise, in this letter, that<sup>m</sup> Novatus had obliged his  
 followers to take an oath upon the eucharist, that they would  
 never forsake him, to go over to his adversary. Neverthe-  
 less, Cornelius soon after adds; ‘ He<sup>n</sup> is now left almost  
 ‘ alone, the brethren deserting him daily, and returning to the  
 ‘ church. Whom also Moses, a blessed martyr, who among  
 ‘ us lately suffered a glorious martyrdom, perceiving the  
 ‘ confidence and presumption of the man, separated from his  
 ‘ communion, together with five presbyters, who with him had  
 ‘ schismatically forsaken the church.’ To conclude; Euse-  
 bius<sup>o</sup> says, that at the end of this epistle Cornelius expressly  
 mentions the names of the bishops who had met in council  
 at Rome, and there condemned Novatus, and the names of  
 the churches they governed; as also the names of those  
 bishops who could not be present at Rome, but by letters  
 had signified their concurrence in the same resolutions, and  
 the names of the cities to which they belonged.

We have now seen the account, which Cornelius gives of  
 Novatus; and if there were remaining any letter of Novatus  
 relating to Cornelius and his election, it is very likely we  
 should not be unwilling to produce it. However, having  
 put down these histories from Jerom and Cornelius, I shall  
 endeavour to take in a few other particulars, and make some  
 remarks.

Philostorgius<sup>p</sup> says that Novatus was a Phrygian; but  
 Photius, who relates this from him, adds, that he does not  
 know whence he learned it. Valesius<sup>q</sup> indeed is inclined to  
 give credit to Philostorgius; but I think that<sup>r</sup> Mr. Jackson  
 has shown it to be very improbable: nor does there appear  
 to be any other ground for that supposition, but that the sect  
 of the Novatians was numerous in Phrygia.

It is probable, from the account which Cornelius gives of  
 Novatus’s sickness and baptism, that he was not born of  
 christian parents. It is generally thought that he was at  
 first a stoic philosopher. So<sup>s</sup> says Cave. And Mr. Jackson<sup>t</sup>

<sup>m</sup> P. 245. B.<sup>n</sup> Ib. C.<sup>o</sup> Ib. D.<sup>p</sup> Philost. H. E. l. viii. cap. 15.<sup>q</sup> Vales. Not. ad Socrat. H.

E. l. iv. c. 28. p. 57.

<sup>r</sup> Vid. Jackson, Pref. p. viii.<sup>s</sup> Novatianus, ex stoico philosopho Christianus. Cav. Hist. Lit.<sup>t</sup> Consentiant autem omnes, ex stoico philosopho Christiani nomen induisse  
 Romæ. Jackson, ibid.

thinks this agreed on all hands. But I do not know of any ancient writers who call Novatus a stoic, though his philosophy and eloquence be often mentioned by<sup>u</sup> them. Tillemont was aware of this, and says, ‘ that<sup>v</sup> the ancients have ‘ not expressly said what was the philosophy which he professed : but we know that it was the stoic philosophy which ‘ taught that rigour, and that parity of sins, which Cyprian ‘ reproaches Novatus with.’ And<sup>w</sup> Du Pin is so cautious, as to say no more than that Novatus had been a philosopher before he was a christian. After the same manner speaks<sup>x</sup> Frederic Spanheim.

Novatus was presbyter of the church of Rome : that is out of question. But Cornelius does not inform us of the name of the bishop by whom he was ordained : it is however very probable that it was Fabian, or one of his near predecessors.

St. Jerom says that Novatus, Cyprian’s presbyter, was the first author of the sect which Novatus formed. St. Cyprian, who gives a very bad character of his presbyter, confirms<sup>y</sup> that account ; making him the principal cause of all the disturbances that happened at Rome : and<sup>z</sup> Pacian, who was well acquainted with St. Cyprian’s letters, writes to the same purpose. But the Greek writers take no notice of this : nor is there any mention of that African Novatus in the fragments of Cornelius’s letter to Fabius, which I have largely transcribed.

Cornelius says, that in the time of the persecution Novatus refused to comfort the brethren, though desired by the deacons ; and that he even disclaimed the character of a presbyter, and in effect renounced the christian religion ; saying that he was for another kind of philosophy. But it may be

<sup>u</sup> Jactet se licet, et philosophiam vel eloquentiam suam superbis vocibus prædicet. Cypr. Ep. 55. [al. 52.] p. 112. Quid ad hæc Novatianus ?—in perniciem fratrum linguâ suâ perstrepsens, et facundiæ venenatæ jacula contorquens ; magis durus secularis philosophiæ pravitate, quam philosophiæ dominicæ lenitate pacificus, &c. Id. Ep. 60. [Pam. 57.] p. 142. Ignosco tamen, frater, si quid et tu de tuo auctore præsumis, et Novatiani philosophiam, per quam ille naufragium religionis incurrit, cum Hesiodi auctoritate conjungis. Pacian. ad Sympton. Ep. 2. p. 308. C. ap. Bibl. Patr. T. iv. Ita tuus iste philosophus, sapientiam suam querens statuere, &c. Id. Ibid. G.

<sup>v</sup> Tillemont, Saint Corneille, Art. iv. Mem. Ec. T. iii. P. iii. p. 15.

<sup>w</sup> Bib. des Aut. Ecc. Novatien. <sup>x</sup> Novatianus, ex philosopho et clinico factus Romanæ ecclesiæ presbyter, &c. Fr. Span. Hist. Ec. Sec. iii. p. 781.

<sup>y</sup> Idem est Novatus, qui apud nos primum discordiæ et schismatis incendium seminavit ;—qui in ipsâ persecutione ad evertendas fratrum mentes alia quædam persecutio nostris fuit. Plane, quoniam pro magnitudine suâ debeat Carthaginem Roma præcedere, illic majora et graviora commisit. Qui istic adversus ecclesiam diaconum fecerat, illic episcopum fecit. Cypr. Ep. 52. [al. 49.] p. 97. <sup>z</sup> Ep. 3. p. 310. E. F. ap. Bibl. PP. T. iv.

suspected that here is some mistake, or some misrepresentation. It is manifest, that during a large part of the Decian persecution, and for some good while after the martyrdom of Fabian, Novatus maintained his rank, and was in great repute with his brethren the clergy of Rome. For the letter sent to Cyprian in the name of the Roman clergy, and allowed<sup>a</sup> by all to have been drawn up by Novatus, was not written till about<sup>b</sup> the end of August, 250: and the anonymous author of the tract against Novatus, joined with St. Cyprian's works, says, 'that<sup>c</sup> Novatus, so long as he was in the church, bewailed the faults of other men as his own, bore the burdens of the brethren, as the apostle directs, and by his exhortations strengthened such as were weak in the faith.' Possibly some retirement of Novatus is the foundation of this charge. But every flight or retreat, in time of persecution, is not really blamable; though such things rarely escape censure. There were other good and eminent men about that time who did the same; Cyprian in particular, who yet afterwards had a glorious martyrdom. And Novatus's treatise of Jewish meats was<sup>d</sup> actually written in some retired place: and, as it is a letter, it appears farther from it, that he was upon good terms with those to whom he writes, and that he had written to them more than once, to comfort them, since his retreat, where also he had received divers affectionate letters from them, asking his council and assistance.

<sup>a</sup> Nam in epistolâ suâ ita posuerunt.—Additum est etiam, Novatiano tunc scribente, et quod scripserat suâ voce recitante, et presbytero Moyse, tunc adhuc confessore, nunc jam martyre, subscribente; ut lapsis infirmis, et in exitu constitutis, pax daretur. Quæ literæ per totum mundum missæ sunt, et in notitiam ecclesiis omnibus et universis fratribus perlatae sunt. Cypr. ad Antonian. Ep. 55. [al. 52.] p. 102. Vid. etiam Pacian. Ep. 3. p. 310. D.

<sup>b</sup> Mense Augusto exeunte clerus Romanus scribit ad Cyprianum literas, &c. Pearson. Ann. Cypr. A. 250. n. xvi. Conf. Pagi Crit. 250. n. xii.

<sup>c</sup> Unde igitur et tam sceleratus, et tam perditus, tam discordiæ furore vesanus, extiterit iste Novatianus, invenire non possum; qui semper in domo unâ, id est, Christi ecclesiâ, proximorum delicta ut propria fleverit, onera fratrum; sicut apostolus hortatur, sustinuerit, lubricos in fide cœlesti allocutione corroboravit. Anon. ad Novat. Hæret. p. 19. m. Oxon.

<sup>d</sup> Etsi mihi, fratres sanctissimi, exoptatissimus dies ille,—quo literas vestras et scripta suscipio (quid enim me aliud nunc faciat liberio rem?) tamen non minus egregium diem et inter eximios arbitror computandum, quo similes vobis affectus debitæ caritatis remittens, et ego ad vos compari voto literas scribo. Nihil enim me, fratres sanctissimi, tantis constrictum vinculis tenet,—quam ne jacturam vobis quamdam per absentiam meam putetis illatam, cui remedium conitor dare, dum elaboro vobis me præsentem frequentibus literis exhibere. Quamquam ergo et officium debitum et cura suscepta et ipsa ministerii imposita persona hanc a me literarum scribendarum exposcunt necessitatem.—Quam vero sint perversi Judæi et ab intellectu suæ legis alieni, duabus epistolis superioribus, ut arbitror, plene ostendi. De Cib. Jud. cap. 1. p. 255—258. Ed Jackson.

Mr. Jackson<sup>e</sup> supposeth that this letter, or treatise, was sent by Novatus from the place of his retreat under the Decian persecution near the end of the year 250, to the people of the church of Rome, from whom he was then necessarily absent. If this could be relied upon, it might entirely wipe off the blot which Cornelius has cast upon Novatus: for then it might be reckoned that this retreat is the thing to which Cornelius refers, but gives it a wrong turn; whilst from that letter it appears not to have given offence to any body at that time. But<sup>f</sup> some think that Novatus there writes in the character of a bishop. Then this piece must be supposed to have been written after his ordination, and separation from the church, to those christians that adhered to him, and stood firm in the persecution they endured, even when he was obliged to be absent from them. If this should be thought most probable, it shows, however, the good temper of Novatus at that time, his concern for the people under his care, his diligence in his charge, and the mutual affection between him and his people; and that both he and they were odious to heathens as well as to catholics: whereas Cyprian<sup>g</sup> intimates, that though Cornelius when bishop was persecuted, the Novatians lived at ease; which might be the case then, and yet at some other time the Novatians might have their full share in the troubles brought upon christians. Cyprian himself was not insensible of this, though<sup>h</sup> he denies they could gain any honour by it; which I shall not dispute with him at present. But whenever this letter was written, whether before or after his episcopal ordination, it does honour to Novatus. It is not the letter of a man who deserted his charge, or apostatized from the gospel, though he had re-

<sup>e</sup> Præfat. p. xi.                      <sup>f</sup> Il le qualifie du nom de lettre, aussi bien que les deux autres dont nous venons de parler; et il l'adresse, Au peuple qui demeure ferme dans l'évangile. [Plebi in evangelio perstanti.] Il y parle en Evêque, et dit, que ceux à qui il écrit, et dont la charge lui avoit été commise, gardoient l'évangile dans toute sa pureté, sans mélange d'aucune doctrine fausse ou corrompue, et qu'ils l'enseignoient de la même manière aux autres avec courage et avec force. Par où nous avons lieu de juger que c'étoit depuis son schisme. Il étoit alors absent de son peuple prétendu. Tillemont. les Novatians. Art. 3. p. 87, 88.

<sup>g</sup> Quid ad hæc Novatianus?—Agnoscitne jam, qui sit sacerdos Dei? quæ sit ecclesia et domus Christi? Qui sint Dei servi, quos diabolus infestet? Qui sint Christiani, quos antichristus impugnet? Neque enim quærit illos, quos jam subegit; aut gestit evertere, quos jam suos fecit. Inimicus et hostis ecclesiæ, quos alienavit ab ecclesiâ et foras duxit, ut captivos et vinctos contemnit et præterit. Cypr. ad Cornel. Ep. 60. [57.] p. 142.

<sup>h</sup> Quamquam, etsi aliquis ex talibus fuerit apprehensus, non est quod sibi quasi in confessione nominis blandiatur; cum constet, si occisi ejusmodi extra ecclesiam fuerint, fidei coronam non esse, sed pœnam potius esse perfidiæ. Ibid. p. 143. init.

tired. To all which I would add from Mr. Jackson, who scruples not to call this story of Cornelius<sup>i</sup> a calumny, that<sup>k</sup> Cyprian takes no notice of this fault among all his reproaches of Novatus.

Another thing to be observed of Cornelius's letter is, that it affords unexceptionable evidence of Novatus having been ordained bishop by the hands of three bishops.

Cornelius gives a sad account of the ordination of Novatus, and of the persons and methods by which it was procured: but it ought to be remembered that, in some of the passages above transcribed, he owns that Novatus had with him for a while five presbyters and several confessors; some of whom were of great eminence, and had gained much honour by their confessions. Cornelius, in a letter to Cyprian, giving an account of the return of some of them to the church, writes, that<sup>l</sup> they owned they had concurred in the ordination of Novatus. From Pacian<sup>m</sup> it may be argued, that Novatus was ordained upon their particular recommendation: and St. Cyprian, in the letter he wrote to the same confessors, to congratulate them upon their return to the church, reminds them<sup>n</sup> 'of the great grief they had given him when they approved of the schism and heresy of Novatus: so that it seemed,' he says, 'as if they had left their glory behind them in the prison.' Since then so large a part of the church of Rome, some of them men of eminence, and, in all other matters, of unblemished virtue, approved of the ordination of Novatus; and at last came over to Cornelius, as may be supposed, chiefly for peace' sake, and in deference to the sentiments of the majority of their brethren; it may be questioned whether that affair was altogether so scandalous as Cornelius has represented it; and it may be justly suspected that he useth strong and aggravating expressions. Besides, Novatus and his people made grievous

<sup>i</sup> Præf. p. xi.

<sup>k</sup> Cujusmodi criminis Cyprianus inter omnia opprobria contra illum exaggerata, Ep. 57. non incusavit. Ib. p. xii.

<sup>l</sup> ——— tantummodo circumduc'os commisisse se quoque schismatica, et hæresis auctores fuisse, ut paterentur ei manus, quasi in episcopum, imponi. Cornelius ap. Cyprian. Ep. 49. [46.] p. 92.

<sup>m</sup> Invenit [Novatus Carthaginensis] aliquos ex eorum numero, qui tempestatem persecutionis illius evaserant; apud quos hanc ipsam de lapsis receptis Cornelio conflaret invidiam. Dat eorum epistolas ad Novatianum. Ille ex auctoritate epistolarum, sedente jam Romæ episcopo, adversum fas sacerdotii singularis, alterius episcopi sibi nomen assumit. Pacian. Ep. 3. p. 310. F.

<sup>n</sup> Dolebam vehementer, et graviter angebar.—Posteaquam vos de carcere prodeuntes schismaticus et hæreticus error exceperit, sic res erat, quasi vestra gloria in carcere remansisset. Illic enim resedisse vestri nominis dignitas videbatur, quando milites Christi non ad ecclesiam de carcere redirent, in quem prius cum ecclesiæ laude et gratulatione venissent. Cypr. Ep. 54. [Pam. 51.] p. 99.

complaints, and cast foul reflections upon Cornelius; as<sup>o</sup> appears from one of Cornelius's own letters to Cyprian, and from divers of<sup>p</sup> Cyprian's letters still remaining. Though therefore every thing said by Novatus and his party might not be true, yet it is not impossible but Cornelius himself may have taken some steps which could not be fully justified. So much I think we may be allowed to say in behalf of Novatus, a man, whose faults stand in full light, recorded in the writings of his enemies; not without some aggravations and false colourings, as it seems; whilst we have not remaining one line of his in defence of himself, or against his adversaries.

What became of Novatus, after the contest about the bishoprick of Rome, is not certainly known. Socrátes<sup>q</sup> however says expressly, that he suffered martyrdom in the persecution raised by the emperor Valerian. From Pacian, bishop of Barcelona about the year, 370, we know that the Novatians gloried in the founder of their sect as a martyr. Sympronian, against whom Pacian writes, affirmed, that Cyprian had made mention of Novatus as a martyr, and having died before him: but<sup>r</sup> Pacian denies the truth of this, and says, that if Novatus did suffer somewhat from heathens, yet he was not put to death. Eulogius, archbishop of Alexandria near the end of the sixth century, another writer

<sup>o</sup> Qui [confessores] cum venissent, et a presbyteris quæ gesserant exigenter, novissime quod per omnes ecclesias literæ calumniis et maledictis plenæ, eorum nomine frequentes missæ fuissent, et pene omnes ecclesias perturbassent; circumventos se esse affirmaverunt, nec, quid in literis inesset, scisse. Cornel. ap. Cyp. Ep. 49. [al. 46.] p. 92.

<sup>p</sup> — quando, literis ab utrâque parte susceptis, tuas literas legimus, et episcopatus tui ordinationem singularem auribus intimavimus. Honoris etiam communis memores, et gravitatis sacerdotalis ac sanctitatis respectum tenentes, ea quæ ex diverso in librum ad nos transmissum congesta fuerant acerbationibus criminosis respuimus, considerantes pariter et ponderantes quod in tanto fratrum numero, religiosoque conventu,—nec legi debeant, nec audiri. Neque enim facile promenda sunt, et incaute ac temere publicanda, quæ discordioso stylo scripta audientibus scandalum moveant, et fratres longe positos ac trans mare constitutos incertâ opinione confundant. Cyp. Ep. 45. [al. 42.] p. 87. Quod autem quædam de illo in honesta et maligna jactantur, nolo mireris.—Explorasse autem collegas nostros scias, et verissime comperisse, nullâ illum libelli, ut quidam jactant, labe maculatum esse; sed neque cum episcopis qui sacrificaverunt communicationem sacrilegam miscuisse.—Sed et quod passim communice sacrificatis Cornelium tibi nuntiatum est, hoc etiam de apostatarum fictis rumoribus nascitur. Cyprian. ad Antonian. Ep. 55. [al. 52.] p. 105, 106.

<sup>q</sup> Socrat. H. E. l. iv. cap. 28. p. 246. B.

<sup>r</sup> Nam quod, ante passum Novatianum putas, et Cyprianum dixisse subjungis: Præcessit me adversarius meus; vide, quam manifeste respondeam. Novatianus nunquam martyrium tulit, nec ex verbis beatissimi Cypriani auditum istud, aut lectum est.—Porro, etiamsi passus est aliquid Novatianus, non tamen etiam occisus, non tamen coronatus. Pacian. Ep. 3. p. 303. G. H.

against the Novatians, speaks of a book<sup>s</sup> they had among them, called the Martyrdom of Novatus. But he treats it as a forgery, and shows it was false and fabulous. According to his account it was<sup>t</sup> a trifling thing, a little book of a few pages. It may be questioned then whether there be a sufficient evidence remaining to satisfy us that Novatus died a martyr: though it may be reckoned probable from the common opinion of his followers, and from the forecited passage of the treatise concerning Jewish meats, written in a place of retreat or banishment, that he was a confessor. Nor does Pacian deny this, but seems to grant as much.

II. Novatus is generally reckoned a schismatic and a heretic. Cornelius, in his letters to Cyprian, gives him<sup>u</sup> both these hard names: and Cyprian likewise speaks<sup>v</sup> in the same manner. What was his schism we have seen; what was his heresy is not quite so clear. St. Jerom, as before cited, says Novatus was against receiving apostates, though they repented. And undoubtedly that was his opinion, but perhaps not the whole of it; for, as this dispute had its rise upon occasion of the great numbers of persons who had lapsed some way or other in the Decian persecution, Novatus seems to have extended his severe doctrine to all such; not only apostates, or those who had actually sacrificed, but to others also, who had been guilty of any slip or fault at that time.

Eusebius says that<sup>w</sup> Novatus excluded those from all hopes of salvation who had lapsed in time of persecution, though they gave signs of a sincere conversion and repentance: but Socrates says, his<sup>x</sup> opinion was, that they who had sacrificed in the persecution should not be received to communion: they should be exhorted to repent; but their pardon should be referred to God, who is able and has a right to forgive sins. And this is the principle of the Novatians; which<sup>y</sup> Cyprian ridicules and exposes, and Am-

<sup>s</sup> Eulog. Contr. Novat. Libr. vi. ap. Phot. Cod. 208. p. 530. et Cod. 280. p. 1621.

<sup>t</sup> Κακοπλαστον τε και αδιαστατον γραμματιδιον. Ib. p. 1621. m.

<sup>u</sup> Et scias quales duces et protectores iste schismaticus et hæreticus lateri suo semper junctos habeat. Cornel. ap. Cyprian. Ep. 50. [al. 48.] p. 94. Vid. et ep. 49. p. 92.

<sup>v</sup> Posteaquam vos de carcere prodeuntes schismaticus et hæreticus error exceperit. Cypr. Ep. 54. p. 99. Vid. supra. not.<sup>n</sup> p. 85.

<sup>w</sup> —ὡς μηκετ' εἴσης αυτοῖς σωτηρίας ἐλπίδος, μη δ' εἰ πάντα τα εἰς ἐπιστροφὴν γνήσιαν καὶ καθάραν ἐξομολογησὶν ἐπιτελοῖεν. Eus. L. vi. cap. 43. init.

<sup>x</sup> Μη δεχεσθαι τῆς ἐπιτεθυκοτας εἰς τα μνηστρια' ἀλλὰ προτρεπειν μὲν αὐτῶς εἰς μετανοίαν, τὴν δὲ συγχωρησὶν ἐπιτρεπειν Θεῷ, τῷ δυναμένῳ καὶ ἐξῆσιαν ἐχοντι συγχωρεῖν ἁμαρτηματα. Socr. L. iv. cap. 28. p. 245. B.

<sup>y</sup> Atque O frustrandæ fraternitatis irrisio! O miserorum lamentantium caduca deceptio!—hortari ad satisfactionis pœnitentiam, et subtrahere de satisfactione medicinam; dicere fratribus nostris, Plange, et lachrymas funde, et diebus et

brose<sup>z</sup> condemns, and shows<sup>a</sup> to be extremely absurd and unreasonable.

This, most probably, is the true account: and perhaps Eusebius, and<sup>b</sup> some others, who speak much after the same manner with him, ought to be so understood likewise, though they seem to express themselves differently; for Ambrose too charges them<sup>c</sup> with denying salvation to men. The meaning of those writers I suppose to be this, that the Novatians, even by their hard-hearted doctrine, and letting them die out of the communion of the church, discouraged men's<sup>d</sup> repentance, and consequently obstructed their pardon and<sup>e</sup> salvation. Novatus then forbade the receiving to the communion of the church such as had fallen in time of persecution, whilst other christians were for receiving them after tokens of repentance, suitable to the kind and degree of the offence; some after a shorter, others not till after a longer, time of humiliation and penance; all however who desired it in<sup>f</sup> the near approach of death. In this way of conceiving of this matter we are confirmed by the accounts Eusebius has left us of the epistles of Dionysius of Alexandria to several, upon the doctrine of repentance, and the various degrees or kinds of offences.

But though the controversy upon this head was occasioned by the falls of some under persecution, it is not unlikely that Novatus himself, or his followers afterwards, carried this rigour and severity to other sins, sometimes called mortal, and reckoned more heinous than others; such as adultery, fornication, and the like; withholding the communion of the church from all who were surprised into any of these. So

noctibus ingemisce,—sed extra ecclesiam post omnia ista morieris: quæcumque ad pacem pertinent, facies: sed nullam pacem, quam quæris, accipies. Cypr. Ep. 55. [Pam. 52.] p. 114. in.

<sup>z</sup> Quid autem durius, quam ut indicant pœnitentiam, quam non relaxent; cum utique, veniam negando, incertum auferant pœnitentiæ? Amb. de Pœn. l. i. cap. l. n. iv. p. 390. Bened.

<sup>a</sup> Frustra enim dicitis, vos prædicare pœnitentiam, qui tollitis fructum pœnitentiæ. Homines enim ad aliquod studium aut præmiis aut fructibus incitantur. Id. ib. cap. 16. p. 413. Conf. cap. 11. p. 404.

<sup>b</sup> — adimendo spem salutis, denegando misericordiam patris, respuendo pœnitentiam fratris. Anonym. ad Novatian. Hæret. apud Cyprian. p. 16. a. Oxon. Et tu jam, Novatiane, judicas, et nullam spem pacis ac misericordiæ habere lapsos prædicas. Id. p. 19. infr. m. <sup>c</sup> Sed quid mirum, si salutem negatis aliis, qui vestram recusatis? Ambr. ib. l. ii. c. 4. [al. 5.] p. 422.

<sup>d</sup> Hinc ergo apparet, Novatianum cum dolo dicere agendam pœnitentiam. Ut quid enim pœniteret, si delictum aboleri negatur? Ex Vet. et. Nov. Test. Qu. cii. ap. August. T. iii. in. App.

<sup>e</sup> En, qui salutis viam fratribus inexorabili religione præcludat! Pacian. Ep. 2. p. 309. A.

<sup>f</sup> Ut lapsis infirmis et in exitu constitutis pax daretur. ap. Cypr. Ep. 55. [al. 52.] p. 102.

say<sup>s</sup> Pacian, and<sup>h</sup> Socrates, and the<sup>i</sup> author of the Questions out of the Old and New Testament, and<sup>k</sup> St. Ambrose, that the Novatians did not allow the church a right to pardon mortal sins, or greater sins, committed after baptism. And St. Ambrose will have it that<sup>l</sup> Novatus was more rigid than his followers, refusing pardon to sins, small as well as great. Theodoret therefore says, that<sup>m</sup> among the Novatians repentance is not to be mentioned: and Cyprian in<sup>n</sup> very strong terms calls Novatus not only a deserter of the church, but an enemy of mercy, a murderer of repentance, a teacher of pride, a corrupter of truth, and a destroyer of charity.

This then was the heresy of Novatus; the principle by which he and his people were distinguished from other christians: for which they arrogated to themselves, (as<sup>o</sup> Eusebius, and<sup>p</sup> Augustine, and<sup>q</sup> Ambrose, and<sup>r</sup> other writers intimate,) or received from their adversaries, by way of derision, the denomination of pure, or puritans.

Nor does it appear that Novatus went into any other error of moment; for Cyprian is not unwilling to allow that<sup>s</sup> he agreed with catholic christians upon the doctrine of the Trinity. Sozomen, the ecclesiastical historian, says this<sup>t</sup> was the only innovation made by the founder of the Novatian sect, not to receive penitents to communion: and he adds, that<sup>u</sup> they celebrated Easter at the same time with the Ro-

<sup>s</sup> Tractatus omnis Novatianorum, quem ad me confertis undique propositionibus destinasti, Symproniane frater, hoc continet: quod post baptismum penitere non liceat: quod mortale peccatum ecclesia donare non possit; imo quod ipsa pereat recipiendo peccantes. Pacian. Ep. 3. init.

<sup>h</sup> *Εν Καισαρεία της Καππαδοκίας τες μετα το βαπτισμα ήμαρτηκοτας εξωθει της κοινωνιας, ως οι Ναβατιανοι.* Socrat. L. v. c. 22. p. 288. B.

<sup>i</sup> Novatianus, majora, inquit, crimina nominatim remitti prohibentur, id est, idololatria et fornicatio post lavacrum. Qu. cii. August. T. iii.

<sup>k</sup> Sed aiunt se, exceptis gravioribus criminibus, relaxare veniam levioribus. Non hoc quidem auctor vestri erroris Novatianus, qui nemini pœnitentiam dandam putavit. Ambr. de Pœnit. l. iii. c. 3. p. 393. B.

<sup>l</sup> Ita nec Novatianus probatur, qui veniam interclusit omnibus. Ambros. ib. vid. et not. <sup>k</sup>

<sup>m</sup> *Και παντελως τον της μετανοιας των οικειων συλλογων εξοριζουσι λογον.* Theod. H. F. l. iii. cap. 5.

<sup>n</sup> —desertor ecclesiæ, misericordiæ hostis, interfactor pœnitentiæ, doctor superbiæ, veritatis corruptor, perditor caritatis. Cypr. ad Corn. Ep. 60. [al. 57.] p. 142.

<sup>o</sup> *Καθαρος εαυτες αποφηναντων.* l. vi. cap. 43. init.

<sup>p</sup> Cathari, qui seipsos isto nomine quasi propter munditiam superbissime atque odiosissime nominant. Augustine. Hær. 38.

<sup>q</sup> Ut sunt doctores Novatianorum, qui mundos se appellant. Ambr. ib. l. i. cap. 1. p. 390.

<sup>r</sup> Eulog. ap. Phot. Cod. 280. p. 1620. v. 50.

<sup>s</sup> Quod vero eundem quem et nos Deum Patrem, eundem Filium, eundem Spiritum Sanctum, nôsse dicuntur, nec hoc adjuvare tales potest. Ep. 69. [al. 76.] p. 183.

<sup>t</sup> *Ναυατος μεν γαρ, ως αρχηγος εγενετο της αίρεσεως, τες μεταμελεμενες επι τοις ήμαρτημασιν εις κοινωνιαν ε προσετο, και τωτο μονον εκαινοτομι.* Sozom. l. vi. cap. 24. p. 670. A.

<sup>u</sup> Ibid.

mans. Nevertheless, afterwards there arose a dispute among them upon this point, which divided the sect; as is related by <sup>v</sup> Socrates and <sup>w</sup> Sozomen.

I took notice just now, that Cyprian was not unwilling to allow that Novatus thought rightly about the Trinity; but whether he was really orthodox, or held the Nicene faith, is another question, and a point not so easily decided. From <sup>x</sup> Jerom and <sup>y</sup> Rufinus we learn, that the people of the Macedonian sect at Constantinople were fond of the book which Novatus wrote upon the Trinity, supposing it favourable to their notion about the Spirit. And among the moderns Frederic Spanheim says, that <sup>z</sup> though Novatus maintained a Trinity of persons in one Godhead, against Sabellius, and asserted Christ's divinity, yet he speaks in a most dangerous manner of the Spirit, as less than Christ, and a creature. Tillemont<sup>a</sup> says, that, in the 22d and 24th chapters of his book upon the Trinity, he teaches the Son to be less than the Father, and the Spirit to be less than the Son; and that there are in him other things tending to Arianism. Du Pin<sup>b</sup> and <sup>c</sup> Bishop Bull are better satisfied with the treatise upon the Trinity. But enough of that matter.

The Novatians are said by several ancient writers to have condemned second marriages as unlawful and sinful, insomuch that they would not receive those to communion who married a second time. So <sup>d</sup> Epiphanius, and <sup>e</sup> Augustine in his Book of Heresies: and in another work, entitled, Of the Advantage of Widowhood, if it be his, he <sup>f</sup> joins them with the Caphrygians, as agreeing with them in this respect: and Rufinus<sup>g</sup> upon the Creed says roundly, that Novatus, meaning, I

<sup>v</sup> Socr. l. v. cap. 21. p. 282.

<sup>w</sup> Soz. l. vi. cap. 24. l. vii. cap. 18.

<sup>x</sup> Transit ad inclytum martyrem Cyprianum, et dicit, Tertulliani librum, cui titulus est de Trinitate, sub nomine ejus Constantinopoli a Macedonianæ partis hæreticis lectitari. In quo crimine mentitur duo. Nam nec Tertulliani liber est, nec Cypriani dicitur, sed Novatiani, cujus et inscribitur titulo et auctoris eloquium styli proprietatis demonstrat. Hieron. Apol. adv. Ruf. l. 2. p. 415. T. iv. Bened.

<sup>y</sup> Vid. Ruf. de Adult. Libr. Orig. ap. Hieron. T. v. p. 253.

<sup>z</sup> Ac quamquam in unâ deitate personarum Trinitatem distinguit, contra Sabellium, adstruatque Christi divinitatem: tamen de Sp. S. ut minore Christo, et creaturâ, locutus admodum periculose est. Spanh. Hist. Ec. Sect. iii. p. 782.

<sup>a</sup> See Tillemont. Les Novatiens, art. 3.

<sup>b</sup> Du Pin. Bibl. des Aut. Eccl.

<sup>c</sup> Def. Fid. Nic. Sect. ii. cap. x.

<sup>d</sup> Οὔτοι δε ε βελονται διγαμοις επικοινωνειν' ει γαρ τις μετα το βαπτισμα συναφθειη γυναικι δευτερα, παρα ττοις ουκ εισδεχθησεται ει. Epiph. Hær. 59. n. iii. p. 495.

<sup>e</sup> Secundas nuptias non admittunt. Hær. 38.

<sup>f</sup> Aug. de Bono. Vid. cap. 4. T. vi. Bened.

<sup>g</sup> Et quod Novatus sollicitavit, lapsis pœnitentiam denegando, et secundas nuptias, cum forte iniri eas necessitas exegerit, condemnando. Rufin. in Symb. Ap. cap. 39. p. 226. ap. Cyprian. Op. edit. Baluz. p. 27. Oxon. ap. Hieron. Oper. p. 142. f. T. v. Benedict.

suppose, his sect, forbade second marriages absolutely, and in all cases. Theodoret says this<sup>h</sup> was an additional doctrine of the Novatians. Socrates<sup>i</sup> asserts, that the Novatians were not all of one mind upon this head: the Novatians in Phrygia, he says, condemned second marriages; they of Constantinople had no positive rule concerning this matter; but the Novatians in the West received bigamists to communion without scruple. This is likely to be the truth: some had this rigid sentiment, but not all; for it being not a doctrine of Novatus himself, but added afterwards, as Theodoret assures us, all the sect was not agreed in this point. However, here we see another sin, beside apostasy, that excluded men from communion; for the Novatians, that condemned second marriages, esteemed such as married a second time after baptism to be unworthy of that privilege.

And perhaps it may be allowed not to be an improbable conjecture, that this principle was borrowed from the Montanists, and therefore prevailed most among the Novatians of Phrygia; though, possibly, some few in other places also approved of the same rigid doctrine. Pacian expressly says, that<sup>k</sup> the Novatians made great use of Tertullian; meaning, I suppose, those works of his which were written after he had imbibed the Cataphrygian doctrine. Pacian says likewise, that<sup>l</sup> when Sympronian first wrote to him, he did not well know what to think of him; whether he ought to take him for a follower of Montanus, or of Novatus.

It is scarce needful to observe, that they baptized afresh all who came over to them from other sects; because it seems to be a necessary consequence of their refusing communion with other christians, as not sufficiently pure. This was the doctrine of Novatus himself, as Cyprian allows<sup>m</sup> plainly. He says that herein Novatus aped the catholic church.

I shall add here but one thing more. Eulogius<sup>n</sup> says that the Novatians of Alexandria did not pay due reverence to the

<sup>h</sup> Οἱ δὲ τῶν διαδοχοῦ καὶ ἕτερα τῷ δογματι προσεθεκασι· τὰς γὰρ δευτέρους γαμοῖς ὀμνήληκotas τῶν ἱερῶν ἐξελαννεσι μνηριον. Hæc. Fab. l. iii. c. v. p. 229. D. <sup>i</sup> Soer. l. v. cap. 22. p. 288. B. C. <sup>k</sup> Tertullianus post hæresim suam: (nam multa inde sumpsistis.) Pacian. Ep. 3. p. 314. E.

<sup>l</sup> Cum primum scripseras, Cataphrygem putabam. Id. ib. p. 308. A.

<sup>m</sup> Nec nos movet, frater carissime, quod in literis tuis complexus es, Novatienses rebaptizare eos, quos a nobis sollicitant.—Nam Novatianus, simiarum more, quæ, cum homines non sint, homines tamen imitantur, vult ecclesiæ catholicæ auctoritatem sibi et veritatem vindicare, quando ipse in ecclesiâ non sit.—Sciens etenim unum esse baptismum, hoc unum sibi vindicat, ut apud se esse ecclesiam dicat, et nos hæreticos faciat. Cyprian. ad Jubaian. Ep. 73. p. 198.

<sup>n</sup> — φησι καὶ τὰς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρίᾳ Νουατιανὸς κατα τῶν μαρτυρῶν τῆς Χριστοῦ ἐνολογῶντας. Eulog. ap. Phot. Cod. 280. p. 1617. fin.

martyrs, nor<sup>o</sup> allow that there was any virtue in their reliques. He does not say that this was the common opinion of the Novatians; but it seems to me, that their rigid principles would generally lead them to deny those who suffered in the catholic church to be true martyrs. Nay,<sup>p</sup> the catholics would not allow the Novatians to have any martyrs: how then could the Novatians suppose there were martyrs among their adversaries? especially<sup>q</sup> since they thought the church quite corrupted, ruined, and destroyed, by receiving great sinners upon repentance, and communicating with them. They might likewise think themselves obliged to ape the catholics in this, as well as in some other matters: and, besides, the allowing this would be giving an advantage<sup>r</sup> to some arguments brought by the catholics against their relentless unforgiving doctrine; which would be in effect yielding up their cause, and the main ground of dissension and separation.

This is said, supposing Eulogius by martyrs to mean martyrs in the catholic church, since the separation of the Novatians. If he means all martyrs in general, and such as were allowed that character by the Novatians themselves, as having suffered in communion with them, or in the pure times of the church, before the rise of this controversy; then it will be thought by some, that what Eulogius complains of may be esteemed rather a proof of the judgment and good sense of the Novatians, that they had not that excessive veneration of martyrs, which was then become fashionable among christians.

III. When Novatus embraced the rigid principle above described, is disputed. Some think it was taken up only as acceptable to some people, and as a method of throwing hatred upon Cornelius, who had obtained the see of Rome, and was for allowing the peace of the church to such as had fallen in time of persecution, and gave proofs of repentance. So<sup>s</sup>

<sup>o</sup> Ib. p. 1620. in.

<sup>p</sup> See before, p. 84. Note <sup>t</sup>.

<sup>q</sup> Nulline apud nos confessores, martyres nulli, nulli immaculati atque integri sacerdotes, quos catenæ, quos ignes, quos gladii probaverunt? Fuere, inquires; sed negatores recipiendo perierunt.—Interim cui persuadere poteris, quod, lapsis receptis, ecclesia tota conciderit? quod, admissis poenitentibus, admittentium populus negator effectus sit? Pacian. Ep. p. 309. G.

<sup>r</sup> Plurimos comperimus se denuo reformasse post lapsum, et pro nomine Dei passos. Num possumus his martyrum consortia negare, quibus Dominus Jesus non negavit? Audemus igitur dicere, non esse his vitam redditam, quibus Christus coronam reddidit? Ambr. de Pœn. l. i. cap. 9. [al. 10.] p. 401. Et Conf. Anonym. adversus Novatian. ap. Cypr. p. 17. fin. p. 18. init. Oxon.

<sup>s</sup> Audite, quæso, et totum ordinem vestris erroris advertite. Cornelius, jam Romæ episcopus a sexdecim episcopis factus, locum cathedræ vacantis acciperat.—Tum forte quidam presbyter Novatus ex Africâ—Romam venit.—Nec

Pacian seems to say. And<sup>t</sup> Tillemont argues, that Novatus did not make any schism in the church till after the election of Cornelius. But Pearson<sup>u</sup> and<sup>v</sup> some others have thought the schism commenced at the very beginning of 251: which is argued from some words of Cornelius in the letter formerly abridged by us; where he says that<sup>w</sup> Moses the martyr, who<sup>x</sup> is supposed to have died early in the year 251, had withdrawn himself from Novatus, and five other presbyters. The learned Benedictine, who writes the life of St. Cyprian, takes<sup>y</sup> a middle way, as he says, between these two sentiments; he thinks the schism did not break out till after the election of Cornelius, but that, for some good while before, the foundation of it was laid, and divers steps taken; which I apprehend must be granted: what Cornelius says of Moses seems a good proof of it. Another argument of this may be, that the ordination of Novatus very speedily followed that of Cornelius, so that the deputies from Novatus arrived in Africa about the same time with those from Cornelius, as appears from<sup>z</sup> St. Cyprian, and is allowed by Tillemont.<sup>a</sup>

Whenever Novatus first approved the rigid maxims upon which his sect was formed, it is now the<sup>b</sup> common opinion of learned moderns that Novatus, presbyter of Carthage, under Cyprian, was the first author of these measures; agreeably to the passages of Jerom, Cyprian, and Pacian, which we took notice of some while ago.<sup>c</sup>

In January, 251, say<sup>d</sup> Pearson and<sup>e</sup> Pagi, Novatus came

multo post, Novatianum istum episcopatu Cornelii anxium, (nam sibi speraverat,) cum aliquantis, ut in tali re solet, ex sua parte fautoribus nutantem impellit, dubitantem fovet, ut magnum aliquid speret, hortatur. Invenit aliquos ex eorum numero qui tempestatem persecutionis illius evaserant; apud quos hanc ipsam de lapsis receptis Cornelio conflaret invidiam. Pacian. Ep. 3. p. 310. E. F. <sup>t</sup> See Tillem. Mem. Ecc. T. iii. St. Corneille, art. 3. et note iii.

<sup>u</sup> Vid. Pearson. Ann. Cyprian. 251. num. i. <sup>v</sup> Vales. Annot. in Eus. l. vi. c. 43. p. 137. a. <sup>w</sup> Euseb. l. vi. c. 43. p. 245. C. D.

<sup>x</sup> Vid. Pearson. ib. et Pagi Crit. 251. n. xiv.

<sup>y</sup> Sic mediam inter utrosque viam inibo, ut ex utraque sententiâ aliquid assumam, aliquid etiam refellam. Etsi enim schisma ante Cornelii ordinationem erupisse non credam, videtur tamen multo ante occultis molitionibus informatam et præparatam. Vit. St. Cypr. ap. Cypr. Bened. p. 84. vid. etiam p. 85, 86. <sup>z</sup> Vid. Cypr. Ep. 44. [al. 41.] Ep. 45. [al. 42.]

<sup>a</sup> Il paroît assez, que ces deux lettres furent apportées en même temps. Et c'est ce qui nous oblige de dire, que la faction de Novatien avoit commencé à se former des devant l'élection de S. Corneille, et qu'elle éclata aussitôt que l'on parla de l'élire. Tillem. St. Corneille art. 7. p. 26.

<sup>b</sup> Et l'élection de Corneille—fût néanmoins troublée aussitôt par un schisme très dangereux, dont Novat fût l'auteur, et Novatien l'exécuteur et le ministre. Tillemont. Saint Corneille, art. 3. p. 10.

<sup>c</sup> See before, p. 78, 84.

<sup>d</sup> Ann. Cypr. 251. n. i.

<sup>e</sup> Sub initio itaque Januarii Novatus, relicto in Africâ Felicissimo, Romam

from Africa to Rome, and there drew Novatus, presbyter of that city, into his measures; or as they express it, separated him from the church. Moses, who before was intimate with Novatus, hereupon shows his dislike of him, and of five other presbyters, of the same sentiments and measures. Moses dies soon after. When the persecution abated, the disturbance broke out, upon account of the election of a bishop at Rome.

But here, in my opinion, arises a very considerable difficulty. Moses is supposed to have died at Rome in January, or February, 251, and before his death to have shown a dislike of Novatus, and five other presbyters of Rome, on account of measures they had been led into by Novatus, presbyter of Carthage, lately arrived there. But<sup>i</sup> Tillemont shows it to be very probable that Novatus, Cyprian's presbyter, was yet in Africa in February, if not also in March, the same year. And I own it seems to me most probable that he must have been at Carthage in the month of March: how then is it possible that he should have misled those presbyters at Rome before the death of Moses?

I beg leave therefore to mention a thought, to be considered and examined by the curious: it seems to me that too much regard is paid to what Cyprian writes of his presbyter Novatus, as if he had been the chief author of all the disturbances at Rome. For the Greek writers, who appear to be well acquainted with the Novatian sect, say nothing of this African Novatus; nor does Cornelius in the fragments of his letter to Fabian of Antioch, preserved in Eusebius, take any notice of him. Indeed Cornelius, in a<sup>s</sup> letter to Cyprian, mentions this person among other legates in the second deputation sent by his rival from Rome to Africa; but he does not lay any thing particularly to his charge: and he there<sup>h</sup> actually calls another person author of the schism. It is apparent, from Cyprian's answer to that letter, that<sup>i</sup> Cornelius had never sent him any account of the con-

venit, et separavit ab ecclesiâ Novatianum. Quare Novatianum, antea sibi maxime familiarem, Mōyses presbyter et confessor illustris, adhuc superstes, sed paulo ante mortem, a communione suâ separavit, ut habet Cornelius epistolâ ad Fabium Antiochensem episcopum, apud Eusebium. lib. vi. cap. 43. Mōyses autem paulo post moritur in carcere, hoc ipso mense exeunte. Pagi Crit. 251. n. xiv.

<sup>f</sup> See Tillem. Mem. Ec. Corneille, Art. 3. note iii.

<sup>g</sup> Puto Nicostratum, et Novatum, et Euaristum, et Primum, et Dionysium illo jam pervenisse. Invigiletur ergo, &c. Corn. ad Cyprian. ap. Cypr. Ep. 50. [al. 48.]

<sup>h</sup> Euaristum vero auctorem schismatis fuisse, &c. Ib.

<sup>i</sup> Nam de Novato nihil inde ad nos fuerat nuntiandum, cum magis per nos vobis debeat Novatus ostendi, rerum novarum semper cupidus, &c. Cyprian Ep. 52. [al. 49.] p. 96.

duct of the African Novatus. But Cyprian, upon the bare mention of the name of his presbyter, being full of resentment, goes into a kind of declamation: and, beside what that Novatus had done at Carthage, he tells Cornelius a story of what he supposed he had done at Rome: and he seems to think he knew this better than Cornelius himself; at the same time, what he says appears to have no other foundation but suspicion and conjecture.

I would therefore dispose things at Rome about this time in the following order: Moses died in January, or the beginning of February, 251: before his death he observed caballing and interest-making for the chair of Rome; which occasioned his showing a dislike of Novatus, and five other presbyters of that city. Perhaps likewise some schemes were now proposed relating to the treatment of the lapsed, which he did not approve of. After his death, and before the election of Cornelius, which happened in June, 251, Novatus of Carthage came to Rome, and joined the party of the Roman presbyter of that name: and I suppose he continued to favour that interest; and he may be allowed to have fomented the dissensions at Rome. But, so far as I can perceive, there is no ground for thinking the African Novatus the first author of the Novatian rigid principle, and the Novatian sect, but the conjectural story of Cyprian, and the authority of those few other writers, who have taken things upon trust from him, without any nice inquiry or examination.

As for the exact time when our Novatus took up his rigid scheme of church discipline; whether before or after the ordination of Cornelius, and the particular occasion of it, and whether it was the result of his own serious thoughts, or whether he was led into it by views of private interest, or by the management of some designing and artful adviser; these are matters very much in the dark. I know of no remaining evidence sufficient to afford satisfaction in these points; nor do I see how they can ever be fully cleared up, unless some more of our author's own writings, or of his followers, should be brought to light, which we have no reason to expect.

IV. When Novatus was ordained, he and his people were not idle or inactive, but supported his election to the utmost of their power. His deputies, as was observed before, arrived at Carthage about the same time with those from Cornelius. It is now<sup>k</sup> the general opinion of learned men, that Cornelius was ordained on the fourth day of June, 251; and those

<sup>k</sup> Vid. Pearson. Ann. Cypr. 251, n. vi. vii. viii. ix. Pagi Crit. 251. n. xix. et. seq. Tillemont. S. Corneille, Art. ii.

learned men suppose that the deputies of Novatus might come to Carthage with an account of his ordination likewise in the month of July the same year. There<sup>1</sup> matters were held in suspense for a while, till they should receive a clearer account of Cornelius's election.

Novatus sent abroad letters and deputies to many other churches, as is apparent from the epistles of<sup>m</sup> Cornelius and<sup>n</sup> Cyprian, authentic witnesses in this case. And though the churches were generally restored to peace and tranquillity in the space of a few years, as<sup>o</sup> appears from what Dionysius of Alexandria writes in a letter to pope Stephen, it is nevertheless certain that they had been greatly disturbed by this affair. The many epistles or treatises, written by the same Dionysius upon this occasion, are a proof that many relished the rigid doctrine of this sect. Fabius, bishop of Antioch, in particular, had been their friend and favourer. Marciani, bishop of Arles, was firm in the same principle and cause in the time of pope<sup>p</sup> Stephen; nor is it known that<sup>q</sup> he ever deserted them.

Besides, for keeping up their interest, there were new bishops ordained, and set over those who anywhere separated from the catholic church upon the ground of this principle. Of this also there is authentic evidence from<sup>r</sup> Cyprian himself. There<sup>s</sup> seems to have been a new bishop, by name Maximus, appointed for the Novatian party at Carthage, Cyprian's own diocese.

Though therefore Novatus and his principles had been condemned and rejected by most christian bishops, and by the majority of the clergy and people of their several churches, at the time of Dionysius's writing the forementioned letter to Stephen, Novatus still continued to have a numerous

<sup>1</sup> Sed cum statuissimus collegæ complures, qui in unum conveneramus, ut legatis ad vos coëpiscopis nostris Caldonio et Fortunato missis, omnia integra suspenderentur, donec ad nos iidem collegæ nostri, rebus illic aut ad pacem redactis aut pro veritate compertis, redirent. Cypr. ad Corn. Ep. 48. [al. 45.] p. 90, 91. Conf. Ep. 44. [al. 41.] p. 85. <sup>m</sup> —Novissime, quod per omnes ecclesias literæ, calumniis et maledictis plenæ, eorum nomine frequentes missæ fuissent, et pene omnes ecclesias perturbassent. Cornel. ap. Cypr. Ep. 49. [al. 46.] p. 22. <sup>n</sup> —et per plurimas civitates novos apostolos suos mittat.—Cypr. Ep. 55. p. 112.

<sup>o</sup> Vid. Euseb. l. vii. cap. 4. et Pagi Crit. 256. n. xiv. xv.

<sup>p</sup> Vid. Cypr. Ep. 68. [al. 67.]

<sup>q</sup> See Tillemont. St. Cyprien. Art. 39.

<sup>r</sup> —et per plurimas civitates novos apostolos suos mittat,—cumque jam pridem per omnes provincias et per urbes singulas ordinati sint episcopi in ætate antiqui, in fide integri, in pressurâ probati, in persecutione proscripti, ille super eos creare alios pseudoëpiscopos audeat. Cypr. Ep. 55. p. 112.

<sup>s</sup> Nam et pars Novatiani maximum presbyterum, nuper ad nos a Novatiano legatum missum, atque a nostrâ communicatione rejectum, nunc istic sibi fecisse pseudoëpiscopum dicitur. Id. Ep. 49. p. 132.

party in many places, separated from the catholic church. However, we find no farther mention made of them in the third century, though that has been distinguished by Cave with the name and title of the Novatian age.

One of the canons<sup>t</sup> of the council at Nice, in 325, relates to them. Socrates<sup>u</sup> says, ‘ that Constantine, solicitous for peace, and desirous to secure the concord and harmony of the churches, invited Acesius, bishop of the Novatian sect, to come to that council. When the creed had been composed and subscribed by the synod, the emperor asked Acesius, whether he also assented to that creed, and to the determination concerning the feast of Easter? He answered the emperor, that there was nothing new in what the synod had determined; for it was the same that had been delivered to him as from the beginning, and from the times of the apostles; both with regard to the form of faith, and the time of keeping Easter. Whereupon the emperor inquiring, What then was the occasion of his separation from the communion of the church? he related what had happened under Decius in the time of the persecution, and gave him an account of the strictness of their severe rule of discipline; which was, that they who after baptism committed any such sin, as the divine scriptures call mortal, should not be admitted to a participation of the divine mysteries; they should be exhorted to repentance, but pardon ought not to be expected from the priests, but from God, who is able and has authority to forgive sins. When Acesius had said this, the emperor replied; Set a “ ladder, then, Acesius, and go up to heaven alone.” ’

The same story is told by<sup>v</sup> Sozomen, possibly taken from Socrates. It ought however to be observed, that<sup>w</sup> Valesius disputes the truth of this relation: on the other hand, Basnage<sup>x</sup> defends it against the objections of that learned writer.

Those ancient ecclesiastical historians have not particularly informed us of the place where Acesius was then bishop. Tillemont, speaking of this matter, says, Acesius<sup>y</sup> was bishop in those parts; that is, somewhere not very far off from Nice. Basnage<sup>z</sup> argues that he was then bishop of the Novatians at Byzantium. It is certain he<sup>a</sup> was afterwards bishop of that people in that city, then called Constantinople.

In<sup>b</sup> 326, Constantine made a law somewhat favourable to

<sup>t</sup> Can. viii.

<sup>u</sup> Socrat. l. i. cap. 10.

<sup>v</sup> Soz. l. i. cap. 22.

<sup>w</sup> Vales. Annot. p. 9.

<sup>x</sup> Basn. Ann. 325. num. xxxiii.

<sup>y</sup> Ce prince fit en effet venir à Nicée Acèse, qui étoit leur évêque en ces quartiers là. Tillemont, Les Novatiens. Art. 4. p. 94.

<sup>z</sup> Basn. ibid.

<sup>a</sup> Vid. Soz. lib. ii. cap. 32. p. 493. D.

<sup>b</sup> Vid. Basn. Ann. 326. n. iii. iv. Pagi Crit. 326. n. ix. x. Tillem. ib. p. 95.

them, allowing them their churches and cemeteries, provided they had never belonged to the catholics. But<sup>c</sup> in the severe edict<sup>d</sup> of 331, or thereabout, the Novatians are joined with the Valentinians, Marcionites, Paulians, and Cataphrygians, and other heretics: their places of worship are to be taken from them; they are forbidden to assemble in public or private; and their books are to be sought for and destroyed. But<sup>e</sup> it is the opinion of some learned men, that this edict had but little effect with regard to the Novatians. Sozomen's reflections upon this edict are such as these: 'By<sup>f</sup> means of this law other sects have been in a manner buried in oblivion: for in the times of the preceding emperors<sup>g</sup> all the followers of Christ, though they had different opinions, were considered by the Gentiles as all one, and suffered all alike. Nor could they disturb each other, because of the common calamities; for which reason, they all had their assemblies without much difficulty: and as they frequently met together, though they were few in number, they were not quite broken, but kept up their several interests. But<sup>h</sup> after the publication of this edict, they could not meet publicly, it being prohibited; nor privately, the bishops and clergy of every city narrowly observing them. From that time great numbers of them were induced out of fear to join themselves to the catholic church. And they who persisted in their particular sentiments not leaving successors, their sects died away; forasmuch as they were not allowed to assemble together, nor could they without danger teach their principles privately to any. And indeed the other sects from the beginning had but few followers, either because of the absurdity of their opinions, or the unskilfulness of their teachers: but the Novatians having good leaders, and being of the same mind with the catholic church upon the doctrine of the Deity, were numerous from the beginning, and have continued to be so, without suffering much by this law: and the emperor himself, as may be supposed, softened it of his own accord with regard to them, designing rather to fright than hurt his subjects. And moreover Acesius, then bishop of that sect at Constantinople, being esteemed by the emperor for the sanctity of his life, it is likely, spoke a

<sup>c</sup> Ap. Euseb. Vit. Const. l. iii. cap. 64. et seq. <sup>d</sup> See Tillem. as before, p. 95. <sup>e</sup> Vid. Basnag. ib. Tillem. as before. <sup>f</sup> Sozom. l. ii. c. 32.

<sup>g</sup> *Ἐπι μὲν γὰρ τῶν πρὶν βασιλείων, ὅσοι τὸν Χριστὸν εἰσεβόν, εἰ καὶ τὰς δοξὰς διεφέροντο, πρὸς τῶν Ἑλληνιστῶν οἱ αὐτοὶ ἐνομιζόντο, καὶ κακῶς ὁμοίως ἐπασχόν σφας δὲ αὐτὰς πολυπραγμονεῖν ἐπὶ τὰς κοινὰς συμφορὰς ἐκ ἠδύναστο· καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ῥαδίῳ καθ' ἑαυτὰς ἕκαστοι συνιοντες ἐκκλησιαζόν.* Ibid. p. 493. B.

<sup>h</sup> *Μετὰ δὲ τῷτον τὸν νομὸν, ὅτε δημοσία ἐκκλησιαζέιν ἠδύναστο κωλυόμενοι, ὅτε λαθρα, τῶν κατὰ πόλιν ἐπισκοπῶν καὶ κληρικῶν παρατηρησῶν· κ. λ. ib C.*

‘ good word for the church under his care. As for the  
 ‘ Cataphrygians, in other parts of the empire they declined,  
 ‘ as most others did, excepting only in Phrygia, and the  
 ‘ neighbouring countries; where from the time of Montanus,  
 ‘ they have been numerous, and still continue so to be.’

The Novatians suffered together with the catholics in the Arian persecution under Constantius, about<sup>i</sup> the year 356. Agelius, then bishop of the Novatians at Constantinople,<sup>k</sup> saved himself by flight: but many of his people, eminent for piety, suffered greatly at that time. ‘ The Arians,’ as Socrates<sup>l</sup> says, ‘ demolished many churches in divers cities, ‘ by orders of Macedonius, their bishop at Constantinople. ‘ The emperor’s edict, and the violence of Macedonius, ‘ threatened likewise a church of the Novatians at Constantinople. Its ruin was near, and the persons were at hand ‘ to whom the execution was committed: but the Novatians ‘ prevented them after a sort; for, gathering together in a ‘ great multitude, and being assisted likewise by a good ‘ number of well-meaning catholics, they pulled down the ‘ church, and conveyed all the materials to another place ‘ without the city.’ So writes Socrates. And Sozomen<sup>m</sup> confirms his account. About the same time the church<sup>n</sup> of the Novatians at Cyzicum was quite demolished by Eleusius, the Arian bishop at that city, an intimate friend of the fore-mentioned Macedonius.

The Novatians however had honourable satisfaction made them afterwards. With the leave<sup>o</sup> of the emperor Julian they rebuilt their church at Constantinople in a splendid manner, calling it now Anastasia. As for their church that had been pulled down at Cyzicum, Julian sent<sup>p</sup> orders to Eleusius to rebuild it in two months’ time at his own expense, upon the pain of a very heavy forfeiture.

Under<sup>q</sup> Valens again, the Novatians, as well as others who held the consubstantial doctrine, were forbidden to worship at Constantinople. The churches of the Novatians were shut up, and their bishop Agelius was banished: but the emperor’s displeasure against the Novatians<sup>r</sup> was moderated by Marcian, a pious and learned man, who formerly had a military post in the imperial palace, but was now presbyter

<sup>i</sup> See Tillemont, Mem. Tom. vi. P. ii. Les Ariens, Art. 63.

<sup>k</sup> Vid. Socrat. lib. ii. cap. 38. p. 142. B. C.

<sup>l</sup> Καθηρεν μιν εν οι αριανιζοντες, Μακεδονις κελεινοντος, αλλας τε πολλας κατα πολεις εκκλησιας. Socrat. ib. p. 143. A. <sup>m</sup> L. iv. cap. 20. p. 570. C. D.

<sup>n</sup> Socrat. l. ii. cap. 38. p. 144. A. B.

<sup>o</sup> Socr. ib. p. 143. D. 144. A. <sup>p</sup> Socrat. l. iii. cap. 11. Sozom. l. v. cap. 5. p. 601.

<sup>q</sup> Vid. Socrat. l. iv. cap. 9.

<sup>r</sup> Socr. ib. et l. v. cap. 21.

in the church of the Novatians, and had been appointed preceptor in polite literature to the emperor's daughters Anastasia and Carosa. In regard to him therefore the churches of the Novatians, which for some while had been shut up, were opened again. Nevertheless, even after this, the<sup>s</sup> Novatians were not quite void of disturbance from the Arians. So writes Socrates: and to the same purpose Sozomen, who<sup>t</sup> adds, that Agelius was soon recalled from his banishment, and officiated in the churches as before.

In the year<sup>u</sup> 383, Theodosius had a synod, or conference, at Constantinople, for putting an end to those dissensions which there were in the empire by reason of different sects of religion. And<sup>v</sup> Socrates says that the emperor was so well pleased with the orthodoxy of the Novatians, in holding the doctrine of the consubstantiality, that he gave them leave to assemble for divine worship in cities; and appointed that their churches should enjoy the same privileges with those of his own sentiments.

Tillemont<sup>w</sup> observes that the Novatians are never named in the laws of Theodosius against heretics, though they were put in that rank, in 381, by an œcumenical council. He<sup>x</sup> adds that<sup>y</sup> Socrates, to prove the affection which Theodosius had for this people, says, that emperor pardoned Symmachus at the request of Leontius, bishop of the church of the Novatians at Rome, about the year 388.

Socrates<sup>z</sup> speaks of their sees at Constantinople, Nice, Nicomedia, and Cotiæus in Phrygia, as the chief sees of that sect in the fourth century; in the east at least, for he supposeth them to be besides very numerous in<sup>a</sup> the West.

What were their numbers in these cities does not appear. Socrates<sup>b</sup> seems to say they had three churches within Constantinople, beside that which was destroyed: but perhaps he means no more than that they had three in all.

The pieces written against them by<sup>c</sup> St. Ambrose,<sup>d</sup> Pacian, the<sup>e</sup> anonymous author of the Questions out of the Old and

<sup>s</sup> Socrat. ib. p. 218. B. C.

<sup>t</sup> Sozom. l. vi. cap. 9. p. 649. C.

<sup>u</sup> Vid. Basn. 283. n. vi. et Tillemont, Les Novatiens, Art. 5. p. 98, 99.

<sup>v</sup> Vid. Socrat. l. 5. cap. 10. p. 269. B. C. cap. 22. p. 280. B. et Conf. Sozom. l. viii. cap. 1. p. 754. D.

<sup>w</sup> Tillem. Les Novatiens, p. 99.

<sup>x</sup> Ibid.

<sup>y</sup> Socrat. l. v. cap. 14. p. 273. C.

<sup>z</sup> Socrat. l. iv. cap. 28. p. 246. Conf. Sozom. l. vi. cap. 24.

<sup>a</sup> l. vii. cap. 11. Conf. cap. 9.

<sup>b</sup> εἰς δὲ τὰς ἄλλας τρεῖς (τοσαύτας

γὰρ ἐντὸς τῆς πόλεως ἔχουσιν οἱ τῶν Νουατιανῶν ἐκκλησίας) συνερχομένοι ἀλλήλοις συνηχοντο. Socr. l. ii. cap. 38. p. 144. A.

<sup>c</sup> Ambr. de Pœnit. libri duo.

<sup>d</sup> Pacian. ad Sympron. Epist. tres.

<sup>e</sup> Qu. cii. ap. Augustin. Tom. iii. in app. Bened.

New Testament; the notice taken of them by <sup>f</sup> Basil,<sup>g</sup> Gregory Nazianzen; the accounts given of them by Socrates and Sozomen in their ecclesiastical histories, are proofs of their being numerous, and in most parts of the world, in the fourth and fifth centuries. Not to insist now particularly on <sup>h</sup> Philaster,<sup>i</sup> Epiphanius,<sup>k</sup> Augustine,<sup>l</sup> Theodoret, who have written professedly of heretics and their opinions. St. Jerom likewise frequently confutes the Novatians in his commentaries, and in his epistles. Among the epistles of Isidore of Pelusium, who flourished about the year 412, there <sup>m</sup> are two against the Novatians. And that they subsisted in some parts after this, appears from the books <sup>n</sup> of Eulogius, bishop of Alexandria, written against them not long before the end of the sixth century.

The vast extent of this sect is manifest from the names of the authors who have mentioned them, or written against them, and from the several parts of the Roman empire in which they were found. And <sup>o</sup> Socrates mentions one Mark, bishop of the Novatians in Scythia, who was present at Constantinople with Paul in his last sickness, who died in the year 439.

The Novatians had among them some men of note and eminence. Not to say any thing more of Acesius, already mentioned,<sup>p</sup> Socrates and <sup>q</sup> Sozomen have celebrated Euty-chian as a worker of miracles; a man of this sect in the time of Constantine, who lived a solitary life upon the mountain Olympus in Bithynia.

Agelius succeeded Acesius as bishop of the Novatian people at Constantinople: he enjoyed that honour, as <sup>r</sup> it seems, near fifty years, dying in the sixth year of the reign of Theodosius, that is, the year of Christ, 384. Socrates says of him, ‘that <sup>s</sup> he lived an apostolical life: he went bare-foot, and wore but one coat, according to the precept in the ‘gospel.’ Sozomen <sup>t</sup> writes of this bishop exactly to the same purpose, only in different words: as before shown, he saved himself by flight in the Arian persecution under Constantius: he was banished by Valens, but obtained a speedy release at the intercession of Marcian. Though Agelius, as both these ecclesiastical historians assure us, was a very pious

<sup>f</sup> Basil. ad Amphil. Can. i. Ep. 188. p. 268. A. Bened.

<sup>g</sup> Gr. Naz. Orat. 39. p. 635, 636.

<sup>h</sup> Philast. Hær. 82.

<sup>i</sup> Epiph. Hær. 59. p. 493, &c.

<sup>k</sup> Aug. de Hær. cap. 38.

<sup>l</sup> Theod. Hær. Fab. l. iii. cap. 5.

<sup>m</sup> Isid. l. i. Ep. 338, 339.

<sup>n</sup> Ap. Phot. cod. 208. p. 528. cod. 280. p. 1597.

<sup>o</sup> L. vii. cap.

46. p. 390.

<sup>p</sup> Socrat. l. i. cap. 13.

<sup>q</sup> Sozom. l. i. cap. 14.

<sup>r</sup> Vid. Socrat. l. v. cap. 12. in. et cap. 21. in.

<sup>s</sup> Socr. l. iv. cap. 9.

<sup>t</sup> Sozom. l. vi. cap. 9.

person, he<sup>u</sup> was not a man of great abilities; however, he had under him Sisinnius, a man of fine parts and learning: he was of use to his bishop in the forementioned conference at Constantinople, in 383, though he was then only reader.

When Agelius died, Sisinnius was presbyter in the church of the Novatians; and Agelius nominated him to<sup>v</sup> be his successor: but his people rather desired Marcian, who had been so serviceable in the persecution under Valens. Agelius complied with them, provided that Sisinnius should succeed Marcian, as he did in 395.

Socrates<sup>w</sup> enlarges in the character of Sisinnius. He was educated, together with the emperor Julian, under Maximus the philosopher: he was skilled in all parts of philosophy, especially in logic: he was an excellent disputant; insomuch that Eunomius was shy of entering into an argument with him, and often avoided him: he had great understanding in the scriptures; was eloquent; and had a good knowledge of the world: he was moreover a man of ready wit. Socrates, to<sup>x</sup> whom the reader is referred, has recorded some of his remarkable sayings. ‘He was in great reputation for his learning, and upon that account was respected by all his successors; he was likewise honoured with the esteem and affection of many of senatorian rank: he published a good number of books: but he appeared too nice in his language, and affected poetical phrases: he was therefore more admired as a speaker than a writer: for indeed there was a certain gracefulness in his person, in his speech, his garb, his aspect, and every motion of his body. In a word, he was beloved by men of all sects, especially by the bishop Atticus.’ So writes Socrates.

Sisinnius died<sup>y</sup> in 407, and<sup>z</sup> was succeeded by Chrysanthus, son of Marcian, immediate successor of Agelius. Chrysanthus in his younger years had a military post in the palace. In the reign of Theodosius the First he was governor in Italy, and after that vicar of the British islands: in both which charges he behaved with great reputation. Being advanced in years, he returned to Constantinople, and put up for præfect of that city: but, instead of that, he was against his own will compelled to accept of a bishoprick: for Sisinnius, when near his end, having mentioned him as a fit person to succeed him, and his people looking upon what

<sup>u</sup> Συσηναι δε λογοις περι τω δογματος εκ ισχυειν, αναγνωσθην υπ’ αυτω, Σισιννιον ονομα, προς το διαλεχθηναι προεβαλλετο. Socr. l. v. cap. 10. p. 267. C.

<sup>v</sup> Lib. v. cap. 21. p. 280. C. D.

<sup>w</sup> Lib. v. cap. 21. et. l. vi. cap. 22.

<sup>x</sup> Ib. l. vi. cap. 22.

<sup>y</sup> Socr. l. vii. cap. 6. p. 343. C.

<sup>z</sup> Ib. cap. 12.

Sisinnius said as a law, earnestly entreated him to accept the episcopal office. Whereupon Chrysanthus fled. But the people, having found him in Bithynia, at length prevailed upon him by their importunity. ‘He was,’ as Socrates says, ‘a man of signal prudence and modesty; and by his means the churches of the Novatians were not only upheld, but increased. He was liberal to the poor out of his own estate; but<sup>a</sup> received nothing from the churches under his care, beside two loaves of the sacred bread every Lord’s day. Such was his concern to promote the interest of his people, that he took Ablabius, the best rhetorician of that time, out of the school of the sophist Troilus, and ordained him presbyter.’ Socrates says, that his polite and ingenious sermons were extant in his time. He adds, that Ablabius was afterwards bishop of the Novatians at Nice, at the same time teaching rhetoric.

By all these things we see plainly, that under good catholic princes the Novatians enjoyed great liberty of worship, and were admitted to places of trust and honour.

Chrysanthus was succeeded by<sup>b</sup> Paul, who had been a teacher of the Latin tongue; but, laying aside that employment, he betook himself to an ascetic life. Whilst he was bishop he was almost universally beloved at Constantinople. He died in 439. Socrates says, that<sup>c</sup> at his funeral he in a manner united all sects of religion into one church; for they all accompanied his body to the grave, singing psalms, he having been greatly esteemed for the simplicity and integrity of his manners.

Cassiodorus, who wrote about the middle of the sixth century, makes mention of<sup>d</sup> a learned Novatian, whom he knew, named Eusebius; who, like Didymus of Alexandria, was blind from his childhood: he was exceedingly well acquainted with authors and books, as well as things, and showed a wonderful strength of memory: he usually resided in Asia. Cassiodorus does not say any thing of his

<sup>a</sup> Και πρωτος τοις πτωχοις οικοθεν χρυσιον διενειμεν απο τε των εκκλησιων εδεν εδεξατο; πλην κατα κυριακην δυο αρτες των ευλογιων ελαμβανεν. Ib. p. 348. D.

<sup>b</sup> Socrat. l. vii. cap. 17. init.

<sup>c</sup> Ib. cap. 46.

<sup>d</sup> — nisi de partibus Asiæ quemdam ad nos venire Eusebium nomine contigisset, qui se infantem quinque annorum sic cæcatum esse narrabat,—Hic tantos auctores, tantos libros in memoriæ suæ bibliothecâ condiderat, ut legentes probabiliter admoneret, in quâ parte codicis, quod prædixerat, invenirent. Disciplinas omnes et animo retinebat, et expositione planissimâ lucidabat.—Hoc etiam Josephum, Originem, et Hieronymum commemorasse in suis opusculis asserebat.—Cujus instructione commonitus, multos codices antiquos reperi, qui apud me habebantur incogniti. Quem tamen adhuc Novatianæ pravitate errore detentum, misericordiâ Domini suffragante, rectæ fidei credimus illuminatione complendum. Cassiod. Instit. l. v. p. 512.

quality. Possibly the loss of eye-sight discouraged his accepting any offices civil or ecclesiastical. However, he made a good improvement of his leisure: he stored his mind with useful knowledge, and was communicative in conversation as he had opportunity.

I do not here reckon Socrates and Sozomen among the great men that have done honour to this sect; because, though they sometimes speak favourable of them, and therefore by some have been taken for Novatians, there is<sup>e</sup> good reason to think they were catholics.

However, from the several instances that have been mentioned, it may be inferred, that this people had among them not a few men of polite learning and fine accomplishments.

Though there were Novatians in some places at the latter end of the sixth century, or afterwards, as we have seen, yet it is probable that they declined after the middle of the fifth century, if not sooner.

Socrates, having given an account of the ordination of Cyril, who succeeded Theophilus at Alexandria in 412, says; ‘From<sup>f</sup> that time the bishoprick of Alexandria exceeded the bounds of the priesthood, and exercised a kind of princely authority and government; for Cyril immediately shut up the churches of the Novatians, and took away all their sacred vessels and ornaments: and as for their bishop Theopemptus, he deprived him of all he had.’

The same ecclesiastical historian, having mentioned the names of several bishops of Rome, as Damasus, Siricius, Anastasius, adds: ‘After<sup>g</sup> Anastasius succeeded Innocent, who was the first that persecuted the Novatians at Rome, taking away from them many churches.’ This pope Innocent<sup>h</sup> was ordained in 401, and died in 417.

Afterwards Socrates writes to this purpose: ‘After<sup>i</sup> Innocent, Zosimus governed the church of Rome for the space of two years: and after him Boniface presided in that church three years, who was succeeded by Celestinus. This<sup>k</sup> Celestinus also [as Innocent had begun to do] de-

<sup>e</sup> Vid. Vales. de Vitâ et Scriptis Socratis atque Sozomeni; et Basnag. Ann. 439. num. v. et Tillem. Les Novatiens, Art. vii. Tom. iii. P. iii. p. 110.

<sup>f</sup> Και γαρ εξ εκεινῶν ἡ ἐπισκοπὴ Ἀλεξανδρείας παρα τῆς ἱερατικῆς ταξέως καταδύνασθαι τῶν πραγμάτων ελαβε τὴν ἀρχὴν· εὐθεὶς ἐν Κυρίλλῳ τὰς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ Ναυατιανῶν ἐκκλησίας ἀποκλείσας, πάντα μὲν αὐτῶν τὰ ἱερά κειμήλια ελαβεν· τὸν δὲ ἐπίσκοπον αὐτῶν Θεοπέμπτου παντῶν, ὧν εἰχε, ἀφείλετο. Socr. l. vii. cap. 7.

<sup>g</sup> Μετὰ δὲ Ἀναστασιῶν Ἰννοκεντίου ὡς πρώτου τῶς ἐν Ῥώμῃ Ναυατιανῶς ἐλαυνεῖν ἤρξατο, πολλὰς τε αὐτῶν ἐκκλησίας ἀφείλετο. lb. cap. 9.

<sup>h</sup> Vid. Pagi Crit. in Bar. 402. xix. 417. iv. et seq.

<sup>i</sup> lb. cap. 11.

<sup>k</sup> Καὶ ἕτος ὁ Κελεστίνος τὰς ἐν Ῥώμῃ Ναυατιανῶν ἐκκλησίας ἀφείλετο, καὶ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον αὐτῶν Ρυζικέλαν κατ’ οἰκίας ἐν παρῶ-

‘prived the Novatians at Rome of their churches, and forced their bishop Rusticula to assemble them in private houses in some obscure place. For until that time the Novatians had flourished mightily at Rome, having a great number of churches, and large congregations; but envy laid hold of them also, the bishoprick of Rome, like that of Alexandria, having long since surpassed the sacerdotal dignity, and assumed secular power and authority: for which reason those bishops would not allow these persons to meet together freely, though they were of the same opinion with themselves: they commended them indeed for their soundness in the faith, but took away from them every thing they had. The bishops of Constantinople acted in a different manner; treating the Novatians with abundance of affection and mildness, and permitting them to assemble within the walls of the city, as has been shown.’

Celestinus is supposed to have possessed the see of Rome from the year 424 to 432.

I conclude my history of the Novatians with these passages of Socrates, which are recommended to the reader’s observation.

V. We saw formerly a catalogue of the works of Novatus in Jerom, but not complete: for Jerom says, there were many other beside those expressly named by him. Trithemius likewise, having mentioned the same books that Jerom does, adds; ‘that<sup>1</sup> Novatus wrote many letters to divers persons; and that, besides, he is said to have written some other pieces, but he was not acquainted with them.’

1. A very few only of those works have come down to us. We have however a small piece, entitled, Of Jewish meats, which is supposed to be the same that Jerom mentions. Mr. Jackson, whose edition of Novatus, or Novatian, (as he calls him,) I make use of, thinks this<sup>m</sup> treatise, or epistle, was written in the year 250, before the end of the Decian persecution: but of this, I think, we cannot be positive: for, as<sup>n</sup> before observed, it may be questioned whether this treatise was not written by Novatus after his episcopal ordination, and after his separation from the church; consequently, after

*βυτω συναγειν ηναγκασειν’ αχρι γαρ τειθ Νανατιανοι μεγαλως επι της ‘Ρωμης ηθησαν, εκκλησιας πλειτας εχοντες, και λαον πολυν συναθροιζοντες. κ. λ. ibid.*

<sup>1</sup> Epistolas plures ad diversos, alia insuper nonnulla, scripsisse dicitur, quæ ad notitiam meam non venerunt. Trithem. de Script. Ec. cap. 44.

<sup>m</sup> Priorem [de Cibis Judaïcis] scripsit efflagitante plebe Romanâ, cum sub persecutione Decianâ (quæ exorta est Romæ anno 249 exeunte, et post annum deferbuit, ineunte anno 251) secessisset; quod plane innuit in primo epistolæ capite; adeo ut hæc scriberetur anno 250, fortesub finem anni. Jackson. Præf. p. xi.

<sup>n</sup> See before, p. 84

the middle of the year 251. I allow it was written in some time of trouble, and in a place of retreat or banishment; but what was that time does not appear; whether the persecution of Decius, or Gallus, or Valerian: therefore the date of it must be left uncertain. Du Pin<sup>o</sup> says, it appears probable to him that this piece was written after that Novatus was become the head of a party, during the persecution of Gallus and Volusian.

2. There is also still extant the treatise, *Of the Trinity, or, Of the rule of faith*, which Jerom calls a large volume. I think this<sup>p</sup> book is now generally allowed by learned men to be the work of our Novatus: and it is the largest piece of his now remaining. Concerning the time of writing it Mr. Jackson<sup>q</sup> mentions two opinions; the first, Pamelius's and his own, that it was written before the schism, which began in 251; the other, that of Dr. Cave, who supposed that this work was composed after the schism, not before the year 257; here being notice taken of the heresy of Sabellius, which appeared about that time. Mr. Jackson might have mentioned a third opinion, that of<sup>r</sup> Baronius; who thought this book was not published by Novatus till about the year 270, as supposing him not only to argue against Sabellius, whom he mentions by name, but also against Paul of Samo-sata, whom he does not name. And<sup>s</sup> Tillemont thinks this opinion not improbable, though not certain.

Let us consider Mr. Jackson's arguments. In the first place he asks; How<sup>t</sup> will Cave prove that Sabellius was not known in the world for his heresy before 257? But to this there is an obvious answer at hand, that Cave is not singular in this supposition. It is the opinion of very many learned men, that Sabellius did not publish his particular sentiments till 254 or 255, or thereabout, as I have observed in another<sup>u</sup> place. And secondly, it is very easily proved that Sabellianism was not known long before the year 257: for in that year Dionysius of Alexandria sent Pope Xystus or Sixtus the

<sup>o</sup> Bibl. des Auteurs Ecc. Novat. p. 182.

<sup>p</sup> See Du Pin. Bibl.

Novatien. Baron. Ann. 272. xv. Tillem. Les Novatiens, Art. 3.

<sup>q</sup> Statuendum restat (quantum possumus) quo tempore conscripsit Novatianus librum de Trinitate. Et cum Pamelio omnino arbitror ego illum hoc opus composuisse, antequam in schisma incideret, quod fuit inceptum 251. Aliter quidem judicat doctiss. Cavius, hac ductus ratione, quod hæreseos Sabellianæ meminit, quæ (ut dicit Cavius) circa annum 257 exorta est. Jackson. Præf. p. xii. xiii.

<sup>r</sup> Baron. Ann. 272. n. xv.

<sup>s</sup> See Tillem. Les Novatiens, Art. iii. p. 89.

<sup>t</sup> Sed quomodo probaverit Cavius Sabellium propter hæresin non esse notum ante an. 257? Hæc est mera viri docti conjectura, &c. Ib. p. 13.

<sup>u</sup> See before, Vol. ii. ch. xliii.

second an account of what he had said and written in that controversy, which had its rise in Ptolemais in Egypt; and therefore probably had not been on foot above a year or two, or three at the most. Therefore Sabellianism was not known in the West before the year 255, or 256, or 257. This argument needs not to be enlarged upon. I should think that any man may perceive from the history of the third century, particularly from what we have written concerning Novatianism, that supposing Sabellianism to have appeared before 250, and allowing it likewise to have been at all different from the common and prevailing sentiment of christians at that time, such was the vigilance of the bishops of the church, Dionysius would have sent an account of it to Rome long before 257. What a noise did Novatianism make! how many deputies were there sent to and fro! what a number of letters and treatises were there written upon that subject in the space of a very few years! I think then that Dionysius's account of the rise of Sabellianism is an invincible argument that it did not appear in Egypt before 254, or 255, or 256. Therefore this book of Novatus could not be written before 256, or 257. It is not very unlikely that, soon after the first intelligence of this doctrine came to Italy from Dionysius, or from some other person, Novatus, much disliking it, composed this treatise of the Trinity: and possibly he was as well qualified to treat the subject as any man in the West.

If this argument needed any farther enlargement, it might be added, that the catholics of Pentapolis, who disliked some expressions of Dionysius in his writings against Sabellius, laid their charges against him before his namesake of Rome, whose episcopate began in 259: therefore Dionysius had but lately written in this controversy. If his work had been published long ago, these offended catholics would not have deferred their accusations till 259, or 260, nor have chosen to bring them to Dionysius of Rome, the ancient and honoured friend and correspondent of him of Alexandria.

Nevertheless, Mr. Jackson thinks that<sup>v</sup> the heresy of Sabellius began about 220, that is, 30 years before the schism at Rome; consequently Cave is mistaken no less than thirty and seven years concerning the time of Sabellius.

Mr. Jackson would support his opinion by the chronicles

<sup>v</sup> Et tandem exhinc apparet, triginta circiter esse annos inter schisma Novatiani et inceptam hæresin Sabellii; et Cavius ratione temporis erravit fere triginta et septem annos. *Ib.* p. 18.

of<sup>w</sup> Isidore of Seville, and<sup>x</sup> Ado, which place Sabellius about the year 220: but chronicles written, one in Spain in the seventh, the other in Gaul in the ninth century, are of little authority against Dionysius, a contemporary upon the spot. It is likely those chroniclers mean Noetus; who might appear, or be famous, about that time: they might confound these two persons, their opinions agreeing in the main, as is supposed; and Sabellius being more known than Noetus, as we are informed by the learned<sup>y</sup> Augustine, who is certainly a good witness in this matter, and assures us that even in his time Noetus was known to very few, and that these two heresies were reckoned one and the same. It is an additional argument that these chroniclers mean Noetus, or confound him and Sabellius, in that they make no distinct mention of the former. There is the more reason to think Ado means Noetus when he speaks of Sabellius, because he joins Hippolytus with him; and it is generally supposed that Hippolytus wrote against Noetus in his book against all heresies, and that this was the last heresy in that work. In short, Noetianism and Sabellianism were confounded, and reckoned one and the same heresy, by the Latins in the time of Augustine and afterwards: and the best use that can be made of these two chroniclers is to confirm the common supposition, that Noetus either appeared, or was condemned, about the year 220, or soon after.

Lastly, Mr. Jackson says, it is<sup>z</sup> not likely that Novatus should write so good a book, in all things conformable to the catholic doctrine, after he had fallen into his detestable schism, and an opinion so contrary to the divine goodness and mercy.

<sup>w</sup> ——— hoc diserto testimonio confirmat Isidorus Hispalensis, qui in chronico ad annum a mundo condito 5419, sive anno Domini 221, sub imperio Aurelii Antonini Heliogabali scribit ortum fuisse Sabellium hæresiarchum. Ib. p. 18.

<sup>x</sup> Huic vero convenit Ado Viennensis, quo auctore, Sabellius erat hæresiarches anno circiter 220, imperante Aurelio Heliogabalo, sub cujus imperio simul cum Hippolyto vixisse tradit Ado. Verba illius sunt in chronico ab an. 220. ad an. 224. ‘Sabellius hæresiarches oritur. Hippolytus episcopus, multorum conditor opusculorum, temporum canonem conscripsit, et huc usque perduxit.’ Ib. ibid.

<sup>y</sup> Sabelliani ab illo Noëto, quem supra memoravimus, defluxisse dicuntur.—Sed quâ causâ duas hæreses eas Epiphanius computet, nescio; cum fieri potuisse videamus, ut fuerit Sabellius iste famosior, et ideo ex illo celebrius hæc hæresis nomen acceperit. Noëtiani enim difficile ab aliquo sciuntur; Sabelliani autem sunt in ore multorum. August. Hær. cap. 41.

<sup>z</sup> Nec, quantum cogito, verisimile est illum condidisse tam egregium librum in omnibus catholicæ doctrinæ et pietati primævæ ecclesiæ apprime consonum, postquam in schisma detestandum et sententiam bonitati et misericordiæ divinæ adversantem se demersisset. Ibid.

How detestable his schism was I cannot say, though I do not justify his conduct: for, whatever pretensions he might have to the chair of Rome, on account of his eminent learning, or uncommon services, or the expectations given him, possibly by a large number of the clergy and people of that church; yet, when another was chosen, as<sup>a</sup> Cyprian observes, it might be his duty to acquiesce. Nor is it unlikely that as good books as this of Novatus upon the Trinity have been written by men who have had false apprehensions of the divine goodness and mercy in some respects. Finally, I wonder why Mr. Jackson should make a question of Novatus writing, at any time, a book upon the catholic principles about the Trinity, when there appear not any traces of a difference upon this point between him and his followers, and the catholics of that time. It is not unlikely that Novatus was from the beginning, and always continued to be, as orthodox in that, and most other matters, as christians generally were in that age.

Upon the whole, I believe there are very few but must be of opinion that this treatise, the principal remaining work of Mr. Jackson's author, was not written till some while after his detestable schism, as Mr. Jackson calls it.

I cannot forbear observing here, though it is not necessary, that several of the ancient writers concerning heresies confirm the more common opinion of the time of Sabellianism, particularly Epiphanius and Augustine: their order is this; Noetians, Valesians, Novatians, Angelics, Apostolics, Sabellians. They supposed therefore that Novatianism sprang up in the space of time between Noetus and Sabellius.

From what has been said, the conclusion is very evident; that the earliest probable date of this work is that assigned by Cave, which is the year 257, several years after the author's episcopal ordination.

3. Beside these two treatises, which we suppose to be the same that are mentioned by Jerom, there is extant a letter of the Roman clergy to Cyprian, written during the vacancy of the see after the death of Fabian, in August, 250. It is allowed that<sup>b</sup> Novatus drew up this epistle, and<sup>c</sup> it is much commended.

<sup>a</sup> Factus est autem Cornelius episcopus de Dei et Christi ejus judicio, de clericorum pene omnium testimonio, de plebis quæ tum affuit suffragio,—cum nemo ante se factus esset, cum Fabiani locus—vacaret.—Quisquis jam episcopus fieri voluerit, foris fiat necesse est; nec habeat ecclesiasticam ordinationem qui ecclesiæ non tenet unitatem; quisquis ille fuerit, multum de se licet jactans, et sibi plurimum vindicans. Cypr. Ep. 55. [al. 52.] p. 104.

<sup>b</sup> Additum est etiam, Novatiano tunc scribente, et, quod scripserat, suâ voce recitante, &c. Cypr. ad Antonian. Ep. 55. [al. 52.] p. 102.

<sup>c</sup> Mense

4. There is still another letter, written before the end of the same year to Cyprian. These two letters are among<sup>d</sup> Cyprian's. But it is not so certain that Novatus had the chief hand in penning this, as the former. Mr. Jackson, however, has done well in publishing it together with the other things ascribed to Novatus.

5. In these pieces there is not, that I remember, any thing concerning the particular sentiment which Novatus is supposed to have maintained after his episcopal ordination; or relating to the differences between him and some other christians: yet surely there must have been such things. It may be argued from<sup>e</sup> Cyprian's letters: and<sup>f</sup> Jerom speaks of epistles of Novatus that were schismatical.

6. St. Jerom in his Catalogue, among other works of Novatus, mentions two with these titles, *Of Easter*, *Of Circumcision*. And in the Appendix to St. Jerom's works, there are two treatises, or epistles, without the name of the author; one entitled, *Of the Celebration of Easter*; the other, *Of the true Circumcision*. The former of these is now allowed to be<sup>g</sup> St. Augustine's, and is published<sup>h</sup> among his letters: as for the other, it is generally allowed to be the work of some later author than Novatus, forasmuch as here is express mention made of the Manicheans and Arians: nor is there<sup>i</sup> any good reason to take it for a work of St. Jerom: it must therefore be looked upon as the composition of some anonymous writer: whose time is uncertain. I shall take notice of a few things observable in it.

1. Here are many quotations of the books of the Old and New Testament, or references to them.

2. The author several times quotes the first<sup>k</sup> chapter of St. Matthew's gospel.

Augusto exeunte, clerus Romanus scribit ad Cyprianum.—Sunt autem hæ cleri Romani literæ præclare scriptæ, et literis ipsius Cypriani pene æquandæ: ex quibus de ingenio et eloquentiâ Novatiani iudicium ferri potest. Ille enim hanc epistolam exaravit. Pearson, Ann. Cypr. 250. n. xvi. Conf. Pagi Crit. 230. n. xii.

<sup>d</sup> Ap. Cypr. Ep. 30, 36. [al. 30, 31.]

<sup>e</sup> Sed enim supervenerunt postmodum aliæ literæ tuæ,—in quibus animadverti animum tuum Novatiani literis motum nutare cœpisse, &c. Cypr. ad Ant. Ep. 55. [al. 52.] p. 101. et passim.

<sup>f</sup> —simulque epistolas

Novatiani, ut, dum schismatici hominis venena cognoscimus, libentius sancti martyris Cypriani bibamus antidotum. Hieron. ad Paul. Concord. Ep. 10. [al. 21.] p. 17. in Ed. Bened. Ego Origenem propter eruditionem sic interdum legendum arbitror, quomodo Tertullianum, Novatum, Arnobium, Apollinarium; &c. Id. ad Tranquill. Ep. 56. [al. 76.] 589. f.

<sup>g</sup> Vid. Martian. Annotat. ap. Hieronym. T. v. p. 175.

<sup>h</sup> Augustin. Ep. lib. 2. Ep. 55. Bened. [al. 119. T. ii.]

<sup>i</sup> Vid. Censuram epistolæ de verâ Circumcisione, apud Hieron. T. v. p. 150.

<sup>k</sup> Foris scriptus est, cum evangelista ait: Liber generationis Jesu Christi,

3. He takes notice of<sup>l</sup> the enrolment of Cyrenius, or Cyrenus, as he calls him, in Luke ii. 1—5.

4. He also expressly quotes<sup>m</sup> the beginning of St. John's gospel.

5. He cites Rom. ix. 4, 5. very remarkably in this<sup>n</sup> manner: "To whom pertaineth the adoption, and the glory, and the covenant, and the giving of the law, and the service, and the promises; of whom also is Christ according to the flesh, who is blessed for ever."

6. In this piece is likewise cited<sup>o</sup> the beginning of St. John's first epistle; and there are passages out of many other books of scripture, as before observed: but I do not think it needful to take any farther notice of particular citations in this work.

VI. I do not draw the character of Novatus: I am not satisfied to make such an attempt upon the ground of those few writings of his that remain, when there were so many more, and the history we have of him is so imperfect. I find, however, that<sup>p</sup> learned moderns do allow him wit, or good natural parts; learning and eloquence, or a fine pen; and Jerom of old, who was better qualified to judge than we are, in several respects, especially because he had more of this writer's works than we have, in a letter to pope<sup>q</sup> Damasus, speaking of Tertullian and Novatus, calls them very eloquent men.

The sentiment of Novatus upon church discipline is often spoken of by ancients and moderns, as contrary to the divine goodness and mercy. Upon this account he has been called<sup>r</sup>

fili David, filii Abraham. De Verâ Circumcisione, ap. Hieron. T. v. p. 153. m. Foris scribitur per Matthæum: Christi autem generatio sic erat: Cum esset desponsata mater ejus Maria Joseph. Ib. infra, med. pag.

<sup>l</sup> Rogo hic, ubi sub Cyrino censûs investigatio? ubi edictum Cæsaris? ubi necessitas profitendi? Ib. p. 162. in.

<sup>m</sup> Intus scribitur, cum per Joannem dicitur: In principio erat Verbum, et Verbum erat apud Deum, et Deus erat Verbum. Ib. p. 153. infr. m.

<sup>n</sup> Quorum adoptio est filiorum, et gloria, et testamentum, et legislatio, et obsequium, et promissa: ex quibus etiam est Christus secundum carnem, qui est benedictus in secula. Ib. p. 151.

<sup>o</sup> Cum beatus Joannes invisibilem et visibilem, Deum et hominem, brevi quasi caractere signaverit. Sic enim ait: Quod fuit ab initio, fratres, quod audivimus. Ecce libri illius interiorem partem. Quod sequitur: Et vidimus oculis nostris, et manus nostræ palpaverunt de verbo vitæ. Ecce libri pars exterior, &c. p. 154. init.

<sup>p</sup> Novatianus Stoicorum philosophorum scita profitebatur, homo acerrimi ingenii, multijugæ, doctrinæ, nec facundiæ vulgaris. Admon. in Ambros. libr. de Pœnit. T. ii. p. 385. Ed. Bened.

<sup>q</sup> Non quod non potuerim et ad illas aliquid respondere, sed quod ab eloquentissimis viris, Tertulliano nostro scilicet et Novatiano, Latino sermone editæ. Hieron. Ep. 125. T. ii. p. 563. Bened.

<sup>r</sup> Quis ante crudelissimum Novatianum crudelem Deum dixit, eo quod

a man of a most cruel disposition, and has been said to charge God himself with cruelty. Nevertheless, in his book of the Trinity he appears to have had honourable sentiments of the Deity, saying<sup>s</sup> that God excels all other beings in benevolence, goodness, justice, and mercy. Nor did he deny the power or will of God to pardon great sins after baptism; though he would not allow such a power in the church, or to be lodged with the ordinary ministers of the gospel.

I would add, that he may be thought to have one advantage, in that all his litigious and controversial writings, if there were any such, are lost: for, next to the happiness of escaping disputes and controversies, may be reckoned the having them buried in oblivion: but though this may be esteemed an advantage to him, I cannot tell whether it be so to us. It is not unlikely that, if more of his works were in being, we, as well as<sup>t</sup> Jerom, should be willing to read them. Since he is upon record, as author of a sect that subsisted for several ages, it might be desirable to know from himself the grounds he went upon. The writings of catholic authors, it is to be hoped, would afford a sufficient preservative against infection: and, together with the venom of his erroneous doctrine, there might have been conveyed to us somewhat healing and nourishing.

I have given above the true reason why I decline drawing the character of Novatus. As Du Pin saw no occasion to be so scrupulous, it is by no means fit my readers should be deprived of the commendation he has given the founder of the Novatian sect. ‘This author,’ says<sup>u</sup> he, ‘had abundance of wit, learning, and eloquence: his style is pure, neat, and polite: his expressions are chosen, his thoughts natural, and his reasonings just: he is full of citations of texts of scripture, that are much to the purpose: moreover, there is a great deal of method and order in those treatises of his which we have: and he always expresseth himself with mildness and moderation.’ What greater character could be desired by a catholic writer!

VII. Though the pieces of Novatus, and especially the treatise of the Trinity or the Rule of faith, abound with texts of the Old and New Testament, there are not many books of either cited expressly and by name.

I. A great number of passages are quoted out of St.

mallet mortem morientis quam ut revertatur et vivat? Vincent. Lir. Comm. p. 335. Paris. 1669.

<sup>s</sup> ———et omnibus divitiis ditior, omni prudentiâ prudentior, et omni benignitate benignior, omni bonitate melior, omni justitiâ justior, omni clementiâ clementior. De Reg. Fid. cap. 2. p. 24. Jackson.

<sup>t</sup> See before, note <sup>f</sup>, p. 110.

<sup>u</sup> Biblioth. p. 182.

Matthew's gospel. 'Him,' says<sup>v</sup> he, 'the ancient prophecies, as well as the gospels, testify to be the son of Abraham, and the Son of David.' Here is probably a reference to the first chapter of St. Matthew's gospel. The words of Matt. i. 23. are<sup>w</sup> quoted by him in another place. Once more: 'So<sup>x</sup> Christ himself says; "Lo, I am with you unto the end of the world:"' chap. xxviii. 20.

2. To St. Mark's gospel there are very few, if any, references. However, we may take a passage or two to be considered. 'If<sup>y</sup> it belong to God only to forgive sins, Christ forgiveth sins:' see Mark ii. 5, 6, 7. 'God<sup>z</sup> is not worshipped by the belly, nor with meats, which the Lord says perish, and are purged in the draught, according to the course of nature:' See Mark vii. 19.

3. 'They<sup>a</sup> also urge and insist upon what is said in the gospel of Luke: "The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee; therefore that holy thing which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God:"' chap. i. 35.

4. 'For<sup>b</sup> "and the word," says John, "was made flesh, and dwelled among us:"' John i. 14. This<sup>c</sup> gospel is expressly quoted as John's several times by this writer.

5. The book of the Acts of the Apostles is no where expressly quoted, or very plainly referred to, in the remaining pieces of Novatus: but it may be reckoned probable that he has an eye to the history contained in the first chapters of that book when he says; 'The<sup>d</sup> Holy Spirit, the comforter, whom Christ had promised to the disciples, is he who explained to them the evangelic mysteries, and illuminated them with the knowledge of divine things; by whom being

<sup>v</sup> Hunc enim Abraham filium, hunc David, hunc non minus et vetera prædicta et evangelia testantur. De Regulâ Fidei, cap. 9. p. 58.

<sup>w</sup> Et vocabitis nomen ejus Emmanuel, quod est interpretatum, Nobiscum Deus. Ib. cap. 24. [al. 19.] p. 186

<sup>x</sup> Sic Christus ipse dicit, Ecce ego vobiscum sum usque ad consummationem seculi. cap. 12. p. 87.

<sup>y</sup> Quod si, cum nullius sit, nisi Dei, peccata dimittere, idem Christus peccata dimittit. De Reg. Fid. c. 13. p. 97, 98.

<sup>z</sup> Deus ventre non colitur, nec cibis, quos Dominus dicit perire, et in secessu naturali lege purgari. De Cib. Jud. cap. 5. p. 275.

<sup>a</sup> Proponunt enim atque illa prætendunt, quæ in evangelio Lucae relata sunt, —Spiritus Sanctus veniet in te.—De Reg. Fid. cap. 24. [al. 19.] p. 186.

<sup>b</sup> Nam, Et Verbum, inquit Joannes, caro factum est, et inhabitavit in nobis. Ib. c. 10. p. 74.

<sup>c</sup> Ac sic Joannes nativitatem Christi describens. De Reg. Fid. cap. 13. init. Si enim Joannes dicit, Omnia per ipsum facta sunt. cap. 17. [al. 25.] init. et passim.

<sup>d</sup> Hic est enim—qui evangelica sacramenta distinxit, qui in ipsis inluminator rerum divinarum fuit, quo confirmati pro nomine Domini nec carceres nec vincula timerunt; quinimo ipsas seculi potestates et tormenta calcaverunt. Ib. c. 29. p. 220.

confirmed, they endured bonds and imprisonments for the name of the Lord, and triumphed over the powers of the world, and over all torments.' I place in the margin<sup>e</sup> another passage, in which he quotes the words of Joel: which are also alleged by St. Peter, Acts ii. 16, 17. See Joel ii. 28.

6. I proceed to St. Paul's epistles.

1. The epistle to the Romans is often quoted as St. Paul's by this presbyter of the church of Rome, who was also afterwards chosen bishop by a part of the same church. 'The<sup>f</sup> apostle Paul writes in his epistle: "Whose," says he, "are the fathers, of whom is Christ according to the flesh, who is over all, God blessed for ever," Rom. ix. 5. In the epistle penned by Novatus, sent to Cyprian by the presbyters and deacons of the church of Rome in 250, it is said: 'Otherwise<sup>g</sup> the apostle had not so commended us, saying: "That your faith is spoken of throughout the whole world," ' Rom. i. 8.

2. 'Lastly,<sup>h</sup> the apostle Paul knew this harmony and unity, with a distinction of persons; for, writing to the Corinthians, "I," says he, "have planted, Apollos watered, but God gave the increase:" ' intending 1 Cor. iii. 6, 7, 8.

3. 'Lastly<sup>i</sup> the apostle Paul: "Having," says he, "the same spirit, as it is written, I believed, therefore have I spoken: we also believe, and therefore speak," ' 2 Cor. iv. 13.

4. 'And<sup>k</sup> in another place [the apostle Paul:] "Now a mediator is not a mediator of one, but God is one," ' Gal. iii. 20. Words of this epistle are several times cited by this writer as the apostle Paul's.

5. 'Of<sup>l</sup> whom the apostle Paul: "He that descended is the same that ascended above all heavens, that he might fill all things," Eph. iv. 10.

6. 'But<sup>m</sup> why should we pass by that place in the apostle?

<sup>e</sup> Est enim per Joëlem prophetam repromissus, sed per Christum redditus: In novissimis, inquit, diebus effundam de Spiritu meo super servos et ancillas meas. Ib. p. 218.

<sup>f</sup> Quod si et apostolus Paulus, Quorum, inquit, patres, et ex quibus Christus secundum carnem, qui est super omnia Deus benedictus in secula, in suis literis scribit. cap. 13. p. 99.

<sup>g</sup> Quoniam nec tantas de nobis laudes apostolus protulisset, dicendo: Quia fides vestra prædicatur in toto mundo, p. 289.

<sup>h</sup> Denique novit hanc concordie unitatem, cum personarum tamen distinctione. Nam, cum ad Corinthios scriberet, Ego, inquit, plantavi, &c. de Reg. Fid. cap. 27. [al. 22.]

<sup>i</sup> Denique apostolus Paulus, Habentes, inquit, eundem spiritum. cap. 29. p. 219.

<sup>k</sup> Et alio in loco: Mediator autem unius non est, Deus autem unus est. cap. 30. p. 230.

<sup>l</sup> De quo apostolus Paulus: Qui descendit, ipse est qui ascendit super omnes cœlos. cap. 17. [al. 25.] p. 134.

<sup>m</sup> Cur autem—illum prætereamus apud apostolorum locum? Qui cum in formâ Dei esset, non rapinam arbitratus est æqualem se Deo esse. De Reg. Fid.

“ Who being in the form of God, did not earnestly seek to be like God;” or, “ to be equal with God.” Philip. ii. 6—12. That Novatus understood this text after that manner, was shown<sup>n</sup> formerly.

7. “ For whether, says<sup>o</sup> the apostle, “ they be thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers, things visible and invisible, by him all things consist,” Col. i. 16, 17.

8. There are not in Novatus any passages taken out of the first or second epistle to the Thessalonians.

9. ‘ The<sup>p</sup> apostle Paul also : “ Who only,” says he, “ hath immortality, and dwelleth in the light which no man can approach unto,” I Tim. vi. 16.

10. ‘ And<sup>q</sup> Christ is said to be “ one Master,” Matt. xxiii. 8, 10. ‘ but yet we read that the apostle Paul also is a “ master,” or teacher, 2 Tim. i. 11.

11. ‘ Under<sup>r</sup> whom [Christ] it is now rightly said : “ To the pure all things are pure,—” Titus i. 15.

12. The epistle to Philemon is no where quoted, or referred to, in the remaining works of Novatus.

13. With regard to the epistle to the Hebrews, I shall take what may deserve any notice in this writer. He observes, ‘ It is<sup>s</sup> assured of Christ, both by prophets and apostles, that he sitteth at the right hand of the Father,’ See Heb. i. 3. But this is so often spoken of in the New Testament, in the gospels, Acts, and epistles, that it cannot afford any argument for the epistle to the Hebrews. Again, he says, ‘ that<sup>t</sup> Christ is found to be greater and better not than one angel only, but than all the angels.’ See Heb. i. 4, “ Being made so much better than the angels, as he has by inheritance obtained a more excellent name than they.” But this too is often said in the New Testament, as Eph. i. 21; Philip. ii. 10; Col. 16—18: and therefore here is no proof of a reference to the epistle to the Hebrews. Mr. Hallet, having allowed that St. Cyprian and our Novatus had not quoted

cap. 22. [al. 17.] p. 173, 174, 175. Hic ergo, quamvis esset in formâ Dei, non est rapinam arbitratus æqualem se Deo esse. p. 176. vid. etiam quæ ibidem sequuntur. et p. 177, 178. <sup>n</sup> See p. 38.

<sup>o</sup> Sive enim, inquit apostolus, throni, sive dominationes, sive virtutes, sive potestates, visibilia et invisibilia, omnia per ipsum constant. cap. 13. p. 94.

<sup>p</sup> Apostolus quoque Paulus: Qui solus, inquit, habet immortalitatem, &c. cap. 30. p. 230.

<sup>q</sup> Et magister unus Christus est dictus; at enim legimus, quod magister sit etiam apostolus Paulus. ib. p. 233.

<sup>r</sup> Sub quo merito jam dicitur: Omnia munda mundis. De Cib. Jud. cap. 5. p. 273.

<sup>s</sup> Aut cum sedere ad dextram patris et a prophetis et ab apostolis approbatur. De Reg. Fid. cap. 26. p. 201.

<sup>t</sup> Qui non uno, sed omnibus angelis et major et melior invenitur. ib. cap. 20. [al. 25.] p. 162.

this epistle, adds: ‘There<sup>u</sup> are many passages in the epistle to the Hebrews very pertinent to the purpose of their writings; upon which account it looks very likely that they were of the same opinion with some others of the Latin church at that time, who did not, as<sup>v</sup> Jerom tells us, receive this as a canonical epistle.’

I infer then, that the epistle to the Hebrews was not received by Novatus as an epistle of the apostle Paul. Indeed<sup>w</sup> Epiphanius<sup>x</sup> and Jerom seem to say that the passage in the epistle to the Hebrews, chap. vi. 4—8, was the main text by which the Novatians, and even Novatus himself, had been misled. But, however it may have been with the Novatians in after times, I think there can be no reason to suppose that Novatus himself insisted upon this passage; his remaining works afford a decisive argument that he did not receive the epistle to the Hebrews: nor does the anonymous author of the piece, *Against the Novatian heretic*, usually joined with St. Cyprian’s works, take any notice of this text. We know likewise, from the several authors who wrote against the Novatians, that there were other texts of scripture alleged by them in support of their peculiar notion; they argued from<sup>y</sup> the words of Christ in Matt. x. 33: “Whosoever shall deny me before men, him also will I deny before my Father which is in heaven:” from<sup>z</sup> Matt. xii. 32; from<sup>a</sup> Acts viii. 22; and from<sup>b</sup> 1 John v. 16; not to mention any other texts.

What has been just now said is of use to show the mistake of some moderns, who have supposed that many catholic christians among the Latins were induced to set aside the epistle to the Hebrews, because the Novatians perverted a passage in the sixth chapter of it. Much to our purpose are the observations of Beausobre and L’Enfant: ‘For<sup>c</sup> it is false,’

<sup>u</sup> See his Introduction to his Paraphrase and Notes upon the epistle to the Hebrews, p. 18.

<sup>v</sup> Hieron. ad Dardan. Ep. 129.

<sup>w</sup> Σφαλλει δε αυτες το ρητον τε αποσολε ειρημενον (Heb. vi. 4—8.) Epiph. Hær. 59. n. ii. p. 494. A. B.

<sup>x</sup> Verum ne Montanus et Novatus hic rideant, qui contendunt non posse renovari per pœnitentiam eos qui crucifixerunt sibimet Filium Dei, et ostentui habuerunt, consequenter hunc errorem solvit, et ait. Hieron. adv. Jovin. l. 2. p. 195. Bened.

<sup>y</sup> Ad Novatian. Hæret. p. 18. a. ap. Cyprian.

<sup>z</sup> Vid. Q. cii. ex Vet. et Nov. Test. <sup>a</sup> Sed soles alio dolo fraudem hanc velle contegere, dicens eodum sensu etiam Petrum apostolum dixisse Simoni: Age pœnitentiam ab hac malitiâ tuâ, si forte remittatur tibi. ib.

<sup>b</sup> Unde nec illa quæstio vestra quidquam poterit adferre ponderis, quam sumitis de epistolâ Johannis dicentis, Qui scit fratrem suum peccare peccatum non ad mortem, petat, &c. Ambr. de Pœnit. l. i. cap. 10. Conf. Pacian. Ep. 3. p. 312. G.

<sup>c</sup> Car il est faux, que l’ église de Rome n’ait pas reconnu l’ epître aux Hébreux, &c. Præf. sur l’ Ep. aux Hébr. n. ii. p. 413, 414.

say they, ‘ that the church of Rome did not acknowledge  
 ‘ the epistle to the Hebrews, because the Novatians abused  
 ‘ the words of chap. vi. 4, 5, 6, to exclude from the benefit  
 ‘ of repentance and from the peace of the church those who,  
 ‘ after baptism, had fallen into idolatry or other crimes.  
 ‘ There is no likelihood that the church of Rome would reject  
 ‘ a book which had been held for canonical, because some  
 ‘ new heretics endeavoured to make an advantage of it for  
 ‘ the support of their errors: besides, it is certain that at Rome  
 ‘ they counted but thirteen epistles of St. Paul before the  
 ‘ rise of the sect of the Novatians, as appears from the testi-  
 ‘ mony of Caius, presbyter of Rome, who wrote at the begin-  
 ‘ ning of the third century; whereas<sup>d</sup> the heresy of Novatus,  
 ‘ likewise presbyter of Rome, did not begin to appear till  
 ‘ after the middle of that age.’ So those learned writers:  
 and I think their argument conclusive.

But yet it must be owned that Philaster, who flourished about the year 380, says, ‘ In his time<sup>e</sup> it was customary in  
 ‘ some places to omit the public reading of the epistle to the  
 ‘ Hebrews; and that one reason of that practice was the advan-  
 ‘ tage which the Novatians endeavoured to make of it.’ Never-  
 theless this does not alter my opinion of the forementioned  
 of those commentators. Philaster only informs us what was  
 the practice of some churches in his time, near the end of the  
 fourth century: as for the sentiments of the Latin christians  
 in the former part of the third century, and downwards till  
 below the middle of it, we need no information from him;  
 being already sufficiently informed about them by Tertullian,  
 Caius, the works of Cyprian, and Novatus himself, not to  
 mention now any other writers.

7. Our next article will take in the seven catholic epistles,  
 and the book of Revelation.

1. There are no references in this author to the epistle of  
 St. James, nor to the first or second epistle of St. Peter.  
 However, we shall observe, with regard to the last mentioned  
 epistle, that he says: ‘ The<sup>f</sup> several parts of the world are  
 so firmly connected together as not to be dissolved by any

<sup>d</sup> Or l’heresie de Novat. aussi prêtre de Rome, ne commença qu’ après le milieu de ce siècle là. *ib.* p. 414.

<sup>e</sup> — Et quia addiderunt in eâ quædam non bene sentientes, inde non legitur in ecclesiâ: etsi legitur a quibusdam, non tamen in ecclesiâ legitur populo, nisi tredecim epistolæ ipsius, et ad Hebræos interdum. Et quia et factum Christum, dicit in eâ, inde non legitur. De pœnitentiâ autem propter Novatianos æque. *Philast. Hær.* 41.

<sup>f</sup> — ut ex disparibus elementis ita sit unus mundus istâ coagmentata conspiratione solidatus, ut nullâ vi dissolvi possit, nisi quam illum solus ipse qui fecit, ad majora alia præstanda nobis, solvi jusserit. *de Reg. Fid. cap.* 2. p. 19.

power, till he alone who made it shall command it to be dissolved for affording a better state for us.' See 2 Pet. iii. 11, 12, 13. Again, he speaks of the<sup>s</sup> world's hastening to the fiery day of judgment: see 2 Pet. iii. 7. But this was so common an expectation, that the present world should be sometime destroyed by fire, that these expressions, in my opinion, are not sufficient to determine a particular reference to this epistle. Mr. Jackson,<sup>h</sup> in a note upon the first cited passage, owns that this was an expectation of the stoics.

2. 'For<sup>i</sup> John also says: "No man hath seen God at any time," 1 John iv. 12. Again, 'We<sup>k</sup> find it written, that God is called love, and that he is called light;' see 1 John iv. 8. and i. 5.

3. I remember not any thing in this writer relating to the other two epistles ascribed to St. John.

4. There is nothing in Novatus taken out of the epistle of St. Jude.

5. 'But<sup>l</sup> there is a woe appointed to those who add, and to those who take away.' See Rev. xxii. 18, 19. But whether this will be reckoned material I cannot say.

8. We are next to observe some forms of citation and general divisions of the scriptures, and afterwards some marks of respect for them.

1. '“Of<sup>m</sup> two sparrows,”’ saith the Lord, “one does not fall without the will of your Father;”’ see Matt. x. 29, 30. 'Although<sup>n</sup> we hasten to other things, yet that I think ought not to be omitted which the Lord saith in the gospel, for representing his majesty: “Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up again,”’ John ii. 19. 'Lastly<sup>o</sup> in the gospel; “the hour cometh,” saith the Lord, “when neither in this mountain, nor at Jerusalem, shall ye worship the Father,”’ John iv. 21. And in like manner in other places, as may be seen in part in what has been transcribed. He also calls the New Testament in general<sup>p</sup> the evangelic scripture.

<sup>s</sup> Sive quoniam ad igneum diem judicii mundus iste festinat. ib. cap. 8. p. 56.

<sup>h</sup> Stoici contra (prope cum Christianis) igne dissolutum iri statuebant. Not. ii. p. 19.

<sup>i</sup> Nam et Joannes, Deum nemo, inquit, vidit unquam, cap. 18. [al. 26.] p. 136.

<sup>k</sup> Invenimus enim scriptum esse, quod Deus caritas dictus sit,—et quod Deus lux dictus est. cap. 7. in.

<sup>l</sup> Sed væ est adjicientibus, quomodo et detrahentibus, positum. cap. 16. [al. 24.] p. 123.

<sup>m</sup> Ex duobus, inquit Dominus, passeribus, unus non cadet sine Patris voluntate. cap. 8. p. 53.

<sup>n</sup> Illud non arbitror prætermittendum, quod in evangelio Dominus ad significantiam suæ majestatis expressit dicendo. cap. 21. [al. 16.] init.

<sup>o</sup> Denique in evangelio, Veniet hora, aiebat Dominus, &c. cap. 6. p. 44.

<sup>p</sup> Præsertim cum animadvertat scripturam evangelicam—cap. 13. p. 96.

2. ‘This<sup>a</sup> same Jesus, the Son of God, we read to be promised in the Old Testament, and observe exhibited in the New Testament.’ ‘Him the ancient prophecies, as well as the gospels, testify to be the son of Abraham:’ see before Numb. vii. 1. ‘Justly<sup>r</sup> do we believe and hold, according to the doctrine of the Old and New Testament, that Christ Jesus is God and man.’ The phrase of Old and New Testament is frequent in this writer.

3. He calls the scriptures sacred and divine, and at the same time shows their use and authority for confirming the truth of doctrines, or for confuting errors. ‘That<sup>s</sup> Christ is not only man, but God also, is proved by the sacred authority of the divine writings.’ ‘The<sup>t</sup> divine scripture easily detects and confutes the frauds of heretics.’ Again: ‘The<sup>u</sup> divine scripture of the Old and New Testament.’ And<sup>v</sup> sacred scriptures,<sup>w</sup> heavenly scriptures: this last is a common expression in our author. He<sup>x</sup> affirms the scriptures are infallible: he<sup>y</sup> says it is one and the same spirit that spoke in the prophets and the apostles: but he gives the advantage to these. Among the offices of the Holy Spirit he mentions this as one, that<sup>z</sup> he guards the gospels.

9. We are now to sum up the testimony of this writer. We have not seen in him passages of all the books of the New Testament commonly received at that time: but there is no reason to think he differed upon this head from other christians; there not having been any accusations brought against him upon that account. Every one knows now what are the books I mean: the four gospels, the Acts, thirteen epistles of St. Paul, the first epistle of St. Peter, and the first epistle of St. John: most of these we have seen quoted by him, and it may be taken for granted that the rest also

<sup>a</sup> Hunc enim Jesum Christum—et in veteri Testamento legimus esse repositum, et in novo Testamento animadvertimus exhibitum. cap. 9. in.

<sup>r</sup> Merito secundum institutionem veteris et novi Testamenti, et Deum hominem Christum Jesum et credimus et tenemus. cap. 17. [al. 25.] p. 128.

<sup>s</sup> Quia Christus non homo tantum, sed et Deus, divinarum literarum sacris auctoritatibus approbatur. cap. 26. [al. 21.] in.

<sup>t</sup> Sed enim scriptura divina hæreticorum et fraudes et furta facile convincit et detegit. cap. 24. [al. 19.] p. 187.

<sup>u</sup> Quandoquidem non tam veteris quam etiam novi Testamenti scriptura divina. cap. 26. [al. 29.] p. 201.

<sup>v</sup> Scripturæ sanctæ. cap. 30. p. 229.

<sup>w</sup> Et poteram quidem omnium scripturarum cœlestium eventulare tractatus. cap. 21. [al. 16.] init. Sed quo modo hoc tenemus et legimus et credimus, sic scripturarum cœlestium nullam partem præterire debemus. cap. 30. p. 230.

<sup>x</sup> Non utique ex scripturarum cœlestium vitio, quæ nunquam fallunt. cap. 30. p. 232.

<sup>y</sup> Unus ergo et idem spiritus, qui in prophetis et apostolis, nisi quoniam ibi ad momentum, hic semper. cap. 29. p. 219.

<sup>z</sup> —evangelia custodit. cap. 29. p. 223.

were a part of his canon. He likewise received the book of the Revelation : we saw a passage in him which may be supposed to refer to it. Besides, we know it was received by St. Cyprian of Africa, with whom the church of Rome held a friendly correspondence. It was also received by the anonymous writer<sup>a</sup> against the Novatian heretic, supposed contemporary with Novatus. This book is much quoted in that piece ; which is an argument that it was a book of authority with those against whom he wrote. We perceive farther, from the writings of Novatus, that he did not receive the epistle to the Hebrews as a part of sacred scripture, for he never quotes it ; though there are in it many texts, which he would certainly have reckoned to be to his purpose, if the epistle had been of authority with him. As for the disputed catholic epistles, that of James, the second epistle of St. Peter, the second and third of St. John, and that of St. Jude, we have no clear evidences what was his opinion of them. He had a great regard for the scriptures of the Old and New Testament commonly received. We have seen in him many undeniable proofs of that peculiar respect which was shown the scriptures by all christians in general, as esteeming them books of authority, by which all disputes and controversies were to be decided. Finally, it ought to be observed, that there is not in this learned writer of the third century any, the least, notice taken of spurious apocryphal christian writings.

VIII. It remains only that we observe the sentiments of the Novatians concerning sacred scripture. Having before carried down their history a good way below the time of their founder and first leader, it may be thought requisite to make a distinct article of their testimony : but a short one will suffice.

1. For, as we meet not with many complaints against them relating to this matter, it may be concluded that they had all along the same canon with the catholic christians of the several countries where they lived.

2. Philaster<sup>b</sup> expressly says that the Novatians agreed with the catholic church in receiving the scriptures of the Old and New Testament ; which is not contradicted by Epiphanius, Theodoret, or Augustine, who also have written professedly of heretics and their opinions. Socrates, giving an account of the difference between the catholics and Nova-

<sup>a</sup> See before, p. 65.

<sup>b</sup> Novatiani surrexerunt post persecutionem postremam e Novato quodam, qui, sicut ecclesia catholica, credebant antea, vetus Testamentum et novum accipientes. Philastr. Hær. 82.

tians, assures us, that each<sup>c</sup> side endeavoured to support itself by the authority of the divine scriptures.

3. This account is confirmed by the arguments of those writers who designedly confute the Novatians; for, in their arguments, they quote to them as books of authority all the books commonly received by christians; particularly<sup>d</sup> the Acts of the Apostles.

4. It is probable, likewise, that they kept pace with the catholics in admitting the epistle to the Hebrews. That some of them in some places received this epistle, may be inferred from the passages of Epiphanius and Jerom before quoted: and St. Ambrose, in his books upon this controversy, considers<sup>e</sup> the objection taken from Hebr. vi. 4—8, as does<sup>f</sup> Eulogius of Alexandria; who likewise says that<sup>g</sup> they argued from Hebr. x. 26, 27; but I do not observe that Pacian, or the anonymous author of the Questions out of the Old and New Testament, in writing against this sect, take any notice of the objection founded upon the passage in the sixth chapter of the epistle to the Hebrews. It is therefore my opinion, that, whilst the catholics were not agreed in receiving this epistle, so long there were also different sentiments about it among the Novatians.

5. I can say little concerning the opinion which these people had about the disputed catholic epistles.

6. As for the book of the Revelation, it was certainly received by them: it is quoted by most, if not all, the authors who write against them.

<sup>c</sup> Οὐτω δὲ ἀμφοτέρων ἐπιπελλόντων τὰ ἐναντία, καὶ ἐκ τῶν θείων οὐχ ὑβριζόντων ἂ ἑκάτερος ἐλεγεν. Socrat. l. iv. cap. 28. p. 245. D.

<sup>d</sup> The Acts are quoted by several writers in their arguments against the Novatians, as Epiphanius. Hær. 59. n. viii. p. 500. et Ambrosius. de Pœnit. l. i. cap. 8. p. 399. E. cap. 10. p. 403. B. C. Quid Paulus apostolus? erubescit, cum Atheniensem illum versum et dixit et comprobatur! Nam in Actis apostolorum ita ponitur, &c. Pacianus. Ep. 3. p. 308. B. C. Vid. etiam Quæst. ex V. et N. T. Quæst. cii.

<sup>e</sup> Cum igitur tam evidenti et ipsius apostoli, et scriptorum ejus exemplo redarguantur, tamen adhuc obniti volunt, et auctoritatem aiunt apostolicam sibi suffragari sententiæ, allegantes scriptum ad Hebræos: Impossibile enim, &c. Ambr. de Pœnit. l. ii. cap. 2. p. 417. C. D.

<sup>f</sup> Eulogius. ap. Phot. Cod. 280. p. 1604.

<sup>g</sup> Ib. p. 1609. in.

## A NOTE UPON CHAP. XLVII.

IT is commonly said, by learned moderns, that the Greek writers of the church have mistaken the name of Cornelius's rival, calling him Novatus,<sup>a</sup> and confounding this presbyter of Rome with the presbyter of Carthage: whereas his name, they say, was Novatianus, or Novatian. So Cave and Ruinart, and Petavius, not to mention any more. Hosce duos nominum similitudine decepti perpetuo fere confundunt scriptores Græci. Cav. H. L. in Novatian. Quin et ad ipsum Novatianum, quem Eusebius Novatum vocat, Græcorum more, qui Novati et Novatiani nomina sæpius confundunt. Ruin. Act. M. Sinc. et Sel. de S. Dionys. Alex. n. vii. p. 180. Græci enim Novatum et Novatianum inter se confuderunt, similitudine nominum decepti. Quo in errore fuit Eusebius noster. Vales. Annot. in Euseb. l. vi. c. 45.

1. My first argument therefore in support of the present assertion is, that this presbyter of Rome is generally called Novatus by the Greek writers; by Eusebius, and Socrates, and Sozomen, and divers others; and I know of no reason why they should be deceived herein. Eusebius had before him the letter of Cornelius to Fabius, bishop of Antioch, and the letter of Dionysius of Alexandria to this presbyter, and divers other letters of the same Dionysius, upon the controversy about receiving the lapsed: and the two last mentioned ecclesiastical historians were well acquainted with the Novatians at Constantinople, who may be supposed to have known the name of the founder of their sect. Let me add here, to all the Greek writers already mentioned, Athanasius; who expressly says, that the Novatians were so called from Novatus; *απο Νοβατη Νοβατιανοι*. Orat. i. contr. Ar. p. 407. B.

2. There are still remaining in Latin authors traces of their agreement with the Greek writers upon this head. For this I allege the words of J. A. Fabricius: Eusebii et Rufini editiones, *Νοβατω* Novato vi. 45. Sed Novatiano utique fuit illi nomen, non Novato, qui episcopum Romanum se contra Cornelium ordinari passus est anno 251, quo has ad eum literas Dionysius Alexandrinus exaravit. Fabric. not. (f) ad Hieron. de V. I. cap. 69. Rufinus therefore, in his translation of Eusebius, at the place referred to, has Novatus, as Fabricius owns. I shall next allege a passage taken from the notes of the Benedictine editors of St. Ambrose's works: Romana editio ubique Novatum fecit e Novatiano: quâ

<sup>a</sup> See note <sup>a</sup>, p. 78.

mutatione inductus in errorem Petavius Ambrosium nostrum iis patribus a quibus ambo hæresiarchæ inter se confunduntur, accensuit. Verum doctissimus vir secus sensisset, si quam aliam editionem, aut quemlibet manu exaratum codicem consulisset. Not. in Ambros. de Pœnit. l. i. cap. 3. p. 393. Hence then I learn, that in the Roman edition of St. Ambrose's works is Novatus, where in other editions we now have Novatianus. Indeed the Benedictine editors of Ambrose say, that all the manuscripts have Novatianus. But, in answer to this, two things may be said: 1. That it is likely the Roman editor did not put Novatus without some reason. 2. It is very likely that in some manuscripts of divers Latin authors the name of the presbyter of Rome may be found written Novatus; and what is to be farther offered will confirm this supposition. I therefore proceed in the second argument. The Benedictines themselves have so printed his name in their edition of St. Hilary of Poitiers: Nam in urbe Româ sub Novato et Sabelio et Valentino hæreticis factum concilium, ab Orientalibus confirmatum est. Hilar. ex. op. Hist. Fragm. iii. p. 1320. F. Et vid. ibidem annotata. Farther, I find his name frequently printed Novatus in the edition of St. Jerom's works by Martianay, a Benedictine likewise, of the congregation of St. Maur. Quid respondebit Novatus negans pœnitentiam, &c. Hieron. Comm. in Joel. cap. 2. p. 1358. in Tom. iii. Hæc diximus, non quo juxta Novatum tollamus spem pœnitentiæ. Id. in Amos, cap. 5. p. 1407. m. Facessat itaque Novatus errantibus manus non porrigens.—Id. in Ep. 38. [al. 61.] T. iv. p. 307. Ego Origenem propter cruditionem sic interdum legendum arbitror, quomodo Tertullianum, Novatum, Arnobium, &c. Ep. 56. [al. 76.] p. 589. ib. Verum ne Montanus et Novatus hic rideant, &c. adv. Jovin. l. 2. p. 195. m. Non est loci hujus, ut pœnitentiam prædicem, et quasi contra Montanum Novatumque scribens, dicam, &c. ad Ocean. Ep. 84. [al. 30.] p. 659. Montanus et qui Novati schisma sectantur, nomen sibi munditiæ præsumsere. In. Ep. ad. Tit. cap. 1. p. 414. f. I have put down all these passages out of Martianay's editions of Jerom's works, hoping I may rely upon him for the right readings. I observe, indeed, that, in the index of matters at the end of St. Jerom's fourth tome, Martianay distinguishes between Novatian, and Novatus the presbyter of Carthage: supposing that where Jerom mentions Novatus he intends this last person, and not the presbyter of Rome: but, I believe, most learned men will think Martianay mistaken: Jerom plainly speaking of a writer, and the principal author of the Novatian sect; therefore he must intend the

presbyter of Rome : for Cyprian's presbyter is never reckoned a writer. And though the Benedictine editors of Ambrose affirm that, in the manuscripts of that father's work de Pœnitentiâ, the name of this person is written Novatian ; yet there are certainly two or more Latin authors, who write it Novatus : those Benedictines seem not able to deny it. They blame Petavius for reckoning Ambrose among the fathers, by whom these two presbyters have been confounded : but they were not pleased to cite Petavius, nor to refer to the place where he speaks of this matter. I shall therefore transcribe here the passage which I suppose to be intended by those Benedictines : Sic igitur Novatianorum secta ab ambobus illis auctoribus profecta, a posteriore præsertim, hoc est, Novatiano, magnum incrementum accepit. Sed Græci, uti dixi, Patres unum duntaxat sectæ conditorem nominant, Novatum sive *Ναταρον*, Romanum presbyterum : quemadmodum Euseb. l. 6. cap. 45. Theodoretus, Epiphanius hoc loco, Gregorius Nazianz. adeoque Socrates, — et complures alii. Imo etiam e Latinis Augustin. l. de Hær. Philastrius, Ambr. in L. de Pœn. Distinguit autem Cyprianus passim in Epist. et Pacianus, ac Latini omnes, qui de hac hæresi subtilius disputârunt. Petav. Animadv. ad Hær. lix. T. ii. Epiphan. p. 226. Here then are two more Latin authors to be added to the foregoing, Philaster and Augustine : their words are these : Novatiani surrexerunt post persecutionem postremam a Novato quodam — Philast. de Hær. cap. 82. Cathari, qui seipsos isto nomine, quasi propter munditiam, superbissime atque odiosissime nominant, secundas nuptias non admittunt, pœnitentiam denegant, Novatum sectantes hæreticum : unde etiam Novatiani appellantur. Aug. de Hær. cap. 38. Vid. eund. De Utilit. Jejun. cap. 9. n. 11. et contr. Crescon. l. ii. c. 1. n. 2. These are two material witnesses, Latin authors, who wrote professedly of heresies ; and the latter of them a man of great learning. I must add here that Rufinus, not only in his version of Eusebius before taken notice of, but in his explication of the creed likewise, has Novatus : Et quod Novatus sollicitavit, lapsis pœnitentiam denegando, et secundas nuptias, cum forte iniri eas necessitas exegerit, condemnando. Symb. Ruf. ap. Hieron. T. v. p. 130. f. Pelagius writes the name in the same manner : Quamvis ergo tota epistola contra Novatum sit, &c. Pelag. in 2 Cor. cap. 2. ap. Hieron. T. v. p. 1015. In the decree of Gelasius his name is written Novatus. Ap. Labb. Conc. T. iv. p. 1265. I shall mention one author more : Fuerunt hi enim aliquando nobiscum, sed quodam Novato auctore disrupti sunt : non tamen hæreticis coæ-

quandi, quia non a confessione catholicâ, sed a caritate dissentiunt. Consult Zach. et Apoll. l. i. c. 17. ap. Dacher. Spic. T. x. p. 89. And I make no doubt but the name of our Roman presbyter will be found so written in the manuscripts of many Latin authors, if consulted.

3. The common appellation of this people shows that the name of their leader was Novatus, not Novatian. If his name had been Novatian, his followers would have been called by the Greeks *Νοβατιανισται*, or *Νοβατιανιστοι*, Novatianists: whereas they are called by them *Νοβατιανοι* and in like manner by the Latins Novatiani, Novatians, from Novatus. This is evident from the passage of Augustine, before cited; and from a passage in his answer to Cresconius, a Donatist and grammarian: Tuque potius eis facis injuriam, cum scribis, in Latino sermone, non nisi Latinam regulam probans, Donatianos a Donato, sicut ab Ario et Novato Arianos et Novatianos, velles vocari. Contr. Crescon. l. ii. c. 1. n. 2. T. ix. To these passages innumerable others might be added. I recollect but one exception among the Latin writers: Nec nos movet, frater carissime, quod in literis tuis complexus es; Novatianenses rebaptizare eos, quos a nobis sollicitant. Cypr. Ep. 73. p. 198. This passage is cited in Augustine in the same manner: De Baptismo, contra Donatistas, l. iii. cap. 12. Therefore I do not dispute the genuineness of this reading: but no one will suppose that this one instance can assure us of the right name of the author of the sect: for if his name had been Novatian, the common appellation of his followers would have been Novatianenses, or Novatianistæ, and we should have found it continually in Latin authors: as we too, upon that supposition, should call them Novatianists, not Novatians. Nay, though we had found these people several times called Novatienses, it could not have amounted to a proof that their leader was called Novatianus, if there were a great deal of evidence to the contrary. It is allowed that the name of Pelagius is rightly so written in Latin, and his followers therefore generally called Pelagiani. Yet they are not seldom called Pelagianistæ, a word derived immediately from Pelagianus, not from Pelagius. But no body therefore concludes that the name of their leader was Pelagianus, and not Pelagius. I put down only an instance or two of that way of writing the appellation of that sect. Adversus Pelagianistas quoque novos nostrorum temporum hæreticos—per annos fere decem laboravit. Possid. de Vit. August. cap. 18.—illosque Manichæos, Donatistas, Pelagianistas,—ex magnâ parte defecisse,—congaudens. Id. ib.

4. I know not of any one, in any age, called Novatian,

unless the person in dispute was so named : but there have been many called Novatus : as Junius Gallio, Seneca's elder brother, born at Corduba in Spain, whose original name was M. Annæus Novatus. Beside the presbyter of Carthage under Cyprian, there was at that time a bishop in Africa named Novatus, who was present at the council of Carthage in 256. Vid. Cypr. Tr. p. 230. Novatus, a bishop, was present at the council of Milevi, in Africa, in the year 416. Vid. Augustin. Ep. 176. [al. 92.] The same Novatus, or another bishop of that name, is afterwards mentioned by Augustine, in a letter written about the year 429. A sanctis fratribus et coëpiscopis meis Urbano et Novato, qualis sis vir et quantus accepi. Aug. Ep. 229. [al. 262]. A letter of Augustine written in 405, is sent to one Novatus, supposed to be the same Novatus, bishop of Sitifi, who was present at the conference at Carthage, in 411. Vid. Aug. Ep. 84. [al. 242.] et August. Vit. a Benedictin. concinnat. l. vi. cap. 6. n. 4. et Collat. Carthag. n. 143. et 204. There was formerly a place at Rome called Thermæ Novati: from whom so called, I do not enquire. Vit. Montfauc. Diar. Ital. cap. 14. p. 203. There is likewise a writer of this name whose work indeed I never saw ; but it is to be found in divers curious libraries : this is the title. Novatus Catholicus de Humilitate et Obedientiâ. Vit. Montf. Bib. MSS. T. i. p. 46, 67, 1373.<sup>b</sup> This consideration alone is sufficient to render it probable that the person of whom we are speaking was called Novatus : for it is not likely he should have a name by which no other man was ever called.

5. Some learned moderns seem to have supposed that the name of the person was Novatus. I guess that Beausobre and L'Enfant were of this opinion, because they write his name in French Novat : as may be seen in a passage formerly quoted, p. 117. note <sup>b</sup>. In Du Fresne's Latin translation of the Paschal Chronicle, the name Novatus is preserved, p. 271. D. 272. A Paris. 1688. And I am apt to think it will be found, (though this single instance only now offers itself to me,) that several learned moderns have kept the name Novatus in their Latin translations of Greek writers.

Obj. I can think of but one objection of moment, which is, that this person's name is always written Novatian by St. Cyprian ; and it must be owned that this is a considerable difficulty : nevertheless, I think it ought not to prevail against so much evidence as we have seen on the other side.

<sup>o</sup> So I wrote in the first edition : but the book is easy enough to be found. It is in Bib. PP. Maxima, T. v. p. 1082, 1083, where it makes little more than one folio page. It is also in Bib. PP. Morell. Paris, 1644, T. ii. p. 75, &c

The case seems to me to be this; Cyprian would have it that his presbyter Novatus was the principal author of the disturbances at Rome, [See before, p. 94.] And therefore he called the presbyter of Rome Novatian, as if he had been only a follower of Novatus of Carthage: and, having once given him that name, he used it ever after. Moreover, having occasion, or being of himself mightily disposed, frequently to mention these two presbyters together, no shorter way of distinguishing them could be thought of, than to call one Novatus, the other Novatianus: and St. Cyprian having often called him of Rome Novatian, I suppose he was without scruple followed by many Latin writers; though, I think, not universally; far from it: for we have seen above sufficient evidence that, notwithstanding Cyprian's way of writing, there were not a few ancient Latin authors, who always, or generally, called the presbyter of Rome, and Cornelius's rival, Novatus.

It will be thought by some that I have dwelt too long upon so trifling a thing as a man's name: but, having long ago had doubts about it, I have chosen to put down here the collections I had made upon the point. Let others make what use of them they think fit.

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## CHAP. XLVIII.

### DIONYSIUS, BISHOP OF ROME

- I. *His history and works.* II. *His character.* III. *His testimony to the scriptures.*

I. DIONYSIUS of Rome has been already mentioned by us in the history of his contemporary and namesake of Alexandria. He<sup>a</sup> was first presbyter, afterwards bishop of Rome. His predecessor Xystus, or Sixtus the second, suffered martyrdom<sup>b</sup> under the emperors Valerian and Gallienus, on the sixth day of August, in the year of Christ 258. It is now

<sup>a</sup> Vid. Euseb. l. vii. cap. 7. p. 254. A. <sup>b</sup> Xystum autem in cœmeterio animadversum sciatis octavo iduum Augustarum die. Cypr. Ep. 80. [al. 82.] p. 238. Jam de Xysto, bono et pacifico sacerdote, ac propterea beatissimo martyre, ab urbe nuntius venerat. Pont. de Vit. Cyprian. p. 8. m. Sixti martyris, et Romanæ ecclesiæ episcopi. Hieron. ad Ctesiph. Ep. 43. p. 476. fin. Bened.

the general opinion<sup>c</sup> of learned men that, after the death of Xystus, the see of Rome was vacant almost a whole year, that Dionysius was ordained bishop of that city on the 22d day of July, 259, and died the 26th of December, 269.

In the time of his episcopate, probably near the beginning of the sole reign of Gallienus, not long after the defeat of Valerian by the Persians, and therefore about the year of our Lord 260 or 261, the christians at Cæsarea in Cappadocia were in great distress; occasioned, as it seems, by the inroads of some barbarous people: for St. Basil<sup>d</sup> in one of his epistles says, ‘that Dionysius wrote to the church of Cæsarea, ‘and by his letters comforted them when under affliction, ‘and likewise sent some persons to redeem those of the ‘brethren that had been taken captive.’ The memory of this benefit, St. Basil says, was preserved at Cæsarea, not only by the tradition of their ancestors, but also by the letter of that good bishop in their possession.

He was appealed to in the affair of Sabellianism, and probably in the beginning of his episcopate, in<sup>e</sup> the year 260, or soon after. ‘Some catholics of Pentapolis,’ as Athanasius<sup>f</sup> writes, ‘dissatisfied with some expressions used by ‘Dionysius of Alexandria, in his writings upon that argument, went to Rome, and accused him there to his namesake ‘Dionysius, bishop of Rome: and he, having heard them, ‘wrote at once against the followers of Sabellius, and against ‘those opinions for which Arius has been expelled the church; ‘declaring that the opinions of Sabellius, and of those who ‘say the Word of God is a creature, a workmanship, and ‘made, though directly opposite to each other, were equally ‘impious. He also wrote to Dionysius, to inform him of ‘the things laid to his charge; who immediately replied, ‘entitling his book, A Confutation and Apology.’ So writes Athanasius in his epistle concerning the opinion of Dionysius

<sup>c</sup> Vid. Cav. Hist. Lit. Pagi Crit. in Baron. 258. n. vii. 271. n. x. Basnag. Ann. 259. n. viii. Tillem. Mem. T. iv. St. Denys Pape.

<sup>d</sup> Οὐδαμην γὰρ, μνημης ακολουθια, παρα των πατερων ημων αιτηθεντων, και απο γραμματων των ετι και νυν πεφυλαγμενων παρ’ ημιν, διδασκομενοι, Διονυσιον εκεινον, τον μακαριωτατον επισκοπον, —επισκεπτομενον δια γραμματων την ημετεραν εκκλησιαν των Καισαρειων, και παρακαλυντα τες πατερας ημων δια γραμματων, και πεμπειν τες απολυτρεμενης εκ της αιχμαλωσιας την αδελφοτητα. Basil. Ep. 70. [al. 220.] T. iii. p. 164. B. C. Bened.

<sup>e</sup> Vid. Basnag. Ann. 259. n. viii. <sup>f</sup> —ανηλθον εις την ‘Ρωμην, και κατερηκασιν αυτε παρα τη ομωνυμω αυτε Διονυσιω τη επισκοπω ‘Ρωμης. καικεινος ακεσας εγραψεν ομω κατα τε των τα Σαβελλιω δοξαζοντων, και κατα των φρονωντων ταυτα απερ και Αρειος λεγων εξεβληθη της εκκλησιας —επεσειλε δε και Διονυσιω εηλωσαι, περιων ειρηκασι κατ’ αυτε και αντεγραψεν ενθυσ αυτος, και επεγραψε τα βιβλια ελεγχω και απολογιας. Athan. de Sent. Dionys. T. i. p. 252.

of Alexandria. In another work he says; ‘When<sup>g</sup> some brought accusations to the bishop of Rome, against the bishop of Alexandria, as if he had said the Son was a creature, and not consubstantial to the Father, the synod at Rome was offended, and the bishop of Rome sent the judgment of them all to his namesake. He afterwards vindicated himself, entitling his book, A Confutation and Apology: and thus he writes to him;’ that is, to Dionysius of Rome.

There was therefore a synod at Rome, which had some concern in this business: but, whether it was convened upon occasion of the accusations brought against Dionysius of Alexandria, or whether his accusers found it assembled, and laid their charges against him before Dionysius of Rome, and the whole synod, is not clear. Hence also we perceive that Dionysius of Rome wrote in that controversy; but whether one piece only, or a treatise, and an epistle besides to Dionysius of Alexandria, is not certain. A large fragment of what he wrote upon this point remains cited in a work of Athanasius. I shall transcribe a part of it presently.

It should be observed, that Dionysius, whilst presbyter only,<sup>h</sup> wrote to his namesake of Alexandria upon the question of the baptism of heretics. And now, I think, we have mentioned all the works of this bishop of Rome, of which we have any certain notice: I mean, the letter just named, the letter to the Cæsareans mentioned by Basil, and what he wrote in the Sabellian controversy: for Jerom has not allotted him any distinct article in his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers: and as for decretal, or other epistles ascribed to him, they are allowed<sup>i</sup> by learned men to be spurious: nor does there remain any thing of his genuine writings, beside the fragment just mentioned.

To this Dionysius was sent one of the letters about baptism, written by Dionysius of Alexandria, as<sup>k</sup> shown formerly: as also another letter by the same person concerning one<sup>l</sup> Lucian. To him likewise were<sup>m</sup> addressed the four books concerning Sabellianism, written by the same Dionysius of Alexandria, as we are assured by Eusebius; with whom Athanasius agrees when he says, the vindication which that

<sup>g</sup> Ἀλλὰ τινῶν αἰτιασαμένων πρὸς τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν Ῥώμης τὸν τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπισκοπὸν, ὡς λεγόντα ποιῆμα, καὶ μὴ ὁμοῖον τὸν υἱὸν τῷ πατρὶ, ἢ μὲν κατὰ Ῥώμην συνόδος ἠγανακτήσεν, ὃ δὲ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐπίσκοπος τὴν πάντων γνώμην γράφει πρὸς τὸν ὁμωνύμον ἑαυτοῦ. Κακείνος λοιπὸν ἀπολογημένος τὸ μὲν βιβλίον ἐπιγράφει ἐλεγχῶν καὶ ἀπολογίας· γράφει δὲ ταῦτα πρὸς ἐκεῖνον. Athan. de Synodis, p. 757. F.

<sup>h</sup> Vid. Eus. lib. vii. cap. 5. 252. C.

<sup>i</sup> Vid. Pagi Crit. in Baron. 269. n. iii. Basn. 259. n. ix. Tillem. Mem. St. Denys Pape. p. 701, 702.

<sup>k</sup> See before, ch. xliii. n. vi. vol. iii.

<sup>l</sup> See the same, *ibid.*

<sup>m</sup> See the same, numb. vii.

bishop made of himself, entitled, A Confutation and Apology, was inscribed to Dionysius of Rome. And lastly, to him, and Maximus, bishop of Alexandria, by name, as well as to all other bishops and clergy, and the universal church, was directed<sup>a</sup> the Synodical epistle of the council of Antioch, which condemned Paul of Samosata: but Dionysius dying before the end of the year 269, he never saw it; and possibly he was dead at the time of writing it, though the fathers of the council had not received any account of his death.

II. We are not without proofs of the eminence and distinction of this bishop for his personal merit, as well as the dignity of his see. His epistolary correspondence and friendship, whilst yet presbyter only, with the great Dionysius of Alexandria, is an argument he was a man of more than common accomplishments. Eusebius, who read the fourth letter of the Alexandrian bishop upon baptism, which we have not, observes, that from the testimony there given him it may be perceived that<sup>o</sup> Dionysius of Rome was a very learned and admirable man. Basil, in the place before quoted, styles him<sup>p</sup> ‘a most blessed bishop, illustrious for the orthodoxy of his faith, and every other virtue:’ and he<sup>q</sup> elsewhere mentions him together with Irenæus, Clement of Rome, and Dionysius of Alexandria, and other ancient ecclesiastical writers of chief note. I need not insist any farther upon the regard which Athanasius has shown him.

III. However, I am now to transcribe from Athanasius a part of the fragment of this bishop of Rome, which he has preserved. It will represent to us his respectful manner of speaking of the scriptures in general; and it contains quotations out of some books of the New Testament.

‘The true disciples of Christ,’ says<sup>r</sup> Dionysius, ‘know very well that a Trinity is taught by the divine scriptures; but that neither the Old nor the New Testament teaches three Gods.’ Afterwards: ‘But<sup>s</sup> the Son always was, if he “is in the Father,” as he himself says: (John xiv. 11.) and if Christ be his word and wisdom and power, as ye know the

<sup>a</sup> Vid. Euseb. l. vii. cap. 30. init.

<sup>o</sup> Εξ ἧς γυναι παρῆν,

ὁπως και αυτος ουτος λογιος τε και θαυμασιος προς τε κατ' Αλεξανδρειαν Διονυσι μεμαρτυρηται. Eus. l. vii. c. 7. fin.

<sup>p</sup> Διονυσιον εκεινον, τον μακαριωτατον επισκοπον, παρ' ἑμιν επι ορθοτητι πιπεως, και τη λοιπη αρετη διαπρεψαντα. Basil. ut supra.

<sup>q</sup> Ειρηναιος εκεινος, και Κλημης ὁ Ῥωμαιος, και Διονυσιος ὁ Ῥωμαιος. κ. λ. Id. de Sp. S. cap. 29. p. 60. Bened.

<sup>r</sup> Οὗτοι γαρ τριαδα μεν κηρυττομενην ὑπο της θειας γραφης σαφως επισανται, τρεις δε Θεος κτε παλαιαν κτε καινην διαθηκην κηρυττεσαν. ap. Ath. de Decret. Nicen. Syn. T. i. p. 231. F. Bened.

<sup>s</sup> Αει δε ην, ει γε εν τη πατρι εσιν, ὡς αυτος φησι' και ει λογος και σοφια και δυναμις ὁ Χριστος' ταυτα γαρ ειναι τον Χριστον αι θειαι λεγρσι γραφαι, ὡσπερ επισασθε. ib. p. 232. A.

divine scriptures say, Christ is.' He argues: 'Was<sup>t</sup> he made, who is "The first-begotten of every creature?"' Col. i. 15. 'He observes, that<sup>u</sup> in many places the divine oracles say Christ was begotten; no where that he was made.' Finally, at the conclusion of the fragment: "For<sup>v</sup> I," says he, "and the Father are one." And, "I in the Father, and the Father in me,"' John x. 30; xiv. 10, 11.

This is all I have to produce from Dionysius: though it be little, it suffices to show the concurrence of this bishop of Rome with other christians of that time in acknowledging the divine scriptures, and divine oracles, to be the rule of faith by which all doctrines were to be tried. He likewise, as well as others, teaches us where these oracles are to be found; namely, in the Old and New Testament, which contain all the scriptures that were in the strictest sense sacred and divine.

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## CHAP. XLIX.

### COMMODIAN.

I. *His history and work.* II. *Select passages.* III. *His testimony to the scriptures.*

I. COMMODIAN, a Latin author, formerly supposed by some to have lived in the time of Constantine, near the beginning of the fourth century, now<sup>a</sup> with more reason reckoned contemporary with St. Cyprian, or to have lived soon after him, is not at all mentioned by St. Jerom. As Gennadius, who wrote near the end of the fifth century, has given Commodian a place in his book of ecclesiastical writers, I place<sup>b</sup> the whole article entire at the bottom of the page.

<sup>t</sup> Ποιημα ὁ πρωτοτοκος πασης κτισεως—; ib. D.

<sup>u</sup> Και πολλαχε δε των θειων λογιων γεγενησθαι—λεγομενων—κ. λ. ibid.

<sup>v</sup> Εγω γαρ, φησι, και ὁ πατηρ ἐν εσμεν' και εγω εν τῷ πατρι, και ο πατηρ εν εμοι' ibid. E.

<sup>a</sup> They who desire to know more of Commodian and his time, and the editions of his work, will do well to consult Cav. Hist. Lit. T. i. p. 136, &c. and Fabr. De Verit. Rel. Christ. p. 227, &c. I make use of Davies's edition at the end of Minucius Felix. Cantabr. 1712.

<sup>b</sup> Commodianus, dum inter seculares literas etiam nostras legit, occasionem accepit fidē. Factus itaque Christianus, et volens aliquid studiorum suorum muneris offerre Christo, suæ salutis auctori, scripsit mediocri sermone, quasi versu, librum adversum Paganos. Et quia parum nostrarum attigerat literarum,

He speaks loosely<sup>c</sup> of its being then two hundred years from Christ to his own time. It is likely, therefore, that<sup>d</sup> it was not quite three hundred years since Christ when he wrote: nor are there any expressions throughout the work that should induce us to think he lived after the alteration of the state of things made by the conversion of Constantine. Cave therefore seems to have rightly concluded that he wrote about the year 270.

It is no improbable conjecture, that Commodian was a native of Africa: it is certain he<sup>e</sup> was originally a heathen: it appears from his acknowledgments in many places.

It may be argued that he was not an illiterate person; for, as he himself says, he<sup>f</sup> was converted by reading the law; that is, as<sup>g</sup> Rigaltius understands him, the scriptures of the Old and New Testament. Gennadius plainly supposeth him to have been acquainted with secular authors before he read the sacred scriptures.

The only work of this author mentioned by Gennadius is still in being; consisting of eighty sections, or instructions, all acrostics, in a style between verse and prose.

Gennadius calls it a little book against the Pagans; but no one can suppose that to have been the title originally: it is more likely that<sup>h</sup> it was in general entitled, Instructions. Nor is it against heathens only; christians likewise are here instructed and admonished, as<sup>i</sup> Rigaltius clearly perceived.

In the former part of the work Commodian derides and exposes the heathen deities and their worship; this was an easy thing: herein, for certain, the christians triumphed;

*magis illorum destruere potuit dogmata, quam nostra firmare. Unde et de divinis repositionibus adversum illos vili satis et crasso, ut ita dixerim, sensu disseruit, illis stuporem et nobis desperationem incutiens, Tertullianum, et Lactantium, et Papiam, auctores secutus. Moralem sane doctrinam, et maxime voluntariæ paupertatis amorem optime prosecutus, studentibus inculcavit. Gennad. De V. I cap. 15.*

<sup>c</sup> —Cur annis ducentis  
fuistis infantes?—Instr. vi. p. 202.

<sup>d</sup> Vid. Davis. not.

<sup>e</sup> Ego similiter erravi tempore multo,  
Fana prosequendo, parentibus insciis ipsis. Instr. i. p. 199.  
Gens et ego fui perversâ mente moratus. Instr. xxvi. p. 221.  
Et ego, qui moneo, idem fui, nescius errans. Ib. xxxiii. p. 226.  
—de cloacâ levatus.—Ib. lxiii. p. 253.

<sup>f</sup> Abstuli me tandem inde, legendo de lege. Instr. i. p. 199.

<sup>g</sup> Legem hic et alibi passim appellat libros utriusque Testamenti. Rigalt.

<sup>h</sup> Ob ea perdoctus ignoros instruo verum. Instr. i. p. 199.

<sup>i</sup> Libello suo Commodianus titulum fecit Instructiones, scilicet ad paganos, ut ab idolorum cultu ad veram Christianæ legis philosophiam convertantur: quin etiam ad Christianos ipsos, ne oblitii Christianorum ad secularia redeant. Rigalt. in Pref. ap. Davis. p. 197.

and Commodian's thoughts are both just and acute. He likewise instructs the<sup>k</sup> Jews; and not content with this he also instructs christians. This was yet a greater and more difficult attempt. To confute error by reason and argument is a laudable performance; but it may be soon done, and without much labour: to persuade men to act as christians and friends of truth, requires more time and pains. Commodian aimed at this difficult work: and accordingly he instructs <sup>l</sup>catechumens, the <sup>m</sup>faithful, <sup>n</sup>christian women, the <sup>o</sup>inferior clergy, the <sup>p</sup>pastors or bishops of the church, <sup>q</sup>and the aged; not to mention any other particulars.

Commodian<sup>r</sup> had no office in the church; but he endeavoured to be useful by propounding good instructions: and if he was not a fine writer, he was an honest man and a zealous christian.

II. Having given this history of Commodian, and his work, I shall make some extracts out of him, for showing the sentiments of christians at that time.

1. He often says that<sup>s</sup> the heathen people were deceived and imposed upon by their priests.

2. Commodian<sup>t</sup> believed that men have free-will; that they are born reasonable beings, not brutes; and that with the help of those means which God affords them, they are able to convert themselves from error and sin, if they will but use their natural powers, and exercise thought and consideration.

3. He shows what<sup>u</sup> was the common opinion of christians at that time concerning the fall of the angels.

<sup>k</sup> Instr. xxxvii. xxxviii. xxxix. xl.

<sup>l</sup> Ib. n. xlvi.

<sup>m</sup> n. xlvii. xlviii. et passim.

<sup>n</sup> lix. lx.

<sup>o</sup> *Mysterium Christi, zacones, exercite caste.*

*Idecirco ministri facite præcepta magistrî. Instr. n. lxxviii.*

<sup>p</sup> *Pastor, si confessus fuerit, geminavit agonem, &c. n. lxxix.* <sup>q</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>r</sup> *Non sum ego doctor, sed lex docet ipsa clamando. numb. lxxiii. p. 256.*

<sup>s</sup> *Vos autem seducunt sacerdotes pauci. Instr. viii. p. 205.*

*Deludunt vos pauci scelerati vates inanes,*

*Extricare suam dum quæerunt vitam.*

*Subornant aliis esse sub mysterio falsum,*

*Inde simulantes concuti numine quodam,*

*Majestatemque canunt, et se sub figurâ fatigant, &c. num. xvii. p. 212.*

<sup>t</sup> *Gens, homo, tu frater, noli pecus esse ferinum,*

*Erue te tandem, et tecum ipse retracta.*

*Non utique pecus, nec bestia es, sed homo natus.*

*Tu te ipse doma sapiens, et intra sub arma. nun. xxxiv. p. 227.*

<sup>u</sup> *Cum deus Omnipotens exornaret mundi naturam,*

*Visitari voluit terram ab angelis istam.*

4. Commodian<sup>v</sup> heartily embraced the doctrine of the expected millennium. He deserves to be added to authors<sup>w</sup> formerly mentioned.

5. He mentions<sup>x</sup> the Lord's day: and, as<sup>y</sup> Rigaltius understands it, the passage shows that christians had love-feasts upon that day.

6. What he says<sup>z</sup> of antichrist may deserve the notice of the curious.

III. Nothing remains but that we observe the scriptures cited by him.

1. Commodian quotes several books of the Old Testament; and in one place<sup>a</sup> Tobit.

2. He expressly speaks of the<sup>b</sup> Old Testament, which prophesied of Christ: therefore there was another which was called the New Testament: he likewise in the same place speaks of the old and new law.

3. He quotes or alludes to divers things<sup>c</sup> in the gospels.

4. He refers to the history of St. Stephen<sup>d</sup> in the Acts of the Apostles.

5. He quotes divers of St. Paul's epistles; as<sup>e</sup> the first

Tanta fuit forma fæminarum, quæ flecteret illos,  
Ut coinquinati non possent cælo redire. num. iii.

<sup>v</sup> Reddere decrevit nos ipso in aureo seculo. n. xxix. p. 224. Conf. n. xxxiv. p. 228.

De cælo descendet civitas in anastasi primâ.

Resurgemus illi, qui fuimus illi devoti.

Recipiuntque bona, quoniam mala passi fuere.  
Et generant ipsi per annos mille nubentes.

Comparantur ibi tota vectigalia terræ, &c. n. xlv. p. 237, 238. vid. et n. lxxx. <sup>w</sup> See Vol. ii. ch. xliii.

<sup>x</sup> De die Dominicâ quid dicis? Si non ante locavit,  
Excita de turba pauperem, quem ad prandium ducas. num. lxi. p. 254.

<sup>y</sup> Hic vero locus indicat, ævo Commodiani in ecclesiâ diebus Dominicis  
agapas in usu fuisse. Rigalt. <sup>z</sup> Vid. num. xli.

<sup>a</sup> Prandia ab eo prospice Tobiâ, qui semper  
Omnibus omnino diebus cum paupere sumpsit. num. lxi. p. 254.

<sup>b</sup> Est Dei lex prima fundamentum posteræ legis.

Nam testamentum vetus de illo proclamat. Instr. xxv. p. 220.

<sup>c</sup> Idcirco cæcus cæcum in fossam deducit. num. xxvii. p. 220.  
Unde Deus clamat, Stulte, hac nocte vocaris. n. lxiv. p. 256. Vid. Luc. xii. 20. Vid. n. lv. p. 247, et alibi passim.

In talibus spes est vestra de Christo refecto. n. lxi. Vid. Matth. xxv.

<sup>d</sup> Rectam qui diligit Stephanus sibi vitam in iter. n. lxii. p. 254.

<sup>e</sup> Crux autem stultitia facta est, adulteræ genti. n. xxxvi. p. 229.

to the Corinthians, the<sup>f</sup> epistle to the Philippians, the<sup>g</sup> epistles to Timothy and Titus.

6. I cannot well tell whether<sup>h</sup> he refers to the epistle of St. James.

7. He plainly refers<sup>i</sup> to 1 John ii. 15.

8. He very frequently transcribes or refers to the<sup>k</sup> book of the Revelation, and once<sup>l</sup> expressly quotes it.

9. Commodian's respect for the scriptures appears many ways, in frequently adopting the words of it, and in the manner of quoting it.

10. He quotes<sup>m</sup> the writings of the blessed Paul as of authority: in one place,<sup>n</sup> 'Paul, or rather God by him, says.' He refers<sup>o</sup> all men to the law, that is, the scriptures, in order to their understanding religion.

11. It is pleasing to observe this high respect for scripture running through the writings of all early christians in general.

## CHAP. L.

### MALCHION.

I. *His history, and testimonies to him.* II. *Remarks, and his testimony to the scriptures.*

I. SAYS Jerom in his<sup>a</sup> Catalogue: 'Malchion, a most eloquent presbyter of the church of Antioch, who had

<sup>f</sup> Vobis autem Deus est venter, et præmia jura.

Suggerit hoc Paulus apostolus, non ego duplex. n. xxxi. p. 225. Vid. ad Philip. cap. iii.

<sup>g</sup> Apostolus autem tales jubet esse magistros.

Sit patiens rector, &c. n. lxix. p. 260.

<sup>h</sup> Maledicti retine linguam, unde Dominum adoras. n. lxiii. p. 255. Vid. Jac. iii. 9.

<sup>i</sup> Nolite diligere mundum, neque ambitum ejus. n. lvii. p. 249.

<sup>k</sup> Vid. Instr. xli. xlii. xliii. lxxx. et passim.

<sup>l</sup> —ut ferunt operta Joannis. n. xliii. p. 237.

<sup>m</sup> Audi vocem, quæ vis christiana manere,

Beatus Paulus qualiter te ornari præcipit. n. lx. in.

<sup>n</sup> Apostolus Paulus clamat, immo Deus per ipsum. n. lviii. p. 250.

<sup>o</sup> Omnipotentis enim in lege quærite cuncti.

Lex docet, in medio ciet, consulite pro vobis. n. xxii. p. 217.

<sup>a</sup> Malchion disertissimus Antiochenæ ecclesiæ presbyter, quippe qui in eadem urbe rhetoricam florentissime docuerat, adversum Paulum Samosatenum, qui

‘taught rhetoric in the same city with great applause, held a disputation with Paul of Samosata, bishop of the church of Antioch, who had revived the opinion of Artemon: which disputation was taken down by short-hand writers, and is still extant. There is also another large epistle written by him in the name of the synod, and directed to Dionysius and Maximus, bishops of Rome and Alexandria. He flourished under Claudius and Aurelian.’

So Jerom in the above-mentioned work. Malchion<sup>b</sup> is again mentioned by him in his letter to Magnus among other ancient christian authors.

Eusebius, in his account of the last council of Antioch, in the affair of Paul, speaks of Malchion after this manner in his Ecclesiastical History: ‘But<sup>c</sup> the person who especially convicted and confuted him, when he endeavoured to conceal himself, was Malchion, an eloquent man, and a sophist, president of the school of Greek literature at Antioch; who, for his uncommon soundness in the faith of Christ, had the honour to be made a presbyter in that church. Being the only person of all present that was able to detect that subtle and deceitful man, he entered into dispute with him: which disputation was taken down by short-hand writers, and we know it to be still extant.’

Theodoret calls this person Malachion: he<sup>a</sup> says that he was formerly a sophist, afterwards ordained presbyter; that he disputed with Paul, and convicted him of holding the opinion he was charged with.

These are the principal remaining accounts of Malchion, and testimonies to him; for I think it scarce worth observing what is said by so late a<sup>c</sup> writer as Trithemius, that Malchion taught rhetoric at Antioch with applause many

Antiochenæ ecclesiæ episcopus dogma Artemonis instaurarat, excipientibus notariis disputavit; qui dialogus usque hodie exstat. Sed et alia grandis epistola ex personâ synodi, ab eo scripta, ad Dionysium et Maximum, Romanæ et Alexandrinæ ecclesiæ episcopos, dirigitur. Floruit sub Claudio et Aureliano. De V. I. cap. 71. <sup>b</sup> Necnon presbyterorum Pamphili, Pierii, Luciani, Malchionis, ad Mag. Orat. ep. 83. [al. 84.] p. 656. m.

<sup>c</sup> Μαλιτα δ' αυτον ευθυνας επικρυπτομενον διηλεξε Μαλχιων' ανηρ τα τε αλλα λογιος, και σοφιστης, των επ' Αντιοχειας Έλληνικων παιδευτηριων διατριβης προεσως' ε μην αλλα και δ' υπερβαλλεσαν της εις Χριστον πισειως γνησιοτητα πρεσβυτηριω της αυτοθι παροικιας ηξιωμενος ουτος γετοι, επισημειωμενων ταχυγραφων, ζητησιω προς αυτον ενσησαμενος, ην και εις δευρο φερομενην ισμεν, μονος ισχυσε των αλλων κρυψινεν οντα και απατηλον φωρασαι τον ανθρωπον. Eus. l. vii. c. 29.

<sup>d</sup> Μαλαχιωνος δε τιнос προτερον μεν σοφισευσαντος, υπερον δε τε πρεσβυτερη τιμηθεντος χειροτονια, την προς τον Παυλον ποιησαμενος διαλεξιν, εφωραθη τον Χριστον ανθρωπον λεγων, κ. λ. Theod. Hæret. Fab. L. ii. c. 8. p. 223. B. <sup>e</sup> ——— quippe qui rhetoricam in eadem civitate multis annis florentissime docuit. Trithem. de Script. Ecc. cap. 45.

years: and yet perhaps he concluded as much from an expression of<sup>f</sup> Theodoret. Indeed we do not find much notice taken of Malchion in ancient writers. The Greek christians however have put him into their calendar for the service he did in opposing Paul of Samosata, as has been observed by Valesius<sup>g</sup> and others.

II. Having put down these testimonies to this author, I propose to mention some observations.

1. It is probable that Malchion was originally a heathen: Jerom does not expressly say so, but he says he taught rhetoric at Antioch with reputation; which is near the same with what<sup>h</sup> he says of Cyprian, who certainly was at first a heathen. Nor does Eusebius expressly say it: but that he taught Greek literature, as I have translated him, or<sup>i</sup> profane learning, as Du Pin renders the same phrase. And Theodoret, as well as Eusebius, says, that Malchion was at first a sophist. I presume these testimonies therefore may afford a probable argument that Malchion was originally a heathen; but whether they are sufficient to put the point beyond dispute I cannot say.

2. Malchion was an author, or a christian writer. The Disputation or Conference, mentioned by Eusebius and Jerom, must be reckoned his. It was, as we may well suppose, published by him, and not by Paul; and both Eusebius and Jerom speak of it as extant in their times; but it appears to me somewhat probable that Eusebius had never read it: he says we know it to be still extant. If he had seen it, I suppose he would have expressed himself differently.

Jerom ascribes likewise to Malchion the epistle of the last council of Antioch, of which we have fragments in Eusebius's Ecclesiastical History: indeed Cave<sup>k</sup> makes a doubt of this; he suspects that Jerom said it of his own head, without any good authority: but most other<sup>l</sup> learned moderns, whom I have consulted, allow that epistle to have been composed by Malchion, I mean particularly Fabricius, Tillemont, and Fleury. Du Pin does not declare his opinion; he only observes that Jerom says Malchion was also the author of the letter written in the name of the synod against Paul of

<sup>f</sup> —ὄσπερον δε πρεσβυτερσ τιμηθεντος χειροτονια. Vid. not. <sup>d</sup>.

<sup>g</sup> Valcs. Annot. in Eus l. vii. cap. 29. Vid. et Tillem. Mem. Ec. T. iv. P. ii. Paul de Samosates, art. 5. p. 268. <sup>h</sup> Vid. de V. I. cap. 67.

<sup>i</sup> —les sciences profanes. Du Pin. Bibl. p. 193. <sup>k</sup> Cav. Hist. Lit. in Malchion. <sup>l</sup> Vid. Fabric. Bibl. Gr. l. vi. c. 4. Tom. xi. p. 346.

Cette lettre fut composée par Malquion. Tillem. ut supra, p. 630. See likewise Fleury's Eec. Hist. B. 8. ch. iv. p. 479.

Samosata. I see no good reason to dispute Jerom's account; and the piece shows its author; Malchion was a sophist, and the epistle is a common place of accusation.

We have no certain account of any other works of Malchion, beside the disputation and epistle just mentioned. Jerom mentions these two only, without so much as hinting there were any other. Trithemius indeed says that<sup>m</sup> Malchion composed several excellent works of great use against heretics; but that is a mere flourish: he mentions none by name but the two we have taken notice of already.

3. There is nothing now remaining of Malchion that can be depended on as genuine, beside the fragments of the synodical epistle in Eusebius, of which I gave a large account<sup>n</sup> formerly. It has been observed by<sup>o</sup> several learned men, that Leontius of Byzantium, who lived near the end of the sixth century, has quoted two<sup>p</sup> passages of the Disputation or conference with Paul: but Du Pin says it<sup>q</sup> is not altogether certain that they are genuine. Tillemont<sup>r</sup> observes likewise, that there is a passage out of it in the letter of Peter the deacon to Fulgentius, and other African bishops; which Peter flourished in the same sixth century, but earlier than Leontius above named; it is only a part of<sup>s</sup> what is cited by Leontius. I have not made any use of these fragments in my history of Paul<sup>t</sup> formerly given; nor do I intend now to take any thing out of them.

Trithemius expresseth himself as<sup>u</sup> if that Disputation was in being in his time: but<sup>v</sup> Fabricius well observes, in a note upon him, that those words mean no more than that it was extant in the time of Jerom, not of Trithemius. The same observation, I suppose, ought to be applied to<sup>w</sup> Bede in the eighth, and<sup>x</sup> Freculph in the ninth century; who likewise speak of this piece as extant in their times: but they only transcribe Jerom; and it is he in all these places, who is to be understood to say it was then extant, that is, in his time.

If the citations of Leontius and Peter the deacon are not to be relied upon, then we have not any certain notice of this

<sup>m</sup> Edidit nonnulla præclara opuscula, quæ suo tempore ad fidei christianæ defensionem contra hæreticos multum conducere videbantur. Trithem. de Scr. Ec. cap. 45.      <sup>n</sup> Vol. ii. ch. xliii.      <sup>o</sup> Fabric. ut supra.

Vales. ut supr. Tillem. ib. p. 630.

<sup>p</sup> Vid. Baluz. Concil. p. 19—22.

<sup>q</sup> Mais il n'est pas entièrement certain, qu'ils fussent véritables. Du Pin, in Malchion, as above, p. 193.

<sup>r</sup> Tillem. ubi supr. p. 629.

<sup>s</sup> Vid. Baluz. Conc. p. 21.

<sup>t</sup> Vol. ii. ch. xliii.

<sup>u</sup> —De quibus exstat opus insigne Dialogorum contra Paulum Samosatenum. Trithem. ut supr.

<sup>v</sup> Extabat Hieronymi tempore, non

Trithemii. Fabric.

<sup>w</sup> Vid. Bed. Chr. p. 22. Cantabr. 1722.

<sup>x</sup> Freculp. Chr. T. iii. l. iii. c. 11. ap. Bib. Patr. Tom. xiv. p. 1166. D.

work after Eusebius and Jerom: what has been the occasion of so great neglect of this piece I cannot say; but, methinks, it is pity it is not still extant.

4. I would observe, in the fourth place, that Malchion was the principal director of the last council of Antioch concerned about Paul of Samosata. In the first council moderate principles prevailed: in the last<sup>y</sup> council, when Firmilian was dead, and several other eminent bishops absented for some reason or other, very different measures were taken: these, as I formerly<sup>z</sup> intimated, may be chiefly ascribed to Malchion. We have now seen further proof of that supposition; Eusebius assures us that Malchion only, and no other, was able to detect or confute Paul: and Jerom, besides, informs us that the large epistle written in the name of that council was composed by Malchion: what better evidence can be desired of this matter? Nor is this my thought only. Du Pin, speaking of Malchion, says; ‘he<sup>a</sup> had a famous dispute with Paul of Samosata in the second council of Antioch, held in 270; and after having detected the errors which that heretic endeavoured to conceal, he<sup>b</sup> caused him to be condemned by the council.’

5. I observe, in the fifth place, what was Malchion’s opinion concerning the doctrine of the Trinity does not clearly appear. Eusebius speaks of Malchion as a man of uncommon soundness in the faith of Christ: but if Eusebius was an Arian, as some think, and if that character relates to the doctrine of the Trinity, this testimony, instead of assuring us of Malchion’s orthodoxy upon that head, may rather occasion a suspicion that he Arianised. There is another thing, which may occasion a doubt whether Malchion held the Nicene faith. The council of Nice established the homousian, or consubstantial doctrine: but it is said that the council of Antioch (in which, as has been shown, Malchion directed and governed) rejected the word consubstantial as improper. This has been taken notice of by several ancient writers of the fourth century; <sup>c</sup> Athanasius, <sup>d</sup> Hilary of Poitiers, and <sup>e</sup> Basil. This therefore, if the council of Nice be the standard of orthodoxy, casts a suspicion upon that of

<sup>y</sup> See Vol. viii. ch. xliii.

<sup>z</sup> Id. *ibid.*

<sup>a</sup> Du Pin, as before, p. 193.

<sup>b</sup> — il le fit condamner parle Concile, *ib.*

<sup>c</sup> Δια τετ’ εικοτως ευλαβηθεντες το τοικτον σοφισμα τς Σαμοσατεως, ειρηκασι, μη εναι τον Χριστον ομοσιον. Ath. de Synod. p. 759. B.

<sup>d</sup> Male homousion Samosatenus confessus est: sed numquid melius Arii negaverunt? Octoginta episcopi olim respuerunt; sed trecenti et decem octo nuper receperunt, &c. Hil. de Syn. n. lxxxvi. p. 1200. Conf. Facund. l. x. c. 6.

<sup>e</sup> Και γαρ τω οντι, οι επι Παυλω τω Σαμοσατει συνελθοντες, διεβαλον την λεξιν, ως εκ ευσημον. Basil. Ep. 52. [al. 300.] p. 145. B.

Antioch; and<sup>f</sup> there is no small difficulty in reconciling these councils. But I may not stay to inquire exactly into that matter; it is sufficient for me at present to give these points, and refer to those ancient writers above-named, and some<sup>g</sup> learned moderns of great note, who have endeavoured to reconcile this contradiction, real or apparent; and to show that, notwithstanding the different sentiments and conduct of these two councils with regard to this word, yet they both held the same doctrine.

6. With regard to Malchion's canon of scripture: as we have nothing of him remaining besides the above-mentioned fragments in Eusebius, and I have formerly<sup>h</sup> observed the notice taken of scripture in the synodical epistle of the council of Antioch, I have nothing farther to add here upon this head, but only to say, That it ought to be taken for granted that Malchion owned and respected those scriptures which were generally received at that time among christians; but what was his opinion concerning the books of the New Testament, then doubted of by some, cannot be certainly known.

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## CHAP. LI.

### ANATOLIUS, AND THREE OTHERS, BISHOPS OF LAODICEA.

I. *Anatolius, bishop of Laodicea in Syria, his history and works.* II. *His testimony to the scriptures.* III. *Eusebius, likewise bishop of Laodicea.* IV. *Stephen.* V. *Theodotus, bishops of the same city.*

I. SAYS Jerom: 'Anatolius,<sup>a</sup> a native of Alexandria, bishop of Laodicea in Syria, flourished under the emperors Probus

<sup>f</sup> De hac synodorum *αυτολογια* laborarunt theologi, qua veteres, qua neoterici. Bull. Def. Fid. Nic. p. 29. a. m. <sup>g</sup> Petav. de Trin. l. iv. c. 5. num. ii. iii. Bull. Def. Vid. Nic. Sect. ii. cap. 1. num. ix. x. xi. Basnag. Ann. 269. num. vi. Tillem. ut supr. Paul de Samos. art. 5. p. 631, 632.

<sup>h</sup> See Vol. ii. ch. xliii. <sup>a</sup> Anatolius Alexandrinus, Laodiceæ Syriæ episcopus, sub Probo et Caro imperatoribus floruit. Miræ doctrinæ vir fuit in arithmeticâ, geometriâ, astronomiâ, grammaticâ, rhetoricâ, dialecticâ. Cujus ingenii magnitudinem de volumine, quod super Pascha composuit, et decem libris de arithmeticæ institutionibus, intelligere possumus. Hier. de V. l. c. 73.

‘and Carus. He was exceedingly well skilled in arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, grammar, rhetoric, logic. The greatness of his capacity may be perceived from his work concerning Easter, and from his ten books of institutions of<sup>b</sup> arithmetic.’

Probus reigned from 276, to August 282; Carus the remainder of that year, and all 283. Nevertheless, Cave has placed Anatolius as flourishing about the year 270, and not much amiss; Eusebius, whom he succeeded, having died, as is<sup>c</sup> supposed, in 269 or 270; though some<sup>d</sup> think not before 272.

Anatolius is placed in Jerom’s Chronicle at the third year of Probus, the year of Christ 278, after this manner: ‘Anatolius, <sup>e</sup>bishop of Laodicea, well acquainted with all the principles of the philosophers, is now much celebrated.’

Nor did Jerom forget Anatolius<sup>f</sup> in his letter to Magnus.

Jerom undoubtedly was indebted to Eusebius for what he knew of this person. Now therefore we will see what Eusebius himself writes of him in his Ecclesiastical History.

He says ‘that<sup>g</sup> Anatolius was an Alexandrian, and bishop of Laodicea after Eusebius; and that for eloquence, and for skill in philosophy and the Greek literature, he was the most eminent person of his time; being a complete master of arithmetic, geometry, and likewise of logic, natural philosophy, and rhetoric: for the sake of which qualifications, as is said, he was desired by the people of Alexandria to set up a school for the Aristotelian philosophy.’

When that request was made we cannot say exactly; but, if ever, undoubtedly before he left Alexandria, and was advanced to the episcopal office. Nor is there any certain information given us of his complying with that request: though Fabricius in<sup>h</sup> one place scruples not to say, without hesitation, that he set up such a school at Alexandria.

Anatolius and his friend Eusebius performed signal ser-

<sup>b</sup> They who desire to see what learned moderns say of Anatolius may consult Cav. H. Lit. T. i. Tillem. Mem. Ec. T. iv. P. ii. p. 637—643. Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. ii. p. 274, &c. T. v. p. 277. <sup>c</sup> See Tillem. Mem. Ec. T. iv. p. ii. p. 641. Basnag. Ann. 269. n. ix. <sup>d</sup> Pagi Ann. 269. n. ix.

<sup>e</sup> Anatolius, Laodicenus episcopus, philosophorum disciplinis eruditus, plurimo sermone celebratur. Chr. p. 177. <sup>f</sup> Ep. 83. al. 84.

<sup>g</sup> Γενος μεν και αυτος Αλεξανδρευσ λογων δ’ ενεκα, και παιδειας της Ἑλληνων, φιλοσοφιας τε, τα πρωτα των μαλιστα καθ’ ημας δοκιμωτατων απενεγκαμενος, απε αριθμητικης, —εληλακως εις ακρον. Ὡν ενεκα και της επ’ Αλεξανδρειας Αριστοτελεις διαδοχης την διατριβην, λογος εχει προς των τηδε πολιτων συσησασθαι αυτον αζιωθηναι. Eus. H. E. l. vii. c. 32. p. 284. D. 285. A.

<sup>h</sup> Anatolius—Alexandriæ scholam Aristotelicam constituit, factus deinde episcopus in Syriâ Laodicenus circa A. Chr. 270. Bib. Gr. T. ii. p. 274.

vices for the people of Alexandria, both christians and others; when Bruchium, or Pyrchium, one of the quarters of that city, in which too was the citadel, suffered under the extremities of a siege, Anatolius was shut up in Bruchium; Eusebius was without, among the Romans, the besiegers. One of those services is particularly related by<sup>i</sup> our Ecclesiastical historian, to whom I refer. Anatolius had the better opportunity to be useful to the public by means of the high esteem he was in: for Eusebius says, that<sup>k</sup> with universal consent he had pre-eminence above all the magistrates or senators of Alexandria, that were in Bruchium.

Learned men<sup>l</sup> find no small difficulty in settling the time of this siege. Tillemont thought it<sup>m</sup> to be in the reign of Gallienus in 263 or 264; Basnage<sup>n</sup> in 262 or 263; whose opinions seem to me more probable than theirs who place it later.

Soon after the siege was over, Anatolius<sup>o</sup> left Alexandria.

Our historian tells us ‘ that<sup>p</sup> Theotecnus, bishop of Cæsa-  
rea in Palestine, ordained Anatolius bishop, intending that  
‘ he should succeed him; and it is certain that for a short time  
‘ they both presided together in that church: but Anatolius,<sup>q</sup>  
‘ going to Antioch to be present at the council called upon  
‘ the occasion of Paul of Samosata, as he was passing through  
‘ Laodicea, was detained there by the brethren, Eusebius  
‘ being dead.’

It is reasonable to think that our historian must mean the last synod in the affair of Paul, which was held in 269. After this he says nothing farther of Anatolius. But here he died; for, as the historian adds, he<sup>r</sup> was succeeded by Stephen, the last bishop of Laodicea, before the persecution of Diocletian began.

‘ Anatolius,’ says<sup>s</sup> Eusebius, ‘ did not write many books: however, from those which have come down to us may be perceived both his eloquence and his extensive knowledge and learning, particularly from his work concerning Easter.’

<sup>i</sup> L. vii. c. 32. p. 285, et 286. A.

<sup>k</sup> Μυριας μιν εν τωδε και

αλλας αριτειας εν τη κατ’ Αλεξανδρειαν τε Πυρρχειω πολιορκια μνημονουεντων  
ατε των εν τελει προνομιας εξαιρετη προς απαντων ηξιωμενων’ ib. p. 285. A.

<sup>l</sup> Vid. Pagi in Baron. Ann. 269. n. ix. x. xi.

<sup>m</sup> See his Hist. des Emp. in Gallien. art. 12. T. iii. P. iii. p. 974, 975. et p. 1175.

<sup>n</sup> Basn. Ann. 262. n. iii.

<sup>o</sup> Eus. ib. p. 286. B.

<sup>p</sup> Τετρω πρωτος—Θεοτεκνος χειρας εις επισκοπην επιτεθεικε. ib. p. 288. A.

<sup>q</sup> Eus. ib. A. B.

<sup>r</sup> Και τε Ανατολιε δε τον βιον μεταλλαξαντος, της εκεισε παροικιας υψατος των προ διωγμω καθισται Στεφανος. ib. p. 288. B.

<sup>s</sup> Ου μιν εν εσπιδασθη πλειστα τη Ανατολιω συγγραμματα’ τοσαντα δ’ εις ημας εληλυθε, δι’ ων αυτε καταμαθην δυνατον ομω το, τε λογιονκαι πολυμαθεις εν οίς μαλιτα τα περι τε πασχα δοξαντα παρισησιν. ib. p. 286. B. C.

—‘ The<sup>t</sup> same Anatolius left also the Principles of Arithme-  
‘ tic in ten books, and likewise some other works, monuments  
‘ of his diligence in studying the divine scriptures, and of his  
‘ understanding therein.’

Eusebius has inserted in his Ecclesiastical History<sup>u</sup> a long passage of Anatolius’s book upon Easter, or his Paschal canons, as he there calls it: and Ægidius Bucherius has published the same work in an ancient Latin version said to be Rufinus’s; which is generally allowed to be, for the main at least, the genuine work of Anatolius. It is thought by some, that there are remaining fragments of his other work, the Institutions of Arithmetic. Fabricius<sup>v</sup> has published some fragments in Greek, which he supposed to be of Anatolius.

There were others of this name, which ought to be distinguished from our Anatolius. Fabricius<sup>w</sup> has mentioned several. Cave<sup>x</sup> also well argues, that our Anatolius is different from him whom<sup>y</sup> Eunapius speaks of as master of Jamblichus; though<sup>z</sup> Valesius confounded them: and<sup>a</sup> Basnage is pleased to signify his approbation of Valesius’s opinion.

Anatolius, in the passage<sup>b</sup> cited by Eusebius from his Paschal canons, mentions several Jewish writers; Philo, Josephus, Musæus, and others more ancient; two of the name Agathobulus, called rabbins, or masters; and Aristobulus, one of the seventy translators of the Old Testament, or part of it. He likewise<sup>c</sup> mentions some book of Enoch: and in that part of his work, which we have in Latin only, very honourable mention is made of<sup>d</sup> Origen.

II. As there remains but a small part of the work of Anatolius, except what is the Latin translation, a brief account of his testimony to the scriptures will suffice.

1. He quotes ‘ as from the gospel<sup>e</sup> these words: Now the

<sup>t</sup> Και αριθμητικας δε καταλειπειν ο αυτος εν ολοις δεκα συγγραμμασιν εισαγωγας, και αλλα δειγματα της περι τα θεια σχολης τε αυτε και πολυπειριας. ib. p. 287. D. 288. A. <sup>u</sup> Εκ των περι της πασχα Ανατολις κανονων. κ. λ. p. 286. C. D. et p. 287. <sup>v</sup> Bib. Gr. l. iii. c. xi. T. ii. p. 275—278. <sup>w</sup> Bib. Gr. T. v. p. 277. Vid. et T. ii. p. 275.

<sup>x</sup> Hist. Lit. T. i. p. 136.

<sup>y</sup> Eunap. Vit. Jambl. init.

<sup>z</sup> Ann. in Euseb. p. 158.

<sup>a</sup> Ann. 269. n. ix.

<sup>b</sup> Eus. p. 287.

<sup>c</sup> Παρασατικα και τα εν τη Ενωχ μαθηματα. ib. p. 287. D.

<sup>d</sup> Sed et Origenes, omnium doctissimus, et calculi componendi perspicacissimus, (quippe qui et χαλκευτης vocatus,) libellum de Paschate luculentissime edidit. Anatol. ap. Bucher. p. 439.

<sup>e</sup> Contra evangelii dictum, dicentis: Primâ autem die azymorum accesserunt discipuli ad Jesum. Quin dubium non est, quin xiv. dies sit in quo discipuli Dominum interrogaverunt, secundum morem antiquitus sibi constitutum: Ubi vis paremus tibi comedere Pascha? p. 443. sub. fin.

first day of the feast of unleavened bread, the disciples came to Jesus, saying unto him; "Where wilt thou that we prepare for thee to eat the passover?"' Matth. xxvi. 17. And see Mark xiv. 12; Luke xxii. 7.

2. He quotes also those<sup>f</sup> words of the Lord; "My soul is exceeding sorrowful, even unto death," Matth. xxvi. 38. And in the same manner and in the same place, the words of Luke xv. 6.

3. He<sup>g</sup> expressly mentions John the evangelist, the same that leaned on the Lord's breast.

4. He quotes<sup>h</sup> very respectfully the direction of the apostle in Rom. xii. 15, intimating that it ought to be attended to as spoken by the Lord himself.

5. In the passage of the Paschal canons, preserved by Eusebius, there is a manifest reference to the latter part of the third chapter of St. Paul's second epistle to the Corinthians; 'But,' says<sup>i</sup> he, 'all these proofs are not necessary for those from whom the veil of the law of Moses is taken off; who may with "open face" always "behold as in a glass Christ," and the things of Christ, both his doctrine and his sufferings:' see 2 Cor. iii. 14—18: and in the Latin translation of this work we find the words of<sup>k</sup> 2 Cor. vi. 14.

6. He speaks<sup>l</sup> with respect of the Old as well as the New Testament.

7. He says of some, that<sup>m</sup> they can by no means prove their point by the authority of the divine scripture.

8. Though this be little, here is sufficient to show that this learned Alexandrian concurred with other christians in a

<sup>f</sup> Aliud enim est secundum quod ab apostolo, imo a Domino præceptum est, cum contristato contristari [Rom. xii. 15.] et cum cruce passo compati, ipso dicente: Tristis est anima mea usque ad mortem: aliud cum victore inimicum antiquum triumphante, ac summo triumpho devicto adversario lætante collætari, ipsomet præcipiente, congratulamini mihi, quia inveni ovem quam perdideram. Anatol. ib. p. 445.

<sup>g</sup> Quorum exemplum sequentes usque hodie omnes Asiæ episcopi (quippe qui et ipse ab auctore irreprehensibili, Joanne scilicet evangelistâ, et pectoris Domini incubatore, doctrinarum sine dubio spiritualium potatore,) regulam susceperunt. ib. p. 44.

<sup>h</sup> See before, note <sup>f</sup>. <sup>i</sup> Παρημι ἐε τας τοιαντας των αποδειξων ἴλας απαιτων, ὡν περιηρηται μεν το επι τε Μωϋσεως νομι καλυμμα' ανακαταλυμενω δε τω προσώπω λοιπον ηδη Χριστον και τα Χριστ αι κατοπτριζεσθαι, μαθηματα τε και παθηματα. Eus. ib. p. 287. D.

<sup>k</sup> Quia solemnitas Dominicæ resurrectionis lux est. Et non est communicatio lucis cum tenebris. Anat. ap. Buch. p. 443.

<sup>l</sup> Quod in veteri quidem testamento non potest probabiliter inveniri, Domino per Moysen præcipiente: Septem diebus comedetis azyma, &c. ib. p. 443.

<sup>m</sup> Nam qui ab ætate lunæ Pascha definiunt posse celebrari, non solummodo illud auctoritate divinæ scripturæ affirmare non possunt, sed et—animarum periculum incurrunt. ibid.

high respect for the scriptures of the Old and New Testament: and it is likely that his canon was much the same with that of Origen.

III. It may be proper to take notice here of Eusebius, not only because he was predecessor of Anatolius in the see of Laodicea, but also because he was of Alexandria, and they were intimate friends whilst they lived in their native city.

Though Eusebius was not an author, and therefore is wanting in Jerom's Catalogue, and in many other histories of ecclesiastical writers, he was a man of no small consideration, and is mentioned as<sup>n</sup> an eminent person in Eusebius's or Jerom's Chronicle.

It is likely my readers may remember that this Eusebius has been already mentioned with honour in this work, in our history of Dionysius of Alexandria. Eusebius was then a deacon in that church. The words of Dionysius speaking of the state of affairs there in the persecutions of Decius and Valerian, and which were<sup>o</sup> formerly cited, are these; 'The deacons that survive after those that have died of the plague are Faustus, Eusebius, Chæremon: Eusebius, I say, whom God qualified from the beginning, [referring here, it is likely, to his conduct in the Decian persecution,] and furnished with great resolution and ability for fulfilling the office of ministering to the confessors in prison, and for burying the bodies of the perfect and blessed martyrs, not without the utmost peril.'

Our historian, having finished his quotation of that letter of Dionysius, adds: 'It<sup>p</sup> ought to be observed that Eusebius, whom Dionysius calls deacon, was afterwards bishop of the church of Laodicea in Syria.'

Eusebius, still deacon, accompanied Dionysius when he made his confession before Emilian the præfect of Egypt in 257, as<sup>q</sup> formerly shown.

His settlement in Laodicea is related by his namesake, the ecclesiastical historian, in this manner: 'Socrates<sup>r</sup> was succeeded in the care of the church of Laodicea by Eusebius a native of the city of Alexandria. The occasion of his removal was the affair of Paul. Passing through Syria upon that account, he was seized by those who were concerned for the interest of religion in those parts, who would by no means let him return home. He was succeeded by

<sup>n</sup> Eusebius Laodicensus insignis habetur. Chron. p. 177. init.

<sup>o</sup> See Vol. ii. ch. xl. et Eus. H. E. l. vii. c. xi. p. 261. B.

<sup>p</sup> See Vol. ii. ch. xliii. et Eus. 261. C.

<sup>q</sup> See Vol. ii. ch. xliii.

<sup>r</sup> Eus H. E. l. vii. c. 32. p 284. D.

‘ Anatolius ; one good man cometh after another, as the saying is.’

It may be well supposed that the time of Eusebius’s going into Syria was the year 264, or thereabout, when the first council was held at Antioch upon the case of Paul of Samosata: then Eusebius entered upon this see, and was succeeded by Anatolius about the year 270.

IV. ‘ After<sup>s</sup> the death of Anatolius,’ as we are informed by our historian, ‘ Stephen was advanced to the presidentship of that church, and was the last bishop there before the persecution: he was admired by many for his eloquence, and philosophy, and Greek learning. However, when the persecution broke out, he did not behave like a philosopher; but showed himself rather to be a dissembler, and mean spirited.’ What was his fault is not certainly known: we may be disposed to think that he apostatized, and renounced the christian religion, though Eusebius does not expressly say it: thereby, as I apprehend, showing both his sincerity as an historian, and his tenderness for the reputation of a brother, and a fellow-creature, overcome by temptation.

V. Eusebius proceeds: ‘ Nevertheless<sup>t</sup> that church did not fall to ruin: it was restored to its wonted splendour by Theodotus, who was designed bishop of that church by God himself, the Saviour of all men. He by his actions showed himself to be what his name signified, [a man given of God,] and a true bishop. He was an excellent physician for the body; but for the cure of souls he had not his equal, such were his humanity, his integrity, his compassion for the afflicted, and his diligence in relieving those who needed his assistance: with<sup>u</sup> which was joined uncommon skill in the divine scriptures, or the things of religion.’

To this person Eusebius inscribed his Evangelical Preparation; there<sup>v</sup> styling him ‘ beloved of God, and an ornament to the episcopal office.’

What Eusebius says of his being an excellent physician for the body has induced<sup>w</sup> Fabricius to put Theodotus into his Catalogue of ancient Physicians.

This bishop of Laodicea, so much commended by our Eusebius, is reputed an Arian by several learned moderns,

<sup>s</sup> Eus. ib. p. 288. A. B.

<sup>t</sup> Ib. p. 288. B. C.

<sup>u</sup> Πολυ δε ην αυτω και το περι τα θεια μαθηματα συνησημενον. ib. p. 288. C.

<sup>v</sup> —τηνδε σοι, θειον επισκοπων χρημα, θεοδοτε, φιλη θειω και ιερα κεφαλη, συν ευχαις επεφωνησα. Præp. Ev. cap. 1. init.  
<sup>w</sup> Vid. Bib. Gr. T. xiii. p. 433.

to whom I shall refer in the margin; as <sup>x</sup> Vigerus, editor of Eusebius's Preparation, <sup>y</sup> Pagi, and <sup>z</sup> Tillemont.

And there is more than a little ground for that supposition; for Arius in his letter to Eusebius of Nicomedia<sup>a</sup> names Theodotus among others his favourers; Theodoret<sup>b</sup> intimates that the same persons defended the Arian doctrine at the council of Nice. In another place<sup>c</sup> he mentions Theodotus among those who had imbibed the Arian principle, and were its principal patrons; he likewise says that<sup>d</sup> he came to Antioch with Eusebius of Nicomedia in 331, to depose Eustathius. Athanasius<sup>e</sup> affirms that Theodotus, and others whom he names, had written the like things with Arius before the council of Nice: not to insist upon the letter of Constantine<sup>f</sup> in Gelasius Cyzicenus, written to him after the council of Nice.

When Theodotus entered upon the episcopate is not certainly known. Vigerus, in the preface before cited, says he succeeded Stephen about the third year of Constantine, or the year of Christ 308; which is not altogether improbable, it being evident from Eusebius that Stephen was bishop before the persecution, and for some time after it began: but the exact time of Stephen's death or removal, and of the accession of Theodotus, I think cannot be determined. However, Pagi<sup>g</sup> well observes that Theodotus died before the council of Jerusalem in 336, because Sozomen mentions George, then bishop of Laodicea, as present at it.

Theodotus is wanting in Cave and Du Pin, not being generally reckoned an author: but perhaps he might be justly so esteemed, considering what is said of him by Athanasius. It is true, Athanasius does not quote Theodotus as he does some others; but the reason was that<sup>h</sup> the letters were not at hand, as he says; which he mentions by way of excuse for sending no more out of them: for which cause he omitted to cite several, whom by name he charges with having written the like things with Arius.

This chapter began with Anatolius, whose history was the

<sup>x</sup> Hunc ego non alium arbitror, quam Laodicenum episcopum, qui—Stephano in episcopatu successit, Arianæ impietatis fautorem acerrimum. Viger. in præf. ad fin. <sup>y</sup> Ann. 318. n. xvii. et xviii.

<sup>z</sup> See his history of the Arians, art. 4. and note 2. and elsewhere. Mem. T. vi.

<sup>a</sup> Ap. Thdrt. l. i. cap. 5. p. 21. A. et Epiph. H. 69. n. vi.

<sup>b</sup> Thdrt. l. i. c. 7. p. 26. A.

<sup>c</sup> Id. l. 5. c. 7.

<sup>d</sup> L. i. c. 21. p. 52. B.

<sup>e</sup> Προ δε τε γενεσθαι την εν Νικαια συνοδον, εγραψαν και οι περι Ευσεβιον, — και Θεοδοτον, κ. λ. Ath. de Synodis, n. xvii. T. i. p. 730. D.

<sup>f</sup> Ap. Labb. Conc. T. ii. p. 283.

<sup>g</sup> Ann. 318. n. xviii.

<sup>h</sup> Και τας μεν επιστολας αυτων εκ εσχον εν ετοιμη ωστε και αποτειλαι. Athan. ib. p. 731. D.

principal design of it: however, we have been led to take notice of several others mentioned by Eusebius; and I presume it may not be unacceptable to any, as it serves to represent the state of christianity at that time.

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## CHAP. LII.

### THEOGNOSTUS.

- I. *His history.* II. *His testimony to the books of the New Testament.*

THEOGNOSTUS,<sup>a</sup> an ancient writer, no where mentioned by Eusebius or Jerom, flourished, as<sup>b</sup> Cave thinks, about the year 282; and, though we have not now any certain proofs of his exact age, that computation cannot be very erroneous; as may appear from what we shall observe presently.

Theognostus is mentioned by Athanasius, Philip Sidetes, Stephen Gobar, and Photius.

Athanasius has spoken of him in two of his works: in the first he quotes him against the Arians, to show<sup>c</sup> that the fathers of the Nicene council did not first begin to use the expression, ‘Of the substance,’ it having been before used in the same subject by Theognostus; whom Athanasius here calls<sup>d</sup> a learned or an eloquent man. In the other<sup>e</sup> work Athanasius mentions Theognostus together with Origen: he gives Theognostus the character of an admirable man, and worthy of esteem: he speaks of them both in an honourable manner, and as ancient men. In that same work he afterwards alleges a passage from Theognostus, which I intend to make use of by and by.

<sup>a</sup> Concerning this writer may be seen Cav. Hist. Lit. Du Pin, Bib. des Aut. Ecc. Tom. i. Bull. Def. Fid. Nec. Sect. ii. cap. 10. sect. vii. Dodwell. Diss. Iren. in Append. p. 511. Fabric. Bib. Gr. lib. v. cap. 1. p. 276. Tillemont, Origene, art. 37. Mem. Ecc. T. iii. P. 3. p. 269, 270, and some authors to be hereafter mentioned in this chapter. <sup>b</sup> Vid. Cav. Hist. Lit. T. i. p. 146, 147. Oxon.

<sup>c</sup> Μαθετε τοιουνν, ω χριστομαχοι Αρειανοι, οτι Θεογνωστος, ανηρ λογιος, ε παρητησατο το εκ της ουσιας ειπειν. Ath. de Decret. Nic. Syn. p. 230. B.

<sup>d</sup> Παλαιοι μεν εν ανδρες, Οριγενης ο πολυμαθης και φιλοπονος, και Θεογνωστος ο Ξανμασιος και σπεδαιος. Id. Ep. 4. ad Serap. p. 702. C.

<sup>e</sup> Ib. p. 703. B. C. D.

Stephen Gobar<sup>f</sup> says that Athanasius had often mentioned Origen and Theognostus in an honourable manner: whether he means only these two places, or whether there were still some more in which Theognostus was mentioned by Athanasius, we cannot say positively.

In the Fragment of Philip Sidetes, published by Mr. Dodwell, it is said that Theognostus was president of the christian or catechetical school at Alexandria. The order of those presidents, according to that writer, is this; Origen<sup>g</sup> was the fourth: after Origen, Heraclas; after him Dionysius; after him Pierius; after Pierius, Theognostus. What regard ought to be had to Philip, I<sup>h</sup> cannot certainly say; but as we are not able to disprove what he writes, so I think likewise that it is not safe to depend entirely upon him.

From Photius we learn that<sup>i</sup> Theognostus published a work called Hypotuposes, or Institutions, in seven books or discourses. The title of the work in Photius's copy was this: 'The Institutions of the blessed Theognostus, an Alexandrian, and Exegetus;' which last word I rendered by some learned men, commentator and interpreter of the sacred books: but that meaning appears to me at least doubtful; nor can I assign any other with which I am fully satisfied. Mr. Dodwell, in his notes<sup>k</sup> upon the forecited passage of Philip, says that the title of the work was borrowed from Clement, and that the title given the author denotes his public office of teaching in the school of Alexandria.

Photius says, 'that<sup>l</sup> in the first book Theognostus discourses of the Father, and endeavours to prove him creator, even against those who supposed matter coeternal with God.' One may be apt to think that this part of our author's work was very curious and philosophical. Afterwards Photius expresseth his dislike of the doctrine of the first six books of the Institutions in several respects, saying that the author<sup>m</sup> speaks of a Son as a creature; that he too

<sup>f</sup> 'Ότι Ωριγενην και Θεογνωστον ό, τε μεγας Αθανασιος ό Αλεξανδρειας εν πολλοις απεδεχετο λογοις. ap. Phot. Cod. 232. p. 904.

<sup>g</sup> Τεταρτος προεσε της χριστιανικης διατριβης Ωριγενης' Μεγα Ωριγενην—μετα Πιεριον Θεογνωστος. Fragm. Ph. Sid. ap. Dodw. Diss. Iren. p. 488.

<sup>h</sup> See before, Vol. ii. chap. xviii.

<sup>i</sup> Ανεγνωσθησαν Θεογνωστα Αλεξανδρειως λογοι έπτα' ών ή επιγραφη, τε μακαριω Θεογνωστα Αλεξανδρειως και εξηγητα υποτυπωσεις. Phot. Cod. cv. 280. in.

<sup>k</sup> Ipsum illius operis titulum a Clemente sumptum decessore constat. Et quidem locum illum scholæ catecheticae magistralem denotat, docendique munus publicum vox illa εξηγητης. Dodwell, ut supr. p. 512.

<sup>l</sup> Εν μεν εν τω πρωτω λογω διαλαμβινει περι τω πατρος, και ότι εσι δημιεργος, επιχειρων δεικνυναι, και κατα των υποτιθεντων συναιδιον υλην τω Θεω. Phot. ib. p. 280. in.

<sup>m</sup> Υιον δε λεγων, κτισμα αυτου αποφανει, ib.

closely followed Origen in some of his peculiarities, which may be found in his books of Principles; and that with him he supposeth angels and dæmons to have certain fine bodies. With the seventh or last book Photius appears well enough satisfied. He gives an agreeable character of this writer's style: it is, he says, full and expressive, and yet has nothing redundant; he has the Attic purity and elegance without affectation; and in the greatest plainness and perspicuity there is nothing mean and vulgar.

If we had had Photius's extract entire, we should not have been at a loss about the exact age of Theognostus; for he put down the time when he flourished: but the last words of the extract are wanting.

We may however conclude, from what we have seen, that Theognostus was an Alexandrian, and that he flourished some time after Origen, before the end of the third century.

Eusebius's silence about this writer has occasioned divers surmises and speculations. Baronius<sup>n</sup> cannot help thinking it happened, not without a malicious and fraudulent design, to bury in oblivion the name and writings of a strenuous assertor of the consubstantial doctrine: Huet<sup>o</sup> is almost of the same mind, and suspects that these Institutions had been interpolated by the Arians in the space of time between Athanasius and Photius: but<sup>p</sup> Tillemont is not convinced by their reasonings. Indeed, he who carefully compares Athanasius and Photius will perceive that they both read exactly one and the same work; and that the Institutions were as uncorrupted in the time of the latter, as of the former. Athanasius found in them somewhat to his purpose; but there were other things he did not like. He<sup>q</sup> says that, in what he alleges out of the second book of the Institutions, Theognostus speaks his own sentiments; but there were other things proposed only in the way of argument and dis-

<sup>n</sup> Et, ut omittamus de aliis dicere, nonne dolo malo Theognosti, theologorum celeberrimi, nomen atque scripta silentio obvoluta reliquit, quod consubstantialis nominis esset assertor? At is non præterit Athanasium. Baron. Ann. 109. lix.

<sup>o</sup> Sane studiosissimum virum, et disertum, et admirandum eum appellat Athanasius: atque idcirco prætermisam ab Eusebio mentionem illius probabile est, quod ab Arianis partibus fuerit alienus. Quapropter corruptas ejus Hypotyposes ab hujus sectæ patronis, quemadmodum et Clementis librum eodem titulo inscriptum, non immerito Andreas Schottus conjecat. Huet. Origen. lib. i. sect. i. num. 3.

<sup>p</sup> Néanmoins S. Athanase marque assez, que dès son temps il y avoit des choses difficiles dans cet auteur sur la divinité de Jésus-Christ. Mais il dit, que ce n'étoit que comme pour discuter la vérité, et qu'il exprimoit ensuite son vrai sentiment. Tillem. ib. 269.

<sup>q</sup> Ὁ μὲν ἐν Θεογνωστοῦ τα προτερα ὡς ἐν γυμνασία ἐξετάσας, ὑπερον τὴν ἑαυτῆ δοξαν τῆθεῖς, οὕτως εἰσηκεν. Ath. de Decret. Nic. Syn. p. 230. C

putations. In like manner,<sup>r</sup> Photius is not positive that the things he condemns were the real sentiments of the author of the Institutions; at least he is aware of this apology for him: but he disallows it, and says such things ought not to be published to the world in writing at any rate. Mr. Dodwell<sup>s</sup> ascribes Eusebius's silence to nothing but negligence, and supposeth him less accurate in matters near his own time than elsewhere. Certainly Eusebius did not know every thing; nor had he a fair opportunity, or sufficient leisure, to bring every thing he knew into his writings. It must be reckoned very probable that Jerom was unacquainted with this writer's works, though they have been so expressly cited by Athanasius.

There is yet another way of accounting for the seeming inconsistency between the commendations Theognostus had received from Athanasius, and the censure passed on him by Photius: it is that taken<sup>t</sup> by Du Pin, who supposeth that in several ages there have been differences of expression about the same doctrine. He therefore says that Photius is to blame for accusing Theognostus of error upon the divinity of the Son, purely because of some ways of speaking that did not entirely agree with those of his own age; not considering that, though the ancients have expressed themselves differently, the doctrine was always the same at the bottom; and that it would be unjust to expect of them that they should speak as exactly, and with as much precaution, as they who came after the rise and condemnation of heresies.

As the Institutions of Theognostus have been so little taken notice of by the several sects of christians in past ages, it may be thought that this work of our author was not necessary; however, it might be useful: and the curious and judicious, I believe, would read it with satisfaction and improvement if it were now in being.

II. We are obliged to Athanasius for the passages he has cited: I am now to observe one of them. Athanasius is treating of the sin against the Holy Ghost: he first quotes Origen and then Theognostus; he informs us, 'that<sup>u</sup> Theognostus, in confirmation of what had been before asserted ' by him, alleges those words of our Saviour spoken to the

<sup>r</sup> Εἶτε (ὡς ἂν τις εἰποι) ἐκβιασάμενος τὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἀπολογία, ἐν γυμνασίᾳ λόγῳ καὶ ἐ δόξης ταῦτα προτιθεῖς.—εἰ γράφῃ δὲ λόγῳ καὶ κοινῶς προκεισθαι μέλλοντος νόμου τοῖς πᾶσι, εἰ τις τῆς ἐν αὐτῷ βλασφημίας τὴν προειρημένην εἰς ἀθῶσιν ἐπιφέρει ἀπολογία, εἰς ἀσθενῆ κατέδραμε σὺν ηἰσῶριαν. Phot. ib. p. 280.

<sup>s</sup> —quamquam ejus nullus meminit Eusebius, in rebus sui temporis minus profecto, quam in reliquis, accuratus. Dodw. ib. p. 512.

<sup>t</sup> Du Pin. ib. p. 192.

<sup>u</sup> Ath. Ep. 4. ad Serap. p. 703. B. C.

‘ disciples: “ I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now: howbeit, when the Holy Ghost is come he will teach you:” John xvi. 12, 13. Then he adds: ‘ as our Saviour speaks to such as are not yet able to receive those things that are perfect, he condescends to their weakness: but the<sup>v</sup> Spirit is given to those that are perfect. ‘ No man therefore ought to say, that the teaching of the Spirit excels the doctrine of the Son: but whereas the Son condescends to the imperfect, the Spirit is the seal of those who are perfected. Wherefore it is not because of any superior excellence of the Spirit above the Son, that the blasphemy against the Spirit is inexpiable and unpardonable; but because, by those who are imperfect, pardon may be obtained: for<sup>w</sup> those “ who have tasted of the heavenly gift,” (Heb. vi. 4.) and have been made perfect, there remains no excuse, or any means of escape.’

From that expression, ‘ tasting the heavenly gift,’ I would infer that our author received the epistle to the Hebrews. This may be further argued from what precedes in Athanasius: for, proceeding to the testimonies of Origen and Theognostus concerning the subject he was upon, he thus expresseth himself; ‘ They<sup>x</sup> both write of this matter, saying ‘ that this is the blasphemy against the Holy Ghost; when ‘ they who have been favoured with the gift of the Holy Ghost ‘ in baptism return to sin: therefore, say they, such receive no ‘ remission, according to what Paul also says in the epistle ‘ to the Hebrews: “ For it is impossible for those who were ‘ once enlightened, and have tasted of the heavenly gift, and ‘ were made partakers of the Holy Ghost, and have tasted ‘ the good word of God, and the powers of the world to ‘ come, if they fall away, to renew them again unto repentance:” ch. vi. 4, 5, 6. This they both<sup>y</sup> say.’ Then he alleges their passages in order.

And this recompense then we have of the labour of our inquiry into the life and writings of Theognostus: that we have found<sup>z</sup> another learned Alexandrian, of the third century, who received the epistle to the Hebrews.

<sup>v</sup> Τοις δὲ τελειωμένοις συγγίνεται το πνευμα το ἅγιον, καὶ εἶπε τις ἐκ τῶν ἀνφαιη τὴν τε πνευματος διδασκαλιαν ὑπερβαλλειν τῆς τε νῆς διδαχῆς. *ibid.* C.

<sup>w</sup> Ἐπι εἰ τοις γευσαμένοις τῆς θρανῆς [αἱ. ἐπαρνῆς] ἔωρας, καὶ τελιωθεῖσιν. κ. λ. *ibid.*      <sup>x</sup> *Ib.* p. 702. C. D.

<sup>y</sup> Ταῦτα εἰ κοινῇ μὲν λεγῶσι, καὶ ἰδιαν εἰ ἕκαστος προσῆθῃ διανοίαν. *ib.* E.

<sup>z</sup> See before of Origen, Vol. ii. ch. xxxviii. num. x. and Dionysius of Alexandria, ch. xliiii.

## CHAP. LIII.

## THEONAS, BISHOP OF ALEXANDRIA.

I. *His history.* II. *An epistle ascribed to him.* III. *His testimony to the books of the New Testament.*

I. THEONAS, as<sup>a</sup> Jerom says in his Chronicle, was the fifteenth bishop of Alexandria. He held that see, as we are informed<sup>b</sup> by Eusebius, nineteen years; who in the same place speaks of Pierius and Achillas, as flourishing among the presbyters in that episcopate, and observes the succession of the bishops of Alexandria about that time: after Dionysius was Maximus; then Theonas, about the year of Christ 282, who was succeeded by Peter, of whom we shall write hereafter.

II. There is extant a<sup>c</sup> letter from Theonas to Lucian, chief chamberlain to the emperor,<sup>d</sup> which emperor was not a christian. But learned men are not fully satisfied who this Theonas is: the editor makes a scruple of<sup>e</sup> ascribing it to the bishop of Alexandria; though he thinks it ought to be received as a genuine monument of antiquity, composed in the beginning of the fourth century: and indeed, according to the tenor of the epistle itself, christianity was not yet fully established; though<sup>f</sup> it had made great progress in the world, even under persecutions.

Cave allows that<sup>g</sup> Theonas, author of this letter, was a bishop; but whether of Alexandria, or some other place, he cannot determine: the letter he thinks<sup>h</sup> to have been written

<sup>a</sup> Alexandrinæ ecclesiæ quintusdecimus episcopus præfuit Theonas, ann. xix. Hieron. Chr. p. 177. f.

<sup>b</sup> H. E. l. 7. c. 32. p. 289. C. D.

<sup>c</sup> Theonas episcopus Luciano Præposito Cubiculariorum invictissimi principis nostri. Theon. ap. Luc. Acher. Spic. T. xii. p. 545. Sed quia, ut sentio, diversis officiis estis adscripti, et omnium tu, Luciane, præpositus diceris. Id. ib. p. 547.

<sup>d</sup> Nam quanto magis princeps ipse nondum christianæ religioni adscriptus.—ib. p. 546.

<sup>e</sup> Vid. Præf. p. 21, 22.

<sup>f</sup> Gratias ago Omnipotenti Deo, et Domino nostro Jesu Christo, qui fidem suam per universum orbem in salutis nostræ unicum remedium manifestare, ac etiam in tyrannorum persecutionibus ampliare, non destitit, &c. Theon. ib. p. 545.

<sup>g</sup> Theonas—dignitate episcopus: cujusnam vero loci haud facile est divinare. H. L. T. i. p. 172.

<sup>h</sup> Ætatem si quæras, circa annum 305—claruisse arbitror, nempe sub Constantio Chlora, qui Cæsar creatus est anno 292.—Augustus renuntiatus est ann. 305; obiit—ann. 306. Cav. ib.

about the year 305; but he delivers this opinion as conjectural only upon a point that cannot be clearly decided.

Tillemont is much disposed to think <sup>i</sup> it a genuine epistle of Theonas, bishop of Alexandria, written <sup>k</sup> about the year 290. Lucian he supposeth to have been chief chamberlain to the emperor Dioclesian, and a faithful servant of Jesus Christ.

I am inclined to assent to Tillemont concerning the author of the epistle and the time of writing it.

The letter was undoubtedly written in Greek; we have only a translation in but indifferent Latin.

III. As the several learned critics above quoted admit the antiquity of this piece, I shall observe the author's testimony to the scriptures.

The author often delivers his christian counsels to Lucian, and by him to other christians in the imperial palace, in words of the New Testament, or in expressions allusive to them: but without quoting any particular books, which might not be judged proper in an epistle.

He<sup>l</sup> mentions the gospel and apostles, as the divine oracles of christians.

He<sup>m</sup> recommends the daily reading of the sacred scriptures, and meditating upon them, as the best means of improving the mind in every virtue, and as the most useful helps for enabling Lucian, and the other christians with him, to discharge their several offices with reputation, as became the followers of Jesus Christ.

<sup>i</sup> La lettre de l'évêque Théonas à Lucien—est selon toutes les apparences un fruit de la piété de nostre saint. Lucien étoit le chef des chambellans de l'empereur Dioclétien, et un fidèle serviteur de J. Ch. Tillem. Saint Theonas. M. E. T. iv. P. 3. p. 1218.

<sup>k</sup> Id. ib. p. 1223.

<sup>l</sup> Interdum et divinas scripturas laudare conabatur, quas mirâ diligentia et largissimo impendio Ptolomæus Philadelphus in linguam nostram traduci curavit: laudabitur et interim evangelium apostolusque, pro divinis oraculis. Theon. ib. 548.

<sup>m</sup> Non prætereat dies, quin, opportuno tempore dato, aliquid sacrarum lectionum legatis, aliquid contemplemini, nec sacræ scripturæ literaturam abjiciatis. Nihil adeo animam pascit, et mentem impinguat, sicut sacræ faciunt lectiones. Sed ex illis hunc maxime capite fructum, ut patientiâ vestrâ juste et pie, hoc est, in caritate Christi, vestra officia exsequamini, et transitoria omnia ob ejus promissiones æternas contemnatis. ib. p. 550.

## CHAP. LIV.

## PIERIUS, PRESBYTER OF ALEXANDRIA.

‘ PIERIUS,’ says<sup>a</sup> Jerom in his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical writers, ‘ presbyter of the church of Alexandria, taught the people with great reputation in the time of the emperors Carus and Dioclesian, when Theonas was bishop of that church : such was the elegance of his discourses and treatises, which are still extant, that he was called the younger Origen. It is certain that he was a great ascetic, and an admirer of voluntary poverty, and that he was well skilled in logic and rhetoric, and that after the persecution he spent the rest of his days at Rome. There is a very prolix homily of his upon the prophet Hosea, which was pronounced on Easter-eve, as the discourse itself shows.’ That is St. Jerom’s summary account of this writer.

Carus reigned in 282 and 283. Dioclesian reigned from 284 to 305. ‘ And,’ as Eusebius<sup>b</sup> informs us, ‘ Maximus, immediate successor of Dionysius, governed the church of Alexandria eighteen years, and was then succeeded by Theonas : under him Achillas, made presbyter at the same time with Pierius, was famous. He was intrusted with the care of the catechetical school, and was an excellent example of a truly philosophical and christian conversation. Theonas, having borne the episcopal office nineteen years, was succeeded by Peter, who obtained great honour during his episcopate, which he held twelve years. He governed the church three years before the persecution : the rest of his time he passed in a more strict and mortified course of life, but still without neglecting the common good of the churches ; for which reason, in the ninth year of the per-

<sup>a</sup> Pierius, Alexandrinæ ecclesiæ presbyter, sub Caro et Diocletiano principibus, eo tempore quo eam ecclesiam Theonas episcopus regebat, florentissime docuit populos ; et in tantam sermonis diversorumque tractatum, qui usque hodie exstant, venit elegantiam, ut Origenes junior vocaretur. Constat hunc miræ ασκησεως, et appetitorem voluntariæ paupertatis, scientissimumque dialecticæ et rhetoricæ artis, et post persecutionem omne vitæ suæ tempus Romæ fuisse versatum. Hujus est longissimus tractatus de prophetâ Osee, quem in vigiliâ Paschæ habitum, ipse sermo demonstrat. Hieron. De V. I. cap. 76.

<sup>b</sup> Και ἐπ’ Αλεξανδρείας δε Μαξιμον οκτωκαιδεκα ετεσι μετα την Διονυσια τελευτην επισκοπευσαντα, Θεωνας διαδεχεται καθ’ ὃν ἐπι της Αλεξανδρείας ἐπι ταντον τῷ Πιερω presbyteris ηξιωμενος Αχιλλας ἐγνωρίζετο, της ἱερας πιτσεως το διδασκαλειον ἐγκειχηρισμενος. Euseb. H. E. l. vii. c. 32. p. 289, 290.

secution, he was honoured with the crown of Martyrdom, 'being beheaded.' So writes Eusebius.

Maximus therefore, having succeeded Dionysius in 264 or 265, was himself succeeded by Theonas, in 282; he by Peter in 300, who died a martyr in the year 311 or 312, as is computed. Achilles, just mentioned by Eusebius as catechist, was bishop<sup>c</sup> of Alexandria after Peter; but for a short time<sup>d</sup> only, as it seems: indeed, since Achilles was ordained presbyter about the same time with Pierius, and had the care of the school under Theonas, it may be argued that he must have been somewhat advanced in years in 311, when he came to be bishop: he was succeeded by Alexander in 312 or 313. I have here put down these several successions at Alexandria; I believe it will not be disagreeable to my readers.

Farther, Eusebius, speaking of the most eminent men of his own time, or near it, says, 'One<sup>e</sup> of these was Pierius, 'presbyter of Alexandria, celebrated for his strict course 'of life and philosophical learning: he was likewise admired 'for his diligence in the study of the scriptures, and his 'expositions of them, and his public discourses of the people.'

In Jerom's letter to Magnus, Pierius is placed among other learned christian writers next after Pamphilus.

In another place he mentions Pierius's<sup>f</sup> interpretation of 1 Cor. vii. 7; and reckons him among several others, who, as he says, had largely explained that epistle. Cave<sup>g</sup> understands Jerom to mean some commentary; but I do not think it necessary to take him in that sense: several of the writers there mentioned may have largely explained that text in their homilies, or letters, or treatises, without making a commentary upon the epistle.

In his prologue to his Commentary upon Hosea,<sup>h</sup> Jerom again mentions the long discourse of our author upon that prophet, which he spoke of in his Catalogue: he calls it an extemporary and eloquent discourse.

<sup>c</sup> Vid. Euseb. Chron. p. 180. Socrat. l. i. cap. 5.

<sup>d</sup> *Ἀχιλλας μὲν ὀλίγον χρόνον προύστη, καὶ τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας κατέχευε πηδάλια. μετὰ δὲ τῶτον Ἀλεξάνδρος. κ. λ.* Theodoret. H. E. l. i. c. 2.

<sup>e</sup> Euseb. ib. p. 289. A. <sup>f</sup> Origenes, Dionysius, Pierius, Eusebius Cæsariensis, Didymus, Apollinaris, latissime hanc epistolam interpretati sunt; quorum Pierius, quum sensum apostoli ventilaret atque edisseret, et proposuisset illud exponere, Volo autem omnes esse sicut meipsum, adjecit: *ταῦτα λέγων Πάυλος ἀπτικρὺς ἀγαμῖαν κηρύσσει.* Hieron. Ep. 31. [al. 52.] p. 243.

<sup>g</sup> Scripsisse commentarios in primam ad Corinthios epistolam auctor est Hieronymus. Cav. H. L. in Pierio. <sup>h</sup> Pierii quoque legi tractatum longissimum, quem in exordio hujus prophetæ die vigiliarum Dominicæ passionis extemporaliter et diserto sermone profudit. Hieron. Pr. in Osee, p. 1235.

It has been observed by several learned men<sup>i</sup> of late times that there were copies of the Bible, or however of some parts of it, called Pierius's, which were in great esteem: that observation is founded upon a passage of St. Jerom in his commentary upon Matt. xxiv. 36; "But of that day and hour knoweth no man, no, not the angels in heaven, but my Father only." Jerom says, 'that<sup>k</sup> in some Latin copies of 'his time was added, "nor the Son;" whereas in the Greek 'copies, particularly the copies of Origen and Pierius, that 'clause was wanting.'

These things concerning Pierius I have collected from Eusebius and Jerom, authors of the best credit. Philip Sidetes<sup>l</sup> says, 'that Pierius was catechist at Alexandria after 'Dionysius: the next after him,' he says, 'was Theognostus, 'then Serapion, then the great Peter, who suffered martyr-'dom.' And Photius informs us that<sup>m</sup> in his time it was said that Pierius was president of the school of that city: accordingly it is now generally taken for granted, by learned men, that he had some while that charge; but I think without good foundation, since it is no where mentioned by Eusebius or Jerom: and why they should omit this, when they so particularly mention his fame for popular discourses, I cannot tell. Eusebius mentions Pierius and Achilles together: he expressly says of this last that he was catechist; why did he not say the like of Pierius, if true? Philip says that Pierius was catechist after Dionysius. When did he succeed his predecessor in that chair—when he was made bishop, or after his death? Dionysius was chosen bishop in 247 or 248, and died in the year 264 or 265. At which of those seasons did Pierius take upon him the catechetical office? Is either of them consistent with what Jerom says of Pierius, that he flourished under Carus and Dioclesian, and survived the persecution? Tillemont<sup>n</sup> is much of my mind: and Cave, though at the beginning of his article of Pierius he roundly calls him master of the school at Alexandria,

<sup>i</sup> Origenis ejusdem, Adamantii a flagrantibus studiis cognominati, ut etiam Pierii, doctoris Alexandrini, exemplaria quoque Novi Testamenti in magno pretio habebantur, tamquam omnium purissima. Eorum mentionem reperio apud Hieronymum ad Matth. xxiv. Hody de Bibl. Text. l. iv. c. 2. p. 622. Conf. Mill. ad Matth. loc. et in Prolegom. n. dccxxvii.

<sup>k</sup> In quibusdam Latinis codicibus additum est, *neque filius*: quum in Græcis, et maxime Adamantii et Pierii exemplaribus, hoc non habeatur adscriptum. Sed quia in nonnullis legitur, disserendum videtur. Hieron. in Matth. p. 118.

<sup>l</sup> Μετα τρωτον Πιεριος, μετα Πιεριον Θεογνωτος

κ. λ. Philip. Sid.

<sup>m</sup> Vid. Phot. Cod. 118, 119.

<sup>n</sup> Mem. Ecc. T. iv. Saint Theonas. p. 583. Ed. de Paris. T. iv. P. 3. p. 1225. à Bruxelles.

afterwards proposes divers difficulties affecting Philip's account.

Photius says that Pierius was a martyr; and that a brother of his, named Isidore, suffered at the same time: but the silence of Eusebius must needs render this doubtful: and Jerom is positive that Pierius outlived the persecution under Dioclesian, as before seen: nor does Tillemont receive this account.

But though we have no good reason to think that Pierius was a martyr, he appears to have been in great esteem. Epiphanius<sup>o</sup> speaks of a church at Alexandria called by his name: and Photius<sup>p</sup> intimates that there were temples and churches built by the faithful in honour of him and his brother.

There is still somewhat farther to be taken from Photius, who read a work of<sup>q</sup> Pierius in twelve books or discourses: Photius does not mention any other title. His character of it is this: 'His style is clear and perspicuous, easy and familiar, like that of extemporary discourse. He expresseth himself after the manner of the ancients, very differently from what now obtains in the church. Of the Father and the Son he speaks rightly enough, except that he makes two substances and two natures: nevertheless, as appears from what precedes and follows the place I refer to, by substance and nature he may mean only subsistence, and not in the sense of the Arians. But of the Spirit he speaks dangerously and impiously, for he makes him inferior in glory to the Father and the Son.—And, with Origen, he seems to hold the pre-existence of souls.'

Photius here also mentions Pierius's writing upon Hosea and Easter, and therein treating of the Cherubim and Jacob's stone pillar; and something written by him<sup>r</sup> upon St. Luke; which words of Photius are not very clear: but it seems as if the title of one of the twelve books above mentioned was to this purpose: Upon Luke, or Observations upon Luke's gospel.

This is what we know of Pierius: from which it is easy to conclude, that in his time he adorned the christian profession by his piety, learning, and public labours. As we have none of his works, we cannot particularly judge of his sentiments; but from the testimonies which we have col-

<sup>o</sup> Hær. 69. c. 2, p. 728. C.

<sup>p</sup> 'Οις ὡς φασι, και νεως και οικου

ὑπο των ευσεβειωντων ιδρυνησαν. Cod. 118. p. 300. A.

<sup>q</sup> Λογος δε το βιβλιον περιεχε δωδεκα. Cod. 119. p. 300.

<sup>r</sup> Εχει δε χρηση εις τον λογον, ε η επιγραφη, Εις τον κατα Λεκαν. κ. λ. ib. p. 300. m.

lected it appears that a great part of his time and labour was employed in studying and interpreting the scriptures; and it may be supposed that his canon was the same as that of Origen, or very little different.

Pierius is placed by Cave at the year 283: some may be apt to think he should have been put lower; but it is likely that learned writer supposed Pierius was made presbyter in the beginning of the episcopate of Theonas. Moreover, Jerom spoke of Pierius as flourishing in the reign of Carus.

## CHAP. LV.

I. *Dorotheus, presbyter of Antioch.* II. *Dorotheus, author of the Synopsis of the life of the prophets, and of the apostles and disciples of Christ.*

I. SAYS Eusebius, in his Ecclesiastical History, ‘ About this time Timæus succeeded Domnus in the episcopate of the church of Antioch, whom Cyril succeeded within our memory. In<sup>a</sup> his time was Dorotheus, presbyter of the church of Antioch, a learned man whom he knew. He was very studious in the sacred scriptures, and acquainted himself so far with Hebrew, as to be able to read the ancient scriptures in their own language with understanding: he was a man of a liberal mind, [or was extremely well educated, or perhaps was a man of high birth,] and was not unskilled in Greek literature: but he was an eunuch from his birth: this being an extraordinary thing, the emperor took notice of him, and made him overseer of the purple dye-house at Tyre. We<sup>b</sup> have heard this person expound the scriptures indifferently well. Cyril was succeeded in the episcopate of Antioch by Tyrannus.’

I have transcribed this passage after this manner with the connexion, that we might the better perceive the time of

<sup>a</sup> Καθ' ὃν Δωροθεον πρεσβειν τε κατα Αντιοχειαν ηξιωμενον τηνικαδε λογιον ανδρα εγνωμεν' φιλοκαλος δ' αυτος περι τα θεια γεγονως, και της 'Εβραιων επεμεληθη γλωττης' ὡς και αυταις ταις 'Εβραϊκαις γραφαις επισημονως εντυγχανειν ην δ' ετος των μαλιτα ελευθερων, προπαιδειας τε της καθ' 'Ελληνας εκ αμοιρος' κ. λ. Eus. l. vii. cap. 32. in. p. 284. B. C.

<sup>b</sup> Τετα μετριως τας γραφας επι της εκκλησιας διηγεμενα καθηκεσαμεν' ib. C.

Dorotheus. Cyril<sup>c</sup> is supposed to have been bishop of Antioch from about the year 280, to the year 300, or longer. We may therefore reckon that Dorotheus flourished about 290, and afterwards. Who is the emperor meant by Eusebius is not certainly known; but it seems to me not improbable to be Dioclesian, in the early part of his reign.

It ought to be supposed that Dorotheus first served in civil offices, and after that became presbyter in the church of Antioch.

This Dorotheus<sup>d</sup> ought to be distinguished from one of the same name, elsewhere mentioned by<sup>e</sup> Eusebius, who was one of the eunuchs of Dioclesian's palace, and suffered martyrdom; and from another Dorotheus, author of the Synopsis, or short history of Christ's apostles and seventy disciples. Fabricius<sup>f</sup> indeed supposeth, that this presbyter of Antioch, and the martyr of the same name, were one and the same person, and that there is not sufficient reason to distinguish them. but I think he is almost singular in that opinion.

Dorotheus, presbyter of Antioch, not being a writer, is not in Jerom's Catalogue: and for the same reason there is no distinct article allotted him in Cave, or other modern authors of ecclesiastical libraries, or such like works: nevertheless I have thought it proper to insert his history here distinctly, though it be short, as a proof that there were men of learning and quality among christians in those early ages; and that christianity did not discourage any branch of useful knowledge: though, as we have here and often elsewhere occasion to observe, the scriptures were their principal study.

II. I take this opportunity to give an account of the supposed author of 'The Synopsis of the life and death of the prophets, and also of the apostles and disciples of Jesus Christ.'

It has been thought by some that<sup>g</sup> he was bishop or presbyter of Tyre at the beginning of the fourth century, in the year 303, about which time he underwent many sufferings in the persecution begun by Dioclesian, and afterwards died

<sup>c</sup> See Tillem. in St. Lucien d'Antioche. Mem. T. v. P. iii. p. 149, et note (4) p. 406, et Pagi Ann. 283. n. viii. Basnag. Ann. 283. n. ix.

<sup>d</sup> Vid. Cav. in Dorotheo Tyr. Hist. Lit. T. i. p. 163. et Pagi Ann. 283. n. viii. Basn. Ann. 283. n. ix. Tillem. Mem. Ec. T. v. P. ii. p. 9, et note (8) p. 342.

<sup>e</sup> H. E. l. viii. c. 1. p. 292. A. et cap. vi.

<sup>f</sup> Bib. Gr. T. vi. p. 145. in notis. <sup>g</sup> Dorotheus, Tyriorum urbis, ut volunt, episcopus. Presbyterum quidem cum martyrologio Romano faciunt recentiores. Quod non aliunde profluxisse videtur, quam quod hunc cum Dorotheo Antiocheno male confuderunt. Cav. H. L. [ad ann. 303.] T. i. p. 163. a.

a martyr under Julian in the year 363, when he was 107 years of age.

Cave<sup>b</sup> has divers just observations upon this piece and its author: he thinks the Synopsis to be the work of an anonymous author in the sixth century. Frederick Spanheim computed<sup>i</sup> the author to have lived in the same age. Cave was of opinion, that they who called this Dorotheus presbyter, instead of bishop of Tyre, confounded him with Dorotheus presbyter of Antioch. And may I not rather say, (if I too may propose a conjecture,) that possibly this Dorotheus is a mere fictitious person called bishop of the church of Tyre for no other reason but because Dorotheus, of whom we spoke before, is said by Eusebius<sup>k</sup> to have been overseer of the purple dye-house at Tyre?

Tillemont argues, that<sup>l</sup> there could be no bishop of Tyre at the beginning of the fourth century named Dorotheus; if there had he would have been mentioned by Eusebius or Jerom.

Fabricius<sup>m</sup> may be consulted for the editions of this work.

As for the work itself, though it has been too often quoted, it is now generally allowed by learned men to be fabulous, and of little or no value. For preventing such quotations of it for time to come, and that my readers may be the better satisfied about its real character, I shall place divers censures upon it in the margin. One is that<sup>n</sup> of the author of the Collection of the Bibliotheca Patrum Maxima, which I make use of; another is taken<sup>o</sup> out of Bellarmine's book of

<sup>b</sup> 1. Ex hoc fragmento perspicere licet, hunc Dorothei, ut præ se fert, exscriptorem, scripsisse Probo et Philoxeno Coss. hoc est, anno Christi 525.—  
2. Admodum probabile est, hunc anonymum fuisse ipsius Synopsis Dorotheanæ conditorem. Cav. ib. p. 170. <sup>i</sup> Quod vero habet Epiphanius, Hær. li. quæ est Alogorum, et ex eo Pseudo-Dorotheus in Synopsi de lxx. discipulis, seculi minimum vi. scriptor, hinc Nicephorus, et alii, fuisse Marcum unum ex iis qui a Christo adlecti fuerunt, magis dubium, imo falsum. Spanh. De Hist. Evang. Scriptor. cap. 12. Opp. T. ii. p. 275.

<sup>k</sup> —και τιμησαι γε επιτροπη της κατα Τυρον αλαργα βαφης. Eus. H. E. p. 284. C.

<sup>l</sup> Mais il est encore plus difficile de s'imaginer, que s'il y avoit été en ce temps là un Dorothee tel que le peint Théophane, Eusèbe n'en eût rien écrit, ni S. Jérôme même, qui le doit révéler comme un père de l'église, et comme un martyr, &c. Tillem. Not. 8. sur S. Dorothee. ib. p. 342.

<sup>m</sup> Bib. Gr. T. vi. p. 145, 146.

<sup>n</sup> Dorotheus—Extat hic sub ejus nomine Synopsis,—sed plane fabulosa, nullisque apud eruditos auctoritatis. Vid. Ind. Alphabet. in Bib. P. P. Max.

<sup>o</sup> At hujus Dorothei nullam mentionem inveni apud Eusebium, S. Hieron. vel Gennadium, aut etiam Joan. Trithemium, qui scripserunt de viris illustribus. Ipsa vero Synopsis plena est fabulis. Consulat lector quæ iste auctor scripsit in vitâ Isaïæ, Hieremiæ, Elisæi.—Præterea consulat quæ scribit in vitâ Jacobi Alphæi, et Clementis, et in summâ sciat, ab isto numerari inter 72, discipulos Christi omnes, qui ab apostolo Paulo numerantur, etiamsi ethnici fuerint vel

Ecclesiastical Writers; and the third from<sup>p</sup> the Annals of Baronius.

This Synopsis might be compared with some like books ascribed to Hippolytus, of which<sup>q</sup> I spoke formerly, and<sup>r</sup> with some articles in Epiphanius, and with the last chapter of the second book of the Apostolical constitutions, and Cotelerius's notes upon it.

I shall take notice of but very few things in this Synopsis.

Among Christ's seventy disciples the first here named is James, the brother of the Lord: of whom he says, that<sup>s</sup> he was stoned by the Jews, and was buried in the temple at Jerusalem, near the altar.

Here likewise are absurdly numbered among Christ's seventy disciples the seven deacons, and others, mentioned in the Acts, and Clement, and Timothy, and Titus, and almost all others, mentioned by name in St. Paul's epistles.

## CHAP. LVI.

### VICTORINUS, BISHOP OF PETTAW.

I. *His history.* II. *Others of the same name.* III. *His works, and extracts out of a poem against the Marcionites, ascribed to him.* IV. *Testimonies to him.* V. *His opinions.* VI. *His testimony to the scriptures of the Old and New Testament.*

I. VICTORINUS, bishop of Pettaw, or Petaw upon the Drave in Germany, flourished according to<sup>a</sup> Cave about

feminae; et illos omnes non solum discipulos Domini, sed etiam episcopos facere. Non meminissim libri tam fabulosi, nisi vidissem a multis citari, et non minimum fieri. Ex Bellarmino, de Scrip. Ecc. ap. Bib. P. P. Max. T. iii. p. 421. H.

<sup>p</sup> Nomina autem discipulorum, qui a Domino fuerunt electi, dum singula exprimere conati sunt, omnes fere, quorum invenerunt in epistolis Pauli fieri mentionem,—inter discipulos Domini adnumerarunt.—Primus post Hippolytum, (quod invenerimus,) ejus rei auctor fuit Dorotheus, qui falso cognomine Tyri episcopus inscribitur,—Hic inquam Dorotheus Cæsarem quemdam unum fuisse dicit ex discipulis Domini, &c. Baron. Ann. 33. n. 40.

<sup>q</sup> Vol. ii. ch. xxxv.

<sup>r</sup> Vid. Epiph. H. 20. n. iv. et H. 51. n.

vi. p. 428.

<sup>s</sup> Jacobus, frater Domini secundum carnem, qui et Justus vocatur, et primus Hierosolymorum episcopus constitutus est. Lapidibus ibi a Judæis, adobrutus occubuit, atque in templo prope altare sepultus est. ap. B. P. P. ib. p. 427. G.

<sup>a</sup> Cav. H. L. T. i.

the year 290; according to<sup>b</sup> Sixtus Senensis about the year 270. He had the honour to die a martyr for Christ under the persecution of Dioclesian; and, as is<sup>c</sup> supposed, in the year 303.

St. Jerom's account of him in his book of *Illustrious Men* is to this purpose: 'Victorinus,<sup>d</sup> bishop of Pettaw, understood Greek better than Latin: hence his works are excellent for the sense, but mean as to the style. They are such as these: Commentaries upon Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Isaiah, Ezekiel, Habacuc, Ecclesiastes, the Song of Songs, and the Revelation of John, Against all Heresies, and many other works. At last he was crowned with martyrdom.'

Cave<sup>e</sup> thinks that Victorinus was a Greek by birth, or else born in the confines of Greece. I suppose that learned man concludes this from what Jerom says concerning Victorinus's style in this and some other places, which will be taken notice of hereafter. Cave likewise supposeth that Victorinus professed rhetoric, or oratory, before he was a bishop. And so<sup>f</sup> Cassiodorus says more than once.

Tillemont thinks it probable that<sup>g</sup> Cassiodorus confounded our Victorinus with Victorinus of Africa, (of whom we shall speak presently,) because what Jerom says of our bishop's style does not agree to one who had been a professor of rhetoric: but I think that cannot be easily admitted: for Cassiodorus appears<sup>h</sup> to have known both these authors, and speaks of them distinctly. It is not likely therefore

<sup>b</sup> Sixt. Sen. Bib. S. lib. iv. p. 303.

<sup>c</sup> Cav. ib. Vid. et Pagi Ann. 303. ix. Basnag. 303. n. xvi.

<sup>d</sup> Victorinus, Petavionensis episcopus, non æque Latine ut Græce novit. Unde opera ejus grandia sensibus, viliora videntur compositione verborum. Sunt autem hæc: Commentarii in Genesim, in Exodum, in Leviticum, in Isaïam, in Ezechiel, in Abacuc, in Ecclesiasten, in Cantica Canticorum, in Apocalipsin Johannis, Adversum omnes Hæreses, et multa alia. Ad extremum martyrio coronatus est. De V. I. cap. 74.

<sup>e</sup> —si non origine Græcus, in Græciæ saltem confinio natus videtur, ex oratore episcopus, ut non uno loco nos docet Cassiodorus. Cav. ib.

<sup>f</sup> De quo libro [Ecclesiaste] et Victorinus, de oratore episcopus, nonnulla disseruit. Cassiod. Inst. Div. Lit. c. 5. T. ii. p. 512. De quo [Matthæo] et Victorinus, de oratore episcopus, nonnulla disseruit. Ib. c. 7. p. 513.

<sup>g</sup> See Saint Victorin de Pettaw, in Tillem. Mem. T. v. P. ii. p. 215.

<sup>h</sup> What Cassiodorus writes of our Victorinus may be seen before at note <sup>f</sup>, or hereafter at <sup>g</sup>, <sup>i</sup>, <sup>k</sup>, under numb. iii. He likewise mentions Victorinus the rhetorician several times. Quorum Commenta a Mario Victorino composita, in Bibliothecâ meâ vobis reliquisse cognoscor. Cass. de Rhetoricâ. T. ii. p. 535. b. in. Præterea secundum Victorinum Enthymematis altera est definitio. ib. p. 536. m. Modum autem hypotheticorum syllogismorum si quis plenius nôsse desiderat, legat librum Marii Victorini, qui inscribitur de Syllogismis Hypotheticis. Id. de Dialecticâ, p. 539. Conf. ejusdem Chron. T. i. p. 365. infr. m.

that he should confound their characters. And, notwithstanding what Jerom says, Victorinus might be a man of good learning, and able to write elegantly in Greek, as he himself seems to allow. Victorinus's disadvantage, therefore, probably was this: that whilst he was well skilled in Greek, he wrote chiefly in the Latin tongue, which was in use in the country where he lived, though he was not completely master of the propriety and elegance of that language. I might add, that<sup>i</sup> the style of Victorinus the African is not admired, though he gained so much reputation in his professorship.

We must content ourselves with this short history of our Victorinus, unless some more particulars should offer themselves to us when we come to observe his works, and the testimonies given to him.

II. But it is fit that we first take notice of some other ancient writers of this name.

Our Victorinus had been long supposed bishop of Poitiers in France, until John Launoy<sup>k</sup> in the last century published his Dissertation concerning him: and he was so fortunate as to prove his point, and satisfy the learned in general, that Victorinus, bishop and martyr, of whom Jerom speaks in the forecited chapter of his Catalogue, and often elsewhere, ought not to be numbered among Gallican bishops, but was bishop of Petabion, or Petabium, in upper Pannonia: or, according to the modern division of that country, of Pettaw, in the dukedom of Stiria and circle of Austria.

At the end of that Dissertation, Launoy added an appendix concerning five illustrious persons of this name; that is, four beside our bishop.

The first of which is Victorinus, who<sup>l</sup> wrote in defence of Praxeas, and is mentioned by Tertullian.

The second is our Victorinus, bishop and martyr.

The third is Victorinus, an African, who, after he had long taught rhetoric at Rome with great applause, embraced the christian religion: he is mentioned by<sup>m</sup> Augustine,<sup>n</sup> Jerom,

<sup>i</sup> Stylus Victorino parum felix, præsertim in dogmaticis perplexus et ingratus, et qui vix ulla adeo decantatæ eloquentiæ vestigia retinet. Cav. H. L. in Fab. M. Victorino.—Scripsit adversus Arium libros more dialectico valde obscuros. Hieron. De V. I. cap. 101.

<sup>k</sup> Joann. Launoyi Constantiensis. Paris. Theologi, de Victorino Episc. et Mart. Dissertatio. Ed. Secund. Paris. 1664. <sup>l</sup> Sed post hos omnes etiam Praxeas quidam hæresim introduxit, quam Victorinus corroborare curavit. Tertull. de Pr. Hær. cap. 53. p. 255. A. <sup>m</sup> Confess. l. viii. cap. 2.

<sup>n</sup> Victorinus, natione Afer, Romæ sub Constantio principe rhetoricam docuit, et in extremâ senectute, Christi se tradens fidei, scripsit.—Hier. de V. I. cap. 101. Vid. ejusd. Procem. in Ep. ap. Gal. Vid. et adv. Ruf. l. i. T. iv. p. 367. in.

and °Cassiodorus. According to <sup>p</sup>Cave, he flourished about the year 362, and died in 370, or soon after.

The fourth is <sup>q</sup>Victorinus of Marseilles, likewise professor of rhetoric. He flourished <sup>r</sup>about 434.

The fifth is Victorinus Lampadius, of Antioch, who published a piece entitled Consular and Imperial Orations, mentioned by <sup>s</sup>Photius.

There is another author sometimes <sup>t</sup>called Victorinus; but it is now <sup>u</sup>generally thought that his name is more properly Victorius of Aquitain. He flourished about <sup>v</sup>457.

Beside these, it is supposed that there were many others of the same name, who bore a glorious testimony to Christ in times of persecution: but it is by no means necessary that I should give any particular account of them at present.

III. We saw just now, in Jerom, a catalogue of this writer's works. Trithemius <sup>w</sup>makes no additions: he only names the same pieces in a little different order. We must now take some farther notice of them.

1. The first work of our author, mentioned by Jerom in his Catalogue of ecclesiastical Writers, is a Commentary upon Genesis. In <sup>x</sup>another place Jerom quotes Victorinus as having commented upon the history of Isaac's blessing of Jacob, which is recorded in Genesis, ch. xxvii. The fragment concerning the creation of the world, published <sup>y</sup>by Cave from the library of the archbishop of Canterbury at Lambeth, may be a part of this Commentary.

2. Of the Commentaries upon Exodus, Leviticus, Ezekiel, Habacuc, the Canticles, we have nothing remaining: nor is there any farther notice taken of them, except in such catalogues of his works as have been already mentioned.

3. The Commentary upon Isaiah is again mentioned by Jerom <sup>z</sup>in the preface to his own exposition of that book:

° See before, note <sup>h</sup>. <sup>p</sup> H. L. <sup>q</sup> Victorinus rhetor Massiliensis, &c. Gennad. de V. I. cap. 60. Conf. Sidon. Ep. l. v. Ep. 21.

<sup>r</sup> Cav. ubi supra.

<sup>s</sup> Cod. ci. p. 276.

<sup>t</sup> Vid. Gennad. de V. I. cap. 88.

<sup>u</sup> Vid. Laun. ut supra, p. 44.

et 45.

<sup>v</sup> Cav. ib.

<sup>w</sup> Vid. Trithem. cap. 46.

<sup>x</sup> Quoniam autem polliciti sumus, et de eo quid significaret in figurâ adjungere, Hippolyti martyris verba ponamus, a quo et Victorinus noster non plurimum discrepat: non quod omnia plenius executus sit, sed quod possit occasionem præbere lectori ad intelligentiam latiore. Hieron. ad Dam. Qu. 3. p. 569. in. T. ii. Bened. al. Ep. 125.

<sup>y</sup> Exstat quidem penes me Victorini tractatus—de Fabricâ Mundi.—Videtur esse hic libellus *προσματιον* quoddam, ex Commentariis vel in Genesin vel in Apocalypsin, decerptum: quod proinde, tum propter venerandam antiquitatem, tum propter celeberrimi martyris famam, hic subjungam. Cav. Hist. Lit. in Victorin. T. i. p. 147, 148.

<sup>z</sup> Magnique laboris et operis est, omnem Isaïæ librum velle edissere, in quo majorum nostrorum ingenia sudaverunt, Græcorum dico. Cæterum apud

he speaks there of Victorinus as the only Latin who had written upon that prophet; or, at least, who had explained any large part of him, whilst several Greek writers had bestowed a great deal of labour that way. In<sup>a</sup> another place he mentions a mystical explication, which Victorinus gives of a passage in Isaiah, ch. vi. 2.

4. In his Commentary upon the book of Ecclesiastes, Jerom observes Victorinus's<sup>b</sup> explication of Ecc. iv. 13, in which he agrees with Origen. I have put part of Jerom's passage in the margin, as of some use to show our author's manner in his Commentaries: and I would likewise refer my readers to what there follows. This Commentary upon Ecclesiastes is expressly mentioned by<sup>c</sup> Cassiodorus: it seems by him that Victorinus had explained some parts or passages only of this book.

5. In his Catalogue, Jerom says nothing of Victorinus's having written upon St. Matthew: but, in the preface to his own Commentary upon that evangelist, he mentions<sup>d</sup> Victorinus with other Latin commentators. Cassiodorus too mentions<sup>e</sup> Victorinus's explication of that gospel. The expressions used both by Jerom and Cassiodorus seem to imply, that Victorinus's performance was no large work; but contained either short notes upon the whole, or else explications of some passages only.

6. The Commentary upon the Revelation is also mentioned by Cassiodorus as well as Jerom. Says Cassiodorus: 'Victorinus,<sup>f</sup> the bishop, already mentioned by us more than once, explained briefly the most difficult places in this book.'

There is still extant<sup>g</sup> a Commentary upon the Revelation,

Latinos grande silentium est, præter sanctæ memoriæ martyrum Victorinum, qui cum apostolo dicere poterat: Etsi imperitus sermone, non tamen scientiâ. Hier. Pr. in Is. p. 3.

<sup>a</sup> 'Sex alæ uni, et sex alæ alteri,' Victorinus noster duodecim apostolos interpretatus est. Hieron. ad Dam. T. iii. p. 518. Bened. al. Ep. 142.

<sup>b</sup> Origenes et Victorinus non multum inter se diversa senserunt. Post generalem illam sententiam, quæ omnibus patet, quod melior sit adolescentulus pauper et sapiens, quam rex senex et insipiens; et, quod frequenter evenit, ut ille per sapientiam suam de carcere regis egrediens, imperet pro dominatore perverso; et rex insipiens perdat imperium, quod tenebat; super Christo et diabolo hunc locum interpretati sunt, quod puerum pauperem et sapientem, Christum velint, &c. Hier. in Ecc. T. ii. p. 741. fin.

<sup>c</sup> De quo libro [Ecclesiaste] et Victorinus—nonnulla disseruit. Instr. Div. Lit. cap. 5.

<sup>d</sup> Legisse me fateor—et Latinorum, Hilarii, Victorini, Fortunatiani opuscula. Hier. P. in Matth. p. 3. f.

<sup>e</sup> De quo [Matthæo] et Victorinus, ex oratore episcopus, nonnulla disseruit. Cassiod. ib. c. vii.

<sup>f</sup> De quo libro [Apocalypsi] et Victorinus, sæpe dictus episcopus, difficillima quædam loca breviter tractavit. Id. ib. c. ix.

<sup>g</sup> Ap. Bib. P. P. T. iii. p. 414. &c.

which is ascribed to Victorinus; but its genuineness is not unquestioned. Cave<sup>h</sup> says, 'it either is not his, or has been greatly interpolated: for Jerom informs us, that Victorinus held the millenarian opinion, which the author of this work dislikes.' Basnage<sup>i</sup> rejected this Commentary. Lampe<sup>k</sup> thought the more probable opinion to be that it is not his. Du Pin, after having observed the arguments for and against the genuineness of this work, concludes: 'We<sup>l</sup> cannot therefore be positive that this Commentary is not a work of Victorinus: on the contrary, there is some probability that it is his.'<sup>m</sup> Tillemont has<sup>n</sup> treated this question modestly and carefully, as usual. He owns that<sup>o</sup> there are some reasons to doubt of it: but it seems that there are yet more to believe it a genuine remain of the many works of this holy martyr; only it must be allowed that what he had written in favour of the millenarian opinion has been altered: and he<sup>o</sup> offers some reasons for thinking that what is now found in this Commentary upon that point is an interpolation, or addition. That passage is at the end of the piece, and it appears to be of a different style from the rest of the work. Moreover<sup>q</sup> there is some reason to suspect that alterations have been made in divers ancient writers who held that opinion: and what may more especially increase the suspicion here, is, that in this very Commentary there still seem to be some traces of that sentiment; where<sup>r</sup> it is said that all the saints shall be assembled together in Judea to worship Christ. Whether it be Victorinus's or not, it is supposed to have in it divers marks of antiquity. Tillemont<sup>s</sup> understands the author to speak of the senate of Rome, as still employing its name and authority for persecuting the church. What he says of Nero, that<sup>t</sup> he is to be raised up to be antichrist,

<sup>h</sup> Cav. ubi supr.

<sup>i</sup> A Victorino tamen abjudicandum esse existimamus. Basnag. Ann. 303. n. xvi.

<sup>k</sup> Quod eo minus congruum, cum librum hunc falso adscribi Victorino Pictaviensi, seu, ut aliis potius videtur, Petabionensi, qui sub fine seculi tertii floruit, valde sit probabile. Lampe, Proleg. in Joan. l. i. c. 4. n. xii. p. 66.

<sup>l</sup> Du Pin, Bib. des Aut. Ec. T. i. p. 194.

<sup>m</sup> Au contraire il y a quelque apparence qu'il est de lui. *ibid.*

<sup>n</sup> See St. Victorin de Pettau, Mem. Ec. T. v. P. ii. p. 218, et note 2.

<sup>o</sup> *Ib.* p. 218.

<sup>p</sup> *Ib.* note ii. p. 444, et 445.

<sup>q</sup> See Les Millenaires in Mem. Ec. T. ii. P. ii. p. 251.

<sup>r</sup> —in Judæâ, ubi omnes sancti conventuri sunt, et Dominum suum adoraturi. Victorin. ap. Bib. Patr. T. iii. p. 415. D.

<sup>s</sup> Et vidi, inquit, mulierem ebriam de sanguine sanctorum, decreto senatûs illius consummatæ nequitiae, et omnem contra fidei prædicationem etiam latam indulgentiam ipse dedit decretum in universis gentibus. *Id. ib.* p. 420. H.

<sup>t</sup> Unum autem de capitibus occisum in morte, et plaga mortis ejus curata est, Neronem dicit. Constat enim, dum insequeretur eum equitatus missus a

is a more common notion of the first than of the latter ages. The author,<sup>u</sup> reckoning up the epistles of Paul, says nothing of the epistle to the Hebrews: and in the time of our bishop it was common in the West not to consider that as an epistle of St. Paul. It may be also observed that<sup>v</sup> speaking of the prophet who is to come with Elias, he says nothing of Enoch; but informs us that some suppose him to be Moses, others Elisha; as for the author himself, he thinks it must be Jeremiah, whose death is not related in the scriptures: these may be reckoned marks of antiquity: and the style of the work answers very well to the character which Jerom gives of Victorinus's, as low and mean. So Tillemont: who nevertheless says, the<sup>w</sup> safest way is not to be positive who is the author; and I assent to him. Though therefore I intend to make extracts out of this work, I desire it may be remembered that I do not quote it as certainly, but only probably, Victorinus's. I am willing to allow that in some places it has been interpolated and altered; but I am inclined to think it genuine in the main.

To this Commentary, as we now have it, is usually prefixed<sup>a</sup> a prologue ascribed to St. Jerom: but there is so little reason to think it is, that no one, so far as I know, believes it to be authentic.

7. Beside these Commentaries Jerom says that Victorinus wrote against all heresies. This book,<sup>y</sup> or these books, if there were several, seem to be referred to by Optatus in Africa, who flourished not long before the year 370.

8. Jerom concludes in this manner: Victorinus wrote many other things. But we have no certain knowledge of any more than those named by him.

9. Cave<sup>z</sup> mentions two poems which have been published as his; but he thinks altogether without ground.

10. Tillemont says, 'that<sup>a</sup> many manuscripts ascribe to

senatu, ipsum sibi gulam succidisse. Hunc ergo suscitatum Deus mittet regem dignum dignis, et Christum qualem meruerunt Judæi. *ib.* p. 420. D.

<sup>u</sup> *Id.* *ib.* p. 415. E.

<sup>v</sup> Multi putant eum Eliam esse, aut

Elizæum, aut Mōysen. Sed utrique mortui sunt. Hieremiæ autem mors non invenitur, quia omnes veteres nostri tradiderunt illum esse Hieremiam. p. 418.

D. <sup>w</sup> Ubi *supr.* p. 446.

<sup>x</sup> *Ap. Bib. P. P.* *ib.* p. 414.

<sup>y</sup> Marcion, Praxeas, Sabellius, Valentinus, et cæteri, usque ad Cataphrygas, temporibus suis a Victorino Petavionensi, et Zephyrino Urbico, et a Tertulliano Carthaginensi, et ab aliis adsertoribus ecclesiæ catholicæ superati sunt. *Optat. l. i. cap. 9.*

<sup>z</sup> Tribuuntur autem ei carmina duo, quæ habentur in sacrorum poetarum collectione Fabricianâ. De Jesu Christo Deo et Homine, unum. Alteri titulus est, Lignum Vitæ. Sed conjectura plane incerta, et, ut mihi videtur, falsa. *Cav. in Victor. H. L. T. i. p. 147. Oxon.*

<sup>a</sup> *Mem. E. T. v. P. ii.*

p. 218, 219. S. Victorin.

‘ St. Victorinus of Pettaw a hymn upon the cross, or upon Easter, or Baptism ; which<sup>b</sup> is among St. Cyprian’s works. It has been observed that<sup>c</sup> Bede cites it as Victorinus’s. It is a fine poem, and perhaps too fine for him. We thence perceive that many persons pretended to embrace the christian religion, who did not persevere until baptism.’ This is but a short poem ; I do not intend to quote any thing out of it.

11. Tillemont adds, ‘ that<sup>d</sup> the poem against the Marcionites among the works of Tertullian, may be ascribed to Victorinus : and this piece answers well enough to what Jerom says of Victorinus’s small skill in the Latin tongue.’ This piece is of some considerable length.

Indeed what Jerom says of our author might dispose us not to expect from him any Latin poetry : however, Bede has actually quoted some verses as his. And since it is allowed that Victorinus did once teach rhetoric, possibly he might think fit sometimes to exercise his pen in verse as well as prose : but when he writes Latin verse, we are not to expect that his style should appear very beautiful.

This poem is joined with Tertullian’s works, but fully shown, by<sup>e</sup> Rigaltius in his preface to it, not to be his : it stands there<sup>f</sup> with this title, Five Books of an uncertain Author against Marcion. Pearson<sup>g</sup> quotes it as a piece whose age is unknown ; but yet, as it seems, not reckoning it to have been written till after the middle of the fifth century. From<sup>h</sup> Cave we understand that Allix supposed this work was not published till after the time of Jerom. Bull<sup>i</sup> asserted it to be a genuine work of Tertullian ; which induced Tillemont to say, ‘ that<sup>k</sup> by many instances it may be shown, a critical skill in authors was not Bull’s talent.’

I certainly do not think that this poem was written by Tertullian ; nor do I perceive that we have sufficient evidence to ascribe it to our Victorinus : but as it is of some

<sup>b</sup> De Cruce Domini, p. 4. App. Cypr. Oxon. 1682.

<sup>c</sup> Quà ductus opinione Victorinus Pictaviensis, antistes ecclesiæ, de Golgotha scribens, ita inchoat, &c. Bed. de Locis sanct. c. 2. p. 317. Cantabr. 1722.

<sup>d</sup> Tillem. ib. p. 219.

<sup>e</sup> Apud Tertullian. p. 796. Paris, 1634.

<sup>f</sup> Incerti auctoris adversus Marcionem Libri quinque. Ib. p. 797.

<sup>g</sup> Primus inter Latinos qui Pium suo loco posuit, erat Prosper in Chronico a Labbeo edito. Quem secutus est Catalogus tertius Pseudo-Tertullianus, cujus ætas ignota est, lib. iii. Pears. Opp. Post. p. 266, 267.

<sup>h</sup> Doctissimus Allix libros adversus Marcionem post Hieronymi ævum natos arbitratur. Cav. in Tertulliano, Hist. L. T. i. p. 93. f.

<sup>i</sup> Def. Fid. Nic. Sect. iii. cap. 10. n. xix. p. 217.

<sup>k</sup> On pourroit montrer par divers exemples, que la critique des ouvrages n’est pas le fort de Bullus. Mem. Ec. T. iii. P. i. p. 564.

considerable length, and I do not now think of a better place for it, I shall here make some extracts, and take notice of several things in it.

1. This writer has a catalogue of the early<sup>1</sup> bishops of Rome, among whom is Clement; who, he says, was acquainted with the apostles, or apostolical men.

2. He mentions<sup>m</sup> Hermas, author of the Shepherd, whom he placeth in the time of pope Pius.

3. He takes notice of divers ancient<sup>n</sup> heretics.

4. Speaking of Isaiah and Jeremiah, he says that<sup>o</sup> the former was sawn asunder, and that the latter never died.

5. His canon of the Old Testament<sup>p</sup> seems to have been much the same with that of the Jews and protestants.

6. He often speaks<sup>q</sup> of the Old and New Testament, and of their entire agreement together; and that the law and the prophets and the apostles of Christ say one and the same thing.

<sup>1</sup> Maxima Roma Linum primum considerare jussit:  
Post quem Cletus et ipse gregem suscepit ovilis  
Hujus Anacletus successor sorte locatus;  
Quem sequitur Clemens: is apostolicis bene notus. Adv. Marcion <sup>1</sup>  
iii. p. 803. ap. Tertullian.

<sup>m</sup> Post hunc deinde Pius, Hermas cui germine frater,  
Angelicus pastor, quia tradita verba locutus. ib. p. 803.

<sup>n</sup> Hæc vobis per Marcionem, Cerdone magistro.

— — — — —  
Namque Valentino Deus est insanus.

— — — — —  
Tantos esse deos Basilidem credere jussit,  
Quantos et dies annus habet.

Marcus per numeros argumentatus acute. l. i. p. 798.

Advenit Romam Cerdo—l. iii. p. 803.

Sub quo [Aniceto] Marcion hic veniens, nova Pontica pestis. ibid.

<sup>o</sup> Isaïas, locuples vates, —

— — — — —  
Quem populus sectum ligno, sine labe repertum,  
Immeritum, demens crudeli morte peremit.  
Sanctus Hieremias, quem gentibus esse prophetam  
Æterna virtus jussit —

— — — — —  
Nullâ morte virum constat, neque cæde peremtum. l. ii. p. 802.

<sup>p</sup> Osea, Amos, et Michæas, Joel, Abdia, Jonas,  
Atque Naum, Abacuc, Sophonias, Aggæusque,  
Zacharias vim passus, et angelus ipse Malachim, &c. ib. et p. 803. in.

<sup>q</sup> Adversum sese duo Testamenta sonare,  
Contra prophetarum Domini committere verba. l. ii. in. p. 799.  
Sic igitur lex, et miri cecinere prophetæ

— — — — —  
Sic et apostolicæ voces testantur ubique.

Nec quidquam veteris non est novo denique junctum. l. iv. p. 804. a. f.

7. He distinctly mentions the four<sup>r</sup> evangelists, Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John.

8. He speaks of the sages that<sup>s</sup> came to Jerusalem after our Saviour's birth; and of the star that conducted them, as recorded in Matt. ii; and he seems to have thought that they were priests.

9. He<sup>t</sup> speaks of John the baptist, our Lord's forerunner, and calls him apostle.

10. He<sup>u</sup> enumerates many of our Lord's miracles. I omit other references to the gospels, for the sake of brevity.

11. This author in his poem expressly, and by name, quotes several of St. Paul's epistles, and plainly refers to divers others.

12. He also often<sup>v</sup> refers to the epistle to the Hebrews; and probably esteemed it an epistle of St. Paul.

13. He likewise<sup>w</sup> frequently quotes the book of the Revelation, and calls it John's, and John's the disciple or apostle of Christ.

14. I need not take any thing more from this unknown author of the five books against Marcion: from what has been transcribed, it may be reckoned undoubted that he

<sup>r</sup> Cujus facta, simul dicta conjuncta, fideles  
Illi, Matthæus, Marcus, Lucasque, Joannes,  
Conscripsere, mera, non extera verba locuti,  
Spiritu sancta Dei, tanto præsentem magistro. l. ii. p. 799. b.

<sup>s</sup> Templâ sacerdotes linqunt, stellæ quoque ductu  
Mirantur Dominum, tantum se cernere partum. l. i. p. 797. a.

<sup>t</sup> Quem visum Joannes baptismi primus apertor,  
Et vatum socius, necnon et apostolus ingens, &c. l. ii. p. 800. a. in.

<sup>u</sup> In vinum vertuntur aquæ, memorabile visu.  
Lumina redduntur cæcis, jussuque trementes  
Dæmones expulsi clamant, Christumque fatentur.  
Omnia sanantur verbo jam tabida membra.  
Jam graditur claudus, surdus spem protinus audit.  
Dat dextram mancus, loquitur magnalia mutus.  
Fit mare tranquillum jussu, ventique quiescunt. l. i. p. 797. b.

<sup>v</sup> Sanguine nam vituli populum, simul omnia vasa,  
Atque sacerdotes, et scripta volumina legis  
Sparsit aquâ mixto. — l. i. p. 804. a. Conf. Hebr. ix. 19.  
Hoc Dominus noster, qui nos suâ morte redemit,  
Extra castra, volens, populi vim passus iniqui. ib. Conf. Hebr. xiii. 12.  
et passim.

<sup>w</sup> Fœderis hinc etiam novi inenarrabilis auctor  
Discipulus Joannes animas pro nomine passas  
Testatur tali sese vidisse sub arâ,  
Clamantes Dei vindictam pro cæde potentis. l. iv. p. 804. b. Conf.  
Apoc. cap. vi. 9.

Sic quoque Joannes, sic pandit Spiritus illi,  
Tot numero solio senioribus insuper albis. ib. p. 805. a. Conf. Apoc.  
cap. iv. 4.

received all the books of the New Testament, generally received by christians, and esteemed by them of authority: nor does there appear any sign of his receiving any other christian writings in that manner.

IV. We return to Victorinus himself; to whom I intend to produce some more testimonies chiefly taken from Jerom: my readers will not be displeased to see them, as they will help them to some knowledge of this good man's character; which otherwise we could never be acquainted with, since the loss of the greatest part of his works.

We saw in the passage transcribed from Jerom's Catalogue, at the beginning of this chapter he said that 'Victorinus understood Greek better than Latin; and that his works, though valuable for the sense, were mean as to the style.' In another place he says, 'that <sup>x</sup>Victorinus, who was crowned with a glorious martyrdom, was not able to express his thoughts.' In that place Jerom passeth his judgment upon several other Latin writers of the church; such as Tertullian, Cyprian, Lactantius, Arnobius, and Hilary. In his letter to Magnus he says, 'that <sup>y</sup> though the writings of the martyr Victorinus are not learned, they show a good will to learning.' In another <sup>z</sup> place he calls Victorinus a martyr of blessed memory, who could say with the apostle: "though I be rude in speech, yet not in knowledge:" 2 Cor. xi. 6. He also informs us that <sup>a</sup> Victorinus, as well as many others, made great use of Origen's Commentaries upon the scriptures: he speaks of <sup>b</sup> this again; at the same time giving Victorinus the character of a man of renowned integrity. Once more, Victorinus <sup>c</sup> is mentioned with divers others, who are represented as very eminent persons, or pillars of the

<sup>x</sup> Inclyto Victorinus martyrio coronatus, quod intelligit, eloqui non potest. Ad Paulin. Ep. 49. [al. 13.] T. iv. P. iii p. 567. m.

<sup>y</sup> Victorino martyri in libris suis licet desit eruditio, tamen non deest eruditio voluntas. Ep. 83. [al. 84.] ib. p. 656. f.

<sup>z</sup> Cæterum apud Latinos grande silentium est, præter sanctæ memoriæ martyrem Victorinum, qui cum apostolo dicere poterat: Etsi imperitus sermone, non tamen scientiâ. In Is. Pr. p. 3. f. <sup>a</sup> Taceo de Victorino Pictabionensi, et cæteris, qui Origenem in explanatione duntaxat scripturarum sequuti sunt, et expresserunt. Ad Vigilant. Ep. 36. [al. 75.] p. 279. sub fin.

<sup>b</sup> Nec disertiores sumus Hilario, nec fidiolores Victorino, qui ejus [Origenis] tractatus, non ut interpretes, sed ut auctores proprii operis, transtulerunt. Ad Pam. et Ocean. Ep. 41. [al. 65.] p. 346. in.

<sup>c</sup> Si auctoritatem suo operi præstruebat,—habuit in promptu Hilarium Confessorem,—habuit Ambrosium, cujus pene omnes libri hujus sermonibus pleni sunt: et martyrem Victorinum, qui simplicitatem suam in eo probat, dum nulli molitur insidias. De his omnibus tacet, et, quasi columnis ecclesiæ prætermisissis, me solum pulicem et nihili hominem consecatur. Adv. Ruf. l. i. p. 351.

church : where the martyr Victorinus is again distinguished for his uncommon simplicity.

V. I shall make another short article of this writer's opinions.

1. He was a millenarian ; as Jerom says, in his<sup>d</sup> chapter concerning Papias, and in<sup>e</sup> his Commentary upon Ezekiel.

2. It was formerly observed that<sup>f</sup> the author of the Commentary upon the Revelation supposed that Nero should be raised up from the dead to be antichrist. Since, therefore, this expected antichrist would<sup>g</sup> be the Messiah and king of the Jews, we may conclude that this writer did not suppose the famous antichrist would be an erroneous, or heretical and imperious domineering christian ; but a man of another religion, particularly the Jewish religion. Consequently, since the author likewise<sup>h</sup> understood the man of sin, and son of perdition, in 2 Thess. ii. 3, to be the same as antichrist, he must have supposed the apostle there to speak of a man who is a Jew by religion at least.

Mr. La Roche published in his New Memoirs of Literature,<sup>i</sup> a curious dissertation upon antichrist ; where the author argues that the Jewish people were antichrist ; and largely explains 2 Thess. ii. 1—12. And there are in St. Cyril of Alexandria<sup>k</sup> many passages favouring that supposition.

I shall here insert in the<sup>l</sup> margin, for the sake of inquisi-

<sup>d</sup> Hic dicitur mille annorum Judaicam edidisse δευτερωσιν quam sequuti sunt Irenæus,—et cæteri qui post resurrectionem aiunt in carne cum sanctis Dominum regnaturum. Tertullianus quoque in libro de spe fidelium, et Victorinus Petabionensis, et Lactantius, hac opinione ducuntur. De V. I. cap. 18.

<sup>e</sup> Quod et multi nostrorum, et præcipue Tertulliani liber, qui inscribitur de Spe Fidelium, et Lactantii Institutionum volumen septimum pollicetur, et Victorini Petabionensis episcopi crebræ expositiones. Hier. in Ezech. cap. 36. T. iii. p. 952. in.

<sup>f</sup> See p. 167.

<sup>g</sup> Et bestia, quam vidisti, inquit, de septem est ; quoniam ante istos reges Nero regnavit.—Hunc ergo suscitatum Deus mittet regem dignum dignis, et Christum qualem meruerunt Judæi. Et quoniam aliud nomen allaturus est, aliam etiam vitam institurus, ut sic eum tamquam Christum excipiant Judæi. Denique et sanctos non ad idola colenda revocaturus est, sed ad circumcisionem colendam. Victorin. ap. B. P. P. T. iii. p. 420. D.

<sup>h</sup> Et Paulus contra antichristum ad Thessalonicenses ait : Quem Dominus interficiet spiritu oris sui. Id. ib. p. 415. C.

<sup>i</sup> Vol. iv. p. 176—200.

<sup>k</sup> Vid. Cyril. A. Comm. in Zach. T. iii. p. 769. C. D. p. 770. C. D. p. 773. D. Comm. in Joann. T. iv. p. 262. A. B. Vid. et. T. v. p. 370. E. Et Conf. Dodw. Diss. i. in Iren. n. xiii.

<sup>l</sup> Unde illum quidam deliri credunt esse translatum ac vivum reservatum, Sibyllâ dicente, matricidam profugum a finibus esse venturum, ut, quia primus persecutus est, novissimus persequatur, et antichristi præcedat adventum. Lactant. vel Cæcil. de Mort. Persec. cap. 2. Cæterum ait nobis,—Neronem in Occidentali plagâ regibus subactis decem imperaturum.—Ab antichristo vero Orientale imperium esse capiendum : qui quidem sedem et caput regni Hiero-

tive readers, passages of some other ancient christians beside Victorinus, who speaks of Nero's appearing as antichrist, or his forerunner; for they express themselves differently. The author of the Computation of Easter, of<sup>m</sup> whom I gave an account formerly, did not suppose that<sup>n</sup> antichrist would be a christian.

3. Helvidius<sup>o</sup> alleged Victorinus as favouring his opinion, that Mary had children by Joseph after the birth of Jesus: but Jerom affirms that Victorinus did not understand by the Lord's brethren, mentioned in the gospels, sons of Mary, but in general relations or kindred.

VI. We are now to observe Victorinus's testimony to the scriptures, chiefly to the books of the New Testament: and the two pieces I shall make use of are the Commentary upon the Revelation, and the Fragment published by Cave, between both which there is a remarkable agreement.

1. In the Fragment, discoursing on the fourth day's work, he observes, beside other things, that<sup>p</sup> there are four living creatures before the throne of God, four gospels, four rivers in paradise. St. John's gospel is here quoted in this manner: 'The<sup>q</sup> evangelist John thus speaks. "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God."'

2. In the Commentary upon the Revelation he speaks of the gospels in this manner: 'The<sup>r</sup> four living creatures

solymam esset habiturus; ab illo urbem et templum esse reparandum. Illius eam persecutionem futuram esse, ut Christum Dominum cogat negari, se potius Christum esse confirmans; omnesque secundum legem circumcidi jubeat. Sulpic. Sever. Dial. 2. cap. ult. Vid. et ejusd. Sac. Hist. l. ii. c. 28 et 29. Unde et multi nostrorum putant ob sævitie et turpitudinis magnitudinem Neronem antichristum fore. Hieron. in Dan. xi. 27. Op. T. iii. p. 1129. Con. Aug. de Siv. Dei, l. xx. c. 19. et Comm. Instr. n. xli.

<sup>m</sup> See p. 72, 73.

<sup>n</sup> In quibus diebus ille antichristus magnam faciet vastationem. Et ideo tunc nemo christianorum poterit Deo sacrificium offerre. De Paschâ Comput. ap. Cypr. in App. p. 68. Ed. Oxon.

<sup>o</sup> Sed quoniam—Tertullianum in testimonium vocat, et Victorini Petabionensis episcopi verba proponit: Et de Tertulliano quidem nihil amplius dico, quam ecclesie hominem non fuisse. De Victorino autem id assero, quod et de evangelistis, fratres eum dixisse Domini, non filios Mariæ: fratres autem eo sensu, quem superius exposuimus, propinquitate, non naturâ. Adv. Helvid. T. iv. p. 141.

<sup>q</sup> Ecce quatuor animalia ante thronum Dei, quatuor evangelia, quatuor flumina in paradiso fluentia. Victorin. de Fabricâ Mundi, ap. Cav. H. L. T. i. p. 148. a.

<sup>r</sup> Joannes evangelista sic dicit: In principio erat Verbum, et Verbum erat apud Deum, et Deus erat Verbum, &c. ib. p. 149. a.

<sup>s</sup> Quatuor animalia, quatuor sunt evangelia. Primum, inquit, simile leoni, secundum simile vitulo, tertium simile homini, quartum simile aquilæ volanti. —Animalia igitur quod differentia vultibus sunt, hanc habet rationem. Simile leoni animal, Evangelium secundum Marcum, in quo vox leonis in eremo rugientis auditur: Vox clamantis in deserto, Parate viam Domini. Hominis

(see Rev. iv. 6, 7.] are the four gospels: "The first," says he, "was like a lion, the second was like a calf, the third like a man, and the fourth like a flying eagle." These living creatures have different faces, which have a meaning: for the living creature like a lion denotes Mark, in whom the voice of a lion roaring in the wilderness is heard: "A voice crying in the wilderness, Prepare the way of the Lord." Matthew, who has the resemblance of a man, shows the family of Mary, from whom Christ took flesh; and, while he computes his genealogy from Abraham to David and Joseph, he speaks of him as a man; therefore his preaching is represented by the face of a man. Luke, who relates the priesthood of Zacharias offering sacrifice for the people, and the angel that appeared to him, because of the priesthood and the mention of the sacrifice, has the resemblance of a calf. The evangelist John, like an eagle with stretched-out wings mounting on high, speaks of the Word of God. The evangelist Mark commences thus: "The beginning of the gospel of Jesus Christ, as it is written in Isaiah the prophet; the voice of one crying in the wilderness:" this is the face of a lion. Matthew says: "The book of the generation of Jesus Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham:" this is the face of a man. But Luke says: "There was a priest, named Zacharias, of the course of Abia; and his wife was of the daughters of Aaron:" this is the form of a calf. John begins thus: "In the beginning was the Word, the same was in the beginning with God:" this is the similitude of a flying eagle.

Thus in this passage we have the four evangelists, and the beginnings of their several gospels, or at least what is near the beginning of each of them. This passage, therefore, if it be really Victorinus's, as I see no reason to doubt, is very valuable.

### 3. He speaks of the time and of the occasion of St. John's

autem figurâ Matthæus enititur enuntiare nobis genus Mariæ, unde carnem accepit Christus. Ergo dum enumerat ab Abraham usque ad David, et usque ad Joseph, tamquam de homine locutus est. Ideo prædicatio ejus hominis effigiem ostendit. Lucas sacerdotium Zachariæ offerentis hostiam pro populo, et apparentem sibi angelum dum enarrat, propter sacerdotium, et hostiæ conscriptionem, vituli imaginationem tenet. Joannes evangelista, aquilæ similis, assumptis pennis ad altiora festinans, de verbo Dei disputat. Marcus evangelista sic incipit: Initium evangelii Jesu Christi, sicut scriptum est in Isaiâ prophetâ, Vox clamantis in deserto. Hæc est leonis effigies. Matthæus: Liber generationis Jesu Christi, filii David, filii Abraham. Hæc est facies hominis. Lucas autem dicit: Fuit sacerdos nomine Zacharias, de vice Abia, et mulier ei de filiabus Aaron. Hæc est imago vituli. Joannes sic incipit: in principio erat Verbum, hoc erat in principio apud Deum. Hæc est similitudo aquilæ volantis. Victorin. Comm. in Apoc. ap. Bib. P. P. T. iii. p. 416. F. G. H.

writing his gospel: it was written after he had been confined in Patmos, and to confute and overthrow heresies then sprung up. ‘By<sup>s</sup> the reed like unto a rod, which was given to him, (see Rev. xi. 1,) that he might measure the temple of God and the altar, and them that worship therein, is signified the power, which when set at liberty he exhibited to the churches; for he afterwards wrote his gospel. Valentinus, and Cerinthus, and Ebion, and others of the school of Satan, were spread abroad over the world, all men [or all the churches] from the neighbouring provinces came to him, and earnestly entreated him to put down his testimony in writing.’

4. ‘And<sup>t</sup> we read in the Acts of the Apostles, how, when he was discoursing with his disciples, he was taken up into heaven.’ See Acts i. 9—11. Words of the Acts are<sup>u</sup> elsewhere quoted without naming the book.

5. In the Fragment published by Cave, in his observations upon the seventh day, when God rested from all his labours, among other remarkable instances of that remarkable number, he mentions this: ‘And<sup>v</sup> seven churches in ‘Paul.’ Cave says, ‘Perhaps it should be in the Apo-‘calypse:’ but the author means the seven churches which have epistles sent to them in the collection of St. Paul’s epistles. This will be apparent to all from a passage in the Commentary upon the Revelation; where speaking of the seven churches mentioned in that book, to which likewise John sent epistles, he says: ‘That<sup>w</sup> in the whole world are seven churches; and that those churches called seven are one catholic church, Paul has taught: and that he might keep to it, he did not exceed the number of seven churches;

<sup>s</sup> Novissimam arundinem similem virgæ, ut metiretur Dei templum, et aram, et adorantes in eâ, potestatem dicit, quam dimissus postea exhibuit ecclesiis. Nam et evangelium postea scripsit. Cum essent Valentinus, et Cerinthus, et Ebion, et cæteri scholæ Satanæ diffusi per orbem, convenerunt ad illum de finitimis provinciis omnes, et compulerunt, ut ipse testimonium conscriberet. In Apoc. ib. p. 418. C.

<sup>t</sup> Et nos legimus in Actis Apostolorum, quemadmodum loquens eum discipulis suis, raptus est in celos. ib. p. 419. A.

<sup>u</sup> Sicut Petrus ad Judæos exclamavit: Dexterâ Dei exaltatus acceptum a Patre Spiritum effudit, hunc quem videtis. (Act. ii. 33.) ib. p. 415. D.

<sup>v</sup> Septem caudelabra aurea,—septem mulieres apud Isaïam, septem ecclesie apud Paulum. de Fabr. Mund. ap. Cav. H. L. p. 149. a.

<sup>w</sup> In toto orbe septem ecclesias omnes esse, et septem nominatas unam esse catholicam, Paulus docuit primo: Quod ut servaret ipse, et ipsum septem ecclesiarum non excessit numerum. Sed scripsit ad Romanos, ad Corinthios, ad Galatas, ad Ephesios, ad Philippenses, ad Colossenses, ad Thessalonicenses. Postea singularibus personis scripsit, ne excederet modum septem ecclesiarum. Et in brevi contrahens prædicationem suam, ad Timotheum ait: Ut scias, qualiter debeas conversari in ecclesiâ Dei vivi. In Apoc. p. 415. D. E.

but wrote to the Romans, to the Corinthians, to the Galatians, to the Ephesians, to the Philippians, to the Colossians, to the Thessalonians. Afterwards he wrote to particular persons, that he might not exceed the measure of seven churches: and, contracting his doctrine into a little compass, he says to Timothy: "That thou mayest know how thou oughtest to behave thyself in the church of the living God."

The reader cannot but recollect here what we formerly saw of the like kind in<sup>x</sup> St. Cyprian.

Here we have a very valuable testimony to St. Paul's epistles, like to that which we saw before to the gospels. It may be hence justly concluded that he received thirteen epistles of the apostle Paul; that is, the second, as well as the first, to the Corinthians, and to the<sup>y</sup> Thessalonians, and all his epistles to particular persons; the first and second to Timothy, the epistles to Titus and Philemon.

6. But Victorinus makes no mention of the epistle to the Hebrews: and in what he says of the rest seems entirely to exclude it from the number of St. Paul's epistles. Nevertheless, there are in the Commentary upon the Revelation some passages which seem to contain allusions to this epistle: I think they deserve to be taken notice of.

1. 'For<sup>z</sup> our prayers ascend to heaven. As therefore heaven is denoted by the golden altar, which was the innermost, (for even the priests, who had the anointing, entered only once in the year to the golden altar, the Holy Ghost this signifying, that Christ should do this once for all:) in like manner,' &c. Compare Hebr. ix. 7, 8, 12.

2. Again: 'For<sup>a</sup> Moses himself taking moist wool, and the blood of a calf, and water, sprinkled all the people, saying: This is the blood of the Testament, which God has enjoined unto you.' See Hebr. ix. 19, 20; and compare Exod. xxiv. 8, 9.

I have translated the former part of this passage nearly according to the Latin original; but I suppose that to be

<sup>x</sup> See p. 41. <sup>y</sup> He has more than once quoted the second epistle to the Thessalonians. Et Paulus contra antichristum ad Thessalonicenses ait: Quem Dominus interficiet spiritu oris sui. [2 Thess. ii. 8.] in Apoc. p. 415. C. Et Paulus apostolus contestatur. Ait enim ad Thessalonicenses: Qui nunc tenet, teneat, &c. [2 Thess. ii. 7.] ib. p. 418. F.

<sup>z</sup> Utique ad cœlum ascendunt orationes. Sicut igitur cœlum intelligitur ara aurea, quæ erat interior; (nam et sacerdotes semel in anno introibant, qui habebant chrisma, ad aram auream, significante Spiritu Sancto Christum hoc semel facturum;) sic et—Victor. in Ap. ib. p. 418. B.

<sup>a</sup> Nam et ipse tunc legis de populo, acceptâ lanâ succidâ, [forte coccineâ,] et sanguine vituli, et aquâ, aspersit populum universum, dicens: Hic sanguis testamenti ejus, quod mandavit ad vos. ib. p. 417. E.

corrupted: perhaps it should be scarlet, instead of moist or wet wool: and some other emendations might be thought of.

3. Presently after the author says: ‘No<sup>b</sup> law is called a testament: nor is any thing else called a testament, but what men make who are about to die: and whatever is within a testament is concealed until the day of death.’ See Hebr. ix. 16, 17.

Whether these will be allowed to be allusions to the epistle to the Hebrews; and, if they are, whether they can be sufficient, considering what he said before, to afford an argument that it was of authority with this writer; I cannot say. We proceed.

7. I have not observed in the remains of this author any quotations of the epistle of St. James.

8. Upon those words<sup>c</sup> of Rev. i. 6: ‘“And hath made us kings and priests:” that is,’ says he, ‘the whole church of the faithful, as the apostle Peter says: [Ye are] “a holy nation, a royal priesthood:”’ 1 Pet. ii. 9.

9. I do not perceive any references to the second epistle of St. Peter, nor to any of the epistles of St. John, nor to that of St. Jude.

10. The Fragment in Cave concludes in this manner: ‘These<sup>d</sup> are they, who sit before the throne of God, who in the Revelation of John, the apostle and evangelist, are called elders.’ And in the Commentary upon the Revelation he several times ascribes that book to John. ‘The<sup>e</sup> opened book,’ says he, ‘is the Revelation which John saw.’ Afterwards<sup>f</sup> he calls him apostle: and soon after he informs us when John saw and wrote the Revelation. ‘And<sup>g</sup> he said unto me: “Thou must prophecy again to people, and

<sup>b</sup> Nulla lex testamentum vocatur. Nec testamentum aliud dicitur, nisi quod faciunt morituri. Et quodecumque intrinsecus testamenti est, signatum est, usque ad diem mortis. *ib.* p. 417. E. F.

<sup>c</sup> Et fecit nos regnum et sacerdotes; id est, omnem fidelium ecclesiam, sicut Petrus apostolus dicit: Gens sancta, regale sacerdotium. *ibid.* p. 414. H.

<sup>d</sup> —quos in Apocalypsi Joannis apostoli et evangelistæ seniores vocat. *Ap. Cav. H. Lit. T. i. p. 149.*

<sup>e</sup> Liber apertus Apocalypsis est, quam Joannes vidit. *Ubi supra, p. 419. E.*

<sup>f</sup> Sed quia dicit, se scripturum fuisse Joannes quanta locuta fuissent tonitrua, id est, quæcumque in veteri testamento erant obscura et prædicata, vetatur scribere, sed relinquere ea signata, quia erat apostolus, nec oportebat gratiam sequentis gradus in primo collocari. *ib. F.*

<sup>g</sup> —Hoc est, quoniam quando hoc vidit Joannes, erat in insulâ Pathmo, in metallum damnatus a Domitiano Cæsare. Ibi ergo vidit apocalypsin. Et cum senior jam putaret se per passionem accepturum receptionem, interfecto Domitiano, omnia judicia ejus soluta sunt, et Joannes de metallo dimissus. Sic postea tradidit hanc eandem, quam acceperat a Domino, apocalypsin. Hoc est, Oportet te iterum prophetare. *ib. G.*

tongues, and nations:" (Rev. x. 11.) that is, because when John saw this he was in the isle of Patmos, having been condemned to the mines by the emperor Domitian: there he saw the Revelation. And when, being now old, he expected to be received up [to heaven] through his sufferings, Domitian was killed, and all his acts disannulled, and John was set at liberty from the mines. Then afterwards he wrote the same Revelation, which he had received from the Lord. This is the meaning of those words: "Thou must prophesy again,"' In another place he says: 'When<sup>h</sup> the scripture of the Revelation was published, Domitian was emperor.'

11. We have already seen some forms of citation: a particular or two may be added. 'The<sup>i</sup> other three horses,' says he, 'signify the wars, famines, and pestilences, more plainly spoken of by the Lord in the gospel.' 'For<sup>k</sup> the Lord says: "This gospel shall be preached in all the world, for a witness unto the nations, and then shall the end come:"' Matt. xxiv. 14. Presently afterwards: 'As<sup>l</sup> we read in the gospel: "Nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom:"' ver. 7. 'And<sup>m</sup> so the Lord says in his gospel: "Then let them which are in Judea flee to the mountains:"' ver. 16. And in like manner often. 'And<sup>n</sup> the Jews saying, "Forty and six years has this temple been building,"' the evangelist says: "He spake of the temple of his body," John ii. 20, 21. Having quoted Matt. xiii. 52, "Therefore every scribe instructed to the kingdom of God is like unto a householder, which bringeth forth out of his treasure things new and old," he says: 'The<sup>o</sup> new things are the words of the gospel: the old those of the law and the prophets.' By "the words of the gospel," or evangelic words, meaning, as it seems, the whole New Testament. After his long account of the four gospels, and their symbolical representations before transcribed, he observes: 'All<sup>p</sup> these, though four, are one, because they proceed from one mouth.' Explaining some words in the Revelation, he

<sup>h</sup> Intelligi oportet tempus, quo scriptura Apocalypsis edita est, quoniam tunc erat Cæsar Domitianus—unus exstat, sub quo scribitur Apocalypsis, Domitianus scilicet. p. 420. C. <sup>i</sup> Cæteri tres equi, bella, fames, pestes in evangelio a Domino prædicata manifestius significant. p. 417. H.

<sup>k</sup> Ait enim Dominus: Prædicabitur, &c. ib. H.

<sup>l</sup> Ut legimus in evangelio: Surget enim gens, &c. ib.

<sup>m</sup> Sic et Dominus in evangelio ait: Tunc qui in Judæâ sunt, &c. p. 419. H.

<sup>n</sup> Evangelista inquit: Ille dicebat de templo corporis sui. p. 418. G.

<sup>o</sup> Nova evangelica verba: vetera legis et prophetarum. ib. p. 415. B.

<sup>p</sup> Hæ prædicationes, quamvis quatuor sunt, una est tamen, quia de uno ore processit. p. 416. A.

says: ‘They<sup>q</sup> confute those who say that one spake in the prophets, and another in the gospel.’ Again, ‘The<sup>r</sup> doctrine of the Old Testament is connected with the New.’ He<sup>s</sup> often speaks of the Old and New Testament.

12. We have seen then in Victorinus very valuable testimonies to the four gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, thirteen of St. Paul’s epistles, and some expressions which may be thought allusive to the epistle to the Hebrews, as also a plain quotation of the first epistle of St. Peter, beside his express testimony to the author of the book of the Revelation, and his Commentary upon it. And there might be other books received by him, as of authority, though not expressly mentioned in his few remaining works. Unquestionably he received all those scriptures of the New Testament, which were generally received by christians in all times, and all over the world. We have also observed him to speak distinctly of a collection of sacred writings, called the Gospel, and the New Testament. Finally, we should not forget here the evidences we saw at the beginning of this chapter of Victorinus’s writing Commentaries upon several books of the Old Testament, and some of the New; proofs of his application and industry, and of his unfeigned affection and ardent zeal for the holy scriptures, and for the christian religion: which he recommended not only by the labours of his life, but also by the patience and fortitude of a violent, but willing, death for its sake.

<sup>q</sup> Arguit qui alium in prophetis, alium in evangelio dicunt esse locutum. p. 416. D.

<sup>r</sup> Conjuncta veteris testamenti prædicatio cum novo. p. 417. F.

<sup>s</sup> Sic nec prædicatio novi testamenti fidem habet, nisi habeat veteris testamenti prænuntiata testimonia. p. 417. A.

## CHAP. LVII.

## METHODIUS, BISHOP OF OLYMPUS IN LYCIA.

- I. *His history.* II. *His works.* III. *Testimonies to him.* IV. *Select passages of Methodius.* V. *His testimony to the books of the New Testament: and first, of the four gospels: VI. Of the Acts of the Apostles: VII. Of St. Paul's epistles: VIII. Of the epistle to the Hebrews. IX. Of the catholic epistles: X. Of the Revelation. XI. Forms of quoting, general divisions, and respect for the scriptures. XII. Texts explained. XIII. The sum of his Testimony.*

I. 'METHODIUS,<sup>a</sup> bishop of Olympus in Lycia, and afterwards of Tyre, a man of a neat and correct style, composed a work against Porphyry in several books. He also wrote a Banquet of ten Virgins; Concerning the Resurrection, against Origen, an excellent book; and against him likewise Of the Pythoness; and Of liberty, [or free will;] Commentaries also upon Genesis and the Canticles; and many other works, which are in the hands of every body. He obtained the crown of martyrdom at Chalcis in Greece, at the end of the last persecution; or, as some say, under Decius and Valerian.'

So writes Jerom in his book of Illustrious Men. Eusebius makes no mention of Methodius in his Ecclesiastical History. The reason of it has been supposed by many learned men to be, that Methodius had written against Origen, whom Eusebius greatly admired. Nay, Valesius says, moreover, it<sup>b</sup> was out of envy and hatred of Methodius, that Eusebius wrote after him against Porphyry. But this last supposi-

<sup>a</sup> Methodius, Olympi Lyciæ, et postea Tyri episcopus, nitidi compositique sermonis adversus Porphyrium confecit libros, et Symposium decem Virginum, de Resurrectione opus egregium contra Origenem, et adversus eundem de Pythonissâ, et de Autexusio. In Genesim quoque, et in Cantica Canticorum commentarios; et multa alia, quæ vulgo lectitantur. Et ad extremum novissimæ persecutionis, sive, ut alii affirmant, sub Decio et Valeriano, in Chalchide Græciæ, martyrio coronatus est. De V. I. cap. 83.

<sup>b</sup> Nam cum omnes ecclesiasticos scriptores in hoc opere accurate commemoraverit, Methodium tamen de industriâ prætermisit, eo quod Origenem, quem ipse præcipue mirabatur, impugnavisset. Hinc etiam est, quod contra Porphyrii libros, post eundem Methodium scripsit, quasi æmulatione quâdam et odio adversus Methodium incitatus. Vales. Ann. in Eus. l. vi. c. 53. p. 128. B.

tion appears to me uncharitable: however, we are informed by Jerom that<sup>c</sup> Eusebius, in his Apology for Origen, complained of Methodius for writing against Origen, after he had more than once spoken of his sentiments without any censure or dislike. And from the accounts we have of the works of Methodius, and some remaining extracts out of them, it appears, that not only several of his pieces were written against Origen, but likewise that he sometimes treated that great man not very civilly.

Socrates<sup>d</sup> writes, that Methodius, after he had long opposed Origen, as if he recanted what he had said, commended him in a dialogue, called Zeno. Tillemont<sup>e</sup> thinks Socrates is not to be credited herein: and<sup>f</sup> Baronius long ago charged that ecclesiastical historian with being guilty of a manifest falsehood in this account: for he says the quite contrary is the truth, as we learn from Eusebius himself: Methodius first approved of Origen, and afterwards wrote against him. Besides, how should Socrates become acquainted with this recantation of Methodius, which is unknown to every body else; which Eusebius, Rufinus, and other defenders of Origen, say nothing of? Whereas, says Baronius, if they had known it they would have transcribed it in letters of gold, and shown it every where. On the other hand<sup>g</sup> Valesius, <sup>h</sup>Huet, and <sup>i</sup>Pagi, maintain the truth of the relation in Socrates. But it seems to me not impossible that Socrates mistook the time of writing that dialogue, which might be written before Methodius had taken a disgust against Origen. Or, if indeed it was written afterwards, as Socrates supposed, I think it reasonable to conclude the commendation there given Origen was a small matter of no great moment, and far short of a recantation. Baronius's reasoning appears solid: if Methodius had recanted what he had written against Origen, it would have been mentioned by his apologists. I suppose the meaning of Eusebius's words above cited by Jerom to be this: That Methodius in his own writings, in several places, had treated of several

<sup>c</sup> Eusebius, Cæsariensis episcopus, cujus supra memini, in sexto libro *απολογίας* Origenis hoc idem objicit Methodio episcopo et martyri, quod tu in meis laudibus criminaris, et dicis: Quomodo ausus est Methodius nunc contra Origenem scribere, qui hæc et hæc de Origenis loquutus est dogmatibus? Hieron. Apol. adv. Ruf. l. 1. p. 359. Bened.

<sup>d</sup> Μεθοδιος μὲν πολλὰ καταδραμὼν τῷ Ὀριγῆνῃ, ὕστερον, ὡς ἐκ παλινωδίας, θανμαζει τὸν ἀνδρὰ ἐν τῷ διαλογῷ, ὃ ἐπεγράφη Ζηνοῦ. H. E. l. vi. cap. 13. p. 320. A.

<sup>e</sup> Tillem. St. Methode, Mem. Ecc. T. v. P. iii. p. 139, 140.

<sup>f</sup> Baron. Ann. 402. n. xvii.

<sup>g</sup> Vales. ad Socr. l. vi. c. 13.

<sup>h</sup> Huet Originian. l. ii. c. iv. num. ii.

<sup>i</sup> Pagi Crit. 402. n. iii.

sentiments that were disliked in Origen; and that Methodius in those more early pieces appeared to be much of the same opinion with Origen: but afterwards he wrote against him with a good deal of bitterness; of his conduct Eusebius complained. And it has been observed by<sup>k</sup> Tillemont, that in the Banquet of the ten Virgins, probably<sup>l</sup> one of the first books published by our author, there are several sentiments very near resembling those called Origen's. Methodius, says that learned writer, in one place<sup>m</sup> very nearly follows the opinion of Origen upon the pre-existence of souls, which are at length sent from heaven into bodies. He<sup>n</sup> seems also to say, (as Origen was accused,) that in the glory of heaven men shall be changed into the nature of angels. These things, not to insist now on any other, are found in that Banquet.

Upon the whole, as Eusebius was not unacquainted with Methodius, and has been careful to mention a great number of ecclesiastical writers in his history, his silence about this bishop may be very probably ascribed to the cause above mentioned, his displeasure against him for writing against Origen, and treating him roughly: that silence must also be reckoned an argument, that Methodius did never retract: for that would have been much for Origen's honour; it would have reconciled his admirers to Methodius, and they would have spoken of it frequently, and Eusebius would not have failed to give him an honourable place in his Ecclesiastical History.

There<sup>o</sup> are considerable difficulties about the place of which Methodius was bishop. Jerom said above, that he was at first bishop of Olympus. Socrates too says expressly, and at length, that he<sup>p</sup> was bishop of a city in Lycia, called Olympus. He<sup>q</sup> is now very commonly called bishop of Patara, and at other times of Tyre. Suidas<sup>r</sup> says, Methodius was bishop of Olympus in Lycia, or of Patara, and afterwards of Tyre: in which words there is supposed to be an ambiguity: for they may mean, that Olympus was sometimes called Patara; or, that it is doubtful which of those two

<sup>k</sup> As before, p. 138.

<sup>l</sup> Ib. p. 136.

<sup>m</sup> ——— *τη απο των θρανων εις τα σωματα καταβασει και καταπομπη των ψυχων.* Method. Conv. ap. Combef. Auct. Nov. P. i. p. 74. C.

<sup>n</sup> *Αλλα μετα την χιλιονταετηριδα μεταβληθεντος απο της σχηματος της ανθρωπινης και της φθορας, εις αγγελικον μεγαθος και καλλος.* Ib. p. 429. A.

<sup>o</sup> Tillem. as before, p. 132, et sur St. Methode, Note 1.

<sup>p</sup> ——— *Μεθοδιος, της εν Λυκια πολεως λεγομενης Ολυμπης επισκοπος.* Socr. l. vi. c. 13.

<sup>q</sup> See Till. as before, note °.

<sup>r</sup> *Μεθοδιος, Ολυμπης, Λυκιας, ητοι Παταρων, και μετα ταυτα Τυρβ, επισκοπος.* Suid.

places he was bishop of; but, that Patara and Olympos were two different places might be shown. They<sup>s</sup> are expressly named by Strabo, as two of the six large cities of Lycia: and how he should be bishop of both is not easy to conceive.

Jerom says that Methodius was afterwards bishop of Tyre; and so likewise Suidas from him, or from his Greek interpreter Sophronius: which yet is not easy to be accounted for, nor very probable; such removals or translations of bishops not being then very common. Tillemont<sup>t</sup> thinks that if Methodius was bishop of Tyre, he must have succeeded Tyrannio, a worthy pastor of that church, particularly mentioned by<sup>u</sup> Eusebius, as one of the illustrious martyrs of Dioclesian's persecution, who was drowned in the sea near Antioch.

It is, however, very likely that Methodius was for some time, if not to the end of his life, bishop of Olympos in Lycia: since Socrates gives him that title, as well as Jerom. Besides, in one of his works, he<sup>v</sup> informs us of a wonderful thing he had seen upon Olympus, a mountain of Lycia; which, according to<sup>w</sup> Strabo, adjoined to the city of the same name.

In Jerom's days there were two different opinions about the time of this person's death; for some thought he suffered under Decius or Valerian: but this opinion is inconsistent with his writing against Porphyry, who did not publish his books against the christians till about the year 270. The other is Jerom's own opinion, that Methodius had the honour of martyrdom at the end of the last, or Dioclesian's persecution: therefore in the year 311 or 312, as<sup>x</sup> Tillemont shows; not in the year 302, or 303, as Du Pin<sup>y</sup> says, if his numbers are rightly printed in my edition. Methodius is placed by Cave as flourishing about the year 290, against which I have no exceptions to make: for it is not unlikely that he was ordained bishop about that time.

But though the above-mentioned opinion of Jerom concerning the time of the death of Methodius may be reckoned very probable, yet what he says about the place of it is not very easy to be<sup>z</sup> received.

In this uncertainty are we about several material things relating to Methodius: which may be imputed partly to his

<sup>s</sup> Strab. l. 14. p. 665. A.

<sup>t</sup> As before, p. 133.

<sup>u</sup> Eus. l. viii. cap. 13. p. 307, 308.

<sup>v</sup> Vid. Excerpt. ex libr.

de Resurr. ad. Comb. p. 331. ap. Phot. Cod. 234. p. 924.

<sup>w</sup> Ubi Supra, p. 666.

<sup>x</sup> See Till. as before, p. 133. and note 2.

<sup>y</sup> Du Pin Bibl. des Aut. Ecc. T. i. p. 195, à Amst.

<sup>z</sup> Till. as before, p. 133, and note 3.

own modesty, who had said little of himself in his works ; and partly, and chiefly, to the neglect, or the resentment and ill-will of Eusebius : who, it is likely, could have left us good memoirs of him, if he had pleased.

Thus much we may rely upon, that he was bishop, and probably of Olympus in Lycia, as was before shown ; and that the same bishop suffered death for the christian religion, probably in the persecution begun under Dioclesian : and, beside what we have already seen from Jerom and others, it may be observed here, that he is called bishop and martyr by <sup>a</sup> Photius, and by <sup>b</sup> Theodoret. Hereafter I may add some more passages confirming these particulars.

I shall conclude the brief history of this person with one observation : it is an obvious thought and a conjecture likely to arise in the minds of not a few, that since Methodius is said to have been bishop of so many places, and there were in Jerom's time two very different opinions concerning the time of his death, possibly there were two of this name in the third century, both bishops and martyrs ; one somewhat obscure, the other well known, for his writings at least.

II. Of these we have a pretty good account left us : and I must take some notice of them before I proceed to make extracts.

1. The first mentioned by Jerom and his Catalogue is the work or books against Porphyry, which in another place he says<sup>c</sup> amounted to ten thousand lines. St. Jerom has spoken of this work more than once in his Commentary<sup>d</sup> upon the book of Daniel, and <sup>e</sup> elsewhere. Of this work there are now nothing remaining, except<sup>f</sup> a few fragments, which are but of small consequence. The three chief writers against Porphyry were Methodius, Eusebius, and Apollinarius : and<sup>g</sup> Philostorgius, as we are informed by Photius, gave the preference to Apollinarius above the other two.

2. The next piece mentioned by Jerom, as above, is the Banquet of ten Virgins, or Of Chastity. Out of this work, which is a dialogue, there are large extracts in<sup>h</sup> Photius : and we still have it<sup>i</sup> entire, answerable to the quotations made by the ancients. Photius indeed censures this work : he

<sup>a</sup> Cod. 235. p. 932.

<sup>b</sup> Dialog. i. p. 37.

<sup>c</sup> Methodius usque ad decem millia procedit versuum. Hieron. Ep. 83. al. 84.

<sup>d</sup> In Dan. Pr. et cap. xii. v. ult.

<sup>e</sup> Adv. Ruf. l. 2. p. 433. in T. iv. P. ii. et Ep. 30. [al. 50.] p. 236. in ib.

<sup>f</sup> Ap. Combefis. p. 442, &c.

<sup>g</sup> Ὅτι, φησιν, Απολλινάριος

κατα Πορφύριον γραφάς ἐπι πολὺ κρατεῖν τῶν ἠγωνισμένων Εὐσεβίου κατ' αὐτὸν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν Μεθοδίου κατὰ τῆς αὐτῆς ὑποθέσεως σπαράσματος. Philost. H. E. l. viii. c. 14.

<sup>h</sup> Cod. 237. p. 949, &c.

<sup>i</sup> Ap. Comb. Auct. p. 64, &c.

says there are in it Arian and other erroneous opinions, and<sup>k</sup> therefore suspects it to have been interpolated: but that suspicion is now judged groundless by most of the learned<sup>l</sup> moderns.

2. The book of the Resurrection, written against Origen, is called by Jerom an excellent work: this too was a dialogue: there are large extracts out of it in<sup>m</sup> Photius: and Epiphanius<sup>n</sup> transcribed a good part of it into his work against heresies.

4. Of the next work mentioned by Jerom, Of the Pytho-ness, or the cunning woman, whom Saul consulted, likewise against Origen, nothing now remains.

5. Nor have we any thing of his Commentaries upon Genesis, or the Canticles, that is considerable, and that can be relied upon.

6. There are large extracts in Photius out of the treatise ° Of Free-will; or, Of the Origin of Evil. Tillemont<sup>p</sup> observes, that Jerom seems to say, this work also was written against Origen: but this does not appear by what Combefis has given. He adds, it is a dialogue, in which an orthodox person confutes two Valentinians. Fabricius<sup>q</sup> however says, this treatise was written against the Valentinians and Origen.

7. Photius<sup>r</sup> has also extracts out of another work of Methodius, entitled, Of the Creatures, not mentioned by Jerom. This book was plainly written against Origen, whom<sup>s</sup> he here more than once calls centaur; as<sup>t</sup> if he had been some compound, some creature, partly heathen, partly christian; or, as Fabricius expresseth it, because<sup>u</sup> he mixed things sacred and prophane, christian and heathen principles all together.

8. We now plainly perceive that there were at least three or four pieces of Methodius written against Origen, and that he sometimes treated that great man in an offensive manner:

<sup>k</sup> —νενοθημενος εστιν· εϋρησεις γαρ εν αυτω παραβεβημενας και Αρειανικας δοξοκοπιας, και ετερων τινων καταδοξεντων μυθολογηματα. ib. p. 964. f.

<sup>l</sup> Du Pin, Bibl. T. i. p. 198. Till. as before, p. 138. Basnag. Ann. 300. n. ix. <sup>m</sup> Cod. 234. p. 908, &c.

<sup>n</sup> Epiph. Hær. 64. a pag. 534. ad 590. et ap. Combef. Bib. Patr. p. 283, &c.

<sup>o</sup> Ap. Phot. Cod. 236. p. 940. et Combef. Bib. p. 347, &c.

<sup>p</sup> Ib. p. 142.

<sup>q</sup> Vid. Fabric. Gr. T. v. p. 256.

<sup>r</sup> Cod. 235. <sup>s</sup> 'Οτι ο Ωριγενης, ον Κενταυρον καλει, κ. λ. Cod. 235. p. 933. ver. 28. Παλιν δε εν, ω Κενταυρε. ib. p. 936. ver. 52.

<sup>t</sup> Christianam denique fidem Hippocentaurum facite, nec equum perfectum, nec hominem. Faust. Manich. l. 15. ap. Aug. T. viii. p. 571. F.

<sup>u</sup> Quod nempe sacra profanis atque Christiana Ethnicis miscuisset dogmata. Fabr. ib. p. 256.

and, if the homily or tract, to be hereafter mentioned, concerning Simeon and Anna be his, we have another instance of his ill-will to Origen. This is one of the arguments of Combefis for the genuineness of that<sup>v</sup> work, that the author opposeth Origen: but supposing this not to be written by Methodius, we have nevertheless a good deal of evidence of his aversion to that eminent person: and I think this must be allowed to make a kind of Apology for Eusebius; though I heartily wish he had not carried his resentment so far as he seems to have done. He had good reason, we will suppose, to be displeas'd with Methodius, and he might well censure and blame him for treating Origen as he did: nevertheless, he should have given Methodius a place among other ancient worthies in his Ecclesiastical History.

9. Theodoret<sup>w</sup> has quoted a passage of Methodius out of a piece entitled, A Discourse of Martyrs, of which there is nothing else remaining. I shall take notice of that passage hereafter.

10. Nor have we any thing of the dialogue called Xeno, which we before observed to be taken notice of by Socrates.

11. I think I have now put down the titles of all the works of Methodius, expressly mentioned by the ancients: however, it is not improbable that he wrote more; for Jerom says there were many other beside those mentioned by him. Eusebius's passage above cited from Jerom seems to imply, that Methodius had written some good number of books before he became an enemy to Origen: and he might afterwards also write some other, which we are not acquainted with.

12. And there are actually several other<sup>x</sup> things now extant which are ascribed to him: such as, a Homily concerning Simeon and Anna; another Homily upon our Saviour's entrance into Jerusalem; and Revelations, and a Chronicle.

These two last I think are generally rejected as not genuine.

The second likewise I suppose is defended by very few.

But the first homily, concerning Simeon and Anna, has more patrons. Not only<sup>y</sup> Combefis, and some others, but<sup>z</sup> Fabricius likewise pleads its genuineness. On the other hand Tillemont<sup>a</sup> allows, there is no good reason to take it

<sup>v</sup> Vid. Method. Combefis. p. 427, 469. 473, not. 42.

<sup>w</sup> Vid. Theodoret. Dial. i. p. 37.

<sup>x</sup> See Tillem. Mem. Ec. T. v. P. iii. as before, p. 144, et notes 6 et 7, sur St. Methode. Vid. etiam Fabric. ut supra, p. 257, 258.

<sup>y</sup> Vid. Combef. in Method. p. 469.

<sup>z</sup> Fabr. ut supra, p. 257.

<sup>a</sup> Tillem. as before, p. 136, 144, note vi.

for a work of our Methodius. Oudin<sup>b</sup> strenuously opposeth it, and thinks it the composition of some other Methodius, later than ours by several centuries; as does<sup>c</sup> Cave. Du Pin<sup>d</sup> says that 'it is not cited by the ancients, nor abridged by Photius. The author speaks so clearly of the mysteries of the Trinity, of the incarnation and the divinity of the Word, who he more than once says is consubstantial with the Father; of the hymn called Trisagion, of the virginity of Mary, even after her delivery; and of original sin; that there is room to doubt whether somewhat has not been added to this homily: beside that the style is more verbose, and fuller of epithets than that of Methodius.' So that learned writer. And in my opinion these particulars are sufficient to assure us, that either this homily is not genuine, (which I rather think,) or else it has been so interpolated as to be very little worth. Of this and some other things ascribed to Methodius, Grabe<sup>e</sup> honestly says, they are either supposititious, or interpolated. I shall therefore make no use of this piece; or, if I do, I shall give notice of it particularly.

III. I shall now put down a few testimonies to Methodius, beside those already observed in the history of him, and in the account of his works: there is the more need of this because of Eusebius's silence. Epiphanius, who inserted a large part of the dialogue concerning the resurrection into his work *Against Heresies*, calls<sup>f</sup> Methodius a blessed man; and<sup>g</sup> afterwards gives him the character of a learned or eloquent man, and a zealous defender of truth. Jerom has given Methodius a place in his<sup>h</sup> letter to Magnus among other ancient christian writers of note; and when he cites him, in his *Commentary upon Daniel*, he calls him<sup>i</sup> the most eloquent martyr Methodius. Andrew of Cæsarea, about the year 500, in his *Commentary upon the book of the Revelation*, often cites this writer, and more than once calls him<sup>k</sup> the great Methodius; a title which he gives likewise to Justin Martyr, Iræus, and some other ancient writers. He also calls Methodius<sup>l</sup> a blessed man:

<sup>b</sup> De Script. Ecc. T. i. p. 303, &c.

<sup>c</sup> Hist. Lit. T. i. p. 152.

<sup>d</sup> Du Pin, as before, p. 200.

<sup>e</sup> Cæterum prostat quidem unus insuper et alter Methodii tractatus e quibus plura, eaque luculentissima, pro—catholicâ trinitatis professione testimonia allegari possent. Sed ab iis abstineo, quod tractatus isti aut supposititii, aut interpolati esse videantur. Grab. Annot. ap. Bull. Def. Fid. Nic. Sect. ii. cap. 13, in fin.

<sup>f</sup> Ὑπο τῆ μακαριτῆς Μεθοδίου. Epiph. Hær. 64. c. 11.

p. 534. C.

<sup>g</sup> Μεθοδιῶ, ἀνδρὶ λογιῶν οὐτι, καὶ σφοδρὰ περὶ τῆς ἀληθείας ἀγωνισαμένῳ. id. ib. c. 63. p. 591. A.

<sup>h</sup> Ep. 83. al. 84.

<sup>i</sup> Et ex parte disertissimus vir, martyr Methodius. in Dan. cap. xii. vers. ult.

<sup>k</sup> Ὁ δὲ μέγας Μεθοδιῶς. Andr. in Apoc. p. 63. A. Vid. et p. 66. B. 124. B.

<sup>l</sup> Ib. p. 64. E.

quoting him and Hippolytus, he calls them<sup>m</sup> saints, or holy men. More testimonies to our author may be seen in <sup>n</sup> Leo Allatius, who is a great admirer of Methodius, and <sup>o</sup> prefers him to Origen: but surely that judgment is owing to partiality and prejudice. Methodius had wit and learning as well as piety: so much ought to be owned: but why he should be equalled, and even preferred to Origen, I cannot see. Doubtless Socrates would allow the four writers, whom he mentions as enemies of Origen, (of whom Methodius is the first,) a good share of learning. Nevertheless, sensible of their inferiority to that eminent person, and offended at the manner in which they had treated him, he applies to them this observation: ‘That<sup>p</sup> mean and obscure people, who are unable to shine by their own merit, endeavour to make themselves considerable by detracting from others. The first,’ says he, ‘who was seized with this distemper, was Methodius, bishop of a city in Lycia, named ‘Olympus.’ The other three mentioned by Socrates are Eustathius, Apollinarius, and Theophilus of Alexandria.

IV. Before I proceed to this author’s testimony to the books of the New Testament, I shall transcribe a few select passages: they will be agreeable to some of my readers; and may be of use to give some idea of the state of theology in those days.

1. In his book Of the Creatures, as we are informed by Photius, he said that<sup>q</sup> the book of Job was written by Moses.

2. In his remaining fragments he twice<sup>r</sup> quotes the book of Wisdom as Solomon’s.

3. He says that<sup>s</sup> God having made the world, appointed angels as governors and presidents under himself. “But<sup>t</sup>

<sup>m</sup> ‘Τοις δε ἁγίοις, Μεθοδιῳ και Ἰππολυτῳ, κ. λ. p. 70. E.

<sup>n</sup> Vid. Leon. Allat. de Method. Scriptis Diatriba. ap. Hippolyt. Ed. Fabric. B. ii. p. 76, &c.

<sup>o</sup> Fuit ingenium, et doctrina maxima Origenis. Eam si cum Methodianâ conferas, habet quod laudari potest, et debeat; tamen vilescere videtur, et dissoluta viribus fluere. Contra Methodiana est, quæ semper vigens, florens, pungens, concitans, auditorem vellicat et rapit. Mortua est Origeniana loquacitas, si cum Methodianâ brevitate conferatur. Una Methodii pagina et luminibus oratoriis et sententiis, et pietate, et eruditione firmâ ac integrâ, centum Origenis paginas exæquat. Leon. Allat. ib. num. xvi. p. 83.

<sup>p</sup> Socrat. H. E. l. vi. c. 13. in.

<sup>q</sup> ‘Ὅτι το Ἰωβ βιβλιον, Μωσεως

ειναι ὁ ἅγιος φησι. Cod. 235. p. 937. f. ap. Combef. p. 345. A.

<sup>r</sup> —καθαπερ και ἡ σοφια Σολομωνος μαρτυρει. ap. Epiphani. Hær. 64. n. x x. p. 543. A. Vid. ib. n. xxxvi.

<sup>s</sup> Ap. Epiphani. ib. n. xxi.

in. et ap. Phot. Cod. 234. p. 908. fin.

<sup>t</sup> ‘Ὁ δε ενυβρισει, και πονηρος

περι των πεπιτευμενων εγενετο την διοικησιν, φθονον εγκισσησας καθ’ ἡμων’ ωσπερ και οἱ μετα ταυτα σαρκων ερασθεντες. κ. λ. ib. ap. Epiphani. p. 544. B.

the devil fell, through envy of us, and afterwards many other angels admitted fleshly desires, and fell in love with the daughters of men:" which opinion doubtless is founded upon a wrong interpretation of the sixth chapter of Genesis. Du Pin, through haste, or some other cause, has<sup>u</sup> strangely misrepresented this passage of Methodius; supposing him to ascribe the fall of the devil, as well as the other angels, to this last temptation.

4. Methodius<sup>v</sup> had a notion that the divine Word was incarnate in Adam: he builds this doctrine upon what St. Paul writes in Eph. v. 31, 32, and says, that ' <sup>w</sup> Adam was not only a type and figure, but Christ, forasmuch as the Word, who was before all ages, dwelled in him; for it was fit and reasonable, that the first-begotten of God, and the first and only-begotten, even Wisdom, joining itself to man, should be incarnate, [or, become man,] in the first-made and first-born of men.' This Methodius will have to be orthodox, or the right interpretation of St. Paul: but<sup>x</sup> Combefis, in opposition to a learned modern who would justify this passage, argues, that it cannot be reconciled to sound doctrine. I shall presently transcribe from Methodius what follows in the same place.

5. Some while ago we saw the censure which Photius passed upon the writings of Methodius; that they had in them the Arian doctrine, and therefore were interpolated as he suspected: but learned moderns, not perceiving any marks of interpolation, have thought themselves obliged to admit that Methodius Arianised. Bishop Bull<sup>y</sup> indeed, and <sup>z</sup>Grabe after him, maintain the orthodoxy of this bishop and martyr. Du Pin<sup>a</sup> likewise thinks that Methodius may be very well defended from the accusation of erring about the

<sup>u</sup> —que le péché a été causé par l'envie du diable, et que le diable même, qui avoit été créé dans la justice semblable aux autres anges, est tombé par le péché d'onvie, et par l'amour déréglé qu'il a eu pour les filles. Du Pin, Bib. T. i. p. 198.

<sup>v</sup> Concerning this matter, see Beausobre, Hist. de Maniché, &c. T. ii. p. 317, 318.

<sup>w</sup> Φερε γαρ ήμεις επισκεψόμεθα πως ορθοδοξης ανηγαγε τον Αδαμ εις τον Χριστον, ο μονον τυπον αυτον ήγμενος εινα και εικονα, αλλα και αυτο τωτο Χριστον και αυτον γεγονεναι, δια το τον προ αιωνων εις αυτον εγκατασκευσαι λογον. Ημοζε γαρ το πρωτογονον τε Θεο και πρωτον και μονογενες, την σοφιαν, τη πρωτοπλασει και πρωτη και πρωτογονη των ανθρωπων ανθρωπη κερασθεισαν εννηθρωπηκεναί. Method. Conv. p. 79. A. B. ap. Combef. Auct. Noviss.

<sup>x</sup> Non videntur hæc sane dicta. Possinii explicatio pia est, sed violenta. Plane enim distinguit Methodius primum Adamum et secundum; vultque utrumque ipsum reipsâ Christum extitisse, incessente Verbo ac illabente, &c. Combef. Annot. ib. 146. B.

<sup>y</sup> Def. Fid. Nic. Sect. ii. cap. 13. n. ix. x. p. 147, &c.

<sup>z</sup> Grabe in Annotatis, ib. p. 150.

<sup>a</sup> Du Pin, as before, p. 198.

Trinity; but<sup>b</sup> Tillemont says it is very difficult to put a good sense upon some of his expressions concerning the Word, and concerning the procession of the divine persons: Basnage<sup>c</sup> and <sup>d</sup> Beausobre speak to the like purpose. And <sup>e</sup> Methodius is one of those many ancient writers, whom Huet supposeth to have thought falsely and absurdly about the Trinity, and yet are not reckoned heretics, but are counted amongst the orthodox writers of the church.

Let me take a passage or two of our author, that the reader may the better judge for himself. In the work Concerning the Creatures, he says: ‘There<sup>f</sup> are two creative powers: one, who by his pure will, without any difficulty, creates what he pleaseth out of nothing; this is the Father: the other disposeth into order, and polisheth things already made, in imitation of the former; [or, according to the model given by the former;] this is the Son, the all-powerful and strong hand of the Father, by which he adorns and finishes the matter first made by him out of nothing.’

This passage is censured by <sup>g</sup> Petavius. I see that bishop <sup>h</sup> Bull endeavours to justify it: but<sup>i</sup> Beausobre says that this passage ‘savours of Platonism, according to which it ‘was thought improper that<sup>k</sup> the supreme God should meddle with matter, or make any thing that is perishable.’ He says, moreover, that some of the ancient fathers ‘divided the ‘creation between the Father and the Son. The celebrated ‘Methodius supposed that the Father’s part lay in bringing ‘matter out of nothing, and that of the Son in forming the ‘world after the plan which the Father had shown him.

Let us in the next place take the sequel of the passage above transcribed, relating to the first man: ‘For,’ says

<sup>b</sup> Tillem. as above, p. 138.

<sup>c</sup> Dissimulari tamen vix potest, multa in Methodio reperiri durissima, quæque Ariana vestigia non obscure exhibeant, &c. Basnag. Ann. 300. n. ix. Vid. quæ ibidem sequuntur, et num. vii.

<sup>d</sup> Hist. de Manichée, &c. l. vi. ch. iii. n. vii. T. ii.

<sup>e</sup> Nam, ut alios brevitatis causâ prætermittam, quot recensere possumus, nullâ hæreseos suspitione aspersos, et de trinitate tamen falsa et absurda commentos? Venient in hunc ordinem Justinus Martyr, —Clemens Romanus, —Methodius, —Huet. Origen. l. ii. c. 3. n. vi.

<sup>f</sup> ‘Οτι φησιν ὁ ἅγιος, δυο δε δυναμεις εν τοις προωμολογημενοις εφραμεν ειναι ποιητικας, την εξ εκ οντων γυμνω τῷ βεληματι, χωρις μελισμῶ, [al. μελλησμῶ,] αμα τῷ θελησαι αυθρογισαν ὁ βελεται ποιειν τυχχανει δε ο πατηρ’ εατεραν δε κατακοσμισαν και ποικιλισαν κατα μμησιν της προτερας τα ηδη γεγονοτα’ εσι δε ο υιος, ἡ παντοδυναμος και κραταια χειρ τε πατρος, εν η μετα το ποιησαι την υλην εξ εκ οντων κατακοσμει. Method. de Creat. ap. Phot. Cod. 235. p. 937. fin. et. ap. Combef. p. 344.

<sup>g</sup> Petav. de Trinit. l. i. c. iv. n. xii. ap. Dogm. Theol. Tom. ii.

<sup>h</sup> Def. Fid. Nic. Sect. ii. cap. 13. n. x.

<sup>i</sup> Beausobre, as before, l. vi. ch. 6. n. ii. T. ii. p. 360.

<sup>k</sup> —dans lequel on ne permettoit pas au Dieu suprême de mettre la main à l’œuvre, de toucher à la matière, ni de former rein de périssable. *ibid.*

<sup>1</sup>Methodius, ‘that is Christ, even man filled with pure and perfect deity, and God contained in man: for it is highly becoming that the most ancient of æons, and the chief of archangels, since he was to live with men, should inhabit the most ancient and first of men, that is, Adam.’

These last words of our author Basnage<sup>m</sup> is much offended with: the most ancient of æons he thinks more becoming the mouth of a Valentinian than a Catholic christian. Grabe<sup>n</sup> thought proper to allege the first part of this passage as a proof that Methodius believed Christ’s true deity: but then he omitted the latter part of the passage, being, I suppose, too much in haste to transcribe it all: nevertheless, if the latter part of the passage should be understood to be explanatory of the former part of it, (as possibly it may,) then Grabe’s argument would be of little weight.

I shall transcribe no more passages relating to this matter, but only refer to some places<sup>o</sup> in the margin, to be consulted by those who are curious, and have leisure; and particularly to<sup>p</sup> Beausobre’s remarks upon the forecited passages of Methodius: nor do I venture to say what was this writer’s real opinion concerning the Trinity: for this appears to me a point not easily decided: and I think it would require a nice and careful disquisition to determine, upon good ground, what was his sentiment upon that head.

6. Methodius is likewise called a millenarian. Du Pin having made his extracts out of the Banquet says: ‘I<sup>q</sup> stay ‘not to observe that he has taught in this treatise the opinion ‘of the millenarians.’ Tillemont<sup>r</sup> too says that Methodius here clearly admits the opinion of the millenarians, and a reign of the saints upon the earth for the space of a thousand years after the resurrection: and<sup>s</sup> it must be owned that in the Banquet he expresseth himself after that manner: but in the Fragments of the discourse Of the Resurrection, he affirms that the earth is not to be annihilated, but changed

<sup>1</sup> Τετο γαρ ειναι τον Χριστον, ανθρωπον ακρατω θεοτητι και τελεια πεπλωρημενον, και θεον εν ανθρωπω κεχωρημενον’ ην γαρ προεπωδεσατον, τον πρεσβυτατον, των αιωνων και πρωτον των αρχαγγελων, ανθρωποις μελλοντα συνομελειν, εις τον πρεσβυτατον και πρωτον των ανθρωπων εισοικισθηναι, τον Αδαμ. Conviv. p. 79. B.

<sup>m</sup> Mirum sane Christi titulum, antiquissimum æonum et solâ Valentini scholâ dignum. Basn. Ann. 300. n. vii.

<sup>n</sup> Grab. Annot. ad Bull. Def. Fid. Nic. p. 150.

<sup>o</sup> Vid. Excerpt. ex libr. de Creatis, ap. Phot. Cod. 235. p. 940. Conviv. Decem Virg. ap. Combef. Auct. Nov. p. 75. C. p. 80. A. B. p. 81. C. D. p. 82. B. C. 101. D. 113. D.

<sup>p</sup> Hist. de Manich. T. i. p. 118, 119.

<sup>q</sup> Du Pin, as before, p. 198.

<sup>r</sup> Tillem. as before, p. 138.

<sup>s</sup> Con. p. 129. A. B. and see above, p. 183. note <sup>1</sup>.

and renewed. ‘Since therefore,’ says<sup>t</sup> he, ‘the earth will exist still, doubtless it will have inhabitants, such as never die any more, nor marry, nor bring forth children, but are as the angels, unchangeable and uncorruptible, enjoying perpetual felicity.’ This passage is somewhat difficult to be reconciled with that in the Banquet. Petavius understood<sup>u</sup> our author to speak here of everlasting happiness upon this earth. And afterwards, in that discourse or dialogue Concerning the Resurrection, he says: ‘So<sup>v</sup> far we are to be like unto the angels, that as the angels in heaven, so also we in paradise, shall no more marry or feast, but shall be employed in seeing God, and in improving ourselves under the government and conduct of Christ: for he said not, they shall be angels, but “as the angels.”’ Huet<sup>w</sup> refers to these passages as a proof that Methodius himself, who proposed to correct Origen, did not always express himself justly concerning the resurrection.

7. According to Methodius, human souls<sup>x</sup> are corporeal. This he argues from the parable of the rich man and Lazarus in Luke xvi. forasmuch as in hell, the separate state of existence, they are spoken of as having a tongue, a finger, and other members. He<sup>y</sup> is also reckoned among those fathers who supposed angels to be corporeal.

8. I have one observation to make here upon occasion of the several errors imputed to Methodius: this good man, who not long after Origen’s death bore hard upon him, calling him centaur, as if he had been a monster, partly heathen, partly christian, is himself liable to the charge or suspicion of heresy, in those latter times of greater orthodoxy.

<sup>t</sup> — εσομενης γαρ και μετα τωτον τον αιωνα γης, αναγκη πασα εσεσθαι και οικησοντας, εκετι τεθνηξομενες, η γαμησοντας και γεννησομενες, αλλ’ ως αγγελως αμεταστροφως εν αφθαρσια τα αριστα πραζοντας. ap. Epiph. H. 64. n. xxxii. p. 555. D.

<sup>u</sup> Hic perspicue post judicium homines terram habituros asserit: non ut Chiliastæ ad aliquot duntaxat sæcula, sic ut interim supremâ illâ felicitate, hoc est, aspectu Dei, carerent; verum ut et perpetuo in hac terrâ degerent, et summâ nihilominus illic ac perfectâ beatitate fruerentur. Petav. Animad. in Epiph. p. 261.

<sup>v</sup> — ἰν’ ὡσπερ οἱ αγγελοι εν τῷ θρανῷ ἑτως και ἡμεις εν τῷ παραδεισῷ, μητε γαμοις η ειλπιναις επι σχολαζοντες, αλλα τῷ βλεπειν τον θεον, και γεωργειν την ζωην, πρυτανευοντος ἡμιν τῷ Χριστῷ. ap. Epiph. Hæc. 64. n. xxxv. p. 558. A.

<sup>w</sup> Unde ne ipse quidem Origenis castigator Methodius sine cespitatione hoc argumentum tractavit, homines fingens post resurrectionem habituros in terrâ jam instauratâ, et per aërem temperatissimum ambientem in melius mutatâ, et in paradisi deliciis beatum ævum acturos; angelis autem cœlestes orbes destinatum esse domicilium. Huet. Orig. l. ii. c. 2. Qu. 9. n. vi. p. 132.

<sup>x</sup> Αἱ δὲ ψυχαι απο τῷ δημιουργῷ και πατρος των ὄλων, σωματα νοερα ὑπαρχουσαι, κ. λ. ap. Phot. Cod. 234. p. 932.

<sup>y</sup> Vid. Huet. Origen. l. ii. c. 2. Qu. 5. n. viii. p. 71.

9. In<sup>2</sup> one place of the Banquet are mentioned these following heretics all together: Sabellius, Artemas, and the Ebionites, Marcion, Valentinus, and the Helcesaites. What he says of them may be taken into consideration at some other time.

I shall put down no more passages of this sort from our author, but proceed to what remains.

V. I am now to observe this writer's testimony to the books of the New Testament.

Methodius says expressly, 'There<sup>a</sup> have been four gospels delivered to us:' I need not therefore put down particular quotations of each gospel: indeed he has not mentioned the writers by name: however no one can make any doubt or question but he meant our gospels, and ascribed them to the same evangelists that we, and all christians in general, have always done.

VI. He speaks of the baptism of Paul by Ananias, and particularly refers to the history of it<sup>b</sup> in the Acts.

VII. It cannot be needful that I should transcribe particular passages of all the epistles of St. Paul cited by this author. It may suffice to observe, that he has quoted or alluded to these following epistles of that apostle; the epistle to the Romans, the first and second to the Corinthians, the epistles to the Galatians, the Ephesians, the Philippians, the Colossians, the first to the Thessalonians, and the first to Timothy: words of most of these are cited more than once, either as the apostle's or as Paul's. I have observed no clear references to the<sup>c</sup> second to the Thessalonians, the second to Timothy, or to Titus, or Philemon, in those extracts or treatises which I make use of as unquestionably genuine: nevertheless it cannot be doubted but he received all these epistles; as Origen and other christians did about his time.

VIII. He seems to have several passages out of the epistle to the Hebrews. He says; 'We<sup>d</sup> restrain evil thoughts, lest any root of bitterness springing up should trouble

<sup>2</sup> Conv. p. 113. D.

<sup>a</sup> ——— δια τῶτο και εναγγελια τεσσαρα παραδεδοται, τετρακις εναγγελισαμεν τῶ θεῶ την ανθρωποτητα, και παιδαγωγησαντος τεσσαρσι νομοις, κ. λ. Conv. Dec. Virg. p. 131. B. Combef. Auct. Nov. P. i.

<sup>b</sup> Εναγγελιζομεν και ανακαινιζοντος αυτον Ανανι τῶ βαπτισματι, καθῶς εν ταις Πραξεσιν ἡ ἱστορια περιεχει. ib. p. 83. A.

<sup>c</sup> Though I do not now recollect any clear indisputable references to the second epistle to the Thessalonians, in the remaining works of Methodius, yet I suppose him to refer to 2 Thess. i. 5: "that ye may be counted worthy of the kingdom of God," when he says of some ancient worthies, της βασιλειας καταξιωθεντες. Conv. p. 105. A.

<sup>d</sup> Νυν μεν εντανθα τας βλασας αυτης, οἶον τας ενθυμησεις τας πονηρας, συελλομεν, μη τις ριζα πικριας ανῶ θυσσα ανοχληση. De Resurr. ap. Epiph. Hær. 64. n. xxv. p. 548. D. ap. Combef p. 286.

us :” ’ see Heb. xii. 15. This is taken from the fragments of the treatise Of the Resurrection. In the Banquet he appears to allude to it several times. He says : ‘ The<sup>e</sup> law was not so beautiful as the gospel ; for that was a kind of type and shadow of things to come : this is the truth and the grace of life.’ And a little before he had said : ‘ For<sup>f</sup> the law is the type and shadow of the image, that is, of the gospel ; but the gospel is the image of the truth itself.’ This is very agreeable to what is said, Heb. x. 1, “ For the law having a shadow of good things to come, and not the very image of the things, can never with those sacrifices make the comers thereunto perfect.” He says likewise : ‘ For<sup>g</sup> after the resurrection the truth shall be clearly manifested to us, when we “ shall see face to face,” and not “ through a glass darkly” and “ in part,” the holy tabernacle, the city in the heavens, “ whose builder and maker is God :” here he joins together words of 1 Cor. xiii. 12, and Heb. xi. 10, which last place is thus : “ For he looked for a city which hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God.” He speaks<sup>h</sup> of “ Jesus having passed into the heavens ;” the very same expressions which we have in Heb. iv. 14. Having made honourable mention of Seth, Enos, Enoch, Methuselah, and Noah, he adds : ‘ These<sup>i</sup> were the first lovers of righteousness, and the first of the “ first-born ” children “ which are written in heaven :” ’ see Heb. xii. 23. These allusions, and these expressions, borrowed, as it seems, from the epistle to the Hebrews, afford a probable argument of his using it, and of his respect for it.

Let us now see whether Methodius has not ascribed this epistle to St. Paul : ‘ Since,’ says<sup>k</sup> he, ‘ the law, according to the apostle, is spiritual, containing images of good things to come.’ The first part of the observation seems to be taken from Rom. vii. 14, where it is said, that “ the law is spiritual :” and the second from Heb. x. 1. Indeed the writer of the epistle to the Hebrews there says, that the “ law had not the

<sup>e</sup> ——— ὁ νομος ἄλλ’ ἐχ’ ἑτως ἡν ωραιος ὡς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον· ἐκεῖνος γὰρ τυπὸς τις ἦν καὶ σκία τῶν μελλόντων πραγμάτων· τῆτο δὲ ἀληθεία καὶ ζωῆς χάρις. Conviv. p. 127. A. ap. Combef. Auct. Nov.

<sup>f</sup> Ὁ μὲν γὰρ νομὸς τῆς εἰκόνος ἐστὶ τυπὸς καὶ σκία, τοῦτεστι τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ· ἡ δὲ εἰκὼν, τὸ εὐαγγέλιον αὐτῆς τῆς ἀληθείας. Conviv. p. 125. C.

<sup>g</sup> Το γὰρ ἀληθὲς μετ’ ἀναστάσιν δηλωθήσεται, ὅπατε πρόσωπον κατὰ πρόσωπον, τὴν ἁγίαν σκηνὴν, τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἐν ἑβραίοις, ἧς τεχνίτης καὶ ἐκδημιβργος Θεὸς, ἀλλ’ ἐ δὲ αἰνιγματῶν καὶ ἐκ μερῶν ἐποπτεύσομεν. Conv. p. 96. C.

<sup>h</sup> ——— τῷ διεληλυθοτι τῶν ἑβραίων Ἰησῶν. Conv. p. 129. A.

<sup>i</sup> ——— πρῶτοι δικαιοσύνης γεγονότες ἐραταί, καὶ πρῶτοι πρωτοκόων τέκνων ἀπογεγραμμένων ἐν ἑβραίοις. Conv. p. 105. A.

<sup>k</sup> Εἰ ὁ νομὸς ἐστὶ, κατὰ τὸν ἀποστόλου, τῶν εἰκόνων ἐμπεριεχῶν τῶν μελλόντων. ib. p. 96. A. B.

very image of the things :” whereas Methodius here speaks of the law containing images of good things: but he useth the word image loosely : he means no more than what he had expressed in the words before cited from him, that the “ law was a type and shadow ” of things to come, and as such, contained, or obscurely hinted and represented, the images of them. That he intends not to say any thing more in this place, than in the former, is evident from several things that follow here ; to which the reader is referred, if he has any doubt : in particular he says presently afterwards, ‘ that<sup>1</sup> the Jews had only a shadow of the image, at the third remove from the truth.’

Lastly, there is in the Banquet an exhortation to steadfastness in virtue, notwithstanding the greatest opposition from the enemy. ‘ For<sup>m</sup> ye will obtain unspeakable renown, if ye shall overcome, and scize the seven crowns, for the sake of which the “ race ” and combat “ is set before us,” according to the master Paul.’ There may be in this passage, and in what precedes, a reference to the twelfth, and some other verses of the sixth chapter of the epistle to the Ephesians : but the latter part of the passage, “ the race set before us,” seems to be taken from Heb. xii. 1 ; and for that it is more particularly that he alleges Paul’s authority.

By these several passages I am induced to think it probable that Methodius received the epistle to the Hebrews as St. Paul’s.

I formerly showed the reasons why I do not esteem the homily concerning Simeon and Anna to be genuine. I am therefore far from alleging any thing out of it as a proof of the sentiments of our Methodius : but if that piece had been genuine, I suppose it might afford an undeniable testimony to this epistle ; for there it is said, that “ God “ took on him [or laid hold of] the seed of Abraham,” according to the most divine Paul, and through him of the whole human kind :’ see Heb. ii. 16.

IX. There is very little notice taken of the seven catholic epistles in the remaining pieces of this writer.

1. He speaks of Christ as<sup>o</sup> the “ chief shepherd :” perhaps he borrows that character from 1 Pet. v. 4.

2. In the place referred to a little while ago Methodius

<sup>1</sup> Ἀλλὰ Ἰεδαῖοι μὲν τὴν σκιαν τῆς εἰκόνος, τρίτην ἀπο τῆς ἀληθείας, κατηγγέλκασιν· κ. λ. ib. p. 96. C. <sup>m</sup> Μυρίον γὰρ ἐξετε κλεος, εἰν ἀφελθε νικησασαι τῆς ἐπ’ αὐτῆς σεφανῆς ἑπτα, δι’ ἧς ὁ ἀγων ἡμῖν προκειται καὶ ἡ παλῆ, κατα τον διδασκαλον Παυλον. ib. p. 116. B.

<sup>n</sup> — ἀλλὰ σπερματος Ἀβρααμ ἐπιλαβομενος κατα τον θειοτατον Παυλον, καὶ δι’ αὐτῆς παντος τε ἀνθρωπειῶν φύλε. De Sim. et A. p. 427. D. Combesis.

<sup>o</sup> Ἀρχιποιμην. Conv. p. 70. C.

says of the Ebionites, that ‘<sup>p</sup> they assert the prophets spoke of their own motion.’ Possibly our author has here an eye to 2 Pet. i. 20, 21. “Knowing this first, that no prophecy of the scripture is <sup>q</sup> of any private interpretation: for the prophecy came not in old time by the will of man, but holy men of God <sup>r</sup> spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost.” He says: ‘The<sup>s</sup> Jews look for a sensible [or earthly kingdom, and place their hopes in this strange land, which the divine word says shall pass away.’ In 2 Pet. iii. 10. it is said, “the heavens shall pass away<sup>t</sup> with a great noise:” perhaps Methodius refers to this text, perhaps to some others. In another place he says, ‘the<sup>u</sup> whole world shall be consumed [or overflowed] with fire;’ though according to his opinion it will not then utterly perish, but will be renewed and restored: possibly Methodius here refers to 2 Pet. iii. 6, 7, where it is said: “the world that then was, being<sup>v</sup> overflowed with water, perished: but the heavens and the earth which are now,—are kept in store, reserved unto fire against the day of judgment.”

3. He observes, that “<sup>w</sup> the world lieth in wickedness:” the same thing that is said in the same words in 1 John v. 20.

4. I transcribe nothing more here relating to these epistles. Undoubtedly Methodius received the first epistle of Peter, and the first epistle of John; for they were admitted as genuine, without controversy, by all catholic christians. But what was our author’s opinion concerning the epistle of James, the second of Peter, the second and third of John, and the epistle of Jude, does not clearly appear from his remaining works.

X. The Revelation is very often quoted by Methodius as the writing of John: ‘And<sup>x</sup> that the Word who became man is the chief virgin, [or prince of virgins,] as well as the chief shepherd, and chief prophet of the church, John,

<sup>p</sup> —— ὡς Εβιοναιοι, ἐξ ἰδίας κινήσεως τῆς προφητας λελαληκεναι φιλονεικέντες. Conv. p. 113. D. <sup>q</sup> Ἰδίας ἐπίλυσεως ε γίνεται.

<sup>r</sup> ἀλλ’ ὑπο πνευματος ἁγίου φερομενοι ἐλάλησαν οἱ ἅγιοι θεοι ἀνθρωποι.

<sup>s</sup> βασιλειαν αἰσθητην προσδοκῶντες, καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς ταυτης τῆς αλλοτριας, ἦν παρελευσεσθαι λογος, τιθεμενοι τας ἐλπίδας. Conv. p. 90. a.

<sup>t</sup> Ἐν γ οἱ ἐρανοι ροιζῆδον παρελευσονται.

<sup>u</sup> Ἄπας ὁ κοσμος κατακλυζομενος πυρι. ap. Epiph. Hær. 64. n. xxxi. p. 553. D. <sup>v</sup> —— ὕδατι κατακλυσθεις.

<sup>w</sup> Τῷ τον κοσμον ἐν τῷ πονηρῷ κεισθαι. De Resur. ap. Phot. Cod. 234. p. 321. et ap. Combef. Bibl. p. 922. B.

<sup>x</sup> Ὅτι δὲ καὶ ἀρχιπαρθενος, ὄν τροπον καὶ ἀρχιποιμην καὶ ἀρχιπροφητης γεγονεν ὁ λογος ἐνανθρωπησας, τῆς ἐκκλησιας, καὶ ὁ χριστοληπτος ἡμῖν παρεσησεν ἐν βιβλίῳ τῆς Ἀποκαλυψεως Ἰωαννης, λεγων· Καὶ εἶδον, κ. λ. Conv. p. 70. C. D.

inspired by Christ, has shown us in the book of the Revelation: "And I looked, and lo, a lamb stood on the mount Sion.—These are they which are not defiled with women, for they are virgins: these are they which follow the Lamb whithersoever he goes:" ' Rev. xiv. 1—4. This passage is in the Banquet; and in the same work: 'As<sup>y</sup> also John shows, saying, that the incense in the vials of the four and twenty elders are the prayers of saints:" ' see Rev. v. 8. Again, 'John<sup>z</sup> relating the Revelation says: "And there appeared a great wonder in heaven," ' and what follows: where Methodius quotes Rev. xii. 1—6. In the same work the<sup>a</sup> Revelation is quoted as scripture, and a book of authority. In the extracts out of the treatise of the Resurrection, made by Photius, he quotes this book as written<sup>b</sup> by the blessed John. In the same extracts are these words: 'How<sup>c</sup> then is Christ celebrated by the prophets and the apostles as the "first-begotten of the dead?" This is often said of Christ in the New Testament, as Acts xxvi. 23; 1 Cor. xv. 20; and twice almost in the very expression of Methodius, Col. i. 18, and Rev. i. 5. If we could be certain that Methodius referred to this place in the Revelation, then we should be assured that he supposed the writer of this book to be the apostle John. Finally, Methodius is mentioned by<sup>d</sup> Andrew of Cæsarea with Irenæus and others, who had bore testimony to the divine inspiration of this book. I think it is plain from what has been here collected, that Methodius received the Revelation as a book of authority; and very probable that he esteemed it a writing of John the apostle and evangelist.

XI. His forms of quotation, or general terms made use of in speaking of these books, and marks of respect for them are such as these; <sup>e</sup> scriptures, <sup>f</sup> holy, or sacred scriptures, are <sup>g</sup> divine scriptures. He speaks of<sup>h</sup> the Old Testament, which implies an acknowledgment of another that is new; both which are indeed quoted; some while ago he speaks of prophets and apostles, thereby expressing the two general

<sup>y</sup> Καθως και Ιωαννης εμνηυσε, κ. λ. ib. p. 97. A.

<sup>z</sup> —την Αποκαλυψιν ο Ιωαννης εξηγημενος λεγει. ib. p. 109. D.

<sup>a</sup> —γινεται κατα νυν της γραφης, οποτε η μεν Αποκαλυψις αρσενα την εκκλησιαν διοριζεται γενναν. ib. p. 111. C.

<sup>b</sup> Ο μακαριος Ιωαννης. ap. Phot. Cod. 234. p. 924. ap. Combef. p. 326. B.

<sup>c</sup> Πως δη επι ο Χριστος πρωτοτοκος ειναι των νεκρων υπο των προφητων και των αποσολων αδεσαι; ap. Phot. ib. 925. et ap. Combef. p. 328.

<sup>d</sup> Vid. Andr. Prolog. in Apoc. p. 3. B. C.

<sup>e</sup> Vid. Method.

Conv. p. 125. A. et passim.

<sup>f</sup> Ταις αγιαις γραφαις. ib. p. 66. D.

<sup>g</sup> Αι θειαι γραφαι. p. 99. A.

<sup>h</sup> Εκ παλαιας υμιν κηγω παρεξομαι

διαθηκης εγγραφον προφητειαν. ib. p. 130. C.

divisions of the scriptures before and after the coming of Christ: he<sup>l</sup> quotes these books by way of proof of what he says. He<sup>k</sup> affirms, that ‘there is no contradiction or absurdity in the divine words.’ The gospels are cited by him after this manner: ‘The<sup>l</sup> Lord declares in the gospels.’ Again: ‘As<sup>m</sup> also our Lord Jesus Christ directs and commands in the gospels: “Let your lights shine and your loins be girded about, and be ye yourselves like men that wait for their lord:”’ Luke xii. 35—38. “‘For<sup>n</sup> ye are the salt of the earth,” said the Lord to the apostles:’ see Matt. v. 13. ‘Where,<sup>o</sup> according to the true oracles of the Lord, they neither marry nor are given in marriage:’ see Matth. xxii. 30. He quotes St. Paul after this manner: says<sup>p</sup> the blessed Paul; <sup>q</sup> the most wise Paul; <sup>r</sup> Paul, a wise man, and most spiritual, or full of the Holy Ghost. He<sup>s</sup> recommends the study and meditation of the scriptures.

XII. In the remains of Methodius there are many interpretations of texts of scripture; but, in my opinion, for the most part, such as do little honour to the author’s judgment: I shall put down two or three, which are somewhat remarkable.

1. He understands<sup>t</sup> the words of Christ in John v. 39, to be a command to “search the scriptures;” not a declaration what was then the practice of the Jews: accordingly, he makes use of this text as an argument to search even the most abstruse and difficult parts of scripture, and as an encouragement to explain them so far as we are able.

2. St. Paul writes: “I knew a man in Christ,—such an one caught up to the third heaven. And I knew such a man,—how that he was caught up into paradise:” 2 Cor. xii. 2—4. Methodius is<sup>u</sup> clearly of opinion that the apostle

<sup>i</sup> Ουδε γαρ αμαρτυρος ο λογος γραφων. ap. Epiph. p. 548. D. Vid. ib. n. xvii. p. 539. C.

<sup>k</sup> ‘Οτι μηδεμια υπεναντωσις η ατοπια εν τοις θειοις λογοις. ap. Epiph. ib. Hær. 64. p. 555. B.

<sup>l</sup> Και ο κυριος—εν ευαγγελιοις παρεγγυα. Conv. p. 66. D.

<sup>m</sup> Καθ’ ον τροπον και ο κυριος ημων εν ευαγγελιοις Ιησους Χριστος, ωδε νομοθετων. Conv. p. 92. B. C.

<sup>n</sup> ‘Υμεις γαρ εσε το αλας της γης, ο κυριος εφη τοις αποστολοις. ib. p. 67. D. <sup>o</sup> Ενθα ετε γαμωσιν ετε γαμωσκονται, κατα τας αψευδεις τε κυριω χρησμασι. ib. p. 76. C.

<sup>p</sup> —φησιν ο μακαριος Παυλος. Conv. p. 67. D.

<sup>q</sup> Καθαπερ και ο σοφωτατος Παυλος δηλοι. ap. Phot. Cod. 234. p. 924. f.

<sup>r</sup> ‘Ως εκ αυ ο πνευματικωτατος και σοφος ανηρ, τον Παυλον λεγω. Conv. p. 77. A.

<sup>s</sup> Πρωτον τον ωραιον την πισιν κτησασθω καρπον· ειτα τα καλλυνθρα, την ασκησιν και μελετην των γραφων. ib. p. 127. C.

<sup>t</sup> Περι δε τε την επιδυσιν αυτων ανευρασθαι και ειπειν, μειζον η καθ’ ημας· ομωσ τολμητειον, πισευσασαν τω κελευσαντι τας γραφας ερευναν. Conv. p. 110. A.

<sup>u</sup> ‘Οτι δυ αποκαλυψεις φησι γεγονεναι τω αγιω Παυλω· λεγει γαρ, αλλ’ εδε ο αποστολος υποτιθεται ειναι τον παραδεισον εν τω τριτω ερανω τοις λεπτων ακροασθαι λογων επισταμενοις—δυ αποκαλυψεις μεγαλις εωρακεναι μνηναι,

here speaks of two remarkable revelations, and two different raptures, one into the third heaven, the other into paradise; and he thinks that they who carefully attend to the expressions of the apostle will perceive, that he does not speak of paradise and the third heaven as one and the same place, or suppose paradise to be in the third heaven.

3. Theodoret has quoted this passage of Methodius out of his discourse Concerning Martyrs: 'For,' says<sup>v</sup> he, 'martyrdom is so admirable and desirable that the Lord Jesus Christ himself, the Son of God, was pleased to be a martyr, not esteeming it a thing to be earnestly sought, to be like God, that he might bless man to whom he had descended, with this gift also:' see Philip. ii. 6. This is the entire passage as given us by Theodoret. Bishop Bull<sup>w</sup> understood the expression of St. Paul here made use of in the sense of our English version, "thought it not robbery to be equal with God:" and he refers to a place of Petavius, where he also is supposed to be of the same opinion. Nevertheless it seems to me that, in this passage of Methodius, the expression can admit of no other meaning than that in the translation I have made, and that it must denote a voluntary humiliation of Jesus Christ. There is likewise a passage in the Banquet where Methodius refers to Philip. ii. 6, 7; I put it in the<sup>x</sup> margin: I suppose it does not weaken but confirm the interpretation I have given of the expression in the sixth verse; which sense, it is certain, appears frequently in the christian writers of the third century.

4. St. Paul writes: "And the dead in Christ shall rise first: then we which are alive:" 1 Thess. iv. 16, 17. By "the dead," <sup>y</sup>Methodius understood our bodies: "we which are alive," are our souls, which receive "the dead," that is, our bodies, out of the earth: then "we," soul and

δις αναλειφθεις εναργωγς. κ. λ. ap. Phot. Cod. 234. p. 910. ap. Combef. Bib. p. 308.

<sup>v</sup> Οὕτω γὰρ θανμασον και περισπεδασον εσι το μαρτυριον, οτι αυτος ο κυριος Ιησους Χριστος ο υιος τς Θεου, τιμων αυτο εμαρτυρησε, εχ αρπαχμον ηγησαιενος το ειναι ισα Θεω, ινα και τστω τον ανθρωπον τω χαρισματι, εις ον κατεβη, σεψη. ap. Theodoret. Dial. i. Tom. iv. p. 37.

<sup>w</sup> In libro de Martyribus apud Theodoretum Christum nominat Dominum et Filium Dei, qui non rapinam arbitratus est, esse æqualem Deo. Quæ, Petavio etiam judice, non nisi in Deum verum cadere possunt. Bull. Def. Nic. Sect. ii. c. 13. n. 9. Vid. Petav. Præfat. in Tom. ii. c. 4. n. 5.

<sup>x</sup> Διο και αναφοραν εις τον υιον ανειληφε τς Θεου, απο τς πληρωματος της θεοτητος εις τον βιον ελληλυθοτος. Κενωθεις γαρ και την μορφην τς δελε προσλαβων, εις την εαυτε τελειοτητα παλιν ανεπληρωθη. κ. λ. Conv. p. 115. A. B.

<sup>y</sup> ——— τστ' εσιν, αυτα ημων ταυτα τα σωματα' ημεις γαρ οι ζωντες, αι ψυχαι εσμεν' οι απολαμβανοντες εγερθεντες [al. εγερθεντας] εκ της ης νεκρους' κ. λ. ap. Phot. Cod. 234. p. 924. in. et ap. Combef. p. 325.

body, "are to be caught up together to meet the Lord." This may be allowed to be a difficult text; but I am apt to think that many will consider this paraphrase as an example of the wrong and injudicious interpretations of our author, which I spoke of formerly; nor do I intend to add any more.

XIII. We perceive from the remains of Methodius that he received the four gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, St. Paul's epistles, and the epistle to the Hebrews, as one of them. We have no plain evidence how many of the seven catholic epistles he received: undoubtedly he owned the first of St. Peter and first of St. John, there never having been any doubt concerning the genuineness of these. His opinion about the rest we are not acquainted with. He likewise quotes the Revelation frequently as a book of sacred scripture, written by John; whom it is likely he supposed to be John the apostle and evangelist. We have seen in him clear proofs that the scriptures of the New Testament, generally received by christians, were well known, much used, and highly esteemed: being books of authority, and appealed to in all points of dispute and controversy. I have not observed in this Greek writer, of the third century, any quotations of christian apocryphal writings: nor do the works of this author afford any the least ground to suppose that there were any writings of ancient christian authors that were esteemed sacred and of authority, beside those which are now generally received as such by us; namely, the writings of apostles and evangelists.

## CHAP. LVIII.

LUCIAN, PRESBYTER OF ANTIOCH; AND HESYCHIUS,  
BISHOP IN EGYPT.

I. *Lucian, his history, and testimonies to him.* II. *His edition of the scriptures of the Old and New Testament.* III. *Hesychius, his history, and his edition of the Old and New Testament.* IV. *Lucian's works.* V. *His sentiment upon the doctrine of the Trinity.* VI. *Concluding remarks.*

I. SAYS<sup>a</sup> Jerom in his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers :  
' Lucian, a most eloquent man, presbyter of the church of  
' Antioch, was so laborious in the study of the scriptures,  
' that to this day some copies of the scriptures are called  
' Lucian's. There are extant some discourses [or small  
' treatises] of his concerning the faith, and some short epis-  
' tles to several. He suffered at Nicomedia for confessing  
' the name of Christ, in the reign of Maximin, and was buried  
' at Helenopolis in Bithynia.'

Cave says that <sup>b</sup> Lucian was contemporary with Paul of Samosata, and flourished chiefly about the year 290. He suffered martyrdom in <sup>c</sup>311, or rather<sup>d</sup> in 312, and on the seventh day of January in that year.

It is now commonly said by<sup>e</sup> learned moderns, that <sup>f</sup> Lu-

<sup>a</sup> Lucianus, vir disertissimus, Antiochenæ ecclesiæ presbyter, tantum in scripturarum studio laboravit, ut usque nunc quædam exemplaria scripturarum Lucianea nuncupentur. Feruntur ejus de Fide libelli, et breves ad nonnullos epistolæ. Passus est Nicomediæ ob confessionem Christi sub persecutione Maximini, sepultusque est Helenopoli Bithyniæ. Hier. de V. I. cap. 77.

<sup>b</sup> Noster hic Paulo Samosateno erat ætate suppar, præcipue vero claruit circa an. 290. Cav. Hist. L. in Luciano.

<sup>c</sup> Baron. Ann. 311. n. iii. iv. Fabric. Bibl. Gr. T. v. p. 279.

<sup>d</sup> Ruin. Act. Mart. p. 504. Pag. Ann. 311. n. x. et xx. Basnag. 312. n. iv. Tillem. St. Lucien. Mem. T. v. P. iii. p. 150, 151, et note v.

<sup>e</sup> Lucianus, nobili prosapiâ ortus, patriam habuit Samosata, urbem Syriæ non incelebrem, ejusdem et urbis et nominis cum famoso illo christianæ religionis derisore, qui Trajani tempore vixit. Cav. ubi supr. Conf. Basn. an. 312. n. 23. Tillem. ubi supr. p. 146. et passim.

<sup>f</sup> In the preceding note I have placed Tillemont among those who say Lucian was born at Samosata: for such are his words: Il nâquit à Samosates dans la Syrie appellée Euphratesienne. ubi supr. p. 146. And yet he was aware that this is destitute of foundation; as appears from what he says in another place. Il étoit, à ce qu' on prétend, de même pays que Paul de Samosate. ib. p. 398. not. 1. sur. S. Lucien

cian was born at Samosata : but it is said, I think, upon the credit only of<sup>g</sup> the Acts of Lucian, and<sup>h</sup> of Suidas, who<sup>i</sup> copied those Acts ; which is no authority at all. Tillemont himself says, that<sup>k</sup> ‘ those Acts are certainly a work of ‘ Metaphrastes, and that they are mixed with fables, and ‘ have divers faults contrary to the truth of history ; which,’ says he, ‘ may excuse our not paying any regard to them, ‘ when they differ from other authors ; and allows us to take ‘ little notice of them in other points.’ Bollandus likewise observes upon those Acts, that<sup>l</sup> the Menologium makes Lucian a native of Antioch.

It seems to me that the author of the Acts, who had little regard to truth, and was not much concerned to be rightly informed, confounds upon this occasion Lucian, presbyter of Antioch, with Lucian the famous heathen dialogist, who lived in the second century, and was of Samosata.

This may be thought a trifle not worth taking notice of : but really it gives one offence to see learned men deliver for history what has no good authority, and supply their accounts of this eminent person out of a piece which is good for nothing : nor is this particular altogether trifling ; for when those learned writers come to consider a difficult question, concerning Lucian’s opinion about the doctrine of the Trinity, this circumstance of Lucian’s being a native of the same city with Paul, bishop of Antioch, is almost always<sup>m</sup> taken in as a thing of some moment.

I must add that it is to the honour of Theodoric Ruinart, that he has not inserted those Acts in his collection of Genuine and Select Acts of Martyrs : nor do I observe that in his account of Lucian he has borrowed any one article from them.

Of this person, in his Ecclesiastical History, Eusebius writes after this manner, speaking of those who suffered in the persecution begun by Dioclesian : ‘ Among the presidents of the churches in great cities, who suffered at that

<sup>g</sup> Vid. Bolland. Act. Sanctor. T. i. p. 359.

<sup>h</sup> Vid. Suid. V. Λεκιανος. et Hodius de Bibl. Text. Orig. l. iv. c. iii. p. 626. et l. iii. P. i. c. 5. p. 303.

<sup>i</sup> Vid. Kuster. ad Suid. ib. not. 5.

<sup>k</sup> See Mem. Ec. T. v. P. iii. p. 345, 346.

<sup>l</sup> Menologium habet

ex Antiochiâ Syriæ ortum fuisse Lucianum. Act. Sanct. ib. p. 359.

<sup>m</sup> Illum autem familiarem fuisse Pauli Samosatani, credibile est. Fuit enim ipse oriundus ex urbe Samosatensi, ut legitur in ejus vitâ. Et cum Paulus ex eâ urbe ad Antiochensem episcopatam evectus est, Lucianus quoque ecclesiæ Antiochenæ presbyter fuit. Pagi Ann. 311. n. xii. Conf. Vales. Annot. in Thdrt. H. E. l. i. c. iv. Ex urbe Pauli erat hæretici ; a Paulo ad presbyteratum in nobilissimâ ecclesiâ Antiochenâ promotus fuerat : cujus et errorem cum imbibisset, &c. Basnag. Ann. 312. n. 13.

‘time, the first to be recorded in the monuments of the  
 ‘pious is Anthimus, bishop of Nicomedia, a witness of the  
 ‘kingdom of Christ, who was beheaded: and<sup>n</sup> of Antioch,  
 ‘Lucian, a presbyter of that church, a man of an unblemished  
 ‘character throughout his whole life; he also suffered at  
 ‘Nicomedia, where, in the presence of the emperor, he first  
 ‘apologized for the heavenly kingdom of Christ in words,  
 ‘and afterwards farther recommended it by deeds.’

Again, in another place, the same ecclesiastical historian, having related the death of Peter of Alexandria by order of Maximinus, adds: ‘And with him suffered many other  
 ‘bishops of Egypt in like manner; as did also ‘Lucian,  
 ‘presbyter of the church of Antioch, an excellent man in  
 ‘all respects, celebrated for his piety and his knowledge of  
 ‘the scriptures: he was carried from Antioch to Nicomedia,  
 ‘where the emperor then was; and, having made an apology  
 ‘before the governor for the doctrine he professed, he was  
 ‘sent to prison, and there put to death.’

At this place Rufinus, in his Latin translation of Eusebius’s Ecclesiastical History, makes a little alteration; and also inserts a speech of considerable length, said to be<sup>p</sup> the same apology which Lucian made to the Roman governor. Whereupon, as <sup>q</sup>Rufinus says, ‘the audience being much  
 ‘moved, and almost persuaded, Lucian was commanded  
 ‘away to prison, there to be put to death, as if they feared  
 ‘a tumult of the people.’ Of this apology I intend to take some farther notice by and by.

There is still extant a panegyric<sup>r</sup> oration or homily of St. Chrysostom, pronounced on the seventh day of January 387, in honour of this martyr: but it is so oratorical, that though St. Chrysostom enlargeth upon the sufferings and fortitude of Lucian, and upon the manner of his death, it is very difficult to say how he would have us to suppose that the martyrdom of this presbyter, one of his predecessors

<sup>n</sup> Των δ’ ἐπ’ Ἀντιοχείας μαρτυρῶν τον παντα βιον αριτος πρεσβυτερος της αυτοθι παροικιας Λεκιανος· εν τη Νικομηδεια και αυτος, βασιλειως επιπαροντος, την θρανιον τε Χριστη βασιλειαν λογω προτερον δι’ απολογιας, ειτα δε και εργοις, ανακηρυξας. Eus. H. E. l. viii. c. xiii. in.

<sup>o</sup> Λεκιανος τε ανηρ τα παντα αριτος, βιω τε εγκρατης, και τοις ιεροις μαθημασι συγκεκορημενος, της κατ’ Ἀντιοχειαν παροικιας πρεσβυτερος, αχθεις επι της Νικομηδεων πολεως, ενθα τηρικαντα βασιλευς διατριβων ενυγχανε, παρασχων τε επι τε αρχοντος την ὑπερ ης προΐσατο διδασκαλιας απολογιαν, δεσμωτηριω παραδοθεις κινυνται, ib. l. ix. c. vi.

<sup>p</sup> Tum ille, datâ sibi facultate dicendi, hujusmodi orationem de fide nostrâ habuisse dicitur. Rufin. H. E. l. ix. c. vi.

<sup>q</sup> Et cum pene jam his verbis auditoribus suadere cœpisset, arripi jubetur in carcerem, ibique quasi absque tumultu populi necari. ib.

<sup>r</sup> T. ii. p. 524—529.

in the church of Antioch, was performed: whether<sup>s</sup> by famine, or by torture, or<sup>t</sup> by both; and whether in prison, or abroad.

Sozomen, having occasion to speak of Lucian, who, he says, suffered martyrdom at Nicomedia, gives him this great character, that<sup>u</sup> ‘ he was likewise on other accounts very ‘ eminent, and in a signal manner skilful in the sacred ‘ scriptures.’

Honorius of Autun says, that<sup>v</sup> Lucian was first presbyter of Antioch, and afterwards bishop of Nicomedia: but this is not said by Eusebius, or Jerom; and therefore, probably, it is without foundation. The error may have arisen from the place of Lucian’s martyrdom, or from the near mention made of Anthimus, bishop of Nicomedia, in Eusebius’s Ecclesiastical History. Eusebius does not suppose Lucian to have been bishop of Nicomedia, nor to have had any office in that church; for he reckons Lucian among the martyrs of the church of Antioch.

Jerom assured us that Lucian was buried at Helenopolis in Bithynia; but why he was buried there does not certainly appear from any good authority. In his Chronicle, at the 21st year of Constantine’s reign, Jerom says: ‘ Constantine<sup>w</sup> ‘ repairing Drepanum, a city in Bithynia, in honour of the ‘ martyr Lucian, who was there buried, called it Helenopolis from his mother.’ The same<sup>x</sup> is in the Paschal Chronicle, with this addition, that Constantine enacted that all the lands in view of the city should be exempted from tribute: which privilege, the author says, was enjoyed to his time. Philostorgius, the credulous Arian historian, says, that<sup>y</sup> the empress Helena’s fondness for that city was owing to this only, that the body of Lucian was brought thither after his martyrdom by a dolphin.

In a church of this city, which was near Nicomedia, Con-

<sup>s</sup> Vid. Tillem. sur S. Lucien, notes 6 et 7. Il y a bien de la difficulté pour le genre de la mort de S. Lucien. Id. ib. p. 410.

<sup>t</sup> Martyrium vero S. Luciani presbyteri Antiocheni, qui fame et cruciatibus multis, ut ait Chrysostomus, Christi nomen gloriose confessus est, accidit anno 311, vel 312. Monitum ad Hom. in S. Lucian. p. 523.

<sup>u</sup> — Λεβκιανς, τς εν Νικομηδεια μαρτυρησαντος, ανδρος τα τε αλλα ευδοκιμωτατς, και τας ιερας γραφας εις ακρον ηκριβωκοτος. Sozom. l. iii. c. v. p. 503. A. <sup>v</sup> Antiochenæ ecclesiæ presbyter, postmodum Nicomediæ episcopus. Honor. de Scriptor. Ec. c. 78. <sup>w</sup> Drepanum, Bithyniæ civitatem, in honorem martyris Luciani ibi conditi Constantinus instaurans ex vocabulo matris suæ Helenopolim nuncupavit. Hier. Chr. l. 2. p. 181.

<sup>x</sup> — Chron. Pasc. p. 283.

<sup>y</sup> — ασπασσθαι δε το χωριον κατ’ αλλο μεν εδεν, οτι δε Λεβκιανος ο μαρτυς εκεισε τυχοι μετα τον μαρτυρικον θανατον υπο δελφινος εκκομισθεις. Philost. l. ii. c. xii. p. 474.

stantine, a little before his death, prepared himself for<sup>z</sup> baptism.

Jerom has not only allotted Lucian a place in his Book of Illustrious Men, and mentioned him in his Chronicle, as already seen, but has likewise named him in his<sup>a</sup> letter to Magnus, among other christian writers, eminent for polite learning as well as for knowledge in the divine scriptures. And there are some other passages of his to be taken notice of.

II. Jerom said, in the place before cited from his Catalogue, that some copies of scripture were called Lucian's: he elsewhere<sup>b</sup> speaks of that matter more largely, where he says, that 'the churches of Egypt made use of that edition of the Septuagint, which was put out by Hesychius. From Constantinople to Antioch Lucian's edition was used; but the countries lying in the midst read the version of the Seventy, as published by Pamphilus and Eusebius from Origen's copy.'

There is another passage of Jerom concerning Lucian's edition of the Seventy, which<sup>c</sup> I transcribe at the bottom of the page.

And in his preface to the four gospels he<sup>d</sup> speaks of an edition of the New, as well as of the Old Testament, made by Lucian and Hesychius; but he does not commend their copies; for, as he says, they were interpolated; that is, there were some things inserted in them without good authority, they being wanting in more ancient copies.

Jerom is now commonly understood to say in the first of these passages, that Lucian's edition of the version of the Seventy was generally used by the churches from Constantinople to Antioch, and Hesychius's by the churches in

<sup>z</sup> Vid. Euseb. de Vit. Const. l. iv. c. 61. p. 557. <sup>a</sup> —nec non presbyterorum Pamphili, Pierii, Malchionis, &c. Ep. 83. p. 656.

<sup>b</sup> Alexandria et Ægyptus in Septuaginta suis Hesychium laudat auctorem. Constantinopolis usque Antiochiam Luciani martyris exemplaria probat. Mediæ inter has provinciæ Palæstinos codices legunt, quos ab Origene elaboratos Eusebius et Pamphilus vulgaverunt. Totusque orbis ac inter se trifariâ varietate compugnat. Hier. Præf. in Paralip. Opp. T. i. p. 1023. Eadem repetuntur in libr. ii. adv. Ruf. T. iv. p. 425.

<sup>c</sup> In quo illud breviter admoneo, ut sciatis aliam esse editionem, quam Origenes, et Cæsariensis Eusebius, omnesque Græciæ tractatores Κοινην, id est, Communem, appellant, atque vulgatam, et a plerisque Λεσκιανος dicitur; aliam Septuaginta Interpretum, quæ in 'Εξαπλοῖς codicibus reperitur, et a nobis in Latinum sermonem fideliter versa est et Jerosolymæ atque in Orientis ecclesiis decantatur. Ep. ad Sun. et Fret. [al. Ep. 135.] T. ii. p. 627.

<sup>d</sup> Prætermitto codices, quos a Luciano et Hesychio nuncupatos paucorum hominum asserit perversa consuetudo: quibus utique nec in Veteri Testamento post Septuaginta Interpretes emendare quid licuit, nec in Novo profuit emendasse; quum multarum gentium linguis scriptura ante translata doceat falsa esse quæ addita sunt. Præf. in Quat. Evang.

Egypt: but<sup>e</sup> Martianay denies this. He says that the editions made by Lucian and Hesychius were used in those countries by a few only, and those men of mistaken judgment; and that the edition made from Origen's Hexapla generally prevailed every where: and it must be owned, that in the last cited passage Jerom not only censures the interpolations of those two critics in the New Testament, but likewise their emendations of the Old: and in the passage which I have put in the margin, he depreciates Lucian's edition of the Seventy, in comparison of Origen's, which last he himself followed in his translation of the Old Testament from the Greek.

Humphrey Hody doubted whether<sup>f</sup> Lucian and Hesychius had ever seen Origen's edition of the version of the Seventy: nor indeed have we any certain information upon that head, very little being said of their editions in the remaining pieces of ancient authors: but as Origen's performance was much celebrated, and his Tetrapla and Hexapla had been formed a good while before Lucian and Hesychius undertook any thing of that kind, it may be thought probable that those learned men were acquainted with Origen's Seventy; though perhaps they had not seen that correct edition which was published by Pamphilus and Eusebius.

The author of the *Synopsis Scripturæ Sacræ*, or of an addition to it, calls<sup>g</sup> the seventh and the last Greek version of the Old Testament Lucian's; and says that this version was made from the Hebrew; and was found in the time of Constantine the Great at Nicomedia, privately hid in the hands of some Jews: which is in the main agreeable to what<sup>h</sup> is said in the Acts of Metaphrastes, before cen-

<sup>e</sup> Hunc locum male intelligunt, qui putant in omnibus Christi ecclesiis ita usurpatas fuisse editiones Græcas LXX. interpretum, ut in Alexandrinorum et Ægyptiorum conventibus publice populo christiano legerentur sacri codices juxta emendationem Hesychii; in ecclesiis autem Constantinopolitanis usque ad Antiochiam, juxta Luciani martyris recognitionem. Contrarium docet Hieronymus multis in locis; ac primum in præfatione in quatuor evangelia ad Damasum expresse testatur, has editiones paucis acceptas esse: Prætermitto eos codices, &c. Vides igitur, lector, intra provincias jam dictas a paucis, qui etiam perverse contenderent, fuisse suscepta Hesychii et Luciani exemplaria Scripturarum. Non idem sentiendum de codicibus elaboratis ab Origene.— Illa namque editio celebris adeo fuit apud omnes, ut publice usurparetur in cunctis christianorum ecclesiis, &c. Martian. Annot. ad Præf. Hieron. in Paralip. T. i. p. 1023.

<sup>f</sup> Et dubito quidem ego, utrum Lucianus et Hesychius editionem Origenianam unquam oculis usurpârint, necne: quandoquidem eam a Pamphilo primum et Eusebio in lucem fuisse emissam verisimilium videtur. Hod. de Bibl. Text. Orig. l. iv. c. iii. p. 628.

<sup>g</sup> Ἐβδόμη παλιν καὶ τελευταία ἑρμηνεῖα ἢ τῶν ἁγίων Λεκιανῶν—κ. λ. Syn. S. S. Ap. Athan. T. ii. p. 203.

<sup>h</sup> Vid. Hod. p. 626, 627.

sured: but this account is all false and mistaken. The seventh Greek version, as it is called, was in Origen's Hexapla, and was of a part only of the Old Testament: whereas Lucian's edition contained the whole Old Testament, as has been observed by<sup>i</sup> Hody and<sup>k</sup> Montfauçon, men well skilled in this matter: nor is there any good reason to think that Lucian understood Hebrew: and the finding the copy among the Jews at Nicomedia appears to be altogether fabulous, or mistaken; for it is likely that<sup>l</sup> Lucian took care to publish copies of his work without delay. Yea, the author of the Synopsis himself says, that<sup>m</sup> Lucian having finished his exact version delivered it to his christian brethren;<sup>n</sup> and yet he presently afterwards adds, that after his martyrdom it was<sup>o</sup> found in the hands of some Jews, where it had been lodged for safety; which, in my opinion, has not the appearance of probability: for the Jews of those times were always enemies to the christians, and no more to be confided in than heathens, especially in times of persecution.

The late Jeremiah Jones thought that<sup>p</sup> the editions of the New Testament made by Lucian and Hesychius, and mentioned by Jerom, as above, are<sup>q</sup> the apocryphal gospels of Lucian and Hesychius, which are censured in the decree of Pope Gelasius; and that Gelasius means not any distinct

<sup>i</sup> Ut errant hi scriptores, cum editionem Luciani appellant translationem; sic rursus falluntur, cum Septimam dicunt; nescientes nimirum, extitisse Septimam quamdam in Hexaplis Origenis. Hod. ib. p. 627.

<sup>k</sup> Sic ille [auctor Synopseos] decantatum illam Luciani martyris editionem cum Septimâ Hexaplarum confudit, exque duabus unam fecit. Quod commentum Eusebii atque Hieronymi testimoniis exploditur, quorum prior, Luciano martyri æqualis, in ipso autographo vidit Septimam ab Origene ante annos plus quinquaginta in Hexaplis positam. Ad hæc vero auctoris Synopseos narratio respuitur ex ipsis Septimæ fragmentis, quæ, ut testificantur Eusebius et Hieronymus, in paucis scripturæ libris aderat: contra vero Luciani editio totam scripturam complectebatur, nihilque aliud erat quam interpretatio των ὀ plurimis in locis ab eodem sancto martyre emendata, quæ multis post concinnata Hexapla annis prodierat. Hinc vero corrigendus Waltonus, qui, ab auctore Synopseos deceptus, opinatur Septimam eandem esse, quam Luciani martyris editionem. Proleg. ix. num. xx. Montf. Prælim. in Hex. Orig. cap. 8. sect. ii. p. 58, 59.

<sup>l</sup> See Tillem. St. Lucien, not. ii. p. 404. Mem. T. v. P. iii.

<sup>m</sup> See Tillem. again, p. 405. who says, it is probable, that Lucian published many copies of his edition, and made it common.

<sup>n</sup> Καὶ διορθωσαμενος ἐν τοῖς γραφῶν τοποῖς ἐξέδοτο τοῖς χριστιανοῖς ἀδελφοῖς. Synops. ubi supr. p. 204. A.

<sup>o</sup> —παρα Ἰουδαίους.—ib.

<sup>p</sup> See his canon of Scripture. vol. i. p. 281, 311.

<sup>q</sup> Evangelia, quæ falsavit Lucianus, apocrypha. Evangelia, quæ falsavit Hesychius, apocrypha. Gelas. ap. Iabb. T. iv. p. 1264.

gospels, but their interpolated editions of our canonical gospels. Hody<sup>r</sup> and Mill<sup>s</sup> speak to the like purpose.

III. As Hesychius has been now named, and I see no need to allot him a distinct chapter, I shall here observe that<sup>l</sup> he is generally supposed to be the same Hesychius whom<sup>u</sup> Eusebius mentions with other bishops in Egypt, who obtained the crown of martyrdom in Dioclesian's persecution; but the time is not exactly known. Cave says, that Hesychius flourished near the end of the third century, about the year 296, and placeth his martyrdom in 311; Basnage<sup>v</sup> in 311 or 312. Tillemont speaks of him as suffering with others, whose martyrdom he placeth<sup>w</sup> in 310.

It is observable that there is no distinct article for Hesychius in Jerom's Catalogue: nor is his name among other eminent christian writers in Jerom's letter to Magnus.

Hody<sup>x</sup> supposeth Jerom to refer to this person's edition of the Seventy in another place, beside those formerly taken notice of by me.

But it is not fit I should stay to enlarge farther on these matters: I therefore refer to Grabe and others, who have published editions<sup>o</sup> of the Seventy, or written prolegomena, or dissertations upon that version; and to Fabricius, who<sup>y</sup> has a short article, with many good hints relating to the labours both of Lucian and Hesychius.

However it should be here remembered, that Hesychius put out an edition of the New as well as of the Old Testament. The evidences of this we saw just now in<sup>z</sup> Jerom.

IV. There is little if any thing of Lucian remaining.

1. In the Paschal Chronicle, the author, having shown the fierceness of the persecution at Nicomedia, adds: 'Of<sup>a</sup> this innumerable multitude of martyrs the presbyter Lucian writing to the Antiochians speaks in these words: "the whole choir of martyrs together salutes you. I take this opportunity to certify you, that Anthimus the bishop has finished the course of his martyrdom."'

<sup>r</sup> Hod. ubi supr. p. 629.

<sup>s</sup> Mill. Proleg. n. 728.

<sup>t</sup> Vid. Cav. Hist. Lit. Tillem. St. Pierre d'Alexandrie. Art. 10. Mem. T. v. Part. iii. p. 124. et Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. v. p. 279.

<sup>u</sup> Φιλας τε, και Ησυχιος, και Παχυμιος, και Θεοδωρος, των αμφι την Αιγυπτον εκκλησιων επισκοποι. Hist. Ec. l. viii. cap. 13. p. 308. C.

<sup>v</sup> Basn. Ann. 312. n. 18.

<sup>w</sup> See Tillem. as referred to before, note<sup>t</sup>.

<sup>x</sup> Citatur alibi editio Hesychiana ab Hieronymo sub titulo Exemplarium Alexandrinorum. Hod. ib. p. 628. f. Conf. Hieron. in Is. lviii. 11. p. 433.

<sup>y</sup> Vid. Bib. Gr. T. v. p. 278, 279. Conf. eund. ib. T. ii. p. 358, 359.

<sup>z</sup> See before, p. 206. note<sup>d</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Περι τῆς τῆ ἀπειρῆς πληθῆς των μαρτυρησαντων Λεκιανος πρεσβυτερος Αντιοχευσι γραφων εδηλε' Ασπαζεται υμας χορος ἀπας ὁμα μαρτυρων. Ευναγγελιζομαι δε υμας, ὡς Ανθιμος ὁ παπας τῷ τῆ μαρτυριε δρομῷ ετελειωθη. Chr. Pasch. p. 277. C.

If this be genuine, we have here a part of one of those short epistles intended by St. Jerom. However, it is now the constant opinion of learned men that Anthimus, bishop of Nicomedia, suffered at the beginning of Dioclesian's persecution in 303, and that Lucian did not die before the year 311 or 312. If therefore this letter be his, he must have been at Nicomedia, and in communion with that church, and the martyrs there, when Anthimus suffered.

2. Eusebius assures us, that before Lucian suffered he apologized for the heavenly kingdom in words: and, as before shown, Rufinus has inserted a speech, as delivered by him; which I see<sup>b</sup> Huet quotes as Lucian's: and<sup>c</sup> Fabricius thinks it might be taken by Rufinus from the Acts of his martyrdom: but<sup>d</sup> Tillemont is of opinion that it is a speech of Rufinus's own making.

Whether it be Lucian's, or Rufinus's, or in part only the apology of our martyr, with some additions of the historian, I cannot forbear taking some notice of it here, it representing in some measure the just sentiments of those ancient christians who considered their religion as a divine institution of virtue.

'It is no secret,' says he, 'that the God whom we christians worship, is the one God declared to us by Christ, and by the Holy Ghost inspired in our hearts.'

'I own, that we also once trusted in gods of our own making.—But Almighty God, commiserating the errors of mankind, sent his wisdom into this world, clothed in flesh,

<sup>b</sup> Huet Dem. Ev. Prop. iii. sect. viii. p. 30.  
Præsidentem ante martyrium A. C. 311. Nicomediæ dictam, cujus meminit Eusebius ix. 6. Rufinus in Latinâ suâ versione ex Actis, ut videtur, martyrii ejus,—excerptam exhibet. Fabr. B. G. T. v. p. 279.

<sup>d</sup> See Tillem. as before, p. 145, 146.

<sup>e</sup> —Fateor, erravimus etiam nos aliquando, et simulacra, quæ finximus, deos cæli ac terræ putabamus auctores.—Verum omnipotens Deus,—errores miseratus humanos, Sapientiam suam misit in hunc mundum carne vestitam, quæ nos doceret Deum, qui cælum fecit et terram, non in manufactis, sed in æternis atque invisibilibus, requirendum. Vitæ enim nobis leges, ac disciplinæ præcepta constituit; servare parsimoniam, paupertate gaudere, mansuetudinem colere, studere pati, puritatem cordis complecti, patientiam custodire. Sed et omnia hæc, quæ nunc adversum nos geritis, ventura nobis esse prædixit; educendos nos ad reges, et ante tribunalia judicium statuendos, ac velut victimam jugulandos. Inde est, denique, quod et ipse qui erat immortalis, utpote Verbum et Sapientia Dei, morte se præbuit, quo nobis in corpore positus patientiæ præberet exemplum. Sed nec nos suâ morte decepit, quibus post tertium diem resurrexit: non, ut ista, quæ nunc falso conscribuntur, continent Acta Pilati; sed innocens, immaculatus, et purus, ad hoc solum mortem suscepit, ut eam vinceret resurgendo. Quæ autem dico, non sunt in obscuro gesta loco, nec testibus indigent. Pars pene jam mundi major huic veritati adstipulatur, urbes integræ. Eus. H. E. Vers. Ruf. l. ix. c. 6. p. 202.

<sup>c</sup> Apologiam ad

to teach us the knowledge of God, who made the heavens and the earth, who is eternal and invisible. He moreover gave us a rule of life, and delivered to us the precepts of righteousness: he taught us to practise sobriety, to rejoice in poverty, to be very meek, to be willing to suffer, to preserve the purity of our minds, and to be patient at all times. He likewise foretold the things which have since happened to us; that we should be brought before kings and rulers, and be slaughtered as victims: for which cause also though he was immortal, as being the Word and Wisdom of God, he yielded himself to death, that whilst he was in the body he might set us an example of patience. Nor did he deceive us by dying, but on the third day rose again:—being innocent, and unspotted, and undergoing death only that he might overcome it by rising again. These things are well attested, and a large part of the world now acknowledgeth the truth of them.’

3. There is likewise a Creed, or Formulary of Faith, concerning the Trinity, which is sometimes called Lucian’s. Fabricius reckoning up our martyr’s works speaks of this among the rest. I shall put his words in the<sup>f</sup> margin: but I am by no means of opinion that this is one of Lucian’s little books, or discourses concerning the faith, mentioned by Jerom in his Catalogue: I rather think that Jerom intends Lucian’s Apology, made a little before his martyrdom, or some other short treatises in defence of the christian religion. Rufinus, a contemporary, useth the same word with Jerom, when he introduceth<sup>g</sup> the speech, or apology, which Lucian made before the president at Nicomedia, calling it, A Discourse concerning the Faith; which was not a formulary of the doctrine of the Trinity, but an apology for the christian religion in general.

Bishop Bull<sup>h</sup> readily allowed this Formulary to be Lucian’s: but let us consider the testimony of antiquity. Sozomen informs us, that<sup>i</sup> ‘the Eusebians in a synod at Antioch published a Formulary, which they said was ‘Lucian’s the martyr.’ But Sozomen adds, ‘he did not know whether they spake truth, or whether they endeavoured to recommend their own composition under the

<sup>f</sup> Præterea, brevis fidei formula—exstat apud Athanasium de Synodis—T. i. p. 892, et Socratem. ii. 10. quamque Synodi Antiochenæ (A. C. 341.) patres, Luciani esse affirmant, apud Sozomenum, iii. 5. Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. v. p. 279.

<sup>g</sup> Tum ille, datâ sibi facultate dicendi, hujusmodi orationem de fide nostrâ habuisse dicitur. Rufin. ubi supr. <sup>h</sup> Def. Fid. Nic. cap. 3. sect. ii. n. 6.

<sup>i</sup> Ελεγον δε ταυτην την πιτιν ολογραφον εῳρηκεναι Δεκκιανῃς,—ποτερον δε αληθως ταυτα εφασαν, η την ιδιαν γραφην σεμνοποιωντες τῳ αξιωματι τε μαρτυρος, λεγειν εκ εχω. Sozom. l. iii. c. 5. p. 503. A.

‘ authority of the martyr ;’ whereas it seems to me, that if there had been extant any such piece of Lucian’s, Sozomen must have known it. Moreover, the Creed, which Sozomen is supposed to refer to, is at length in <sup>k</sup> Athanasius, <sup>l</sup> Hilary, and <sup>m</sup> Socrates : but they none of them call it Lucian’s : nor do they say that it was published as his. In one of the five Dialogues concerning the Holy Trinity, the age of which is not certainly known, except that they could not be written much before the end of the fourth century, the Macedonian asks the Orthodox, if he believed as the blessed Lucian did ? to which the Orthodox answers, he believes as did all the martyrs and apostles. The Macedonian asks again, whether he would subscribe Lucian’s Formulary ; or, whether there was in it any thing which he condemned ? the Orthodox then tells him, that he dislikes<sup>n</sup> the addition which his friends had made, and that he could prove it to be an addition of theirs. There does not then appear to be sufficient reason to consider that Formulary as Lucian’s.

V. This brings us at length to a difficult question, which cannot well be omitted, relating to Lucian’s belief in the Trinity. We have seen divers testimonies very favourable to him in Eusebius, Chrysostom, Jerom, Rufinus, Sozomen. His edition of the Seventy was esteemed by many. His memory was honoured by Constantine and others ; nor is there in Jerom or Athanasius any censure passed upon his faith. Who could have thought that there should be any reason to doubt whether Lucian was orthodox ? and yet it is questioned : for Arius concludes his letter<sup>o</sup> to Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia, calling him Collucianist : the reason of which seems to be what is said by Epiphanius, that<sup>p</sup> Lucian and Eusebius had lived together in Nicomedia : and Arius I think must have supposed them of one opinion with himself. Epiphanius in his Anchoret says, that<sup>q</sup> Lucian and all the Lucianists denied that the Son of God took a soul, and taught that he took flesh only. Again, in the same work, he speaks<sup>r</sup> of the Lucianists and Arians as one sect : and in his Panarium, in his article of the old Lucianists, he

<sup>k</sup> De Synod. T. i. p. 735, 736.  
1169. Conf. ib. not.<sup>l</sup> p. 1168. Ed. Bened.

<sup>l</sup> Hilar. de Synod. p. 1168,  
<sup>m</sup> Socrat. l. ii. c. 10.

<sup>n</sup> Κατεγγων της προσθηκης, ης προσεθηκατε και εχω δειξει, οτι προσεθηκατε εναντια αυτης. De S. Trin. Dial. iii. ap. Athan. T. ii. p. 507. B. Ed. Bened.

<sup>o</sup> Συλλαγκιανισα, αληθως Ευσεβιε. ap. Epiph. H. 69. p. 732. A.

<sup>p</sup> ——— αμα Λεκιανω εν Νικομηδεια συμβεβιωκως. Epiph. ib. p. 730. B.

<sup>q</sup> Λεκιανος γαρ, και παντες Λεκιανιστοι αρνουνται τον υιον τε Θεε ψυχην ειληφεναι σαρκα μεν μονον φασιν εσχηκεναι. κ. λ. Epiph. Ancor. n. xxxiii. T. ii. p. 38. C.

<sup>r</sup> Ib. n. xxxv. p. 40. D.

distinguisheth<sup>s</sup> between the ancient Lucian, follower of Marcion, and Lucian who lived, he says, in the time of Constantine, whom the Arians call a martyr, and who was inclined to the Arian heresy. According to <sup>t</sup>Philostorgius, Eusebius of Nicomedia, and others of the chief of the Arians, were disciples of Lucian; Maris of Chalcedon, Theognis of Nice, Leontius of Antioch, Asterius the sophist, and others; which induced Du Pin to say that all the heads of that party were Lucian's disciples: and, not to add any thing more, Alexander in his letter to his namesake of Constanti- nople says, that ‘<sup>u</sup> Lucian, succeeding [or following] Paul ‘of Samosata, remained for a long time, during three bishops, ‘excommunicated,’ or separated from the church: those three bishops are supposed to be<sup>v</sup> Domnus, Timæus, and Cyril; which last was succeeded by<sup>w</sup> Tyrannus.

Learned men are not agreed in their interpretation of those words; some supposing them to mean that<sup>x</sup> Lucian, follow- ing the sentiments of Paul of Samosata, bishop of Antioch, separated himself from the communion of the church: others, that<sup>y</sup> he was by three successive bishops excluded from communion. It is, however, the general opinion of learned moderns, that Lucian did not always continue separated, or excommunicated: they agree in supposing that<sup>z</sup> those words

<sup>s</sup> Λεκιανος τις αρχαιος, εκ ο νυν εν χρονοις Κωνσταντινῃ τῷ γεροντος γεγωνος, ον δηθεν οἱ Αρειανοι εν μαρτυσιν επιψηφιζονται· ην γαρ και ετος ο Λεκιανος, φημι, προσανεχων τη των Αρειανων αιρεσει. Eriph. H. 43. n. i. p. 378.

<sup>t</sup> ‘Οτι τετε τῷ μαρτυρος πολλες μεν και αλλες μαθητας αναγραφει, οἱς και Ευσεβιον τον Νικομηδειας, και Μαριν τον Χαλκεδονος, κ. λ. Philost. l. ii. c. xiv. p. 475. A. Vid. ib. c. 12, 13. p. 474. et c. 3. p. 470.

<sup>u</sup> ‘Ον διαδεξαμενος Λεκιανος αποσυναγωγος εμεινε τριων επισκοπων πολυτετις χρονος. Alex. ap. Thdr. H. E. l. i. c. 4. p. 15. B.

<sup>v</sup> Vid. Hieron. Chr. p. 176, 177.

<sup>w</sup> Antiochiæ decimus nonus constituitur episcopus Tyrannus. ib. p. 179.

<sup>x</sup> Causa itaque schismatis Luciani fuit doctrina Pauli Samosatani, quam defendebat; cujus gratiâ diu separavit se a tribus episcopis Antiochenis, Domino scilicet, Timæo, ac Cyrillo, qui sibi invicem successere. Pagi Ann. 311. n. xi. Cæterum hujus verbi αποσυναγωγος εμεινε, κ. λ. vim non intellexere interpretes, quos secutus Baronius scribit, Lucianum a tribus episcopis sibi continue succedentibus, ecclesiâ ejectum fuisse. Atqui hoc non dicit Alexander, sed tantum ait, Lucianum schisma fecisse in Antiochensi ecclesiâ, et sub tribus episcopis sibi continue succedentibus Collectas seorsum celebrasse. Id enim significat vox αποσυναγωγος. Id. ib. n. xii.

<sup>y</sup> Paulo Samosateno succedens Lucianus ecclesiasticâ societate trium episcoporum segregatus pluribus annis permansit.—Hanc Alexandri esse mentem nobis persuasissimum.—Αποσυναγωγος εμεινε, non actum hominis se separantis, sed passivam potius ejectionem significat, &c. Basnag. Ann. 312. n. xxiii. Conf. Tillem. S. Lucien, Not. 3. p. 405.

<sup>z</sup> Tandem vero ad unitatem ecclesiæ reversus est Lucianus, ut ex Alexandro colligitur. Pagi Ann. 311. n. xii. Extra dubium igitur est, Lucianum in errorem incidisse, ex quo tamen, Deo favente, tandem emersisse putamus. Basn. ubi supra.

of Alexander afford reason to conclude that Lucian returned, or was restored, to the catholic communion before his death; and probably, in the beginning of the episcopate of Tyrannus, who<sup>a</sup> succeeded Cyril about the year 297, near the end of the third century, or however before Dioclesian's persecution, which began in February 303.

That passage of Alexander would lead us to think that Lucian was in the sentiments, or at least in the interests of Paul of Samosata; and<sup>b</sup> that for some reasons he greatly disliked the act of the council which deposed Paul. And there are other things which may be reckoned of some moment: for in the former part of the Creed ascribed to Lucian there are some expressions which seem over-orthodox; inso-much that bishop Bull<sup>c</sup> could not forbear to say, they are stronger than any used by the council of Nice: and, if so, others may be apt to conclude they must be Sabellian; though in the latter part of the same Creed<sup>d</sup> are expressions favourable to Arianism; which may be what the orthodox christian in the Dialogue before referred to, calls an addition, and says is contrary to Lucian's Creed: meaning, perhaps, the former part<sup>e</sup> of it. However, it may be thought by some that Lucian, in the speech preserved by Rufinus, speaks not of the Word, or Logos, as a distinct person, but only as the wisdom of God.

But how shall we reconcile this with the high esteem paid to Lucian by the Arians of the fourth century? For certainly Paulianism, or Sabellianism, and Arianism, are very different: it would likewise be hard to conceive how Eusebius, who was exceedingly averse to the Sabellian scheme, should say that Lucian was an excellent man in all respects.

Upon the whole, it is very difficult to reconcile the accounts concerning Lucian, or to determine where his fault lay, if he was guilty of any. As the Arians in general, and many catholics of the fourth century, showed a great regard

<sup>a</sup> See Tillem. in St. Lucien, p. 149. and note 4. Mem. T. v. P. iii.

<sup>b</sup> See before, Vol. ii. ch. xliii.

<sup>c</sup> Imo pene ausim affirmare absolutam Filii divinitatem aliquatenus in Lucianæo Symbolo efficacius et significantius exprimi, quam in ipso Nicæno. Quippe vera illa, Deum ex Deo, totum ex toto, perfectum ex perfecto, quæ confessionis Lucianææ sunt, perfectam Filii divinitatem, et æqualem paternæ naturam, disertius annuntiant, quam ista Nicæni Symboli, &c. Def. Fid. Nic. p. 146.

<sup>d</sup> Των ονοματων εχ απλως, εδε αρχων κειμενων, αλλα σημαινοντων ακριβως την ιδιαν εκασε των ονομαζομενων υποσασιν τε και δοξαν και ταξιν' ως ειναι τη μεν υποσασει τρια, τη δε συμφωνια εν. ap. Socr. l. ii. c. 10. p. 88. A.

<sup>e</sup> Though I have argued as above, I certainly do not take any part of the Creed ascribed to Lucian to be his.

to the name of Lucian, some may be apt to infer there must have been two persons of that name; but that is an opinion which does not seem to be at all countenanced by antiquity; and we are, I think, obliged to suppose one and the same person to be intended all along.

VI. Whether Lucian's opinion concerning the Trinity, particularly concerning the Word, was the same with that which is now reckoned orthodox, or not, which is a point not easily decided; we have seen other accounts of him which are unquestioned: and all must be satisfied that he was a pious, learned, and diligent man; that he believed Jesus to be a divine teacher and the Christ. Lucian made out an edition both of the Old and New Testament: Jerom indeed does not commend this last, Lucian having admitted into his copies some readings and passages which he did not reckon genuine: as this is the only fault found by Jerom, it may be concluded that the work was unexceptionable in other respects; or at least that Lucian's canon of the scriptures of the New Testament was much the same with that of other christians.

And every serious reader, I presume, has with joy observed this additional testimony to the truth of the christian religion, which this presbyter of Antioch asserted and adorned by the virtues and literary labours of his life, and by a death worthy of praise.

## CHAP. LIX.

## PAMPHILUS, PRESBYTER OF CÆSAREA.

- I. *His history, and testimonies to him.* II. *An account of some others who suffered martyrdom about the same time with Pamphilus.* III. *Of the library erected by Pamphilus at Cæsarea.* IV. *An edition of the Seventy by him and Eusebius from Origen's Hexapla.* V. *Books transcribed from others in that library, still remaining.* VI. *A school said to be set up by him at Cæsarea.* VII. *His Apology for Origen.* VIII. *Contents of the Acts of the apostles, composed by Pamphilus, or Euthalius.* IX. *His character.* X. *Critical remarks upon pretended acts of his passion.*

I. 'PAMPHILUS<sup>a</sup> a presbyter, friend of Eusebius, bishop of Cæsarea, had such an affection for the<sup>b</sup> divine library,

<sup>a</sup> Pamphilus presbyter, Eusebii Cæsariensis episcopi necessarius, tanto bibliothecæ divinæ amore flagravit, ut maximam partem Origenis voluminum suâ manu descriperit, quæ usque hodie in Cæsariensi bibliothecâ habentur. Sed et in duodecim prophetas viginti quinque *εξηγησεων* volumina manu ejus exarata repperi, quæ tanto amplector et servo gaudio, ut Cræsi opes habere me credam. Si enim lætitia est unam epistolam habere martyris, quanto magis tot millia versuum, quæ mihi videtur sui sanguinis signâsse vestigiis? Scripsit, antequam Eusebius scriberet, Apologeticum pro Origene, et passus est Cæsareæ Palæstinæ sub persecutione Maximini. Hier. de V. I. c. 75.

<sup>b</sup> —had such an affection for the divine library.] That is a literal translation, but the meaning is not very obvious. The phrase occurs again in the chapter of Eusebius, who, as Jerom there says, was very studious in the scriptures, and with Pamphilus a diligent searcher of the divine library: in scripturis studiosissimus, et bibliothecæ divinæ, cum Pamphilo martyre, diligentissimus pervestigator. Upon both those places Fabricius says, that thereby is to be understood the sacred scriptures, and refers to Martianay's Prolegomena to the first tome of St. Jerom's works. Cave understood the phrase in the same manner; for speaking of Pamphilus he says: Tanto erga divinas literas studio exarsit, ut bibliothecam Cæsareæ exstruxerit. Hist. Lit. And Trithemius de Ser. Ec. c. 47. Pamphilus—tantos eo tempore apud Cæsaream libros amore Scripturarum congregavit, ut in omni tempore nulla bibliotheca celebrior extiterit. Honorius, c. 76, et 82, copies Jerom exactly, and therefore is of no service to us. Sophronius translates literally, *θειας βιβλοθηκης*. Martianay, to whom Fabricius refers, says: Apud veteres bibliothecæ divinæ nomen obtinebant sacra volumina, quæ nunc temporis Biblia vocamus. Proleg. i. n. 1. But his proofs are not sufficient: his examples are not very numerous; one of them is that above concerning Eusebius. I here take notice of another of them: Eodem sensu Hieronymus Ep. 89. ad Augustinum, vetus instrumentum, seu volumina ejusdem vocat ecclesiarum bibliothecas. Vis, inquit, amator esse verus septuaginta interpretum? Non

‘ [or had such a desire to form a well furnished ecclesiastical library] that he wrote out with his own hand the greatest part of Origen’s works, which are still in the library of Cæsarea; and beside I have met with five-and-twenty volumes of Origen’s Commentaries upon the twelve prophets in his hand-writing; which I value and keep as if I had the treasures of Cræsus. For if it be a pleasure to possess one single epistle of a martyr, how much more must it be to have so many thousand lines, which he seems to me to have marked with the traces of his blood? He wrote before Eusebius of Cæsarea an Apology for Origen,

legas ea quæ sub asteriscis sunt, imo rade de voluminibus, ut veterum te fautorem probes. Quod si feceris, omnes ecclesiarum bibliothecas damnare cogeris: vix enim unus aut alter liber invenitur, qui ista non habeat. But I think the phrase ought there to be understood in its own natural sense, to denote the libraries of the churches, containing copies of the Old and New Testament, All churches had copies of the scriptures, and the repositories in which they were lodged might be called libraries: besides, some churches had large collections of books, and many copies of the scriptures; as the churches at Jerusalem and Cæsarea: which last library, as Jerom expressly says in a passage to be cited by and by, was dedicated to that church by Pamphilus. Such a library there was likewise at Hippo in Africa in Augustine’s time: *Ecclesiæ bibliothecam, omnesque codices diligenter posteris custodiendos semper jubebat. Possid. in Vit. Aug. c. 31.* And the word is used of the repository of a church which could not have it in many books. *Posteaquam perventum est in bibliothecam, inventa sunt ibi armaria inania. Act. Purgat. Cæcil. ap. Du Pin. Optat. p. 168. a. f.* There is another passage of Jerom, where, as I think, the phrase ought to be interpreted in the same manner: *Revolve omnium, quos supra memoravi, commentarios, et ecclesiarum bibliothecis fruire, et magis concitato gradu ad optata cœptaque pervenies. Ad Pamm. ep. 31. [al. 52.] p. 244. in.* Farther, if by the divine library we understand the sacred scriptures, we shall charge Jerom with a trifling tautology in his chapter of Eusebius: and it is observable that Jerom, commending ancient christian writers, often mentions their diligence in studying the scriptures, or their skill in them, and always speaks plainly; but never useth this phrase, except in the chapters of Pamphilus and Eusebius: probably therefore he refers to their care in furnishing the library at Cæsarea, which consisted of copies of the scriptures, and commentaries upon them, and other works of christian writers, as well as works of profane authors. A passage of Jerom in a letter to Marcella, speaking of that library, leads us directly to this sense. *Beatus Pamphilus, quum Demetrium—in sacræ bibliothecæ studio vellet æquare,—tunc vel maxime Origenis libros impensius prosequutus, Cæsariensi ecclesiæ dedicavit. Ad Marcell. T. ii. col. 711.* In my edition of Moreri’s Dictionary, which is called the tenth, printed in 1717, the article of Pamphilus begins in this manner: *S. Pamphile—avoit tant d’amour pour les livres, qu’il recuillet une trèsbelle bibliothèque.* St. Pamphilus was so great a lover of books, that he collected a very handsome library; which in short, I think, is what Jerom intends to say; that ‘Pamphilus was so ambitious of making a numerous collection of authors, and especially of having a large and well furnished library of christian ecclesiastical writings, that he spared no cost or pains to obtain his end, and even wrote out with his own hand many copies of such books.’ Therefore, finally, the connexion confirms my interpretation.

‘and suffered at Cæsarea in Palestine in the persecution of ‘Maximin.’

So writes Jerom in his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers. I have placed this at the beginning as a summary of the life of this excellent person: I shall add more from him, as well as from other ancient writers, presently.

Pamphilus flourished, according to Cave, about the year 294; he was put into prison in the year 307, and accomplished his martyrdom<sup>c</sup> in 309. Eusebius, speaking of Pamphilus, and some others, says they suffered after they had been imprisoned<sup>d</sup> two whole years; but it is supposed by learned moderns that<sup>e</sup> Pamphilus lay in prison only a year and some months, from the latter end of the year 307 to the 16th of February, 309.

In the Acts of Pamphilus, in Simeon Metaphrastes, which<sup>f</sup> Valesius supposed to be taken from Eusebius, and Tillemont<sup>g</sup> allows to be in the main right, it is said that<sup>h</sup> Pamphilus was a native of Berytus, and there received the first rudiments of learning: and in Photius he is said to have been educated by<sup>i</sup> Pierius. For my own part, I think that neither of these accounts is to be relied upon: but, admitting the truth of them, it must be supposed, I think, that Pamphilus having first made some progress in learning at Berytus, his native city, afterwards completed his studies at Alexandria, and then settled at Cæsarea, where he certainly resided a great part of his life.

From this person Eusebius received<sup>k</sup> the surname of Pamphilus, or Pamphili. In the chapter before cited Jerom calls Pamphilus Eusebius’s friend; he mentions this again in<sup>l</sup> the chapter of Eusebius himself: and in another place he says that<sup>m</sup> these two persons seemed to have but one soul.

<sup>c</sup> Vid. Cav. H. L. in Pamphilo. Ruinart, Acta Mart. p. 323, 324, 325.

<sup>d</sup> Τῆσσις ἐπὶ τῆς εἰρκτῆς ἐτῶν δυνὼν ὀλῶν χρόνον καταρῖψασιν. Eus. de Mart. Pal. c. 11. p. 337. A.

Pamphile, p. 68. et note iii.

<sup>e</sup> See Tillem. Mem. T. v. P. iii. S.

<sup>f</sup> Vid. Vales. Ann. in Eus. p. 179, 180.

<sup>g</sup> Tillem. ib. p. 55.

<sup>h</sup> Atque ortus quidem erat ex Berytensium civitate, ubi in primâ ætate educatus fuit in illis, quæ illic erant, studiis literariis. Ex Sim. Met. ap. Vales. ib. p. 180. Conf. Fabric. Hippol. T. ii. p. 220. m.

<sup>i</sup> Vid. Phot. Cod. 118. f. et 119. in. p. 300.

<sup>k</sup> Ὅ τε ἱερός Παμφίλος, καὶ ὁ ἐξ αὐτῆς χρηματίζων Εὐσεβίος. Socr. l. iii. c. 7. p. 175. B. Γεγονε δε καὶ τῆς Παμφίλου τῆς ἱερομάρτυρος ἀρετῆς διαπυρός ἐρασιῆς δι’ ἣν αἰτιαν φασὶ τινεὶς αὐτὸν καὶ τῆς τῆς Παμφίλου ἐπωνυμίας μετεσχηκεῖναι. Phot. Cod. 13. p. 12. m.

<sup>l</sup> Ob amicitiam Pamphili martyris ab eo cognomentum sortitus est. De V. I. c. 81. <sup>m</sup> Eusebius et Pamphilus tantam inter se habuere concordiam, ut unius animæ homines putes, et ab uno alter nomen acceperit. Hier. de Err. Orig. add. Pamm. et Ocean. Ep. 41. [al. 65.] T. iv. p. 347. f.

Eusebius, the survivor, has given many testimonies of sincere respect for the memory of his friend: and, as he was to the last an admirer of his virtues, we may reasonably think him an imitator of them: he appears to have esteemed that friendship the chief happiness of his life; it is likely he improved by it. Indeed there are in Eusebius's remaining works divers most agreeable and affecting passages concerning this holy man; which therefore I intend to transcribe largely, and sometimes with the connexion.

The thirty-second chapter of the seventh book of his Ecclesiastical History is entitled, 'Of such ecclesiastical men as have flourished in our time, and who of them lived to the demolition of the churches;' meaning the beginning of Dioclesian's persecution. After the mention of several, he says: 'At<sup>n</sup> Cæsarea in Palestine, after Theotecnus succeeded Agapius, who, as we well know, was extremely laborious, and very solicitous for the welfare of his people, and bountiful to the poor. In his time was Pamphilus, a<sup>o</sup> man of good understanding, a philosopher in word and deed, presbyter of that church, with whom we had the honour to be acquainted: but to write of him is a copious subject; and we have already in a distinct work related the whole history of his life and conversation, [or, and<sup>p</sup> of the school erected by him,] and of his fortitude in several confessions during the persecution, and lastly the martyrdom with which he was crowned: indeed, Pamphilus was the most admirable person in that church.'

In another chapter and book of the same work, speaking of the most illustrious martyrs in several countries in the time of the forementioned persecution: 'Among<sup>q</sup> these must not be omitted the great glory of the church of Cæsarea, the presbyter Pamphilus, the most admirable person of our time, whose glorious magnanimity and patience we have represented in another place.'

In his book of the History of the Martyrs of Palestine, relating many cruel torments inflicted on the christians by the Roman president at Cæsarea, in the year of Christ 307. 'And others,' says<sup>r</sup> Eusebius, 'he thrust into prison, after he had tormented them in the most shameful manner: of this number was Pamphilus, my dearest friend, on account of his

<sup>n</sup> H. E. l. vii. c. 32. p. 288. C. D.

<sup>o</sup> Or, a most eloquent

man; ελλογιμωτατον. Virum disertissimum. Vales. Vers.

<sup>p</sup> Έκασα δε τε κατ' αυτον βιε και ης συνεσησατο διατριβης. Singula, quæ ad illius vitam et ad scholam ab eodem constitutam pertinent. Vales. Vers.

<sup>q</sup> l. viii. c. 13. p. 308. B.

<sup>r</sup> De Martyr. Palæst. c. 7. p. 329. A. B.

‘ eminent virtue the most renowned martyr of our age. ‘ Urbanus, having first made trial of his knowledge by divers ‘ questions of rhetoric and philosophy and polite literature, ‘ required him to sacrifice; when he saw that Pamphilus ‘ refused to obey his orders, and despised all his threatenings, ‘ he commanded that he should be tortured in the severest ‘ manner: when he had again and again raked his sides ‘ with his torturing irons, the cruel wretch, being as it were ‘ satiated with his flesh, though he had gained nothing but ‘ vexation and dishonour, ordered him to be had away to the ‘ rest of the confessors in prison.’

And afterwards: ‘ But<sup>s</sup> it is time to give an account of ‘ the most glorious spectacle of those who were perfected by ‘ martyrdom together with Pamphilus, whose memory must ‘ always be precious to me: they were in all twelve, and ‘ were honoured with a resemblance of the prophets, or ‘ rather the apostles, both in grace and number; the chief of ‘ whom was Pamphilus, and the only one who had the honour ‘ of the presbyter’s office at Cæsarea; a man, who, through- ‘ out his whole life, excelled in every virtue; in contempt ‘ and renunciation of this world, in liberality to the indigent, in ‘ disregard of all earthly honours and preferments to which ‘ he might have aspired, and in an abstemious philosophical ‘ course of life: but he was especially eminent and remark- ‘ able above all men of our time for<sup>t</sup> an unfeigned zeal for ‘ the holy scriptures, and for unwearied application in what- ‘ ever he undertook; whether it were kind offices to his ‘ friends, or to others who sought his aid: but a fuller ac- ‘ count of these, and his other virtues and services, has been ‘ already given by us in a distinct work of three books, ‘ comprising the history of his life. At present we go on ‘ with our narration concerning the martyrs.’

That work to our great grief is lost: but there is a passage of it in Jerom, which I shall here transcribe: ‘ Eusebius,”

<sup>s</sup> Ib. cap. xi. p. 336. A. B. C.

<sup>t</sup> Τη περι τα ζεια λογια γνησιοτατη σπεδη. ib. B.

<sup>n</sup> Ipse enim Eusebius amator et præco et contubernalis Pamphili tres libros scripsit elegantissimos, vitam Pamphilis continentes: in quibus quum cætera miris laudibus prædicaret, humilitatem ejus ferret in celum, etiam hoc in tertio libro addidit: Quis studiosorum amicus non fuit Pamphili? Si quos videbat ad victum necessariis indigere, præbebat large quæ poterat. Scripturas quoque sanctas non ad legendum tantum, sed ad habendum, tribuebat promptissime; nec solum viris, sed et feminis, quas vidisset lectioni deditas. Unde et multos codices præparabat, ut, quum necessitas proposcisset, volentibus largiretur. Et ipse quidem proprii operis nihil omnino scripsit, exceptis epistolis, quas ad amicos forte mittebat: in tantum se humilitate dejecerat. Veterum autem tractatus scriptorum legebat studiosissime, et in eorum meditatione jugiter versabatur. Hieron. adv. Ruf. col. 357, 359. T. iv. Ed. Bened.

‘ the friend and admirer and constant companion of Pamphilus wrote three excellent books containing the life of Pamphilus; in which, as he greatly commends him on other accounts, so he particularly extols his humility: and in the third of those books he writes after this manner: What studious person was not a friend of Pamphilus? if he saw any in straits, he gave bountifully as he was able. He not only lent out copies of the sacred scriptures to be read, but cheerfully gave them to be kept; and that not only to men, but to women likewise, whom he found disposed to read. For which reason he took care to have by him many copies of the scriptures, that, when there should be occasion, he might furnish those who were willing to make use of them: but of his own he wrote nothing, except letters to friends; so great was his humility: but he diligently read the works of ancient authors, and was continually meditating upon them.’

II. I shall here insert a passage or two concerning some other persons who suffered with Pamphilus, or soon after, and resembled him in a high regard for the sacred scriptures: our narration is thereby somewhat interrupted, but it will be easily excused.

The first of those passages immediately follows that above cited, which concluded with those<sup>v</sup> words: ‘ At present we go on with our relation concerning the martyrs.’

‘ The<sup>w</sup> second person,’ says Eusebius, ‘ and next after Pamphilus, who entered the combat, was Valens, a deacon of<sup>x</sup> Ælia, an old man of grey hairs and venerable aspect, exceedingly<sup>y</sup> well skilled in the divine scriptures: and they were so fixed in his memory that there was no discernible difference between his reading and reciting them by heart, though it were whole pages together.’

That person suffered with Pamphilus. The other passage which I would allege relates to a martyr in 310, who suffered in company with Silvanus, bishop of Gaza, who<sup>z</sup> in the year 307 had the flexures of his feet seared with hot irons at

<sup>v</sup> See above, p. 220.

<sup>w</sup> De Mart. Pal. c. 11. p. 336. C. D.

<sup>x</sup> Ælia: that is, Jerusalem; or the city just by it, so called by Adrian. And the name of Jerusalem was now so lost and forgotten, that when one of these martyrs, being examined by the president of Palestine concerning his native place, answered, that his city was Jerusalem, meaning the heavenly Jerusalem: the president, not knowing any such place, was thrown into surprise, and very solicitously sought to know where it lay, thinking it to be some city where christians were numerous, and might be formidable. See Eus. p. 337, 338.

<sup>y</sup> Των θειων γραφων ει και τις αλλος επισημων.

<sup>z</sup> —επι της αυτης πολεως τες αμφι Σιλβανον—τοις εις το αυτο χαλκε μεταλλον πονοις ο αυτος εκκρινει καντηρσι προτερον των ποδων τας ακκους αυτοις προσαξας. De M. P. cap. 7. p. 328. C

Cæsarea, and was then with nine-and-thirty others, sent<sup>a</sup> to work in the copper mines at a place in Palestine called Phæno; where he continued till he was beheaded. Their martyrdom, in 310, is related by Eusebius in this manner: 'The<sup>b</sup> first of these was Silvanus, a truly religious man, and a complete model of christianity; of whom it may be said, that, having from the first day of the persecution signalized himself in various and almost continual confessions and combats, he was reserved to this time to be as it were the seal of the<sup>c</sup> combat in Palestine. With him there were many others from Egypt; and among them was John, who in strength of memory surpassed all men of our time: he had before lost his eye-sight; nevertheless in the confessions he had made, when the flexures of one of his feet were seared, as<sup>d</sup> those of others were, his eyes likewise, though already deprived of sight, were burned with the searing irons: such was the cruelty and inhumanity of those executioners! It is needless to enlarge upon his virtue and philosophical course of life. What was most remarkable in him was the strength of his memory: he had<sup>e</sup> whole books of the divine scriptures, not written in tables of stone, as the apostle's expression is, nor on parchments and papers, which are devoured by moths and time, but on the fleshly living tables of his heart, even his pure and enlightened mind: insomuch, that whenever he pleased he brought out, as from a treasury of knowledge, sometimes the books of Moses, at other times those of the prophets, or some sacred history, sometimes the gospels, sometimes the epistles of apostles. I must own, says Eusebius, that I was much surprised the first time I saw him: he was in the midst of a large congregation, reciting a portion of scripture; whilst I only heard his voice, I thought he was reading, as is common in our assemblies; but when I came near, and saw this person, who had no other light but that of the mind, instructing like a prophet those whose bodily eyes were clear and perfect, I could not forbear to praise and glorify God.'

<sup>a</sup> —των δε επι Παλαιστίνης μαρτυρων, Σιλβανος επισκοπος των αμφι την Γαζαν εκκλησιων, κατα τα εν Φαινοι χαλκω μεταλλα συν ετεροις ενος δεση τον αριθμον τεσσαρακοντα, την κεφαλην αποτεμνεται. H. E. l. viii. c. 13. p. 308. B.

<sup>b</sup> —ευλαβες τι χορημα και γνησιον υποδειγμα χριστιανισμω φερων. κ. λ. De Mar. Pal. c. 13. p. 343. D. 344.

<sup>c</sup> Ως αν υστατον γενοιτο παντος τω κατα Παλαιστίνην αχωνος επισφραγισμα. ib. p. 343. D.

<sup>d</sup> That severity of searing the sinews of the left foot, or leg, and searing the right eye, was practised upon great numbers of confessors by Firmilian, president of Cæsarea, successor of Urbanus, who put Pamphilus into prison. Vid. Eus. de Mart. Pal. c. 8. p. 330. B. C.

<sup>e</sup> —όλας βιβλωσ των θειων γραφων. ib. p. 344. A.

III. Pamphilus erected a library at Cæsarea: Eusebius mentions it in his Ecclesiastical History. He is speaking of the time of several of Origen's works, and of the places where they were composed: 'But,' says<sup>f</sup> he, 'what need I attempt to give here an exact catalogue of the works of that great man, when it has been already done in the life we have written of the blessed martyr Pamphilus? Where<sup>g</sup> showing the zeal of Pamphilus for the interest of religion, [or<sup>h</sup> for the sacred scriptures,] we gave lists of the works of Origen, and of other ecclesiastical writers collected by him, and placed in his library.'

Jerom insinuates that<sup>i</sup> in the third book of that work Eusebius inserted a catalogue of all Origen's works; whereas Eusebius's own words just cited seem not to imply a complete catalogue, but such works only of Origen as were in the library at<sup>k</sup> Cæsarea.

Jerom has several times mentioned that library: he seems to me to refer to it<sup>l</sup> in the two chapters of Pamphilus himself and Eusebius, when he speaks of the divine library. But not now to insist on those passages, in his article of St. Matthew he says<sup>m</sup> that his Hebrew gospel was still in the library at Cæsarea, which Pamphilus had collected with great care. In another place he speaks of the gospel according to the Hebrews, as<sup>n</sup> being in that library: in the same work, (his book Of Illustrious Men,) in the article of Euzoius, bishop of Cæsarea, about 366, he says, 'that<sup>o</sup> Euzoius had with abundance of pains repaired the library of Origen and Pamphilus, which was fallen to decay.' In a letter to Marcella, Jerom<sup>p</sup> commends this design of Pam-

<sup>f</sup> Eus. l. vii. c. 32. p. 231. A. B.

<sup>g</sup> —εν η την περι τα θεια σπεδην τς Παμφιλς οπως τις γεγοει παριτωντες, της συναχθεισης αυτω των τε Ωριγενες και των αλλων εκκλησιασικων συγγραφειων βιβλιοθηκης τες πινακας παρεθεμεν. ib. p. 231. B.

<sup>h</sup> So Valesius translates: Ubi cum probare vellemus, quantum Pamphili studium erga divinas literas fuisset, —

<sup>i</sup> Numera indices librorum ejus, qui in tertio volumine Eusebii, in quo scripsit vitam Pamphili, continentur: et non dico sex millia, sed tertiam partem non invenies. Adv. Ruf. l. ii. p. 419. in.

<sup>k</sup> Compare this with what is said in the chapter of Origen, Vol. ii. ch. xxxviii. numb. i. <sup>l</sup> See before, p. 216. note <sup>b</sup>.

<sup>m</sup> Porro ipsum Hebraicum habetur usque hodie in Cæsariensi bibliothecâ, quam Pamphilus martyr studiosissime confecit. De V. I. c. 3.

<sup>n</sup> In Evangelio juxta Hebræos, quod Chaldaïco quidem Syroque sermone, sed Hebræicis literis scriptum est, quo utuntur usque hodie Nazareni, secundum apostolos, sive, ut plerique autumant, juxta Matthæum; quod et in Cæsariensi habetur bibliothecâ. Adv. Pelag. l. iii. T. iv. col. 533. m.

<sup>o</sup> —plurimo labore corruptam bibliothecam Origenis et Pamphili in membranis instaurare conatus est. De V. I. c. 113.

<sup>p</sup> Beatus Pamphilus martyr, cujus vitam Eusebius Cæsariensis tribus ferme

philus, and compares his library with the more ancient celebrated libraries of Demetrius Phalereus and Pisistratus. He there speaks again of the care of Euzoius; and likewise of Acacius, the immediate successor of Eusebius in the see of Cæsarea, in repairing this library: and he says that Pamphilus dedicated the books of Origen, which he had collected at great expense, to the church of Cæsarea; whence perhaps it might be inferred that this was a public library: and indeed we know, from Jerom himself, that<sup>a</sup> he had the use of some books lodged in it.

IV. There was a joint labour of Pamphilus and Eusebius in publishing a correct edition of the Greek version of the Seventy from Origen's Hexapla, which I have already taken notice of in the chapter of Lucian. Huet is of opinion, that<sup>s</sup> before this there was no separate edition of the Seventy according to Origen's emendations. Undoubtedly, this was a signal service for the church of Christ; the benefit of Origen's immense labour was rendered more extensive; and, if their edition was not the first, it was the most exact.

voluminibus explicavit, quum Demetrium Phalereum et Pisistratum in sacræ bibliothecæ studio vellet æquare, imaginesque ingeniorum, quæ vera sunt et æterna monumenta, toto orbe perquireret, tunc vel maxime Origenis libros impensius prosequutus, Cæsariensi ecclesiæ dedicavit: quam ex parte corruptam Acacius, dehinc et Euzoius, ejusdem ecclesiæ sacerdotes, in membranis instaurare conati sunt. Ad Marcell. inter Ep. Crit. T. ii. p. 711. in. [al. Ep. 141.] Conf. Ruf. ap. Hieron. T. iv. col. 426. f. 428. in.

<sup>a</sup> Præterea quintam et sextam et septimam editionem, quas etiam nos de ejus bibliothecâ habemus, miro labore reperit, et cum cæteris editionibus comparavit. De V. I. c. 54. Unde et nobis curæ fuit omnes veteris Legis libros, quos vir doctus Adamantius in Hexapla digesserat, de Cæsariensi bibliothecâ descriptos ex ipsis authenticis emendare. Id. in Ep. ad Tit. cap. iii. T. iv. P. i. col. 437. Id quod secundo dicitur, non sic, in Hebræis voluminibus non habetur: sed nec in ipsis quidem LXX. interpretibus. Nam in exemplis Origenis in Cæsariensi bibliotheca legens, semel tantum scriptum inveni. In Ps. prim. T. ii. P. ii. col. 123. in. Postea vero per interpretationem tuam quæstione contra Origenem toto orbe commotâ, in quærendis exemplaribus diligentior fui; et in Cæsariensi bibliothecâ Eusebii sex volumina reperi *Ἀπολογίας ὑπερ Ὠριγενος*. Adv. Ruf. T. iv. col. 447. f. <sup>r</sup> See. p. 207.

<sup>s</sup> Apud multos hanc opinionem percrebuisse video, Origenem, quo parabilior esset emendata a se editio seniorum Septuaginta, edidisse eam seorsum, et ex ingenti Hexaplorum mole exemisse. — Probabilior mihi videtur sententia I. B. Morini,—editionem illam *των ὀ* ex Origenianis Hexaplis descriptam ab Eusebio et Pamphilo, et primum evulgatam arbitrantis, juxta illud Hieronymi in Præf. ad Paralip. ad Chromatium:—Mediæ inter has provinciæ Palæstinos codices legunt, quos ab Origene elaboratos Eusebius et Pamphilus vulgaverunt. Nam, cum frequenter excruberentur exempla in ecclesiarum doctorumque hominum usum, novis in dies deformabantur sordium inquinamentis.—Degenerante ergo magis magisque hac editione, restituere eam conati sunt Eusebius et Pamphilus, ex ipso *αυτογραφῶ*, quod erat in Cæsariensi Bibliothecâ: restitutam vero et seorsum magnâ diligentîâ descriptam publicaverunt. Atque ea editio Palæstina dicta est. Huet. Orig. l. iii. c. 2. p. 261.

V. There are still extant in the curious collections of Europe memorials of this library of Pamphilus, and traces of his and Eusebius's labour in transcribing or correcting copies of the scriptures or other books.

In the Jesuits' college at Paris,<sup>t</sup> is a beautiful manuscript of the prophets, supposed<sup>u</sup> to have been written in the eighth century. In that manuscript, as Montfauçon assures us, there is before the book of Ezekiel a note to this purpose : ' This<sup>v</sup> was taken from a copy in such a place, in which copy was written : " Transcribed from the Hexapla containing the translations ; and corrected by Origen's own Tetrapla, which also had emendations and scholia in his own hand-writing. I Eusebius added scholia ; Pamphilus and Eusebius corrected." '

Huet, speaking of this same manuscript, in one place<sup>w</sup> says, that note is at the end of Jeremiah ; in<sup>x</sup> another, before Ezekiel. I have put his words at the bottom of the page.

In the French king's library, as we are informed by Montfauçon, is<sup>y</sup> a very ancient manuscript, written in the fifth or

<sup>t</sup> Vetustissimum, pulcherrimumque codicem Prophetarum.—Mont. Præf. in Hex. Orig. p. 4.

<sup>u</sup> Hæc porro omnia discimus ex Notis Codicis Marchaliani, nunc R. R. P. P. Jesuitarum Collegii Ludovici Magni, quas addimus supra, p. 14. Ille vero Codex sæculo circiter viii. ut ex characteris formâ existimatur, ad fidem exemplaris Apollinarii exscriptus est. Montf. Prælim. in Hex. Orig. cap. 11. sect. iv.

<sup>v</sup> Deinde vero ante Ezechielem hæc nota legitur :

' Desumptus est [Ezechiel] ab Exemplari Abbatis Apollinarii, Cœnobiarchæ, in quo hæc subjiciuntur : Exscriptus est ab Hexaplis editione complectentibus : et correctus est ad fidem Tetraplorum Origenis, quæ etiam manu ejus emendata et scholiis illustrata erant. Ego Eusebius scholia adjeci, Pamphilus et Eusebius correxerunt.'

—Μετὲλθθη ἀπο τῶν κατὰ τὰς ἐκδόσεις ἑξαπλῶν, καὶ διωρθωθῆ ἀπο τῶν Ὀριγενεὺς αὐτῆς τετραπλῶν, ἅτινα καὶ αὐτῆ χειρὶ διωρθωτο, καὶ ἐσχολιογραφητο. ὁ Εὐσεβίος ἐγὼ σχολία παρεθήκα' Παμφίλος καὶ Εὐσεβίος διωρθώσαντο. Montf. in Orig. Hex. c. 1. sect. v. p. 14.

<sup>w</sup> Hujus editionis et emendationis luculentum extat monumentum in Codice Renati Marchali, jam sæpe laudato, in quo post Jeremiæ librum adnotatum est descriptum eum esse ex Origenis Hexaplis, et emendatum ex Tetraplis manu ipsius exaratis, idque operâ Pamphili et Eusebii. Huet, Orig. l. iii. c. 2. p. 262. in.

<sup>x</sup> Editioni τῶν ὁ, quæ erat in Tetraplis, scholia ad limbum aliqua adjecisse Origenem discimus ex memorato Codice Marchali, quem habent Claromontani Patres Societatis Jesu. Adnotatum enim est ante Ezechielem, librum hunc ex Hexaplis descriptum esse, correctum vero ad Tetraplorum fidem. Postmodum subest : ἅτινα καὶ τῆ αὐτῆ χειρὶ διωρθωτο, καὶ ἐσχολιογραφητο ὁθεν Εὐσεβίος ἐγὼ τὰ σχολία παρεθήκα' Παμφίλος καὶ Εὐσεβίος διωρθώσαντο. Ib. p. 261. m.

<sup>y</sup> Codex ccii. membranaceus, constans foliis 14, complectens partem Epistolarum Pauli, inter antiquissimos Europæ numerandus, sæculi nempe v. vel vi.—Scriptus esse videtur in Palæstinâ vel Syriâ, eo circiter quo diximus ævo. Nam Calligraphus, qui notam infra edendam in fine posuit, hoc exemplar se contulisse significat cum Codice ipsius Pamphili manu exarato : antequam videlicet Cæsarea funditus dirueretur, quod contigit ante medium sæculi vii. Monf. Bib. Coislin. p. 251, 252.

sixth century, containing part of St. Paul's epistles. It seems, he says, to have been written in Palestine, or Syria: for the transcriber says, in a note at the end, that he had compared his copy with another in the library at Cæsarea, in the hand-writing of Pamphilus: which therefore must have been done before that library was quite destroyed, as it was before the middle of the seventh century. In that MS. the epistle to the Hebrews appears as St. Paul's. 'The order is<sup>z</sup> this: To the Romans, the first and second to the Corinthians, to the Galatians, to the Ephesians, to the Philippians, to the Colossians; first and second to the Thessalonians, to the Hebrews, first and second to Timothy, to Titus, to Philemon.' That learned writer has given us that curious note of the transcriber before mentioned in the ancient letters of the manuscript. I place it at the bottom of the page in the letters now commonly used: 'This<sup>a</sup> book was compared with the copy in the library at Cæsarea, in the hand-writing of saint Pamphilus.'

VI. It is thought by divers learned men, as <sup>b</sup>Cave, <sup>c</sup>Valesius, and <sup>d</sup>Tillemont, though Du Pin takes no notice of it, that Pamphilus not only erected a library, but a school likewise, or academy, at Cæsarea. This supposition is chiefly built upon a passage of Eusebius, which<sup>e</sup> I have cited already. Tillemont however brings in<sup>f</sup> other passages in support of it. I must leave this point undecided. I dare not contest the thing. But the evidence is not clear, because the passage of Eusebius, where he is supposed to mention the school, is<sup>g</sup> obscure; and because there is no notice taken of this school, that I remember, in Jerom, nor any other ancient writer of credit.

<sup>z</sup> Ordo Epistolarum Pauli in Codice xxix. supra, ad Rom. ad Corinth. 1, 2, ad Galat. ad Ephes. ad Philippens. ad Colossens. ad Thessalonicens. 1, 2, ad Hebr. ad Timoth. 1, 2, ad Titum, ad Philemonem. Ib. p. 255. m.

<sup>a</sup> Αντιβληθη δε ἡ βιβλος προς το εν Καισαρεια αντιγραφον της βιβλιοθηκης, τῷ ἁγίῳ Παμφίλῳ χειρὶ γεγραμμενον. Ap. Bib. Coisl. ib. p. 262.

<sup>b</sup> Pamphili vitam tribus libris amplexus est—Eusebius, quibus integrum vitæ ejus curriculum, quæque ad scholam ab eo institutam pertinent,—accuratissime depinxit. Cav. H. L. de Pamphilo, ad fin.

<sup>c</sup> Vales. Annot. in Euseb. p. 160. B.

<sup>d</sup> Saint Pamphile, ubi supra, p. 58.

<sup>e</sup> See p. 219.

<sup>f</sup> Vid. Euseb. de M. P. c. iv. p. 323. C. 324. A. B.

<sup>g</sup> I shall here put down Eusebius's words, and divers Latin versions: *ἐκασα δε τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν βιβλίων, καὶ ἡς συνεσησάτο διατριβῆς.* l. vii. c. 32. p. 288. D. Verum nos singula, quæ ad illius vitam et ad scholam ab eodem institutam pertinent,—peculiariter opere complexi sumus. Vales. Omnem ejus vitam institutionemque a puero. Ruf. Verum singula vitæ illius, et in quâ scholâ institutus fuerit. W. Musculus. Quâ ratione institutus. Christophorson. Et Conf. Vales. Annot. p. 160. B. And any one that pleaseth, may see how I have translated the passage, at p. 219.

VII. In the article above cited at length Jerom says, that ‘ Pamphilus wrote an Apology for Origen before Eusebius :’ and in the chapter of that bishop of Cæsarea he ascribes<sup>h</sup> to him an Apology for Origen in six volumes. It seems, therefore, that Jerom then supposed that Pamphilus had written some Apology for Origen, distinct from the six books of Eusebius ; and upon that account gave Pamphilus a place in his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers, composed in 392 ; and also in his letter<sup>i</sup> to Magnus, written about the year 400. He seems so<sup>k</sup> to explain himself in the dispute which he afterwards had with Rufinus : when having found, as he says, that the book he had taken for Pamphilus’s was the first of the six volumes of what he esteemed Eusebius’s Apology for Origen, he denied that Pamphilus ever wrote any thing besides epistles to friends ; and<sup>l</sup> often charged Rufinus with a fraud in publishing the first book of that Apology in a Latin translation, as a work of Pamphilus.

Nevertheless, whatever Jerom might think fit to say after his difference with Rufinus, the truth seems to be this : five books of the Apology for Origen were composed jointly by Pamphilus and Eusebius : the sixth and last was written by Eusebius alone after the martyrdom of Pamphilus : for Eusebius in his Ecclesiastical History does expressly and openly refer his readers for a farther account of Origen to<sup>m</sup>

<sup>h</sup> Ἀπολογίας pro Origene sex libros. De V. I. c. 81.

<sup>i</sup> Nec non presbyterorum, Pamphili, Pierii,—Ep. 83. T. iv. p. 656.

<sup>k</sup> Nunc—sufficiat, brevitèr prudentem instruxisse lectorem, me istum librum, qui sub nomine Pamphili ferebatur, vidisse scriptum in codice tuo. Et quia mihi non erat curæ quid pro hæretico diceretur, sic semper habuisse, quasi diversum esset opus Pamphili et Eusebii: postea vero quæstione motâ—perspicueque deprehendisse, quod primus liber sex voluminum Eusebii ipse esset, qui unus sub nomine Pamphili a te editus est.—Unde etiam ante annos fere decem, quum Dexter amicus meus—me rogasset, ut auctorem nostræ religionis ei indicem texerem ; inter cæteros tractatores posui et hunc librum a Pamphilo editum, ita putans esse, ut a te et tuis discipulis fuerat divulgatum. Sed quum ipse dicat Eusebius Pamphilum nihil scripsisse, exceptis brevibus epistolis ad amicos ; et primus liber sex voluminum illius eadem et eisdem verbis continent, quæ sub nomine Pamphili a te ficta sunt : perspicuum est te idcirco hunc librum disseminare voluisse, ut sub personâ martyris hæresim introduceres. Quumque de hoc ipso libro, quem Pamphili simulat, multa perverteris, &c. Adv. Ruf. l. ii. T. 4. p. 419.

<sup>l</sup> Referens enim de apologiâ Pamphili martyris, quam nos Eusebii Ariano- rum principis probavimus. Adv. Ruf. col. 407. in. Eusebius—per sex volumina nihil aliud agit, nisi ut Origenem suæ ostendat fidei, id est, Arianæ perfidiæ. ib. f. Conf. eund. p. 357, 359, 405 ; et Ep. ad Pamm. et Ocean. p. 347. Fecerat hoc et in sancti Pamphili martyris nomine, ut librum primum sex librorum defensionis Origenis, Eusebii Cæsariensis, quem fuisse Arianum nemo est qui nesciat, nomine Pamphili martyris prænotaret. Ep. 43. ad Ctesiph. p. 477. in. Conf. eund. in libr. vi. in Ezech. c. xviii. T. iii. col. 821 ; et Prol. Dialog. adv. Pelag. T. iv. p. 484.

<sup>m</sup> Ταυτα και εκ της ύπερ

the Apology composed by himself and Pamphilus. He soon after refers to the<sup>u</sup> sixth book of that Apology as his own. Socrates<sup>o</sup> speaks of their common labour in it as an allowed thing, and commends the work: yea, he quotes it in another place as<sup>p</sup> Pamphilus's, without mentioning Eusebius. Photius, though he is far from commending the performance, says, that<sup>q</sup> the first five books were written jointly by Pamphilus and Eusebius in prison, and the sixth by Eusebius alone afterwards. It is needless to allege any other<sup>r</sup> testimonies. Pamphilus, as well as Eusebius, was remarkable for the regard he had for Origen. St. Jerom knew that very well, and owns it sometimes: nor is it at all strange that they should have a high esteem for Origen, who continually had before them, in their library, the originals of those amazing works, his Tetrapla and Hexapla, and many other volumes of his writings, monuments of a most capacious mind and unexampled industry.

This work, against which<sup>s</sup> Jerom threatened to write, according to<sup>t</sup> his own acknowledgment, was laboured and copious. Indeed, it must have been a large work, as may be inferred from the length<sup>u</sup> of the first book, which<sup>v</sup> we still have in Rufinus's Latin translation; from<sup>w</sup> Eusebius's divers references to it for farther particulars concerning Origen; and from the accounts given<sup>x</sup> by some ancient authors of the contents of it.

Here I might make some extracts out of that first book which remains, to show what books of scripture are referred to by the composers, and by Origen, in the passages quoted from him: but it is needless. Considering Pamphilus's respect for Origen, and his intimacy with Eusebius, it may be taken for granted, that his canon of scripture was the

*αυτε πεπονημενης ἡμιν τε και τω καθ' ἡμας ἱερῳ μαρτυρι Παμφιλῳ απολογιας, παρειν αναλεξεσθαι. l. vi. c. 33. p. 232.* <sup>n</sup> —εν ἑκτῳ της γραφεισης ἡμιν περι τε ανδρος απολογιας. *ib. c. 36. p. 233.*

<sup>o</sup> Τετων αξιοπιτοι, ὅτε Παμφίλος και—Ευσεβιος· ἀμφω γαρ κοινη—ενδοξοις βιβλιοις απολογιαν ὑπερ αυτε ποιουμενοι, κ. λ. *Socr. l. iii. cap. 7. p. 175. B.*

<sup>p</sup> *Id. l. iv. c. 27. p. 244. D.* <sup>q</sup> —ων οἱ μιν πεντε Παμφιλῳ το δεσμωτηριων οικωντι, συμπαραντος και Ευσεβιῳ, ἐπονηθησαν· κ. λ. *Phot. cod. 118. col. 396. vid. et col. 397. f.* <sup>r</sup> *Vid. Prædestinat. Haer. 43.*

<sup>s</sup> *Adversus quæ volumina, (si Dominus vitæ hujus dederit spatium,) alias respondere conabor. Adv. Ruf. l. ii. p. 419.*

<sup>t</sup> *Sex libros Eusebius Cæsariensis episcopus, Arianæ quondam signifer factionis, pro Origene scripsit, latissimum et elaboratum opus. Adv. Ruf. l. i. p. 357.*

<sup>u</sup> *Rufinus translated the first book, and that only, so far as we know. Horum tu primum librum vertis sub nomine martyris—Si totum opus Pamphili est, cur reliquos libros non transfers? ib. l. i. p. 357.*

<sup>v</sup> *Ap. Hieron. Opp. T. v. p. 219. &c. Ed. Bened.*

<sup>w</sup> *H. E. l. vi. c. 23, et 33, et 36.*

<sup>x</sup> *Vid. Socr. l. iii. c. 7. l. iv. c. 27. Phot. cod. 117, 118. Conf. Tillem. Saint Pamphile. T. v. P. iii. p. 60, 61.*

same, or much the same, as theirs. And what theirs was, has been or will be shown largely in this work.

VIII. Montfauçon has published Contents<sup>y</sup> of the Acts of the Apostles, which he thinks to have been composed and drawn up by Pamphilus. As<sup>z</sup> the work is ascribed to Pamphilus in the manuscript, which<sup>a</sup> is supposed to be of the tenth century, so for that, and some other reasons, he makes no scruple to consider him as the author. The same thing has been put out again<sup>b</sup> by Fabricius as a work of Pamphilus. But those contents<sup>c</sup> had been often published before without the name of the author: and the only thing uncommon is<sup>d</sup> the short preface to those Contents; which too, with the Contents themselves, had been published<sup>e</sup> by Zacagni, as written by Euthalius, who<sup>f</sup> flourished about the year 458.

And indeed it seems to me more likely that Euthalius should be the author than Pamphilus. It is observable that Euthalius published the Acts of the Apostles, the Catholic epistles, and St. Paul's epistles. At the end of his edition of the Catholic epistles, which follow that of the Acts of the Apostles, is this note: 'The<sup>g</sup> book of the Acts of the Apostles, and of the Catholic epistles, was collated with the exact copies of the library of Eusebius Pamphilus in Cæsarea.' Mr. Wetstein, to whom I refer my readers, has divers curious remarks concerning Euthalius. He is of opinion, that this<sup>h</sup> note has been an occasion of ascribing to Pamphilus, as author, what was really done by Euthalius, who made use of his library. However, we have here another proof of the usefulness of that library at Cæsarea.

IX. It is now time that we reflect upon what we have met

<sup>y</sup> Præmittitur Expositio Capitum Actuum auctore Pamphilo, εκθεσις κεφαλαίων των πραξεων τῆ Παμφιλῆ· quam integram edimus infra. Mont. Bib. Coislin. p. 76.

<sup>z</sup> Codex xxv. al. cxxi. membranaceus decimi sæculi, complectitur Acta Apostolorum et epistolas catholicas.—Ib. p. 75.

<sup>a</sup> Hanc opellam esse vere Pamphili martyris, non est quod dubitemus. ib. p. 78. in.

<sup>b</sup> Vid. Fabr. Spic. Patr. seu Hippolyti Opera, P. ii. p. 205, &c.

<sup>c</sup> Exstat eadem εκθεσις sine nomine auctoris ante Commentarios Œcumenii in Acta, atque inde in melioribus Novi Testamenti editionibus; Rob. Stephani, Joh. Boecleri, et Joh. Millii: necnon in Dan. Heinsii ad Nov. Test. Exercitationibus. Fabr. ib. p. 209.

<sup>d</sup> Ap. Bibl. Coislin. p. 78.

<sup>e</sup> Ap. Laurent. Zacagn. Collectanea, p. 428.

<sup>f</sup> Vid. Zacagn. Præf. p. 61, 62. et Cave H. Lit. T. i. p. 446. Oxon. 1740.

<sup>g</sup> Αντεβληθη δε των Πραξεων και καθολικων επισολων το βιβλιον προς τα ακριβη αντιγραφα της εν Καισαρεια βιβλιοθηκης Ευσεβιου τῆ Παμφιλῆ. ap. Zacagn. ib. p. 513.

<sup>h</sup> Quod præcipuum est, editionem suam cum exemplari Pamphili martyris, in Bibliothecâ Cæsariensi asservato, contulit.—Inde error libroriorum ortus est, qui cum legerent, ab Euthalio Codicem Pamphili consultum esse, totum laborem Euthalii Pamphilo, tamquam potiori, adscripserunt. Wetst. Proleg. p. 76.

with concerning this martyr for the christian religion. There can be no question but Pamphilus was an understanding and truly pious man. He was not distinguished only by the last scene of life, the magnanimity, fortitude, and patience of his confessions and martyrdom; but his whole life was a shining example of virtue. He must have been a person of a good family, and a large estate; but he despised the world, and renounced all earthly expectations. He was a zealous christian, and greatly delighted himself in the scriptures: he was liberal to the poor, kind to his acquaintance, and to all men who sought to him: he had an earnest desire to promote learning and knowledge, especially the knowledge of the holy scriptures, in men of every condition: and his diligence in all laudable undertakings was extraordinary. The testimonies to his virtue which we have seen, are very agreeable: but if the large history of his life, written by Eusebius, were still in being, very probably it would be more entertaining, and inform us of many things of an edifying nature. It is one of those works of Eusebius, the loss of which is much lamented by learned men.

Where can such a man as this be found in the heathen world? how rare were such examples under the Mosaic institution, of men, who employed their whole time in improving their own minds, and serving others, without noise and ostentation, and without worldly views, and at last quietly resigned their lives rather than disown the principles by which they had been hitherto conducted and supported!

Nor was Pamphilus alone, though distinguished. There were twelve in all, who at one and the same time bore the most signal testimony to truth. One<sup>i</sup> of whom was a servant of Pamphilus, by name Porphyry; who, though he was burned at a stake, bore that painful death, and all the preceding tortures appointed by the cruel governor, with wonderful fortitude and resignation, serenity and patience. Not to insist now on the many others in Palestine, Egypt, and other places, who about this time signalized themselves by divers confessions, and at last by dying for their religion. Certainly these men, if they were not the best speakers, were the best livers that ever the world saw: and in their death they are without rivals. These holy and useful men, these confessors and martyrs, undaunted by all the evils which an unkind and mistaken world sometimes brings upon those who are its greatest blessings and best benefactors, were formed by the christian<sup>k</sup> religion when the evidences of it

<sup>i</sup> Vid. Euseb. de Mart. Pal. c. xi. p. 338, 339.

<sup>k</sup> Triumphus Dei est passio martyrum, et pro Christi nomine cruoris effusio,

were near, and if not true, their weakness might have been perceived. They were advanced by it to this eminence, when it was considered as an institution of virtue, not an abstruse and speculative science; a doctrine from heaven, not a creature of the state: and when Jesus, their Lord and Master, was not only admired as a divine teacher, but was also esteemed an example both in his life and in his death.

One thing which frequently occurs in the authentic histories of these primitive christians of note and distinction, deserves especial regard: I mean their affection and zeal for the holy scriptures. For their own sake, for the sake of others, and among them for our good, they were mightily taken up in reading, studying, explaining, and commenting upon, the scriptures of the Old and New Testament; or in transcribing them, or correcting copies of them, and procuring exact editions, for the use of all sorts of persons. This is for our imitation, and for our satisfaction. It is what ought to be imitated by us: and it likewise affords us good reason to think that the books of holy scripture, which contain the revelations of the divine will to mankind, and are the rule of our faith, have been transmitted to us in great purity, without any remarkable alterations or deviations from the original writing.

X. Fabricius has published what he calls<sup>1</sup> Acts of the Passion of St. Pamphilus, taken out of his Life written by Eusebius of Cæsarea; for which I might have selected some things, and thereby possibly made my account of Pamphilus more agreeable to some: but I cannot persuade myself to make any use of that piece, not being satisfied of its genuineness.

Here it is not only said that he was of a noble family, which is very likely, but also that<sup>m</sup> he had honourably discharged civil offices in his country: which, I think, cannot be easily reconciled with Eusebius's genuine account;

et inter tormenta lætitia. Quum enim quis viderit tantâ perseverantiâ stare martyres atque torqueri, et in suis cruciatibus gloriari, odor notitiæ Dei disseminatur in Gentes, et subit tacita cogitatio, quod, nisi verum esset evangelium, nunquam sanguine defenderetur. Neque enim delicata, et divitiis studens ac secura confessio est; sed in carceribus, in plagis, in persecutionibus, in fame, in nuditate et siti. Hic triumphus Dei est, apostolorumque victoria. Hieron. ad Hedib. n. xi. T. iv. P. i. p. 184.

<sup>1</sup> Acta passionis S. Pamphili martyris ex libris Eusebii Cæsariensis de illius Vitâ, juxta MS. Medicæum Regis Christianissimi. Ap. Fabr. Spic. Patr. seu Hippolyti Opp. T. ii. n. 217, &c. Conf. ejusd. Bib. Gr. T. v. p. 277, 278.

<sup>m</sup> ——— ἐπισημως τε τῶς κατα τὴν πατρίδα πολιτικαῖς διαπρεφαντος. Act. Pass. ap. Fabr. p. 218. m.—fuisset autem insignis in republicâ gerendâ in patriâ suâ. Certamen Pamphili ex Metaphr. ap. Vales. Ann. in Eus. p. 179. b. in.

who says that<sup>n</sup> ‘Pamphilus renounced all worldly expectations;’ or, as Valesius translates the words, ‘despised<sup>o</sup> all ‘secular honours, to which he might have aspired.’ Eusebius does actually say of Phileas, bishop of Thmuis, that<sup>p</sup> he had with reputation enjoyed all civil offices and employments in his country. Why did he not expressly say the same of Pamphilus, if true, when he spoke of his contempt of this world?

Again, it is said in these Acts, that<sup>q</sup> Pamphilus renounced, or gave away, all his paternal estate to the poor, and that he himself lived a philosophical kind of life, having nothing of his own: but Eusebius in his genuine account only says that<sup>r</sup> Pamphilus was very bountiful to the indigent, or gave liberally out of his substance for the relief of such persons. That particular appears to me contrary to all the ancient authentic accounts which we have of Pamphilus. If he had renounced, or given away all his estate, how should he have erected a library? How could he have transcribed numerous copies of the books of scripture, and Commentaries upon them? How should he and Eusebius put out a correct edition of the Seventy from Origen’s Hexapla? In all these works Pamphilus must have been assisted by some rich christian, as Origen was by Ambrose, if he had nothing of his own: but nothing of that kind is any where said by Eusebius or Jerom. On the contrary it is all along supposed that he lived upon his own, and that from time to time he cheerfully laid out what he had, as occasions offered, in good works and useful designs of various kinds, as before seen.

So far as I can perceive, these Acts of Fabricius are much the same with those in Surius, Valesius, and others, as taken from Simeon Metaphrastes, which<sup>s</sup> were mentioned before: and therefore what I have said, or may say concerning either, ought to be understood as relating to both.

Fabricius supposeth these Acts to have been taken out of the books of Eusebius containing the life of Pamphilus.

<sup>n</sup> —κοσμικων ελπιδων ολιγωρια. Eus. de Mart. P. c. xi. p. 336. B.

<sup>o</sup> —seu sæcularium honorum, ad quos aspirare poterat, despicientiam. Vales.

<sup>p</sup> —διαπρεψας ανηρταις κατα την πατριδα πολιτειαις και λιτερργιας. H. E. l. viii. p. 301. D.

<sup>q</sup> —αποδομενος γετοι τα εις αυτον απο προγονων ηκοντα γυμνοις, πηροις, και πενησιν απαντα, αυτος εν ακτημονι διηγε βιω—κ. λ. Fabr. ib. p. 220. m. Renuntians quidem iis quæ ad ipsum redibant a majoribus, nudis, mancis, et pauperibus distribuit. Ipse autem degebat in vitâ quæ nihil possidebat. Ex Metaphrast. ap. Vales. ib. p. 180. b. in.

<sup>r</sup> —τη της εσιας εις ενδεεις κοινωνια. De Mart. Pal. c. xi. p. 336. B.

<sup>s</sup> See p. 218.

Valesius<sup>t</sup> thinks that those Acts in Metaphrastes were taken from Eusebius's book of the Martyrs of Palestine: which book, as we now have it in the common copies, is imperfect, as he says, and may be made more complete by these Acts in Metaphrastes.

I rather think these Acts to be the invention of some idle impostor, who, according to his own fancy, enlarged and flourished upon Eusebius's genuine account of the martyrdom of Pamphilus and his companions, which we have in the eleventh chapter of his book concerning the Martyrs of Palestine. The whole of this piece, compared with that chapter of Eusebius, has such an appearance: Eusebius says of that company of martyrs, that 'u they resembled 'the prophets and apostles.' This writer<sup>v</sup> adds, 'and the 'patriarchs.' Eusebius, speaking of their last combat, says, 'it<sup>w</sup> was a most glorious spectacle;' as indeed it was. Whereupon this oratorical author says, 'there<sup>x</sup> might be 'seen in it at once persons of every age of the human life, 'and of every rank in the church, (meaning<sup>y</sup> faithful cate- 'chumens, presbyters, and deacons,) and of every condition 'and employment, and likewise a great variety of sufferings, 'and consequently different crowns for the victors.' This plan the author proposes at the beginning, and afterwards fills up as he sees good.

I think these considerations, added to the foregoing, may be sufficient to show that this piece is a forgery.

The length of these critical remarks, I hope will be excused. If we are not upon our guard, we shall have nothing but fable instead of history.

<sup>t</sup> Vid. Vales. Ann. p. 180.

<sup>u</sup> De M. Pal. c. xi. p. 336. B.

<sup>v</sup> Ap. Fabr. ib. p. 219. m. ap. Vales. Ann. p. 179. C.

<sup>w</sup> Ubi supr. p. 336. A.

<sup>x</sup> *Ἀθροῦς ἐν αὐτῷ παν εἶδος ἡλικίων τε σώματος, καὶ ψυχῶν ἀγωγῆς, βίῃ τε καὶ ἀναζωφῆς διαφορῆ περιειληφότα, βασανῶν τε ποικίλοις εἰδεσι, κ. λ. ἀρ. Fabr. p. 217. ap. Vales. 179. C.*

<sup>y</sup> Ap. Fabr. p. 219. in. ap. Vales. p. 180. A.

## CHAP. LX.

PHILEAS, BISHOP OF THMUIS IN EGYPT; AND PHILOROMUS,  
RECEIVER-GENERAL AT ALEXANDRIA.

‘PHILEAS,’ says<sup>a</sup> Jerom, ‘of a city in Egypt called Thmuis, of a noble family, and a large estate, accepted an episcopal charge. He wrote an excellent book in praise of the martyrs. After a long debate with the judge, who commanded him to sacrifice, he was beheaded for Christ under the same persecutor, by whose orders Lucian suffered at Nicomedia.’

Jerom means the emperor Maximin. But learned men are not agreed about the year of this good man’s martyrdom. By Cave<sup>b</sup> it is placed in 311, by<sup>c</sup> Basnage in 311 or 312, by<sup>d</sup> Tillemont after 306, and before the edict in 311 or 312. The place of his martyrdom is now, I think, generally allowed to be <sup>e</sup> Alexandria, though <sup>f</sup> Valesius once inclined to Thebais.

Phileas flourished, as Cave computes, near the end of the third century, about the year 296. It is likely that Thmuis was the place both of his nativity and his episcopate.

Eusebius in his Ecclesiastical History has a long passage of a letter of Phileas to the christians at Thmuis; which is generally reckoned to be the same that Jerom calls a book in Praise of the Martyrs.

Eusebius at the same time gives an account of the martyrdom of Philoromus. And there are still extant<sup>g</sup> Acts of the martyrdoms of these two persons, which are esteemed genuine and sincere by<sup>h</sup> Tillemont and<sup>i</sup> Ruinart: and indeed they are in the main agreeable to Eusebius: but yet it seems to me that they are interpolated: at least, I am of opinion that they are not to be relied upon as sincere and uncorrupt; for which reason I shall not make any use of them. But

<sup>a</sup> Phileas, de urbe Ægypti, quæ vocatur Thmuis, nobili genere, et non parvis opibus, suscepto episcopatu, elegantissimum librum de martyrum laude composuit. Et disputatione actorum habitâ adversus judicem, qui eum sacrificare cogebat, pro Christo capite truncatur, eodem in Ægypto persecutionis auctore, quo Lucianus Nicomediæ. De V. I. c. 78.

<sup>b</sup> H. L. in Philea.

<sup>c</sup> Ann. 312. n. 18.

<sup>d</sup> Mem. Ecc. S. Phileas, &c. T. v. P. iii. p. 173, et note 5.

<sup>e</sup> Vid. Basn. ib. n. 19. et Ruinart. Act. Mart. p. 494.

<sup>f</sup> Annot. in Euseb. l. viii. c. 9.

<sup>g</sup> Ap. Ruin. Act. M. p. 494—496.

<sup>h</sup> As before, p. 163, &c.

<sup>i</sup> Ubi supra, p. 493, 494.

I shall immediately transcribe Eusebius's history of the death both of Phileas and Philoromus, with a part of the just-mentioned passage of the letter written by the former.

Our ecclesiastical historian then, having mentioned divers other instances of heroic courage and firmness of mind in the cause of truth, adds : ' And<sup>k</sup> these are indeed admirable : ' but yet more admirable are they who, distinguished by ' their wealth, high birth, honours, learning, and eloquence, ' preferred before all other things true religion and faith in ' Jesus Christ. Among these was Philoromus, who bore no ' ordinary office, but was the emperor's receiver-general at ' Alexandria ; and, as became his high station in the Roman ' government, daily heard causes, attended by a guard of ' soldiers. Phileas, likewise, bishop of the church at ' Thmuis, who had with reputation discharged all public ' offices in his own country, and was eminent for his philo- ' sophical learning, when many of their kindred and other ' honourable friends, and some of the magistrates, and even ' the judge himself advised them to take pity upon them- ' selves, and to consider their wives and children, would not ' by all their entreaties be induced, out of a regard to their ' own life, to transgress the divine laws concerning denying ' and confessing our Saviour ; but with a manly and ' courageous and philosophic mind, or rather with a religious ' heart truly devoted to God, having withstood all the ' threatenings and abuses of the judge, they were both be- ' headed.'

' But,<sup>l</sup> forasmuch as we said that Phileas was eminent for ' learning, let him be produced as his own witness. At the ' same time he shows what he himself was, he will relate the ' martyrdoms that happened in his time at Alexandria much ' more exactly than we can do. Thus then he writes in his ' epistle to the people at Thmuis : ' " All<sup>m</sup> these ensamples and patterns and excellent admonitions being set before us in the divine and sacred scriptures, the blessed martyrs among us, without hesitation fixing the eye of their soul upon God over all, and willingly embracing death for the sake of religion, stedfastly adhered to their calling : knowing that<sup>n</sup> our Lord Jesus Christ became man for our sake,

<sup>k</sup> Θανατασιοι μιν εν και ετοιμ' εξαιρετως δε εκεινοι θανατωτεροι, οι πλεστον μιν και ευγενεια, και δοξη, λογιω τε και φιλοσοφια διαπρεψαντες, κ. λ. Eus. l. viii. c. 9. p. 301. C. D. 302.

<sup>l</sup> Ib. cap. 10. p. 332. B. &c.

<sup>m</sup> Τωτων απαντων υποδειγματων ημιν και υπογραμμων, και καλων γνωρισματων εν ταις θειαις και ιεραις γραφαις, κ. λ. ib. C.

<sup>n</sup> ———τον μιν Κυριον ημων Ιησυν Χριστον ευροντες ενανθρωπησαντα δι' ημας,

that he might destroy all sin, and afford us helps for obtaining eternal life: For he did not earnestly desire to appear like God, but made himself of no reputation, taking the form of a servant: and being found in fashion as a man, he humbled himself unto death, even the death of the cross:” Philip. ii. 6, 7. “Wherefore<sup>o</sup> also these martyrs, full of Christ, “earnestly desiring<sup>p</sup> the greatest gifts,” (1 Cor. xii. 31.) endured not once only, but some of them often, all kinds of pains and tortures that can be invented; and, though the officers did their utmost by words and deeds to terrify them, they were not disheartened, “because perfect love casteth out fear:” 1 John iv. 18.

I omit the rest which may be seen in Eusebius himself, who, having finished his extracts, adds: ‘These<sup>a</sup> are the words of a true philosopher, and a martyr filled with the love of God: which, when in prison, before the final sentence of the judge, he sent to the people under his care; partly informing them what were his own circumstances, partly exhorting them to hold fast the faith of Christ, even after his death, which was then near at hand.’

Here are, I think, three references to books of the New Testament; the first epistle to the Corinthians, and the epistle to the Philippians, and the first of St. John. We see by this short passage, what great regard the christians of those times had for the holy scriptures: and how apt they are to clothe their own thoughts in expressions borrowed from them.

I suppose likewise, that none will dispute my interpretation of that phrase, which in our English translation is rendered, ‘thought it not robbery to be equal with God;’ for it is here evidently used and understood by Phileas, as expressive of our Lord’s humility, not of his dignity and greatness. In the like manner have we already observed that expression understood by several<sup>r</sup> ancient christian writers.

I would just observe that, at the end of the passage cited by Eusebius, Phileas quotes some precepts of the Old Testament, as<sup>s</sup> sacred scripture.

*ἵνα πᾶσαν μὲν ἁμαρτιαν ἐκκοψῆ, ἐφοδία δὲ τῆς εἰς τὴν αἰώνιον ζωὴν εἰσοδὸς ἡμῖν καταθῆται· ἔ γὰρ ἀρπαγμὸν ἠγήσατο τὸ εἶναι ἴσα Θεῷ· ἀλλ’ ἑαυτὸν ἐκενώσε, μορφήν δούλου λαβών.* Ib. p. 302. C. D.

<sup>o</sup> Διο καὶ ζῆλωσαντες τὰ μείζονα χάρισματα οἱ χριστοφόροι μαρτυροῦσι. ib. D.

<sup>p</sup> St. Paul there says, The best gifts, *τὰ χάρισματα τὰ κρείττονα*. But afterwards, ch. xiii. 13, he says, The greatest of these is charity, *μείζων δὲ τῶν ἢ ἀγαπῆ*.

<sup>q</sup> Ib. p. 304. B.

<sup>r</sup> See Vol. ii. chap. xxxviii.

num. xxviii. 12. and ch. xlv. and in this Vol. p. 115, 200.

<sup>s</sup> —ᾤδεσαν γὰρ τὰ ὑπο τῶν ἱερῶν γραφῶν ἡμῖν προορισθέντα. ib. p. 304: B.

Phileas is elsewhere mentioned by <sup>t</sup> Eusebius among other bishops of Egypt, who suffered martyrdom in Dioclesian's persecution.

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## CHAP. LXI.

PETER, BISHOP OF ALEXANDRIA, AND THE MELETIANs.

I. *Peter, his history and works, and testimony to the scriptures.* II. *The Meletians, their history and time.*

I. IN the year of our Lord 300, Peter succeeded Theonas at Alexandria. In St. Jerom's Chronicle<sup>a</sup> he is called the sixteenth bishop of that church, and is said to have had a glorious martyrdom in the ninth year of the persecution: but St. Jerom has not given this bishop of Alexandria a place in his Catalogue among other eminent writers of the church. Nor do I remember that he has any where quoted him. However Peter is now generally reckoned an author. Several things are ascribed to him.

Penitential<sup>b</sup> Canons, supposed to<sup>c</sup> have been drawn up by him in the fourth year of the persecution under Dioclesian, in the year of Christ 306, for the sake of such as had some way lapsed under the severities they had endured, or through fear of suffering.

A work entitled<sup>d</sup> *De Divinitate*, quoted in the councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon.

A Discourse<sup>e</sup> of Easter, which is not<sup>f</sup> allowed by all to be his.

Peter is several times mentioned by Eusebius in his Ecclesiastical History. It appears to me worth the while to transcribe all his passages; though some notice has been

<sup>t</sup> L. viii. c. 13. p. 308. C.      <sup>a</sup> Alexandrinæ ecclesiæ sextusdecimus post Theonam episcopus ordinatus Petrus, qui postea nono persecutionis anno gloriose martyrium perperavit. Hieron. Chr. p. 179.

<sup>b</sup> Vid. Labbei Concil. T. i. p. 955—968.

<sup>c</sup> Scripsit quarto persecutionis Diocletianæ anno, Christi 306, eorum causâ, qui in prædictâ persecutione lapsi essent, librum de Pœnitentiâ; ex quo supersunt hodie canones 15, variis pœnitentium casibus accommodati. Cav. H. L. in Petro.

<sup>d</sup> Alium item librum de Divinitate. Cav. ib. Vid. Labb. Concil. Tom. iv. p. 286. C. D. E.

<sup>e</sup> Scripsit etiam tractatum de Paschate. Testantur id, quæ habemus hodie, hujus operis fragmenta. Cav. ib. p. 160.

<sup>f</sup> Vid. Cav. ut supra. Basnag. Ann. 306. n. xiii. f.

already taken of them at the beginning of the articles of Theonas and Pierius.

‘Theonas,<sup>s</sup> having borne the episcopal office nineteen years, was succeeded by Peter, who obtained great<sup>h</sup> honour during his episcopate, which he held twelve years. He governed the church three years before the persecution. The rest of his time he passed in a more strict and mortified course of life, but still without neglecting the common good of the churches; for which reason, in the ninth year of the persecution, he was beheaded, and obtained the crown of martyrdom.’

In another place, giving an account of those presidents of the churches, who had demonstrated the sincerity of their faith by laying down their lives in the late persecution, he says: ‘But<sup>i</sup> of those, who in Alexandria, and throughout Egypt and Thebais, gloriously finished their course, none more fit to be first mentioned than Peter, bishop of Alexandria,<sup>k</sup> a most excellent teacher of the christian doctrine: and, among his presbyters, Faustus, Dius, and Ammonius, were perfect martyrs of Christ; as were also Phileas, Hesychnus, Pachymius, and Theodorus, bishops of divers churches in Egypt.’

Once more: ‘About<sup>l</sup> the same time also Peter, who with so much reputation presided over the church at Alexandria, an<sup>m</sup> ornament to the episcopal character, both for the holiness of his life and his laborious application in studying and explaining the sacred scriptures, without any crime of any kind laid to his charge, beyond all expectation, on a sudden, for no other reason but the will of Maximin, was taken up and beheaded.’

Our bishop is several times mentioned and called martyr by<sup>n</sup> St. Athanasius. I shall take notice of two places. In one of them he observes: ‘Peter<sup>o</sup> was bishop here before the persecution, and in the persecution was also a martyr.’ In the other he intimates, that Peter suffered at the end of the persecution, or even after it was over, as his manner of writing may be thought to imply. Which too seems to be agreeable to what Eusebius said just now of Peter’s having been arrested and beheaded on a sudden, and beyond all

<sup>s</sup> Eus. H. E. l. vii. c. 32. p. 289, 290.

<sup>h</sup> —εν τοις μαλιτα και αυτος διαπρεφας εφ’ ολοις δυνοκαιδεκα ενιαντοις. ib. p. 289. D.

<sup>i</sup> Ib. l. viii. c. 13. p. 308. B. C.

της εν Χριστω θεοσεβειας. ibid.

<sup>k</sup> θειον τι χροημα διδασκαλων  
Ib. l. ix. c. 6.

<sup>m</sup> θειον επισκοπων χροημα, βια αρετης τε ενεκα, και της των ιερων λογων συνασκησεως, κ. λ. ib. p. 351. C.

<sup>n</sup> Apol. contr. Arian. n. xi. p. 133. D. Ep. ad Episc. Æg. et Lib. n. 23.

<sup>o</sup> Apol. contr. Arian. n. 59.

expectation. The words of Athanasius are these: ‘But’  
 ‘when the persecution had ceased, and the blessed bishop  
 ‘Peter had suffered martyrdom, Antony removed, and re-  
 ‘turned to his monastery.’

Sozomen says that<sup>a</sup> Peter fled in the time of the persecu-  
 tion: I suppose he must mean some retirement, which was  
 free from blame. Sozomen himself does not pass any censure  
 upon it: and Eusebius has represented Peter’s episcopate  
 as so illustrious, and every way worthy of commendation,  
 that it is not easy to admit the suspicion of any improper  
 conduct. However, that expression of Sozomen, and what  
 Eusebius says of Peter’s strict course of life, though without  
 at all neglecting the care of the churches, may lead us to  
 think that, for a large part of the persecution, he lived in  
 some private place unknown to the instruments of the per-  
 secution; where however christian people had access to him,  
 and received his advices and institutions.

Theodoret styles Peter<sup>r</sup> a most excellent person, and a  
 victorious combatant, who in the time of wicked tyrants  
 obtained the crown of martyrdom. Again he calls him<sup>s</sup>  
 divine Peter.

I do not intend to make any long extracts out of Peter’s  
 book of Canons, or Canonical Epistle, the only piece of his  
 that remains, if indeed it be his. I would however observe,  
 that he resolves all his cases by the authority of the holy  
 scriptures: and that here are cited the gospels of Matthew,  
 Mark, and Luke; the Acts of the Apostles, very largely;  
 several epistles of Paul, particularly that to the Hebrews, as<sup>t</sup>  
 the apostle’s, intending Paul, and the first epistle of John.  
 In the fragment of his book *De Divinitate* are cited<sup>u</sup> the  
 beginning of John’s gospel, several epistles of Paul, and the  
 first of Peter.

II. In the time of Peter arose the Meletian controversy,  
 or schism, as it is usually called; which, as<sup>v</sup> Tillemont  
 observes, subsisted for the space of an hundred and fifty  
 years, not being extinct in the time of Theodoret and So-  
 crates.

<sup>p</sup> Επειδη δε λοιπον ο διωγμος επαυσατο, και μεμαρτυρηκεν ο μακαριτης επισ-  
 κοπος Πητρος, απεδημησεν, κ. λ. Vit. S. Anton. n. 47.

<sup>q</sup> —φευγοντος δια τον τοτε διωγμον. Soz. l. i. c. 24.

<sup>r</sup> —μετα Πητρον εκεινον τον νικηφορον αγωνιστην, ος επι των δυσσεβων  
 εκεινων τυραννων τε μαρτυρις σεφανον ανεδησατο. Thdrt. l. i. c. 2. p. 7.

<sup>s</sup> Τε θειοτατε Πητρος, κ. λ. Id. l. i. c. 9. in.

<sup>t</sup> —εμη, ως λεγει αποστολος, επιλιποι ο αν ημας διηγμενες ο χρονος.  
 [Hebr. xi. 32.] Can. ix. ap. Labb. T. i. p. 962.

<sup>u</sup> Ap. Labb. Conc. T. iv. p. 468. C. D. E.

<sup>v</sup> St. Pierre d’Alexandrie. art. 8. l. Mem. Ec. T. v. P. iii. p. 111.

I do not reckon myself obliged to give a particular history of that affair; but I beg liberty to say, that I cannot easily assent to Athanasius's account of the rise and occasion of it, which is to this purpose: 'Peter<sup>w</sup> in a full synod of bishops 'deposed Meletius, an Egyptian bishop; who was convicted 'of several crimes, and particularly of having sacrificed. 'Meletius neither appealed to another synod, nor took any 'pains to vindicate himself, but presently made a schism. 'And to this day<sup>x</sup> his followers, instead of christians, are 'called Meletians. From that time Meletius took great 'liberties in calumniating Peter, and then Achillas.'

There are several considerations tending to weaken the credit of this account: 1. Athanasius is a prejudiced person. After the council of Nice, if not before, the Meletians<sup>y</sup> joined interests with the Arians; and certainly they were always enemies to the bishop of Alexandria. 2. Athanasius writes with passion. Meletius, he says, was convicted of many crimes; but he does not name them: he only mentions sacrificing. Nor is it likely that the Meletians quitted the name of christians. They were often called Meletians by others, and sometimes possibly by themselves: but to say that instead of christians they were called Meletians, is invidious. How unreasonable is this in Athanasius, when Meletius and his followers at first, and for a good while, if not all along, agreed with him in every point of doctrine! Epiphanius,<sup>z</sup> to whom<sup>a</sup> others assent, expressly says that Meletius made a schism, but attempted not any innovation in the faith. Nor does<sup>b</sup> Athanasius differ from them. 3. If Meletius had been convicted of apostasy, or of sacrificing to idols in time of persecution, the sentence passed upon him and his adherents in the council of Nice would have been different. What it was may be seen in several<sup>c</sup> ancient writers of ecclesiastical history. 4. Meletius<sup>d</sup> always com-

<sup>w</sup> Οὗτος Μελιτιον, απο της Αιγυπτου λεγομενον επισκοπον, επι πολλαις ελεγχθεντα παρανομiais, και Ξυσια, εν κοινη συνοδῳ των επισκοπων καθειλει, κ. λ. Athan. ap. contr. Arian. n. 97. T. i. p. 177.

<sup>x</sup> Και αντι χριστιανων, Μελιτιανοι μεχοι νυν οι της εκεινης μεριδος ονομαζονται. *ibid.* <sup>y</sup> Vid. Socrat. H. E. l. i. c. 6. p. 14. Sozom. l. ii. c. 21.

<sup>z</sup> Σχισμα εποιησεν, ε μην μεταλλαγμενος την πισιν γεγεννηται. Epiph. H. 68. n. i. Vid. *ib.* reliqua. <sup>a</sup> Αλλα ταυτα μεν τη εκκλησια φρονων. Theodoret. H. E. l. iv. c. 7. p. 239. Αλλ' εκεινος μεν εδεν των της ευσεβειας δογματων εκαινοτομησεν. *Id.* *ib.* p. 240.

<sup>b</sup> This appears, in that Athanasius calls the Arians heretics, the Meletians schismatics only, and thus distinguisheth their several crimes. Αλλ' οι μεν προ πενηκοντα και πεντε ετων σχισματικοι γεγονασιν' οι δε προ τριακοντα και εξ ετων απειδειχθησαν αιρετικοι. κ. λ. Ep. ad Episc. Æg. et Lib. n. 22. T. i. p. 293.

<sup>c</sup> Vid. Socrat. l. i. c. 9. Sozom. l. i. c. 24. Thdr. H. F. l. iv. c. 7.

<sup>d</sup> Ηδικησθαι μεν ελεγεν εαυτον, κ. λ. Socrat. l. i. c.



in his annals, published in 1706, he writes<sup>p</sup> as if he had quite forgot what he had once said; which needs not, however, to be reckoned very strange in an author who writes a great deal.

In composing the argument here offered, I have had no regard to that in Basnage's Exercitations, which I did not observe till afterwards. These thoughts arose in my mind in reading Athanasius, and comparing him with other ancient writers.

It is disputed among learned men when this schism began. Baronius<sup>q</sup> placeth it in 306; Basnage<sup>r</sup> in his Annals, before cited, contends for the same date: Pagi is altogether<sup>s</sup> for 301, or 302: Tillemont<sup>t</sup> carefully examines the merits of each opinion without determining the point.

It seems to me that all the accounts and testimonies above cited, which speak of this controversy, as arising in the time of Peter, and after the beginning of the persecution, should lead us to pitch upon the year 306, or thereabout: when Peter, as is supposed, put out his Canons, and, as is likely, began to live more retired than he had done; then, probably, Meletius began to ordain bishops, and other clergy, where he should not.

The only thing that leads to the year 300, or 301, or 302, is a passage of Athanasius in a piece supposed to have been written in<sup>u</sup> 356; where he says that<sup>v</sup> the Meletians had been schismatics above five-and-fifty years. Upon which I would observe, that possibly the numbers in Athanasius have been altered; or he might write in haste, and mistake through forgetfulness: or, finally, it is not impossible that, for some reason or other affecting his mind at that time, he might choose to ascribe a very early date to that schism. I add, that in the same place Athanasius says, 'It<sup>w</sup> was six-

valet.—Verumtamen nonnullas de Meletii idololatriâ dubitandi causas suggerunt Theodoretus, Epiphanius, Nicæna Synodus.—Hæc sunt quæ de Meletianâ idololatriâ suspensum detinent.—Basn. Exercit. p. 307, 308. Ultraj. 1692.

<sup>p</sup> Vera prædicâsse Socratem, testis est omni exceptione major Athanasius.—At falso contaminari Epiphaniî narrationem extra dubium est. Cum enim Epiphanio antiquior, et rerum Ægypti, ubi schisma Meletianum exortum est, longe peritior Athanasius scriptum reliquit, Meletium idolis sacrificâsse, fide quoque dignior est. Basn. Ann. Pol. Ec. A. 206. n. 14. Roterod. 1706.

<sup>q</sup> Baron. Ann. 306. n. 44.

<sup>r</sup> Basn. Ann. 306. n. 15.

<sup>s</sup> Ann. 306. n. 29, 30.

Mem. Ec. S. Pierre d'A. art. 8. et not. 8. T. v. P. iii. p. 111, et 301

<sup>u</sup> Vid. Athanas. Opp. Ed. Bened. T. i. p. 177. not. c. et p. 269.

<sup>v</sup> Ου γαρ ολιγος εστιν ο χρονος· αλλ' οι μεν προ πεντηκοντα και πεντε ετων σχισματικοι γεγονασιν· οι δε προ τριακοντα και εξ ετων απεδειχθησαν αιρετικοι, και της εκκλησιας απεβληθησαν εκ κρισεως πασης της οικουμενικης συνοδου. Ep. ad. Episc. Æg. et Lib. n. 22. p. 293.

<sup>w</sup> See note v.

‘ and-thirty years since Arians were declared heretics, and ‘ cast out of the church by the judgment of an œcumenical ‘ council.’ Which might induce us to think that piece must have been written in the year 361 or 362, that is, six-and-thirty years after the council of Nice, when the Arians were condemned ; if there were not some cogent reasons showing that epistle to have been written in 356 : and<sup>x</sup> notwithstanding what the Benedictine editors say, it is more reasonable to carry on the number, thirty-six, through the whole sentence, than to confine it to the first part of it, ‘ declared ‘ heretics,’ and to understand thereby some declaration, different from that of the council there spoken of. I do not therefore see any good reason why this passage of Athanasius should oblige us to think the Meletian controversy arose before the year 306.

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AN ANSWER TO MR. JACKSON'S REMARKS UPON  
THE FIFTH VOLUME OF THE FIRST  
EDITION OF THIS WORK.

SEE THE BELIEF OF A FUTURE STATE PROVED TO BE A  
FUNDAMENTAL ARTICLE OF THE RELIGION  
OF THE HEBREWS, p. 120, &c.

I. *The time of Sabellianism.* II. *The name of the presbyter of Rome, rival of Cornelius : whether Novatus or Novatianus.*

I. MR. JACKSON is not a little displeas'd at my placing the rise of Sabellianism so late as only two or three years before A. D. 257, when Dionysius of Alexandria wrote to pope Xystus upon that subject : though I am not therein singular, but only maintain the general opinion of learned men about it, as I showed, Vol. ii. ch. xliii. To authors there mentioned I shall add one or two more : Hæresis Sabelliana erupit circa A. C. 257. J. A. Fabr. Annot. ad Philast. cap. liv. de Sabellio. Sabellius, Eusebio teste lib. 7. Histor. cap. vi. errores Ptolemaide in urbe Pentapoleos circiter annum 257,

<sup>x</sup> Verum hunc locum par est ita distinguere, ut verbum, *απειδείχθησαν*, sunt declarati, ad Alexandrum Alexandrinum referantur, qui nimirum in Synodo Alexandrinâ Arium hæreticum primus declaravit ; cætera autem quæ sequuntur, Nicænæ attribuantur Synodo. Ubi supra, p. 269. n. 4.

spargere cœpit. *Benedictin. not. ad Ambros. Tom. ii. p. 445.* Scribit Eusebius *libr. Ecc. Hist. 7.* Sabellii hæresim sub tempora Decii—audiri cœpisse, cum Romanæ sedi præesset Stephanus, aut Sixtus: hoc est, circa annum Christi cclvii. &c. *Petav. Dogm. Theol. Tom. ii. i. c. 6. sect. iii.*

I do not think myself obliged to say a great deal more here in vindication of that date: I can rely upon my argument from Dionysius, exhibited, *Vol. ii. ch. xliii.* and I persuade myself that they, who will read it and carefully attend to it, will not think that Mr. Jackson has weakened it by what he has said, but has left it still in full force.

Mr. Jackson says, p. 121, that ‘Dionysius in his letter to Xystus, gives no account of the rise of Sabellianism, but ‘only of its being greatly spread.’ But my argument does not depend upon that, but rather upon Dionysius’s not having sooner sent an account of that affair to his correspondents at Rome; which he would have done if the controversy had been on foot a good while before: nevertheless, it happens that there are expressions in that letter of Dionysius which imply that it was then but newly moved, advanced, or agitated. *Περι γαρ τῆ νυν κινήθεντος ἐν τῇ Πτολεμαϊδὶ τῆς Πενταπόλεως δογματος.* *Ap. Euseb. H. E. l. vii. c. 6.*

Besides, what avails it for Mr. Jackson to insist so much upon it, that Dionysius gives Xystus an account of the increase, not of the rise of Sabellianism, when the increase supposes the rise? And it is the spreading of a doctrine that induces men to take notice of it, and send accounts of it to their friends. If Sabellianism had not spread in the country near him, Dionysius would not have thought it needful to make any mention of it in a letter to one at a distance: this therefore was what he was naturally led to speak of in his letter to Xystus.

Farther, Mr. Jackson says, p. 122, 123, ‘Sabellius himself was undoubtedly noted many years before: and, upon the death of his master Noetus, about A. D. 220, spread his doctrine in several parts of Asia: p. 24. Sabellius was the most noted—the most famous disciple of Noetus.’

These things are said with a good deal of positiveness: but upon what grounds? where is the evidence? Tillemont, *Mem. Ec. T. iv.* Les Sabelliens, observes: ‘Philaster and Augustine say that Sabellius was a disciple of Noetus, which is not impossible, though the Greeks say nothing of it.’ Philaster’s words are: Sabellius post illum [Noetum] de Libyâ discipulus ejus similitudinem sui doctoris itidem

secutus est et errorem. Augustine's words are ; Sabelliani ab illo Noeto, quem supra memoravimus, defluxisse dicuntur. Nam et discipulum ejus quidam perhibent fuisse Sabellium : so that he speaks doubtfully about it. Many might call Sabellius a disciple of Noetus, as he came not very long after him, and because of the resemblance of their opinions : but if it was a thing well known that Sabellius was a scholar of Noetus, why should the Greeks omit to mention it ? And if they write nothing about it, how should the Latins know it ? The silence of Greek authors is of much more importance than the sayings and reports of a few Latin writers. Had not Epiphanius and Theodoret, who write of heresies, and particularly of Noetianism and Sabellianism, an opportunity to say where Sabellius learned his doctrine if they knew it ? Theodoret, H. F. l. iii. c. 3, mentions some predecessors of Noetus, and says that Callistus upheld his opinion after him : *Ταυτης μετα τον Νοητον υπερησπισε Καλλιστος*. But says nothing here or elsewhere, that I remember, of Sabellius being a disciple of Noetus. Epiphanius, H. 62. n. 1. says, that ' Sabellius's doctrine was the same with that of the Noetians, ' excepting only a few things.' Why does he not add that Sabellius learned his doctrine from Noetus, if he knew that also to be true.

Mr. Jackson says, p. 121, ' there is no evidence that ' Sabellianism had its rise in Ptolemais in Egypt.' Where then had it its rise ? It is generally concluded by learned men, from Eusebius's account of Dionysius's letter to Xystus, that it had its rise in Ptolemais. Sabellius himself is continually spoken of by the ancients, who give an account of him and his doctrine as a Libyan or African : so Philaster before cited : and so Theodoret, H. F. l. ii. c. 9. *Σαβελλιος δε ο Λιβυς ο Πενταπολιτης*. If Sabellianism had its rise in Asia Minor, at Ephesus, or Smyrna, or thereabout, why have we no account of any writers of that country opposing it ? Athanasius says that in the time of Dionysius, some of the bishops of Pentapolis held the doctrine of Sabellius, which occasioned his looking into the matter. *Εν Πενταπολει της ανω Λιβυης τηρικαυτα τινες των επισκοπων εφρονησαν τα Σαβελλιω*. De Sent. Dionys. n. 5. p. 246. And Theodoret, in his article of Sabellius, takes particular notice that Dionysius of Alexandria wrote against him. If this principle had been first taught by Sabellius in some other parts before it was known in Egypt, why does not Dionysius himself ; why did not Eusebius, nor Athanasius, nor Epiphanius, nor Theodoret, give any hint of it ?

Mr. Jackson, p. 125, still insists upon ' the authority of two

‘ ancient chronologers, Isidore Hispalensis, and Ado Vienne-  
 ‘ nensis, who in their chronicles agree to place Sabellius about  
 ‘ A. D. 220.’ And indeed he had need to call them ‘ ancient.’  
 Nevertheless Mr. Jackson does not deny the truth of what I  
 said, p. 108, that they are Latin authors ; ‘ and that they  
 ‘ wrote, one of them in Spain in the seventh, the other in  
 ‘ Gaul, in the ninth century :’ that is, the earliest of them  
 several hundred years after the supposed time of Sabellius.  
 The authority of such chroniclers undoubtedly is very great.  
 I likewise argued from several considerations, to which the  
 reader is referred, that they confounded Noetus and Sabel-  
 lius.

But Mr. Jackson’s strongest argument seems to be, that  
 his author could not write his ‘ excellent ’ book on the  
 Trinity, p. 126, his ‘ incomparable and invaluable ’ book,  
 p. 132, after his schism ; which yet he must have done if  
 Sabellianism had not its rise till after 251. *Nec, quantum  
 cogito, verisimile est, illum condidisse tam egregium  
 librum,—postquam in schisma detestandum se demersisset.*  
 Præf. p. 18. But the force of this argument depends upon  
 a degree of uncharitableness in a man’s mind, for which I  
 can see no ground : a heretic, or schismatic, we may suppose,  
 cannot write a good book in favour of his errors, or wrong  
 conduct : but if he hold any truths in common with other  
 men, I do not see why he may not be able to write well in  
 defence of them : and I readily assent to Nicephorus in what  
 he says of Eusebius, the famous bishop of Cæsarea : that  
 he left many writings useful for the church, though he often  
 favours Arianism. *Και αλλα διαφορα συγγραμματα καταλελοιπε,*  
*πολλην ονησιν τη εκκλησια εισφεροντα’ πλην τοιςτοις ων εν πολλοις*  
*φαινεται τα αρειε πρεσβευων.* Nic. H. E. l. vi. c. 37. p. 446. c.

I have here added thus much concerning the time of  
 Sabellius, to please Mr. Jackson ; though I am of opinion  
 that what I said formerly was sufficient.

II. I must take some notice of what Mr. Jackson says  
 concerning the name of Novatus, otherwise called Novatianus.

I offered five arguments ; the first of which was, that  
 ‘ this presbyter of Rome is generally called Novatus by the  
 ‘ Greek writers.’ This argument I did not much labour,  
 because I supposed it to be allowed by learned moderns,  
 that the Greek authors do generally so write his name.  
 However, Mr. Jackson affirms, p. 131, that ‘ my opinion is  
 ‘ contrary to the testimony of the most ancient Greek, as  
 ‘ well as Latin writers.’ Let us then see how Mr. Jackson  
 shows this.

He allows, p. 126, that ‘ Eusebius generally calls him

‘Novatus; and the historian Socrates likewise after Eusebius.’ But why does he say ‘after Eusebius?’ Doubtless Socrates had read Eusebius; but was he not also well acquainted with many of the Novatians at Constantinople? And had they not there divers learned men, who could inform him in the history of their founder?

At p. 126, Mr. Jackson says that ‘though Eusebius himself calls him Novatus, he has preserved his true name in the seventh book of his Ecclesiastical History, and eighth chapter; where he is called Novatian in the letter which his contemporary, Dionysius bishop of Alexandria, wrote concerning his schism to his namesake of Rome.’ But I should think that Mr. Jackson might be reasonably led to conclude that must be a wrong reading, even though it should be allowed to be ancient. For the title of that chapter is, ‘Of the Heresy of Novatus:’ and at the end of the preceding chapter Eusebius, introducing that letter to Dionysius of Rome, says that ‘in it Dionysius of Alexandria writes concerning Novatus after this manner.’ *Γραφει δε αυτω μεθ’ ἑτερα, των κατα τον Νοβατον μνημονευων εν τριτοις.* And in the 43d chapter of the sixth book of his Ecclesiastical History, giving an account of the affair at Rome, both Eusebius and Cornelius himself, in his letter to Fabius, often mention the Roman presbyter by the name Novatus: it must therefore be probable that in one place an error has crept in contrary to the original reading: accordingly, in the Latin translation of Eusebius’s Ecclesiastical History, printed at Basil in 1611, or 1612, is Novatus; the translator, I suppose, taking it for granted that the other was a wrong reading: *Novato quidem merito succensemus.* Moreover, in the 45th chapter of the same sixth book of Eusebius’s Ecclesiastical History, is a letter of Dionysius to the presbyter of Rome himself, where he calls him Novatus: *Διονυσιος Νοβατω τω αδελφω χαιρειν.* Indeed as that letter is given by Niceph. l. vi. c. 4, it has Novatianus: but surely Eusebius’s authority is better than that of so late a writer, if indeed we have his authority for it; but probably that reading did not come from Nicephorus himself; for he too as well as other Greek authors, writes his name Novatus. Vid. Niceph. l. vi. c. 3. T. i. p. 397. A. cap. 5. p. 394. c. 6. p. 395, et 396. c. 7. p. 397. B. & c. et cap. 35. p. 436. C. *Καν Σωκρατης ο εκ Ναυατη.*—And, even introducing Dionysius’s letter to Novatus, where we now have Novatian, Nicephorus says, ‘that letter was written to Novatus.’ *Οποια δε και αυτω εκεινω Ναυατω την εν Ρωμη εκκλησιαν διασαλευοντι γεγραφε, παραθεσθαι δικαιον,* L. 6. c. 4. p. 393. D. Insomuch that, though in the Greek

copies of Nicephorus is *Ναυατιανω*, the Latin translator, sensible it must be a wrong reading, puts Novatus: Dionysius Novato fratri salutem: and so it is likewise in Rufinus's ancient Latin translation of Eusebius's Ecclesiastical History, as was shown formerly, see ch. xlvii.

I hope I have now at once shown that Dionysius of Alexandria, and Nicephorus, as well as Eusebius, write the name of the presbyter of Rome, Novatus.

Still Mr. Jackson says, p. 127, that 'in the Chronography of Georgius Syncellus, p. 374, Dionysius calls the Roman presbyter to whom he wrote Novatian.' But then in the margin is put Novatus, as a various reading, or a correction of the text, as supposed to be corrupt, and with good reason; for elsewhere very often, perhaps forty or fifty times, that author writes Novatus.

Mr. Jackson says, p. 127, 'And Sozomen in his Ecclesiastical History, l. iii. c. 8, calls the Roman presbyter Novatian, and so is expressly against Mr. L—, though he has alleged him on his side.' But let any attentive person judge whether Mr. Jackson has reason for what he says here: in that place indeed Sozomen has Novatian: but in another Novatus. *Μαθων γαρ, Μακεδονιος τις πλειεις ενθαδε τα Ναυατε φρονειν. κ. λ. l. iv. c. 21. p. 571. D.* And in another place he expressly says that the name of the leader of the sect was Novatus. *Ναυατος μεν γαρ, ος αρχηγος εγενετο της αιρεσεως. κ. λ. l. vi. c. 24. p. 670. A.* It is likely therefore that, in the place referred to by Mr. Jackson, we have a wrong reading; for it is not reasonable to think that in that one place Sozomen intended to contradict himself, or that he used a different writing of the name from Eusebius and Socrates: but, however that be, should not the other places have been taken notice of by Mr. Jackson? Was Mr. Jackson in the right to conceal them from his readers? And was not I in the right to reckon Sozomen on my side, when he has left at least two places to one for me?

At p. 122, I mentioned Athanasius among other Greek authors writing Novatus. And certainly he is an ancient author: nor does Mr. Jackson attempt to weaken his testimony: I referred to but one passage in Athanasius; but I might have referred to others; and he is a good witness, having lived some while in the West: and that he means the presbyter of Rome is apparent. Vid. Ap. cont. Arian, n. 25. p. 144. E. F. Vid. et Ep. iv. ad Serap. n. 13. p. 704. E. The author of the Paschal Chronicle, giving the history of Dionysius of Alexandria and the Roman presbyter, calls him Novatus several times. *Εν οίς αρεις υπερηφανεια Ναυατος της*

Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας πρεσβυτερος ελεγεν, κ. λ. p. 271. C. vid. ib. D. et p. 272. A. Theodoret expressly makes Novatus presbyter of Rome author of the sect. Ὁ δε Ναυατος Ῥωμαίων τῆς ἐκκλησίας πρεσβυτερος ην. H. Fab. l. iii. cap. 5, and I might allege Philostorgius, Epiphanius, Zonaras, and other Greek authors, writing the name after the same manner: but I forbear. If I have set Mr. Jackson's readers right as to Dionysius of Alexandria, and Sozomen, I have performed all that was needful for repairing my first argument.

My second argument, p. 122, 123, was, 'that there are still 'remaining in Latin authors traces of their agreement with 'the Greek writers upon this head.' I allow that some ancient writers did, though corruptly, write the Roman presbyter's name Novatian: but I think that many others write it Novatus: of which we still have traces in the works of divers of them: but I am of opinion that in several passages the right reading has been altered: which has been owing to a notion, prevailing of late among moderns, that his name was Novatian.

Under that argument I produced passages of divers ancient Latin authors: one of those passages is from Hilary, at p. 123, which Mr. Jackson does not contest, because, as I suppose, he is sensible the Roman presbyter must be meant: other passages are from Jerom, Philaster, Augustine: these Mr. Jackson disputes; for he says those writers do not mean the presbyter of Rome, but the presbyter of Carthage. I argued that by Novatus Jerom must mean the Roman presbyter in several places of his works, because he speaks of him as an author, whereas Novatus of Carthage never was reckoned an author. In answer to this, Mr. Jackson says, p. 129, that 'Jerom certainly meant Novatus of Carthage 'in all the places referred to by me; and that this Novatus 'he supposes to have been a writer in his 56th epistle to 'Tranquilinus, p. 589.' But I am apt to think that most readers, who look upon these passages of Jerom, will be of a different mind, and think that probably Jerom means the Roman presbyter. Mr. Jackson has no reason for saying, that he 'certainly meant the presbyter of Carthage: nor can I see that Jerom, in the epistle referred to by Mr. Jackson, supposes Novatus to have been an author: I think he means the Roman presbyter, Mr. Jackson's author. The words are: Ego Origenem propter eruditionem sic interdum legendum arbitror, quomodo Tertullianum, Novatum, Arnobium.—But who ever heard of the writings or the learning of Novatus of Carthage?

Some may make a doubt whether Philaster and Augus-

tine, when they say the Novatians were so called from Novatus, mean the presbyter of Carthage or him of Rome: but it seems to me most likely that they mean the latter, who was by much the more famous man: nor can there be any good reason assigned why they should not there mean the same person, even the presbyter of Rome, to whom their brethren, the Greek writers, continually ascribe the unmerciful doctrine of rejecting penitents; to whom likewise the Latins themselves ascribe it very frequently; and I suppose it to be a common opinion, among learned and judicious moderns, that the party was not denominated from the presbyter of Carthage, but from the presbyter of Rome. *Nefandæ seditioni tamen Novatianus, non Novatus nomen imposuit. Basnag. An. 251. n. vi.* Indeed Jerom says: *Hujus auctor Novatus Cypriani presbyter fuit*: which I have translated: ‘The first author of this rigid principle was Novatus, Cyprian’s presbyter,’ p. 78. And Mr. Jackson, p. 128, translates it after this manner: ‘The author of this sect was Novatus, one of Cyprian’s presbyters.’ But I think that we have neither of us translated happily; for that sense does not agree with the preceding words, where Jerom expressly says that Novatian, or Novatus of Rome, formed or constituted the sect of the Novatians. *Novatianus Romanæ urbis presbyter, adversus Cornelium cathedram sacerdotalem conatus invadere Novatianum—dogma constituit, nolens apostatas suscipere pœnitentes. Hujus auctor Novatus Cypriani presbyter fuit.* It seems to me therefore that in these words Jerom intends to say, ‘his adviser was Novatus, one of Cyprian’s presbyters:’ for, having before said that ‘the presbyter of Rome formed the sect of the Novatians,’ he cannot be disposed to say, presently afterwards, that Novatus of Carthage was the author of the same sect. The most, I think, that he can mean is, that the presbyter of Carthage helped and concurred with him at Rome: and this too it is likely is said by him upon the authority of St. Cyprian only. Moreover, it is observable that Novatus, the presbyter of Carthage, so long at least as he was in Africa, was of a quite contrary principle from that which distinguished the Novatian sect: he was for receiving those who had lapsed upon very easy terms; and though he may afterwards have embraced the rigid principle of that sect, yet it is not likely that he should have been the first author and proposer of it. I shall represent this in the words of some others, that it may not be suspected I state the case wrong. *Secundum Baronii argumentum pariter infirmum, quod nempe cum duæ essent inter se contrariæ sectæ schismaticorum, Felicissimus ille sententiæ Novati*

adversarius erat, quod diceret, lapsos omnes absque pœnitentiæ morâ recipiendos. Nam hæc nihil probant. Quippe Novatus, quamdiu in Africâ fuit, semper se ejusdem cum Felicissimo sententiæ de lapsis recipiendis professus est. Cum autem Romam venisset, et se Novatiano adjunxisset, ut Romanum schisma promoveret, illius sententiam amplexus esse videbatur, sive serio, sive fecte, ut et ipse Novatianus sententiam suam jam mutaverat, ut Cornelio fortius contradicet. Pagi in Baron. A. D. 250. n. xiv. Vid. et Basnag. Ann. P. E. 371. n. v. Quâ quidem in re a nonnullis in duo peccatum est extrema. Nam, Carthagine, Felicissimus, cui Novatus se adjunxit, lapsos omnes absque ullâ morâ recipiendos dixit. Contra, Romæ, Novatianus, ad quem et postea Novatus, mutatis partibus, accessit, lapsos nunquam recipi voluit. Turretin. Hist. Ec. Compend. p. 23. Novatus Carthagine, absente Cypriano, cum lapsis communicaverat—Paullo post Romam veniens Novatus simile inter Cornelium episcopum et Novatianum dissidium invenit, ex nimiâ Cornelii in lapsos indulgentiâ natum, et eo usque excrescens, ut Novatianus a factiosis episcopus crearetur. Hic Novatum in aliud extremum pertraxit, suisque partibus junxit, quæ Catharorum, seu purorum superbivere nomine. Lampe Synops. Hist. Ec. p. 120. And here I think it would not be amiss for my readers to recollect what I said formerly, p. 96, showing that Cyprian beyond measure magnified the influence of his presbyter Novatus in the disturbances at Rome, and that Cyprian has been too much relied on by some.

My third argument was, ‘The common appellation of ‘this people shows that the name of their leader was Novatus, not Novatianus.’ For they are generally called Novatians. If the name of their leader had been Novatianus, they would have been called Novatianenses, or somewhat like it; whereas there is but one instance of this, which is in Cyprian, and is cited from him by Augustine. I took notice of it, p. 125, nor has Mr. Jackson produced any other instance: he has therefore left this argument in its full force.

My fourth argument was, ‘That there never was, that we ‘know of, any one in any age, called Novatian, unless the ‘person in dispute was so named.’ This argument Mr. Jackson has not touched, having no instance to allege; whilst Novatus is no uncommon name, as I showed. This argument must be of considerable weight in a point of this kind; for it is not likely that this famous presbyter of Rome should be called by a name which no other man ever had,

neither before him nor after him. Indeed this argument alone appears to me decisive, unless there is some clear evidence of another kind against it, which there is not.

In the fifth place I observed that some ‘learned moderns’ seem to have supposed the name of this person to be Novatus.’ And I referred to some, p. 126, To them ought to be added the author of the Roman edition of St. Ambrose’s works, spoken of, p. 123. The learned lawyer, Fr. Balduinus, likewise was of the same opinion: *Ecclesiæ Romanæ presbyter Novatus, et Antiochenæ episcopus Paulus Samosatenus, magnas paulo ante turbas dederant. De Leg. C. M. l. i. p. 48. Vid. et ib. p. 65. m.*

I accounted for Cyprian’s manner of writing this person’s name, p. 127, and shall add nothing more here.

Upon the whole it still appears to me highly probable that Novatus was the name of the presbyter of Rome, Cornelius’s rival, and that Novatianus, or Novatian, is the denomination of his followers.

I am sorry to have spent so much time upon this point: and if, for the sake of brevity, I have omitted to take particular notice of any difficulty in Mr. Jackson, I hope the reader will find it obviated in the Note upon chap. xlvii. p. 122—127.

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## CHAP. LXII.

### ARCHELAUS, BISHOP IN MESOPOTAMIA.

I. *The history and antiquity of a work ascribed to Archelaus.* II. *Extracts out of it, and the author’s testimony to the books of the New Testament.*

I. SAYS Jerom: ‘Archelaus,<sup>a</sup> a bishop of Mesopotamia, wrote in the Syriac language a book of his Conference [or dispute] with Manichee at his coming out of Persia, which has been translated into Greek. He flourished under the emperor Probus, who succeeded Aurelian and Tacitus.’

<sup>a</sup> Archelaüs, episcopus Mesopotamiæ, librum disputationis suæ, quam habuit adversum Manichæum, exeuntum ex Perside, Syro sermone composuit, qui translatus in Græcum habetur a multis. Claruit sub Imperatore Probo, qui Aureliano et Tacito successerat. De V. I. c. 72.

This piece, as we now have it, contains two conférences with Mani, one at Caschar, or Carchar, a city in the Roman part of Mesopotamia, and another at Diodoris, a village, or a small town, in the same country: with an historical account of the life and death of Mani, and some other things.

The greatest part of it is now only in a Latin translation, not made from the supposed Syriac original, but from<sup>b</sup> Greek. When this Latin translation was made is not certain. Zacagni, the editor, supposeth that<sup>c</sup> it was not in being in Jerom's time, but that however it was made before the seventh century. Another learned writer argues, that<sup>d</sup> this translation was not made sooner than the sixth, or the latter part of the fifth century; because the conference itself was unknown to Augustine, and likewise to pope Leo, who died in 461.

It is thought that<sup>e</sup> this piece is not now entire and complete.

Archelaus is placed by Cave, and many others, as flourishing about the year 278. Beausobre's opinion of this book, entitled 'The Acts of the Disputation of Archelaus with 'Mani, or Manichee,' is, 'that<sup>f</sup> it is, in general, a romance, 'published by some Greek, about the year of our Lord 330, 'fifty or sixty years after Mani's death.' 'There are in it,' he<sup>g</sup> says, 'some truths, but not many; and those disguised 'and mixed with manifest falsehoods.' Again: 'It<sup>h</sup> is a 'fiction of some Greek, who, having got some memoirs 'concerning the life and opinions of Mani, resolved to write 'a history of him, and confute his errors.'

I fear that account of this book is too just, and that a large part of it is fiction: of which I may say more in the next<sup>i</sup> chapter. At present I would chiefly consider the author and the time of this work.

<sup>b</sup> Porro Græcam versionem, non vero Syriacum textum, præ manibus Latinum interpretem habuisse——satis superque demonstratur. Zacagn. Præf. sect. v. in. <sup>c</sup> Ib. n. iv. f.

<sup>d</sup> See Beausobr. Hist. de Manich. T. i. Diss. Prelim. p. 6.

<sup>e</sup> Illud tamen dissimulare non possum, Acta ista disputationis Archelai cum Manete, quæ ex Vaticano Casinensis codicis apographo primi edimus, integra nequaquam videri, sed pluribus in locis a librario mutata. Zac. ib. n. 14. in.

<sup>f</sup> En général toute cette pièce, qu' on nomme les Actes de la Dispute d'Archélaüs, n'est qu'un roman fabriqué par un Grec, et publié depuis l'an 330, soixante ans, ou environ, après la mort de Manichée. Beaus. ib. p. 6.

<sup>g</sup> Il y a quelque verités, mais en petit nombre; et le peu qu'il y en a, est altéré, confus, mêlé de fables manifestes.—id. ib.

<sup>h</sup> Dès que j'eus lû cette pièce, que feu M. Zacagni, bibliothécaire du Vatican, publia le premier toute entière, j'eus un grand soupçon, que la Dispute de Cascar n'étoit qu' une fiction de quelque Grec, qui, ayant eu des memoires touchant la vie et les dogmes de Manichée, voulut écrire son histoire, et refuter ses erreurs. L'examen changea mes soupçons en certitude. Id. in Preface. T. i. p. vi.

<sup>i</sup> See the first section in the next chapter, numb. i. 2.

As for the author of the book, Jerom supposed it to have been written in Syriac by Archelaus himself, and then translated into Greek: but he does not name the translator. Epiphanius<sup>k</sup> likewise, and Cyril<sup>l</sup> of Jerusalem, and<sup>m</sup> Socrates, ascribe the book to Archelaus: but by Photius we are informed that<sup>n</sup> Heracleian, bishop of Chalcedon, in his book against the Manichees, said, Hegemonius wrote the Dispute of Archelaus. This has induced<sup>o</sup> Cave, and others, to look upon Hegemonius as the translator. Zacagni says that<sup>p</sup> Hegemonius not only translated the Syriac, but made additions of his own. To the like purpose<sup>q</sup> Asseman. Both which last writers ascribe some additions and alterations to Hegemonius, an author whose age is unknown, as must greatly lessen the authority of this work: more, perhaps, than they imagined.

But Beausobre says that this piece was originally written in Greek, and that Hegemonius was the author, and that it was not written before the year 330. He argues in this<sup>r</sup> manner: ‘Eusebius published his Ecclesiastical History ‘about fifty years after the death of Mani. He there speaks ‘of this heresiarch, and his heresy: but he says not one word ‘of his excursion into the Roman Mesopotamia, nor of his disputes with Archelaus. Since Eusebius says nothing of ‘these matters, it may be concluded that he was entirely ‘ignorant of them: but it is not to be supposed that he ‘should be ignorant of so public an event that had happened half a century before: nor that he should omit to ‘relate so memorable a thing if he knew it.’ Beausobre thinks that Archelaus must have been entirely unknown to Eusebius: and therefore he concludes that these Acts of Archelaus did not appear until after Eusebius had published his Ecclesiastical History; that is, in the space of time between the year 326 or 330, and the year 348 or 350,

<sup>k</sup> *Απο τε Αρχελας βιβλις.* Epiph. H. 66. n. 32. in. Vid. et. n. 21.

Cat. 6. n. 27. p. 104.

<sup>m</sup> H. E. l. i. c. 22. p. 56. D.

<sup>n</sup> *Ἡγεμονιον τε τον [τας] Αρχελας προς αυτον αντιλογιας αναγραφαντα.* Phot. Cod. 85. p. 204.

<sup>o</sup> Unde conceptis pene verbis jurare ausim, non alium hujusce versionis auctorem fuisse quam Hegemonium nostrum, nec aliam eam, quam quâ Cyrillus, Epiphanius, aliique olim usi sunt. Cav. De Hegemonio, in Diss. de Scriptor. incert. æt.

<sup>q</sup> —Hegemonium vero, quæ ab Archelao jam edita fuerant, meliori non solum ordine digessisse verum etiam exordio, epilogo, aliisque nonnullis locupletasse, ut omnibus numeris absoluta celeberrimæ illius disputationis acta ad posterum transmitterentur. Zac. Præf. cap. 4. p. iv.

<sup>r</sup> Quæ quum ita sint, ab eodem Hegemonio videntur quædam ex illis Actis mutilata, quædam etiam addita. Assem. Bib. or. T. 3. P. 2. p. 47. in. Vid. quæ ibidem præeunt et sequuntur.

<sup>r</sup> B. Hist. de Manich. T. i. p. 5, 6. p. 145, 146.

when Cyril of Jerusalem wrote his *Catechetical Discourses*, who is the first author that has quoted this piece. Nor does it appear that<sup>s</sup> St. Ephrem, who was of Mesopotamia, and died in 373, has any where taken notice of this Disputation, though he often speaks of Mani. Moreover there is a particular in the book itself, which leads him to conclude it was composed between the years 330 and 340. This time, says Beausobre, is distinctly marked in some words, which the writer puts into the mouth of Archelaus, for convincing Mani that he could not be the promised Paraclete. ‘When<sup>t</sup> you say you are the Paraclete, perhaps you little think that you charge Christ with falsehood: who, though he promised to send him soon after his resurrection, has not sent him till above three hundred years afterwards.’ These three hundred years come out in the year of our Lord 333 or 334. Zacagni says this<sup>u</sup> dropped from Archelaus in the heat of dispute: because from the death of Christ, to the conference at Caschar, there were not more than 249 years: but, says<sup>v</sup> Beausobre, I think otherwise. Nothing is more common than for impostors, who make another speak, not to remember every thing that is agreeable to the character they have introduced, and to thrust in themselves without thinking of it. Hegemonius, who in fact lived more than three hundred years after our Saviour’s resurrection, thought of the time when he himself lived, not that of Archelaus, who was speaking. So that learned author.

I must be here indulged the liberty of making some remarks. I readily own I am inclined to think with Beausobre that this work was originally written in Greek, not in Syriac.

The argument from the silence of Eusebius is specious; and yet, possibly, not conclusive. It is indeed strange that he should never mention the name of Archelaus. Nor do I pretend to confute this argument of Beausobre; for it is almost inconceivable, that Eusebius should be ignorant of Archelaus if these disputes were real. However, I would not omit my thoughts which offer, and may tend to bring truth to light; and therefore I observe, that though Arche-

<sup>s</sup> Ib. p. 146.

<sup>t</sup> ———dicens se esse paracletum, qui ab Jesu præsignatus est mitti, in quo mendacem ignorans fortasse, asserit Jesum: qui enim dixerat se non multo post missurum esse paracletum, invenitur post trecentos, et eo amplius annos misisse hunc. Arch. c. 27. p. 46.

<sup>u</sup> Contentionis æstu actus videtur hic dixisse Archelaüs, post trecentos et amplius annos a Christi morte Manetem emersisse: nam a Christi morte usque ad habitæ cum Manete disputationis tempus, anni circiter 249 intercedunt. Zacag. in not. ad Arch. p. 46.

<sup>v</sup> Beaus. ubi supr. p. 153.

laus, and these conferences in Mesopotamia are never mentioned by Eusebius, some may suspect that he had seen this book called the Acts of Archelaus: for in his Ecclesiastical History, when he speaks of Mani, and so particularly insists<sup>w</sup> upon the barbarism of his language and manners, he may be thought to refer to passages in the Acts, which<sup>x</sup> resemble his account. And in his<sup>y</sup> Chronicle the appearance of Mani is placed in the reign of Probus, agreeably to these<sup>z</sup> Acts. Indeed I do not lay much stress upon this last particular, because I think the article concerning Mani, in the Chronicle, may be entirely Jerom's, and not Eusebius's: but with Beausobre it should have some weight, because he allows that<sup>a</sup> whole paragraph to be Eusebius's.

As for the space of three hundred years, mentioned in the Acts, it deserves little consideration. Arguments from numbers are oftentimes of small moment. Some mistakes are made by transcribers. Writers themselves are not seldom mistaken in their computations. St. Chrysostom<sup>b</sup> reckoned it to have been five hundred years from the destruction of Jerusalem to his own time, though it was not much above three hundred years. It was to the purpose of the person, who managed the supposed dispute against Mani, to enhance the time. Moreover people delight in round numbers. And just before the time is said to be<sup>c</sup> almost three hundred years. It is the less likely that the writer should forget himself, and put his own time instead of that of the speaker's, because he presently afterwards mentions the reign of<sup>d</sup> Probus.

Having given these sentiments of others, and made remarks upon them, I now proceed to observe, that the antiquity of this piece is manifest from the use made of it by Cyril and Epiphanius in the fourth century, and from the notice taken of it by Jerom in his Catalogue, before the end of the same century.

There are other arguments of its early age: I shall mention several things, though not all of equal importance.

<sup>w</sup> Βαρβαρος δῆτα τον βιον αυτη λογη και τροπη.—H. E. l. 7. c. 31.

<sup>x</sup> Persa barbata, non Græcorum linguæ, non Ægyptiorum, non Romanorum, non ullius alterius linguæ scientiam habere potuisti, sed Chaldæorum solum, quæ ne in numerum quidem aliquem ducitur. Act. Arch. c. 36. p. 63. Et confer c. 12. p. 23.

<sup>y</sup> Secundo anno Probi—insana Manichæorum hæresis in commune humani generis malum exorta. Eus. Chr. p. 177.

<sup>z</sup> C. 27. p. 46.

<sup>a</sup> B. ib. p. 122.

<sup>b</sup> Πεντακοσιοσον γαρ λοιπον εξ εκεινη εση ετος μεχρις ημων. Chrys. adv. Jud. Hom. 6. T. i p. 651. B.

<sup>c</sup> —eum qui post trecentos fere annos venerit. Arch. n. 27. p. 45.

<sup>d</sup> —sub Probo demum Romano imperatori misisti. ib. p. 46.

Archelaus, or whoever is the writer, naming several heretics, mentions none below<sup>e</sup> Sabellius: nor do there any where appear in this book any traces of that remarkable period in the church, the council of Nice. Moreover, the author allots but<sup>f</sup> one year to Christ's ministry, or at least to the most public part of it, after he had called his disciples to attend him. He allows that<sup>g</sup> men might attain to virtue by the light of nature, though a few only. He does not extol affected voluntary poverty, as some have done; but<sup>h</sup> allows him who well useth a good estate, to be equally virtuous with him who gives away all he has. Tillemont says: 'In ' this work we meet with some opinions more common in ' the<sup>i</sup> primitive times than they have been since the history ' and the doctrine of the church have been cleared up. The ' author seems not to understand the union of the two natures ' in Christ.' Beausobre has an observation of the like kind, and says, that<sup>k</sup> ' the author speaks more like an unitarian ' than a catholic.' I add, that he seems to have condemned all war as unlawful; for,<sup>l</sup> relating that some Roman soldiers, charmed with the piety and generosity of Marcellus, were induced to embrace the christian religion, he says that they immediately forsook the profession of arms.

These particulars may be reckoned evidences of great antiquity: but when the book was composed, I cannot certainly say; whether near the end of the third or at the beginning of the fourth century: nor am I able to determine who is the author.

II. My extracts out of it will contain chiefly the author's testimony to the books of the New Testament.

1. But I would just observe, that<sup>m</sup> he speaks of divers of our Lord's miracles, and other historical facts, recorded in the gospels.

2. We do not find all the books of the New Testament

<sup>e</sup> Vid. cap. 37, et 38.

<sup>f</sup> Nec in aliquo remoratus Dominus noster Jesus intra unius anni spatium languentium multitudines reddidit sanitati, mortuos luci. ib. c. 34. p. 58. Cum discipuli ejus per annum integrum, manserunt cum eo. ib. c. 50. p. 93. m.

<sup>g</sup> Verum quia pauci per hunc modum poterant ad justitiæ culmen adscendere, id est, per parentum traditiones, nullâ in literis lege conscriptâ. c. 28. p. 48.

<sup>h</sup> Bonum, inquam, his qui possunt: sed abuti divitiis ad opus justitiæ atque misericordiæ parem gratiam tribuit, [Jesus,] ac si universis pariter renuntietur. c. 42. p. 75.

<sup>i</sup> Mem. Ec. T. 4. P. 2. Les Manichéens. Art. 12. p. 796.

<sup>k</sup> Beaus. ib. p. 116.

<sup>l</sup> At illi [militēs] admirati, et amplexi tam immensam viri pietatem, munificentiamque,—commoventur, ut plurimi ex ipsis adderentur ad fidem Domini nostri Jesu Christi, derelicto militiæ cingulo. Arch. cap. 1. p. 2. Vid. ib. Sacagn. not. [3.] et conf. Beaus. Hist. Manich. T. 2. p. 797.

<sup>m</sup> Vid. cap. 34. p. 58. c. 36. p. 63.

quoted in this piece : it is likely that there was no particular occasion for it.

3. He mentions<sup>n</sup> the New Testament, the gospels, and the apostle Paul's epistles : for which not only he, but Mani likewise, had a great regard.

4. Quoting St. Matthew's gospel, he calls him<sup>o</sup> an evangelist of the Spirit.

5. A passage of St. Mark's gospel is cited<sup>p</sup> as the word of God.

6. Quoting John i. 16, he calls<sup>q</sup> him ' Saint John the greatest of the evangelists ;' if that is not the style of the Latin translator.

7. Here is mention made of<sup>r</sup> the book of the gospels.

8. The book of the Acts is quoted and called<sup>s</sup> scripture.

9. Divers of St. Paul's epistles are expressly quoted. That to the Romans is called<sup>t</sup> his first epistle, because, as I suppose, it was placed first in the collection.

10. There seems to be an expression, borrowed from the epistle to the Hebrews, in Mani's<sup>u</sup> letter to Marcellus, inserted in these Acts : and there appears to be a reference to Heb. iii. 3, 5, 6, in some words of<sup>v</sup> Archelaus.

11. I do not see any of the Catholic epistles quoted, except the first epistle of St. John. Mani himself is here brought in arguing from<sup>w</sup> 1 John v. 19 : " The whole world lies in wickedness," or in the wicked one, as he understands it.

12. Antichrist is here often<sup>x</sup> spoken of : but there is scarce any clear reference to the book of the Revelation. However, it should be observed by us, that in the Revelation, ch.

<sup>n</sup> Sunt etiam alia multa, quæ dici possent et de apostolo Paulo, et de Evangelistis, ex quibus ostendere possumus, veterem legem non esse alterius, quam Domini, cujus est novum Testamentum. Arch. c. 45. p. 82. Vid. etiam cap. 40. p. 69. m.

<sup>o</sup> Sed et Spiritus Evangelista Matthæus [cap. xxiv.] diligenter significavit Domini nostri Jesu Christi sermonem. Act. Arch. c. 35. p. 61.

<sup>p</sup> Quid enim ait sermo divinus ? Quis enim potest introire in domum fortis, et diripere vasa ejus, nisi illo sit fortior ? [Mar. iii. 27.] ib. c. 16. p. 30.

<sup>q</sup> Sed et sanctus Joannes, maximus Evangelistarum, ait, gratiam gratiâ præstare, &c. ib. c. 45. p. 82.

<sup>r</sup> —sicut scriptum est in Evangeliorum libro. c. 13. p. 24.

<sup>s</sup> Quid enim dicit scriptura ? Quia unusquisque propriâ suâ linguâ audiebat per Paracletum spiritum loquentes apostolos ? ib. c. 36. p. 63. Vid. et cap. 34. p. 59.

<sup>t</sup> Ipse quoque in primâ epistolâ suâ posuit, dicens.

<sup>u</sup> Ἀρχὴν γὰρ, καὶ τέλος, καὶ τὸν τρίτων πατέρα τῶν κακῶν ἐπὶ τὸ θεοῦ ἀναφέρουσιν, ὡς τὸ τέλος καταραῶν ἐγγυς. ib. c. 5. p. 7. Vid. Hebr. vi. 8.

<sup>v</sup> Ita et si Dominus meus Jesus Christus præcellit in gloriâ Mōysen, tamquam dominus famulum, non propterea respuenda est gloria Moysi. Arch. c. 43. p. 77.

<sup>w</sup> Malum vero esse tam mundum hunc, quam omnia quæ in eo sunt,—sicut ait Joannes, Totus mundus in maligno est positus, et non in Deo. cap. 14. p. 26.

<sup>x</sup> Vid. c. 36. p. 62, 63.

xii. 9, Satan is represented by the character of the ‘great dragon.’ And in this dispute he is spoken of<sup>y</sup> as ‘the dragon, our perpetual enemy.’

13. The writer’s respect for the scriptures now commonly received, is manifest from his very numerous and frequent quotations of them as decisive, and of authority in all disputed points of religion.

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## CHAP. LXIII.

### MANI, AND HIS FOLLOWERS.

#### SECT. I. *A general history of the Manichees.*

I. *Passages of ancient writers concerning them.* 1. *Eusebius of Cæsarea*; 2. *Socrates*; 3. *Libanius*. II. *Authors who wrote against them*; 1. *Heracleon*; 2. *Alexander of Lycopolis*; 3. *Augustine*; 4. *Serapion*; 5. *Titus of Bostra*; 6. *Didymus*; 7. *Authors omitted by Fabricius*; 8. *Syrian authors against them*. III. *Though they were in many places, they were no where numerous*. IV. *Eminent men among the Manichees*; 1. *Alexander of Lycopolis*; 2. *Augustine*; 3. *Adimantus*; 4. *Agapius*; 5. *Athonius*; 6. *Faustus*; 7. *Hierax*; 8. *Sebastian*; 9. *Secundinus*. V. *Their ecclesiastical constitution*. VI. *Their manners vindicated from aspersions*. VII. *A brief account of the persecutions which they suffered*.

I CHOOSE to begin this chapter with a general history of Mani, and the sect called after his name.

I. In the first place I would allege some passages of ancient writers who have mentioned them.

1. Eusebius’s article concerning them in his Ecclesiastical History is to this purpose: ‘About<sup>a</sup> the same time that ‘madman, fitly named Manes, formed the wild heresy called ‘after his name, being set up for the ruin of many by Satan ‘the adversary of God. This person<sup>b</sup> was a barbarian in

<sup>y</sup> Credo, quod habeat adjutorem draconem illum, qui nobis semper inimicus est. c. 40. p. 69.

<sup>a</sup> Εν τῷ και ὁ μανις τας φρενας, επωνυμος τε της δαιμονιωσης αίρεσεως.—Eus. H. E. l. 7. c. 31.

<sup>b</sup> Βαρβαρος δητα τον βιον αυτη λογη και τροπη, την τε φυσιν δαιμονικος τις ων και μανιωδης. Ακολυθη τῷτοις εγχειρων, Χριστον αυτον μορφαζεσθαι επειρατο,

‘ every respect, both in his speech, and in his manners. As  
 ‘ for his<sup>c</sup> disposition, it was diabolical and furious; for he  
 ‘ made an appearance of being Christ himself. Sometimes  
 ‘ he gave out that he was the Comforter, and the Holy Ghost  
 ‘ himself. To madness he added excessive pride; and, as if  
 ‘ he had been Christ, he chose twelve to be companions with  
 ‘ him in his innovation. His scheme was patched up of  
 ‘ many false and impious heresies, long since extinct. This  
 ‘ venomous principle was brought into our world, the Roman  
 ‘ empire, from Persia. From that time the impious doctrine  
 ‘ of the Manichees has infected many. Such was the rise  
 ‘ of that science falsely so called.’

In this place Eusebius appears much out of humour: he is scarce master of himself: whether his expressions are just may perhaps be considered hereafter.

In<sup>d</sup> his, or Jerom’s Chronicle, the rise of this sect is with much particularity distinctly fixed at the second year of the emperor Probus, which is the year of Christ 277.

This would be a proper place for me to consider the time of the rise of Manichæism: but being unwilling to render this article, the general history of Manichæism, too prolix, I shall defer it until I come to give a succinct history of Mani himself.

However I would here observe, that I do not remember the Manichees to be any where else mentioned by Eusebius; which may be reckoned somewhat strange, if in his time they were numerous in any parts of the Roman empire: in his Commentaries upon the Psalms and Isaiah, and elsewhere, he might have had frequent occasions to confute them. A great number of heresies of various kinds, some<sup>e</sup> resembling the Manichæan principle, are censured in the Apology for Origen, written jointly by Pamphilus and Eusebius. If the Manichees had been well known in the Roman empire, at the beginning of the fourth century, we might have expected to see them there particularly named, which they are not.

Since writing this, I have observed these words in Tille-

τοτε μεν τον παρακλητον, και αυτο το πνευμα το αγιον αυτος εαυτον ανακηρυττων’ κ. λ. ib.

<sup>c</sup> Beausobre thinks that here Eusebius has done wrong to Mani, and that his picture of Mani has little resemblance. Hist. de Manich. T. i. p. 108.

<sup>d</sup> Secundo anno Probi, juxta Antiochenos cccxxv. anno juxta Tyrios ccccii.—insana Manichæorum hæresis in commune humani generis malum exorta. Euseb. Chron. p. 177.

<sup>e</sup> ————vel secundum eos, qui Deum quidem fatentur, non tamen hominem assumisise, id est, animam corpusque terrenum, qui sub specie quasi amplioris gloriæ Jesu Domino deferendæ, omnia quæ ab eo gesta sunt phantastice magis quam vere gesta esse testantur. Pro Orig. Ap. ap. Hieron. Opp. T. 5. p. 226. m.

mont, whom nothing escapes. The article concerning the Manichees in the Chronicle he considers as Jerom's: it is only the passage in the History which he reckons Eusebius's; whereupon he<sup>f</sup> says: 'Eusebius, who speaks little of this heresy, does not precisely mark the time of it: he seems willing however to have it thought that<sup>g</sup> it began in the time of pope Felix, who governed the church according to him from 276 to 281.'

2. In the next place I intend to transcribe a long passage of Socrates, the ecclesiastical historian, who flourished about the year of Christ 440.

'But<sup>h</sup> it is an usual thing for cockle to grow up among good grain. It is agreeable to envy to lay snares for the righteous. Not long before the reign of Constantine there sprang up a kind of heathenish christianity, which mingled itself with the true christian religion: as heretofore false prophets arose together with the prophets, and false apostles with the apostles. For in those days the doctrine of Empedocles, a heathen philosopher, was clandestinely introduced into christianity: of this Eusebius Pamphilus has made mention in the seventh book of his Ecclesiastical History, but without any particularity; for which reason I have judged it not improper to supply his omissions; thereby it may be known who this Manichee was, and whence he came, who made this audacious attempt. One Scythian, a Saracen, married a captive woman, native of the Upper Thebais; upon her account he lived in Egypt. Having been instructed in the learning of the Egyptians, he introduced the doctrine of Empedocles and Pythagoras into christianity; asserting<sup>i</sup> two natures, one good, the other evil, as Empedocles did; and calling the evil nature Discord, the good nature Friendship. Buddas, formerly named Terebinthus, became a disciple of that Scythian: he travelled into the country of Babylonia, which is inhabited by the Persians, where he told a great many strange stories of himself; as that he was born of a virgin, and brought up in the mountains: afterwards he wrote four books, one of which was entitled, Of Mysteries, another, The Gospel, a third, The Treasure, and the fourth, Heads, [or Chapters.] While he was performing some of his pretended sacred rites he was thrown down by a spirit and died. The woman at whose house he dwelled buried

<sup>f</sup> Note v. sur les Manich. T. iv. P. 2. p. 956.  
cap. 30, 31. p. 283. C.

<sup>g</sup> Vid. Eus. l. 7.

<sup>h</sup> Socrat. H. E. l. i. c. 22, 55—57.

<sup>i</sup> Δυο φύσεις ειπων, αγαθην τε και πονηραν, ως και Εμπεδοκλης, νεικος ονομαζων την πονηραν, φιλιαν δε την αγαθην. ib. p. 55. C.

‘ him : she, coming to the possession of his money, bought a  
 ‘ boy seven years of age, named<sup>k</sup> Cubricus ; this boy she  
 ‘ made free, and gave him a good education. Some time  
 ‘ after this<sup>l</sup> she died, leaving the boy all the estate she had  
 ‘ by Terebinthus, and the books he had written, according  
 ‘ to the instructions received from Scythian. Cubricus now  
 ‘ free, and thus enriched, went into Persia : where he changed  
 ‘ his name, calling himself Manes ; there he distributed among  
 ‘ his seduced followers the books of Buddas, or Terebinthus,  
 ‘ as his own. The contents of these books are in expression  
 ‘ christian, in sentiment heathenish ; for the impious Manichee  
 ‘ directs the worship of many gods, and teaches that the sun  
 ‘ ought to be adored : he likewise introduces<sup>m</sup> fate, and  
 ‘ destroys man’s free-will. He openly teaches transmigra-  
 ‘ tion ; following herein the sentiment of Empedocles, Py-  
 ‘ thagoras, and the Egyptians. He denies that<sup>n</sup> Christ had  
 ‘ real flesh, making him a mere phantom. . He rejects the law  
 ‘ and the prophets, and calls himself the Paraclete : all which  
 ‘ things are contrary to the sense of the orthodox church.  
 ‘ Moreover, in<sup>o</sup> his epistles he had the presumption to style  
 ‘ himself apostle : at length he met with the deserved punish-  
 ‘ ment of such an impostor upon this occasion. The son of  
 ‘ the king of Persia happened to fall sick ; the father, as the  
 ‘ saying is, left no stone unturned, being extremely desirous  
 ‘ to save his son’s life : having heard of Manichee,<sup>p</sup> and

<sup>k</sup> Named Cubricus.] He is generally so called. Cyril and Epiphanius write the name Κεβρικος, as well as Socrates. But in the Acts of Archelaüs his name is written Κορβικιους. Quæ cum sola esset, habere aliquem ad ministerium voluit, et comparavit sibi puerum annorum ferme septem, Corbicium nomine, quem statim manumisit, ac literis erudit. Act. Arch. c. 53. p. 97. In the Historia Hæreseos Manichæorum, published by Pfaff, at the end of Lactantii Epitome, p. 183, the name is a little different.—Puerum sibi pro senectutis solatio comparavit, nomine Curbitius, quem et literis non mediocribus erudit. In former editions of Augustine, Mani’s first name is said to have been Urbicus. But in the Benedictine edition that paragraph, at the beginning of Augustine’s article of the Manichees, [De Hær. c. 46.] is left out upon the authority of manuscripts. Beausobre says, none of these names have an Oriental air. And he suspects that the right name is Carcubius. See Beaus. T. i. p. 67.

<sup>l</sup> When that widow died, Cubricus is said to have been twelve years of age. Quique cum duodecim annorum esset effectus, anus illa diem obiit, &c. ap. Arch. c. 53. p. 97.

<sup>m</sup> Και εμαρμενην εισαγει, και το εφ’ ημιν αναγει. Socr. ib. p. 56. A.

<sup>n</sup> Και τον Χριστον εν σαρκι γεγονεναι ου βλεπεται, φαντασμα αυτον λεγων εναι’ και νομον και προφητας αθετει’ και εαυτον ονομαζει παρακλητον’ ib. p. 56. B.

<sup>o</sup> Εν δε ταις επιστολαις και αποσολον εαυτον ονομαζειν ετολησεν. ibid.

<sup>p</sup> Μαθων τε περι τε Μανιχαις, και τας τερατειας αυτη νομισας ενιμι αληθεις, ως αποσολον μεταπεμπεται, πισευσας ε’ αυτον σωθησεσθαι τον υιον’ ο δε παραγενομενος μετα τς επιπλαση σχηματος εγχειριζεται τον τς βασιλεως υιον’ ο δε βασιλευς εωρακως οτι ο παις εν ταις χερσιν ετεθνηκει, κ. λ. ib. p. 56. C.

‘ supposing the strange things he had heard of him to be true, he sends for him as an apostle, hoping that by him he might save his son: when he was come he pretended to undertake the cure of the king’s son. But when the king saw that his son died in his hands, he shut him up in prison, intending to put him to death; but he made his escape, and came into Mesopotamia. The king of Persia hearing that he was in those parts, sent after him, got him apprehended, and flayed him alive: after which his skin was filled with chaff and hung up at the gate of the city. This account is no forgery of ours; it is collected out of the book of Archelaus, bishop of Caschar, a city in Mesopotamia, which we have met with and read: for Archelaus himself says he had disputed with him in person; and he there relates the several particulars which I have written concerning him.’

Thus I have given the history of Mani, and his principles, in the words of this ancient writer, which will serve for a text to be commented upon. Once I was somewhat desirous to set before my readers in this place Augustine’s article of the Manichees in his book *Of Heresies*; but it is too abstruse and dogmatical; therefore I thought this historical account preferable. There is another reason which discouraged the design of translating Augustine, and may be soon perceived by those who look into him: but though I do not here, nor any where else, translate that article of Augustine entire, I shall make good use of it, and frequently quote it.

In this passage of Socrates we see a proof of the truth of Beausobre’s observation, that<sup>a</sup> from the book called *The Acts of Archelaus*, the ancient christian writers took the history of Mani, and of the origin of Manichæism, which they have given us. Cyril of Jerusalem, Epiphanius, Socrates, the Greeks in general, have all drawn from this source; as is acknowledged too by<sup>r</sup> Petavius and<sup>s</sup> Tillemont.

We have seen the account which Socrates gives of the death of Mani, taken from the forementioned book: but Socrates flourishes when he says that ‘ the king of Persia having heard of the strange things said to be done by Mani, and believing them to be true, sent for him as an apostle.’

<sup>a</sup> Beaus. *Hist. de Manich.* p. 6. T. i. <sup>r</sup> Ex hac Archelai relatione cæteri deinceps hauserunt omnes, qui hæretici istius historiam et dogmata scriptis tradiderunt. Petav. *Animadv. ad Epiph.* p. 289.

<sup>s</sup> Les petites différences, qui se recontrent entr’ eux, (savoir Epiphane, Cyrille, Socrate,) n’empêchent pas qu’ on ne voye qu’ ils ont tous puisé dans la même source. Tillem. *Mem. Ec. T. 4. p. 2. Art. 12. p. 794.*

There is nothing like this in Archelaus, whose<sup>t</sup> words I transcribe at the bottom of the page.

That Mani was put to death needs not to be contested. It is mentioned by<sup>u</sup> Alexander of Lycopolis: the memory of it was celebrated<sup>v</sup> by the followers in an annual festivity, observed by them with a good deal of pomp and splendour: and, as<sup>w</sup> Beausobre says, ‘It is not impossible but the death of the young prince may have brought upon him the displeasure of the king: but it is certain that the eastern writers do ascribe this disgrace to his opinions in religion; and, if I may say it, to his christianity, which seems to be better proved.’

Indeed the author of the dispute seems himself to have been aware of something of this kind; for he says that<sup>x</sup> Mani, whilst in prison, sent out his disciples to spread abroad his opinions. The king, before informed of this, sends orders for putting him to death; but as he says, Mani bribing his keepers with a large sum of money, got out of prison, and thus escaped for the present.

Beausobre has a large number of exceptions to the history of Mani in the Acts of Archelaus’s Dispute, to whom I refer the reader. I shall put down here some observations which I have myself made in reading those Acts.

Mani was a Persian: but the writer of the dispute seems little acquainted with Persian affairs. He supposeth that Probus was the Roman emperor at the time in which he placeth the conference; but the king of Persia, so often mentioned by that title, is never named. Some may be apt to suspect he did not certainly know who was king of Persia when Probus was emperor, and therefore feared to put down

<sup>t</sup> Cum ergo illi essent profecti, regis filius ægritudine quâdam arreptus est, quem rex curari desiderans, edictum proposuit in vitâ, [f. invitans] si quis eum curare possit, accipere præmium, multo proposito. Tumiste—præsentiam suam Manes exhibet, dicens se esse puerum curaturum, quæ cum audisset rex, suscepit eum cum obsequio, ac libenter habuit. Verum—mortuus est puer in manibus ejus, vel potius extinctus. Arch. c. 53. p. 98.

<sup>u</sup> ————*συτρατευσαι τε Σατωριη τω Περση’ προσκηρυσαντα δε τι τρωφ απολωλεναι.* Alex. Lyc. p. 4. in.

<sup>v</sup> ————cum vastrum bema, id est, diem quo Manichæus occisus est, quinque gradibus instructo tribunali et pretiosis linteis adornato,—magnis honoribus prosequamini. Aug. contr. Ep. Fund. c. 8. <sup>w</sup> B. ib. p. 82, 85, 86.

<sup>x</sup> His ergo tam scelerate compositis, mittit et discipulos suos prædicaturos intrepide fictos simulatosque errores, et novas, falsasque voces annuntiaturos per loca singula. Quod cum rex Persarum cognovisset, dignis eum suppliciiis subdere parat. Quo Manes agnito, admonitus in somnis, elapsus de carcere, in fugam versus est, auro plurimo custodibus corruptis, et mansit in castello Arabionis. Arch. c. 59. p. 69.

any name, lest it would be a mistake, which might afterwards be detected and exposed : then the history of Mani is here related, as if the whole course of his affairs happened under one prince only : whereas learned moderns are now clearly of opinion that<sup>y</sup> those transactions were in the time of three or four reigns of several kings of Persia. Moreover, this writer supposeth, that Mani, or his teachers and predecessors, learned the doctrine of two natures, or two principles, from Empedocles, and other Greeks ; whereas it is much more likely that he had it from the<sup>z</sup> Persians.

There are many improbabilities in the historical part of that dispute. Mani is said to have been imprisoned ; but if the king of Persia had been displeas'd with him on account of the death of his son, I think he would not have sent him to prison, but would have put him to death presently.

Supposing Mani to have been imprisoned by the king of Persia, it is not easy to conceive how he could escape, and get to Caschar, or Carchar, said to be a city in the Roman Mesopotamia.

The writer of the Dispute says, in that city lived a christian, of great note for wealth and liberality : Mani in Persia heard of his fame, and was very desirous, as<sup>a</sup> is related, to make a convert of him, hoping he might by him gain the whole province ; but not choosing to come to him without some previous notice, he deputed one of his disciples, by name Turbo, whom he sends with a letter to that eminent christian : this letter is fully inscribed : ‘ Manichee<sup>b</sup> to ‘ Marcellus.’ But could that be safely or prudently done by a man who had escaped out of prison, and every where sought by his sovereign ?

<sup>y</sup> Sharistani in libro de Religionibus Orientis de eo refert : Mani apparuit tempore Shabur filii Ardeshir, et occidit eum Behram filius Hormuz, filii Shabur. Hyde, de Relig. V. Pers. cap. p. 282. Conf. Herbelot Bib. Orient. V. Mani.

Mais voici une ignorance, une erreur, qu' on ne sauroit excuser. C'est d'avoir mis sous un même règne le cours entier d'une affaire, qui commença sous l'ayeul, ou le bisayeul, et qui ne s'acheva que sous le petit-fils, ou l'arriere-petit-fils. Beaus. T. i. p. 128.

Car Sapor, qui régnoit depuis 240, ou 241, mourut vets 271. Hormisdas son fils en 272, et Vararane fils d'Hormisdas en 276. Ainsi ce sera Vararane II. fils de celuibi, qui aura fait mourir Manichée en 277, ou 278. Till. Mem. Ec. les Manichéens, Art. vii. in fin.

<sup>z</sup> Græcis Budda Empedoclis opinionem emplexus dicitur, duo rerum pugnantia inter se principia statuentis.—Verum rectius a Persarum magis accepisse videtur. Hyde, ib. p. 285.—Verum rectius a Persis, seu Persarum magis, id accepisse videtur, qui αγαθον δαιμονα, και κακον δαιμονα,—statuebant, ut est apud Laërtium in Proœmio, &c. Toll. Insign. Ital. p. 126, in not.

<sup>a</sup> Arch. c. 4. p. 5.

<sup>b</sup> Arch. p. 6. cap. 5.

The<sup>c</sup> messenger who carries back an answer from Marcellus, finds Mani in a castle named<sup>d</sup> Arabion, a Persian fortress, as it seems, and upon the frontier: Mani thereupon comes in great haste to Marcellus at Caschar; and he<sup>e</sup> has in his company two-and-twenty, or, in another copy, twelve young men and virgins; that is, so<sup>f</sup> many men who professed virginal chastity; and he is himself dressed very politely after the Persian manner. How can it be thought that a person under his prince's displeasure should travel with such attendants?

Moreover, when the disputations in the Roman part of Mesopotamia were over, and he was disagreeable to the people of Caschar and Diodōris, where the conferences were held, he<sup>g</sup> returns to Arabion, where he is taken up by the king's soldiers: but would any man of common sense act in this manner, who was liable to capital punishment for such an offence as is here supposed?

It is also remarkable that Mani's letter to Marcellus, brought by Turbo, begins in this manner: 'Manichee,<sup>h</sup> apostle of Jesus Christ, and all the saints and virgins with me, send peace to Marcellus.'

Upon all which therefore I again observe, that Mani is said to have been imprisoned on account of the death of the king of Persia's son: but all the following particulars of his history represent him not a prisoner, but at full liberty; for<sup>i</sup> his three chief disciples, who had been sent out into

<sup>c</sup> Marcellus vero, accito uno ex pueris suis, Callisto nomine, præcipit proficisci, qui, nihil moratus, illico proficiscitur; et post triduum pervenit ad Manem, quem in castello quodam Arabionis reperit, atque epistolam tradidit. Arch. c. 6. p. 9.

<sup>d</sup> Concerning Arabion see Tillem. as before, art. 8. at the end.

<sup>e</sup> Eâdem autem ipsâ die adventavit Manes, adducens secum juvenes et virgines electos ad viginti duo simul—et primo—ad Marcellum ingreditur salutandum. Quo ille viso admiratus est primo habitûs indumenta. Habebat enim calceamenti genus, quod quadrisole vulgo appellari solet; pallium autem varium, tanquam ærinâ specie; in manu vero validissimum baculum tenebat ex ligno ebelino. Babylonium vero librum portabat sub sinistrâ alâ. Crura etiam braccis obtexerat colore diverso, quarum una rufa, alia velut prasini coloris erat. Vultus vero, ut senis Persæ artificis, et bellorum ducis videbatur. Arch. c. 12. p. 23.

<sup>f</sup> M. de Tillemont a pris ces vierges pour des filles.—Je ne sai si ceux de ses disciples, qui l'accompagnoient, étoient de jeunes hommes; mais je suis bien assuré qu'il n'y avoit point de jeunes filles avec eux.—Ces vierges et ces saints sont les mêmes personnes. Aussi trouve-t-on dans un endroit de la version Latine virgines electos, ce qui marque que ce sont des hommes. Beaus. T. i. p. 93.

<sup>g</sup> Sed ille vias, quibus venerat, repetens, transito fluvio ad Arabionis castellum rediit, ubi postea comprehensus, oblatus est regi. Arch. c. 45. p. 100.

<sup>h</sup> Ap. Arch. c. 5. p. 6.

<sup>i</sup> For the several following particulars see Arch. c. 53, 54.

several parts, return to him, and find him in prison, as is pretended: from thence he sends them out again, and they return: after which they are again sent abroad by him to propagate his principles. Soon after this he sends the before-mentioned letter to Marcellus by Turbo: which was, as already observed, fully inscribed; and divers people his followers, called saints, join with him in the wish of peace: to this letter he receives an answer from Marcellus, whose messenger has no directions of privacy, nor apprehensions of danger from carrying and delivering a letter to Mani: soon after this he comes to Marcellus with a numerous attendance, and is himself properly and richly habited like a Persian high priest or bishop. Was this man a prisoner? Are these things marks of chains and confinement? Finally, when the disputes in Mesopotamia are over, Mani returns to Arabion, a Persian fortress: that is, he makes the best of his way back again to Persia; which shows that before he made the excursion into Mesopotamia (if ever he made any) he was at full liberty: for he leaves the angry and offended christians in Roman Mesopotamia, and returns to Persia, his own country, as a place of safety. Since, therefore, we are well assured that Mani was put to death, we may reckon it probable, that in some short time after his return home, he fell under his prince's displeasure, and was condemned by him, for some cause or other: nor does any cause of offence appear more likely, than his zeal in propagating some speculative opinions.

The history of Turbo is likewise improbable: this man was a disciple of Mani, and had been<sup>k</sup> instructed by Addas, one of Mani's chief disciples: nor is it reasonable to think, that a man should be employed in such an affair who might not be confided in: but, having delivered his master's letter into the hands of Marcellus, when he is desired to go back with an answer, he excuseth himself; and a servant of Marcellus having been despatched with the answer, Turbo presently<sup>l</sup> gives Marcellus, and Archelaus, bishop of that city, an odious, and perhaps false account, of Mani's doctrine.

Archelaus likewise, at the end of the disputes, appears to have with him one<sup>m</sup> Sisinnius, who is supposed to give him

<sup>k</sup> Accitum unum ex discipulis, Turbonem nomine, qui per Addam fuerat instructus, traditâ epistolâ, abire jubet, ac perferre Marcello. Arch. c. 4. p. 5.

<sup>l</sup> Vid. Arch. c. 6, 7, et seqq. p. 9, &c.

<sup>m</sup> Sed nunc paucissime dicere volentem deprecor, ut cum silentio audiat, ut agnoscat, qui sit, et unde, et qualis sit iste, qui advenit; sicut Sisinnius quidam, unus ex comitibus ejus, indicavit mihi, quem etiam ad testimonium eorum, quæ a me dicuntur, si placet, vocare paratus sum. Sed ne ipse quidem dicere recusavit eadem quæ nos dicimus, præsentè Mane. Credit enim

particular information concerning Mani: but Sisinnius, according to<sup>n</sup> Photius, and<sup>o</sup> Peter of Sicily, was a chief disciple of Mani, and sat in his chair after him as his successor. However, whether those authors are to be relied upon as to that particular or not, it is not reasonable to think that Archelaus, a catholic bishop of the Roman Mesopotamia, should have with him at one and the same time two disciples and intimates of Mani, and both deserters.

Sisinnius is a Greek name: I should be glad to know more of him: if ever there was a Manichee of this name, it might perhaps afford some light for clearing up the time of this piece which we have been examining.

3. Valesius, in his notes upon Socrates, transcribes a passage out of a letter of Libanius to Priscian, president of Palestine: which letter he supposeth to relate to the Manichees in that province, though they are not named: ‘These<sup>p</sup> men worship the sun, but without bloody sacrifices, and honour him as a deity in a secondary sense only. They pinch their belly to a great degree, and look upon the day of their death as the day of their deliverance. They are in many places of the world, but every where a few only: they injure no man, but some there are who give them trouble.’

II. That suits the Manichees; they are in many places, but no where numerous. That they were in many parts of the world may be concluded from the many books published against them. Fabricius<sup>q</sup> has a catalogue of ancient authors, who have mentioned the Manichees, or written against them, amounting to more than forty in number; and yet that catalogue might be greatly enlarged.

Epiphanius, in his article of the Manichees, written about the year 376, speaking of authors who had written against them, nameth<sup>r</sup> Eusebius of Cæsarea, Eusebius of Emesa, Serapion of Thmuis, Athanasius of Alexandria, George of Laodicea, Apollinarius of the same place, and Titus of Bostra; and he says there were other authors besides these who had written against them.

I. Photius, giving an account of Heracleian, bishop of

doctrinæ nostræ supradictus, sicut et apud me alius Turbo nomine. Arch. c. 51. p. 94.

<sup>n</sup> Σισιννιος, ὁ και το αξιωμα αυτης της δυσσεβες διδασκαλιας αναδειξαμενος. Phot. contr. Manich. l. i. c. 14. p. 59.

<sup>o</sup> Sisinnius, qui Maneti successit. Pet. Sic. Hist. Manich. ap. B. Patr. T. 6. p. 758. A.

<sup>p</sup> Οἱ τον ἡλιον βτοι θεραπειουντες ανευ αιματος, και τιμωντες θεον προσηγορια δευτερα, και την αζιτερα κολαζοντες, και εν κερδει ποιωμενοι την της τελευτης ἡμεραν. Πολλαχς μεν εισι της γης, πανταχς δε ολιγοι και αδικωσι μεν εδεναι, λυπενται δε ὑπ' ειωων. Annot. in Socr. l. i. c. 22. p. 13.

<sup>q</sup> Bib. Gr. T. V. p. 289—293.

<sup>r</sup> Hær. 66. n. 21. p. 638.

Chalcedon, whose works he much commends, (whose time however is not now certainly known,) says, that, speaking of others who had opposed the same sect before him, he names<sup>s</sup> Hegemonius, who wrote the disputations of Arche-laus with Mani; Titus, George of Laodicea, Serapion of Thmuis, and Diodorus, whose work against the Manichees consisted of five-and-twenty books: this work of Diodorus of Tarsus is in Ebedjesu's<sup>t</sup> Catalogue, and therefore must have been translated into Syriac. And Photius in his own work against the Manichees, or Paulicians, mentions<sup>u</sup> Cyril bishop of Jerusalem, Epiphanius, Titus of Bostra, Serapion of Thmuis, Alexander of Lycopolis, the twenty books of Heracleian bishop of Chalcedon, upon whom he again bestows great commendations: but we have now nothing of that work remaining beside the extracts made by Photius.

2. The piece of Alexander just mentioned, written in Greek, who was of Lycus, a city of Thebais in Egypt, is still in<sup>v</sup> being. Fabricius supposeth that<sup>w</sup> he was at first a heathen and Manichee, afterwards a catholic christian. Cave<sup>x</sup> thinks he was originally a heathen, next a Manichee, in the end a catholic: he says that he is a very ancient writer, probably of the fourth century. Photius, as before cited, calls him<sup>y</sup> archbishop of Cyropolis: but Beausobre argues that<sup>z</sup> he was a mere heathen or pagan philosopher, as he calls him. Tillemont likewise says, that 'by<sup>a</sup> his 'book he appears to have been a pagan philosopher, who, 'observing that some of his fellow disciples embraced the 'opinion of the Manichees, wrote this piece to confute it by 'natural and philosophical reasons. He speaks with some 'respect of Jesus Christ, and prefers the doctrine of the 'churches [they are his own words] to that of Mani: but 'it may be perceived by those very places that he is by 'no means a christian.' I do not choose to enter at present into any debate about the character of this writer: the reader, if he pleaseth, may consult the work itself, and the modern to whom I have referred: I shall only say that the Manichees were christians. If ever Alexander was a Manichee

<sup>s</sup> Cod. 85. p. 204.

<sup>t</sup> Vid. Assem. Bib. Or. T. 3. P. i. p. 29.

<sup>u</sup> Ph. contr. Manich. l. i. cap. xi.

<sup>v</sup> Ap. Combefis. Auct. Nov.

<sup>w</sup> Alexandri Lycopolitæ ex Ethnico Manichæi, atque inde ad ecclesiam reducti, liber.—Videtur scripsisse sæculo quarto. Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. v. p. 290.

<sup>x</sup> Erat quidem primum cultu Gentilis, deinde ad Manichæos, in Egyptum recens delatos, se contulit. Tandem ejuratâ hæresi, ad catholicorum castra transiit. Cav. Diss. de Scriptor. incertæ Ætatis.

<sup>y</sup> Phot. contr. Manich. ubi supra.

<sup>z</sup> Beaus. Hist. de Manich. T. i. p. 236.

<sup>a</sup> Tillem. T. iv. Les Manichéens, Art. 16. fin.

he must have been a christian at that time ; what he was afterwards, when he wrote against them, is another question.

3. I do not think it needful to say any thing here particularly of Augustine, whose books however against the Manichees are numerous and still extant, and will be of great use to us, as will appear hereafter. Cassiodorius commends Augustin's writings<sup>b</sup> against the Manichees, as if they were superior to what he had written against other heretics.

4. But there are two catholic writers against the Manichees, Serapion and Titus, of whom I shall here give a distinct account. Their books against the Manichees being their only remaining works, I shall write their history in this place, and observe their testimony to the books of the New Testament.

Serapion, mentioned by<sup>c</sup> Epiphanius and<sup>d</sup> Heracleon among authors who before them had written against the Manichees, is placed by Jerom in his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers ; where he speaks of him to this purpose : ‘ Serapion, <sup>e</sup> bishop of Thmuis, who for his great capacity was called Scholasticus, and was much esteemed by the monk Antonius, published an excellent book against the Manichees, another upon the Titles of the Psalms, and useful epistles to divers persons ; and under the emperor Constantius he was famous as a confessor.’

Cave<sup>f</sup> speaks of Serapion at the year 347, about which time he is supposed to have been made bishop of Thmuis by Athanasius. Basnage, editor of Serapion's<sup>g</sup> book against the Manichees, placeth him at 340 ; Cave says he died about the year 358 ; Valesius<sup>h</sup> says he died before the year 359 ; but Tillemont, who thinks<sup>i</sup> he was made bishop about 349, makes a question whether<sup>k</sup> he was not alive in the year 369 ; Socrates<sup>l</sup> says that about the year 373 Athanasius sent five bishops, and among them Serapion of Thmuis, to wait upon the emperor Constantius in the West.

<sup>b</sup> Contra quos ita fervore pietatis incanduit, ut diligentius atque vivacius adversus eos dixerit, quam contra hæreses alias disseruit. Cass. de Institut. D. L. c. i. p. 510. T. 2. <sup>c</sup> H. 66. c. 21.

<sup>d</sup> Ap. Phot. cod. 85. p. 204.

<sup>e</sup> Serapion Thmues episcopus, qui ob elegantiam ingenii cognomen Scholastici meruit, carus Antonii monachi, edidit adversus Manichæum egregium librum, et de Psalmorum titulis alium, et ad diversos utiles epistolas. Et sub Constantio principe etiam in confessione inclutus fuit. De V. i. cap. 99.

<sup>f</sup> Cav. H. L.

<sup>g</sup> Ap. Canis. Antiq. Lect. T. i.

<sup>h</sup> Annot. in libr. iv. c. 23. Socr. p. 54. b.

<sup>i</sup> Saint Athanas. Art. 66. Mem. Ec. T. 8. P. i. p. 241.

<sup>k</sup> Ib. p. 243.

<sup>l</sup> Socrat. H. E. l. 4. c. 9. p. 547. C.

It has been observed by learned men that Thmuis in the Egyptian language signifies a goat; the city was so called because that animal was the great object of its worship; Jerom says as much<sup>m</sup> in the Commentary upon the forty-sixth chapter of Isaiah.

It is commonly said that Serapion was a great ascetic, and for a good while lived a mortified course of life in the deserts of Thebais. Cave<sup>n</sup> goes into this supposition; but Tillemont disputes it: for he says that<sup>o</sup> the attainments of learning and eloquence, ascribed to Serapion by Jerom and Sozomen, are not the things for which hermits are wont to be commended; nor do those writers any where say that he ever lived such a course of life, though they have mentioned him several times.

Antonius's respect for this bishop of Thmuis is taken notice of by<sup>p</sup> Athanasius, who also himself had a great regard for him, and addressed<sup>q</sup> several of his works to him in epistles.

In Sozomen, Serapion has the character<sup>r</sup> of a man of admirable piety and eloquence; and his name is in<sup>s</sup> Jerom's letter to Magnus. Socrates has preserved a memorable saying of our author, taken from Euagrius of Pontus: 'The<sup>t</sup> angel of the church of Thmuis said: "The soul that has drunk in spiritual knowledge is completely cleansed; the parts of the soul fretted with anger are cured by love, and other evil affections are cured by temperance."''

No work of Serapion remains beside his book against the Manichees, which is not very large.

As for his testimony to the books of the New Testament, I observe briefly, that he has quoted the gospels, the<sup>u</sup> Acts of the Apostles, and divers of St. Paul's epistles, particularly that<sup>v</sup> to the Hebrews, as his; he quotes the epistle to the Romans<sup>w</sup> as an oracle, and<sup>x</sup> in like manner other parts of scripture.

<sup>m</sup> Θμυσις linguâ Ægyptiâ ab hirco. In. Is. T. 3. p. 343. m.

<sup>n</sup> Vitæ instituto ασκετης, inter arctioris disciplinae cultores diu deserta Thebaidos habitavit. Cav. ubi supr. <sup>o</sup> Note 70, sur S. Athan. ubi supr. T. 8. p. 1179. <sup>p</sup> De Vit. S. Anton. p. 856. n. 82. p. 864. n. 91. <sup>q</sup> Vid. Athan. Opp. p. 340, &c. p. 647, &c.

<sup>r</sup> Ανηρ ες τα μαλισα τον βιον θεσπεισις, και λεγειν δεινος. Sozom. l. 4. c. 9. p. 547. <sup>s</sup> —et Serapionis confessoris. Hier. Ep. 83.

<sup>t</sup> —δτι ο υβς μεν πεπωκως πνευματικην γνωσιν τελειως καθαιρεται αγαπη δε τα φλεγμαινοντα μορια τς θυμς θεραπειει, πονηρας δε επιθυμιας απιφόμεσας ισησιν εγκρατεια. ap. Socr. l. 4. c. 23. p. 237. C.

<sup>u</sup> Serap. contr. Manich. p. 47. f. <sup>v</sup> 'Οταν λεγη Πανλος' Πισει Ραάβ ή πορνη ε συναπωλετο τοις απειθησασι. p. 45. m.

<sup>w</sup> Τα δε λογια βωωντα και λεγοντα. p. 47. supr. m.

<sup>x</sup> Και βωωσιν οι λογοι. p. 47. infr. m.

The reader may perhaps here recollect, that<sup>y</sup> we formerly saw the history of another bishop of this place, named Phileas, who suffered martyrdom in the persecution begun by Diocletian.

5. I shall be obliged to cite Titus of Bostra several times; I therefore here write likewise his history: says Jerom, ‘Titus,<sup>z</sup> bishop of Bostra, in the time of Julian and Jovian, wrote with great strength of argument against the Manichees, and some other volumes: he died under Valens.’ This last-mentioned emperor reigned from 364 to 378: Titus is remembered again by Jerom in his letter to Magnus.

According to Cave, Titus flourished about 362, and died about 371; in Basnage’s edition he is placed as writing about the year 360: Tillemont thinks that<sup>a</sup> he published his books against the Manichees in the reign of Valens.

Titus fell under the displeasure of Julian, of which Sozomen has left the following account: ‘Julian<sup>b</sup> ordered the people of Bostra to expel the bishop of that church by a public decree, and threatened them, that if any disturbance happened there, he should impute it to the bishop and clergy. Titus thereupon sent a letter to the emperor, assuring him that the christians were equal in number to the Greeks [or Gentiles]; that they were very quiet; and that, paying a regard to his admonitions, they had no thought of making any disturbance. From those words Julian took occasion to write a letter to the people of Bostra, in order to incense them against Titus, as having accused them, saying: “it was not owing to their own good temper, but to his exhortations, that they were kept from sedition.”’ The letter, or rescript of Julian, still<sup>c</sup> extant, confirms Sozomen’s account.

The books of Titus against the Manichees are taken notice of by many ancient authors; as<sup>d</sup> Epiphanius, <sup>e</sup>Theodoret, <sup>f</sup>Heracleon, <sup>g</sup>Stephen Gobar, <sup>h</sup>Photius; as also by <sup>i</sup>Trithe-mius; beside Jerom above transcribed.

We still have three of those books, with the contents of all four: but the fourth and last seems to be irrecoverably lost: and there may be reason to think that the three books

<sup>y</sup> See p. 235.

<sup>z</sup> Titus, Bostrenus episcopus, sub Juliano et Joviano principibus fortes adversum Manichæos scripsit libros, et nonnulla volumina alia. Moritur autem sub Valente. De V. I. c. 102.

<sup>a</sup> Persecution de Julien, Art. 25. Mem. T. 7. p. 669.

<sup>b</sup> Sozom. l. 5. c. 15. p. 616. B. C. D.

<sup>c</sup> Vid. Julian. Opp. T.

i. p. 435. Ep. 52.

<sup>d</sup> Hær. 66. c. 21.

<sup>e</sup> Hær. Fab. l. i. c. 26. sub fin.

<sup>f</sup> Ap. Phot. cod. 85.

<sup>g</sup> Ap. eund. cod. 232. p. 896.

<sup>h</sup> Contr. Manich. l. i. cap. xi.

<sup>i</sup> De Script. Ec. cap. 72.

which we have are not complete, or that some parts of them are out of place. It seems to me that some words of<sup>k</sup> Basnage, to whom we are indebted for the publication of Titus in Greek, afford ground for such a suspicion, though he has taken laudable pains to set all right.

Some ascribe to Titus a Commentary upon St. Luke, though it is not distinctly mentioned among his works by any ancient author; learned men therefore are divided in their sentiments about it. Basnage thinks that<sup>l</sup> Titus wrote such a commentary, and that there are fragments of it remaining: Fabricius is of opinion, that<sup>m</sup> the Commentary upon St. Luke is the work of some other Titus, of the sixth century, or later: Tillemont, beside other material things, observes that<sup>n</sup> no ancient author makes particular mention of any work of Titus, but that against the Manichees: and that the Commentary upon St. Luke, which bears his name, has divers marks of a late age.

I shall add here some censures of learned moderns upon Titus; particularly upon that work of his which we have, and is universally, received as genuine. Those censures may be of use to assist my readers in forming a right judgment of ancient christian writers.

Says<sup>o</sup> Tillemont: ‘He seems to have followed the dangerous error ascribed to Origen, that the pains of the damned, and even those of the dæmons themselves, will not be eternal.’

Du Pin<sup>p</sup> says: ‘It is surprising that Titus had not recourse to original sin for explaining all the difficulties of the Manichees: it might have served him for a general solution of almost all their objections: for there is no longer any difficulty to comprehend, why man is carried to evil, why he suffers, why he is subject to hunger, pain, diseases, death, when once original sin is admitted: nevertheless he has made no use of this doctrine to explain these questions,

<sup>k</sup> Quinimo plurima inverso ordine turbata intricatissima invenimus. Primâ fronte periisse librum tertium autumabam.—Sed perlegendo Græca, apparuit nobis ille liber tertius integer, quem primo libro inseruerat amanuensis. Deinde truncatus multis in locis videbatur primus liber. Sed discerpta resarcire, et in genuinum ordinem restituere conati sumus, non modo argumentorum seriem secuti, sed etiam proposito Serapionis scopo, quem ipse delineaverat, sequentes. Basnag. Animadv. ap. Canis. Lect. T. i. p. 58.

<sup>l</sup> Observandum est igitur, periisse Commentarios Titi in Lucam, sed fragmenta tantum, sive Catenam Græcorum Patrum sub ejus nomine protrudi. Basn. ib. p. 57.

<sup>m</sup> Commentarius in Lucam sub Titi nomine editus—non est hujus Titi, sed scriptoris Cyrillo Alexandrino, ac fortasse sæculo sexto, junioris, &c. Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. 8. p. 413.

<sup>n</sup> Vid. Tillem. ubi supra, p. 670.

<sup>o</sup> Tillem. ubi supra. p. 671.

<sup>p</sup> Du Pin, Bibl. des Aut. Ec. T. 2. p. 128. a Amsterdam.

‘but examines them like a philosopher. He has not so much as mentioned the grace of Jesus Christ, and he seems to have supposed that man can of himself do good as well as evil.’

James Basnage, the first editor of Titus in Greek and Latin, speaks<sup>q</sup> to the like purpose. And indeed it is commonly said that<sup>r</sup> Augustine himself, in his book against the Manichees, spoke of man’s free-will just as Titus and Didymus, and other Greeks did.

I ought now briefly to observe this writer’s testimony to the books of the New Testament. He frequently quotes the gospels, and the epistles of St. Paul, particularly that to the Hebrews: he quotes<sup>s</sup> the first words of the epistle, and afterwards, in another place, a<sup>t</sup> large part of the first chapter, expressly as Paul’s.

In one<sup>u</sup> short paragraph he quotes the beginning of St. Matthew’s and St. Mark’s gospels, and the sixth and seventh verses of the first chapter of St. John, and cites all those several evangelists by name.

Titus likewise quotes<sup>v</sup> the Acts of the Apostles. I shall have occasion to take particular notice of the passage hereafter.

He has little or nothing out of the catholic epistles or the Apocalypse.

I have observed in this author these general divisions of scripture; ‘the<sup>w</sup> law and the prophets:’ ‘the<sup>x</sup> law, the gospel, and Paul:’ and presently afterwards, ‘the<sup>y</sup> law, our Saviour, and the apostle,’ often, ‘law<sup>z</sup> and gospel’ for Old and New Testament.

His respect for the scriptures of the Old and New Testament is manifest; I need not allege particular passages. At the beginning of his work he says: ‘We<sup>a</sup> learn the way

<sup>q</sup> Non modo siluit de peccato originali, quo facile necessitatem et æquitatem poenarum firmare poterat; sed virtutem a rationis exercitatione hominisque electione pendere absque ullâ Christi gratiâ affirmabat. Basn. ap. Canis. Lect. T. i. p. 57.

<sup>r</sup> Libertatem arbitrii tam ad bonum quam ab malum homini lapsu tribuit [Didymus:] nec mirum, omnes enim adversus Manichæos disputantes, ne Augustino quidem excepto, hanc sententiam propugnauerunt. Id. ib. p. 199.

<sup>s</sup> Καὶ ὁ Παῦλος οἶδε—γραφῶν μὲν Ἑβραίοις οὕτως λέγει, Πολυμερῶς καὶ πολυτροπῶς, κ. λ. Tit. contr. Manich. l. 3. ap. Canis. Lect. T. i. p. 142.

<sup>t</sup> Ib. p. 153.

<sup>u</sup> Ib. p. 141.

<sup>v</sup> Ib. p. 155.

<sup>w</sup> Τοσαυτὴν γὰρ

ἐπιμέλειαν τῶν νόμων καὶ τῶν προφητῶν πεποιηταὶ ὁ σωτὴρ, κ. λ. l. 3. p. 140.

<sup>x</sup> Εἶπεν ὁ νομὸς—εἶπε το εὐαγγέλιον—εβόησεν ὁ Παῦλος.—ib. p. 153. in.

<sup>y</sup> Καὶ νενοσῆται—ἐκ νόμων, καὶ σωτηρῶς, καὶ ἀποσοῦς. ib. p. 153.

<sup>z</sup> Vid. ib. p. 154. in.

<sup>a</sup> Ἀλλ’ αὐτὴν τῆς ἀληθείας τὴν ὁδὸν, ἐκ τε τῶν ἁγίων γραφῶν, καὶ τῶν κοινῶν ἐννοιῶν ἐχούτες. l. i. p. 60.

‘ of truth from the holy scripture, and the common principles of reason.’

6. This is not a proper time or place for me to give a distinct account of Didymus of Alexandria, who flourished about the year 370, though we still have<sup>b</sup> a tract against the Manichees, and in its original Greek language, which is generally allowed to be<sup>c</sup> his.

I shall only say that here are no hard names. Didymus must have been naturally of a mild temper; or the principles of reason and religion had softened him, and produced in him gentleness and long-suffering: upon this account, as well as others, this piece deserves to be commended. This character belongs to so few writings in the Manichæan controversy, that one cannot forbear taking notice of it. Most other authors with their arguments have mingled bitter invectives and the harshest expressions that can be thought of. In such kind of language none have exceeded that polite and orthodox writer Photius, patriarch of Constantinople: and honest Serapion, at the beginning of his work, naming Valentinus, and Marcion, and some other ancient heretics, affirms that ‘ the<sup>d</sup> Manichæan wickedness and ‘ absurdity had so far outgone all other things of the kind, ‘ as to make them appear almost innocent.’ Epiphanius<sup>e</sup> calls this the most venomous of all heresies; and to the like purpose speaks<sup>f</sup> Cyril. However it must be owned that hard names have been given to all sorts of heretics; nor is it easy to say which is the worst heresy: perhaps men are apt to think that so which they are opposing. Athanasius<sup>g</sup> represents Arianism as the most impious of all heresies, not excepting the Manichees; for they and the Valentinians are expressly named by him just before.

7. All these before-mentioned writers and others are in Fabricius. But I think it not amiss to take notice here of some authors omitted in his Catalogue.

1. The anonymous author of A History of the Heresy of the Manichees; a small piece published by Mr. Pfaff with the Epitome of Lactantius.

<sup>b</sup> Ap. Basnag. Canis. Lect. p. 204, &c.

<sup>c</sup> Vid. Cav. Hist. Lit. in Didymo. Basnag. ap. Canis. lect. p. 203. Tillem. Mem. Ec. T. x. Didyme, Art. iv. in fin. Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. 8. p. 353.

<sup>d</sup> Τελευταιον δε εκτρωμα της πονηριας, πασας τας αλλας πονηριας δευτερας αποδειξασα, η τς Μανιχαις προηλθε μανια. κ. λ. Serap. contr. Manich. p. 44. m.

<sup>e</sup> Μετα την μοχθηραν ταυτην, και οιβολον υπερ πασαν αιρεσιν και ερπετωδη τς Μανι, — Θηριοβολιαν. — H. 97. n. 1. <sup>f</sup> Vid. Cyr. Cat. 16. n. 9. p. 247.

<sup>g</sup> Οί δε Αρειανοί των μεν άλλων αιρεσεων εισι τολημηροτεροι, και μικροτερας εαυτων αδελφας απειδειξαν εκεινας, πλεον αυτων ασεβεντες. Ath. Hist. Arian. ad Mon. T. i. p. 384. A.

2. The anonymous author *De Verâ Circumcisione*, in the appendix of Jerom's works, more than once opposeth the Manichees.<sup>h</sup> A distinct account of this piece was given<sup>i</sup> formerly.

3. Arius deserved a place in that Catalogue, if upon no other account, for the sake of the early mention of the Manichæan doctrine concerning<sup>k</sup> the Son, in a letter written before the council of Nice.

4. Nor has Fabricius got Chrysostom, though that great orator often touches upon this point. Montfauçon thought it somewhat remarkable that he did so frequently oppose this error; and therefore takes particular notice of it in<sup>l</sup> his prefaces to several of the volumes of St. Chrysostom's works.

5. St. Jerom likewise frequently mentions and argues against the Manichees. I shall often quote him in writing their history.

6. Pelagius, in his Commentaries upon St. Paul's epistles, confutes them several<sup>m</sup> times.

7. Rufinus, upon the Creed, distinctly censures the Manichees, together with divers others called heretics.

8. To all these and others, might be added, from Asseman, divers Syrian authors.

1. The<sup>n</sup> Edessen Chronicle.

2. Ephrem, placed by Cave at the year 370, who in his work *Against all Heresies*<sup>o</sup> particularly attacked the Manichees.

3. Asseman mentions several others, whose<sup>p</sup> names are in the margin.

III. All these names of eminent writers upon this point are sufficient to assure us that there were Manichees in many

<sup>h</sup> —quam [vitam] Manichæi non videntes in carne, Ariani non intelligentes in spiritu.—ap. Hieron. opp. T. v. p. 154, et passim.

<sup>i</sup> See p. 110, 111. <sup>k</sup> ————εἰς ὡς Μανιχαῖος μέρος ὁμοσιον τε Πατρος το γενεμα εισηγησατο. Ap. Epiph. H. 69. c. 7.

<sup>l</sup> Anomœorum impietatem sæpe oppugnat et insectatur Chrysostomus.—Sed, quod fortasse miretur quispiam, sæpius in Manichæos invehiter.—Licet enim hæc hæresis non tantas turbas daret, quantas haud ita pridem dederant Anomœi, attamen magno illi numero erant, malumque serpebat in dies latius. Præf. ad Chrys. T. 7. n. iii.

<sup>m</sup> Verum totus hic locus contra Manichæos facit, ubi dicit, quod evangelium ante sit promissum—et quod Christus secundum carnem ex David stirpe. Pelag. in Ep. ad Rom. c. i. ver. 1, 2. ap. Hieron. opp. T. v. p. 926. Vid. et p. 928, et 951. <sup>n</sup> Ap. Asseman. Bib. Or. T. i. p. 393.

<sup>o</sup> Refellit S. Doctor omnes generatim hæreses; speciatim autem Bardesanis, Marcionis, et Manichæi. Assem. ib. p. 118. Conf. T. 3. P. i. p. 63.

<sup>p</sup> Hinc adversus eam sectam, præter Græcos et Latinos patres, Syri complures scripsere; Ephraëm, Paulonas, Daniel Rhessinæ, Natanael, et Bud Periodeutæ, de quibus Sobensis in hoc catalogo. Ib. T. 3. P. i. p. 220.

parts of the world; but it does not appear that they were any where numerous: this may be perceived from St. Augustine, who had occasion to be well acquainted with them. He says to them: 'You<sup>a</sup> are a very few, and almost 'none at all:' and adds, that though good men were scarce, there were vastly more truly good men among the catholics than all the Manichees, whether good or bad. They sometimes argued that they were the few whom our Lord speaks of, as walking in the narrow way that leads to life: but Augustine cautions them<sup>r</sup> against being deceived by such an argument, however specious it might appear. In another place he magnifies<sup>s</sup> the number of the catholics above the small number of their sect. He says that 'Fortunatus, a Manichæan presbyter, seduced people enough at Hippo to induce him to live there a good while; which, however, I think, does not lead us to suppose that the number of his converts was very great. I need not insist on any more passages of Augustine where<sup>u</sup> he speaks of their small number.

IV. Fabricius has likewise a catalogue<sup>v</sup> of the names of Manichees mentioned by ancient writers. I shall take notice of a few only.

1. Here again occurs Alexander of Lycopolis; of whom I need not say any thing more than I have done.

2. Augustine, a wit of the first order, and a principal glory of the country of Africa, who was entangled in this opinion, and for about nine years was among the auditors of the Manichees, from the nineteenth to the twenty-eighth or twenty-ninth year of his age; at which time suspicions concerning the truth of their doctrine arose in his mind, and increased, until he quite forsook them. Afterwards he wrote against them at several times with great applause and success.

I have expressed myself with no greater exactness con-

<sup>a</sup> Quid autem? inter vos, in tam exiguo et pene nullo numero vestro, nonne plerique sunt tales——? Quæ tamen paucitas sanctorum et fidelium—per se ipsam tantam massam frumenti facit, ut omnes probos et reprobos vestros, quos pariter veritas reprobat, incomparabili multitudine superat. Contr. Faust. l. 20. c. 23.

<sup>r</sup> Fuge ista, obsecro; non te decipiat species paucitatis, quoniam ipse Dominus dixit, angustam viam esse paucorum. Contr. Secundin. cap. 26.

<sup>s</sup> ——velitisque intelligi in tantâ vestrâ paucitate latere nescio quos, qui sua præcepta custodiunt, et in tantâ catholicâ multitudine non velitis? De Mor. Manich. cap. ult. fin.

<sup>t</sup> Eodem tempore presbyterii mei, contra Fortunatum quemdam, Manichæorum presbyterum, disputavi, qui plurimum temporis apud Hipponem vixerat, seduxeratque tam multos ut propter illos ibi eum delectaret habitare. Retr. l. 2. c. 14.

<sup>u</sup> Cum in istâ paucitate magnas patiamini angustias, dum a vobis exigitur vel unus ex iis quos electos vocatis, qui præcepta illa custodiat. De Mor. Ec. Cath. c. 34.

<sup>v</sup> Ap. Bib. Gr. T. v. p. 287—289.

cerning the time of Augustine's being in the Manichæan scheme, because he himself speaks differently: sometimes his expression is that he was with them<sup>w</sup> almost nine years, at another time<sup>x</sup> full nine years: sometimes he says that when the difficulties of their scheme perplexed him, he was<sup>y</sup> in the twenty-eighth, at other times<sup>z</sup> in the twenty-ninth year of his age; nay, he speaks of his being<sup>a</sup> in the thirtieth year of his age, or almost thirty years old, before his eyes were opened.

The reason of this different way of speaking seems to be that his change was gradual: for the space of nine years, or very near it, from the nineteenth year of his life, he was entirely<sup>b</sup> theirs; in the twenty-eighth or twenty-ninth year of his age doubts arose in his mind; about the end of which last year<sup>c</sup> he seems to have determined to be no longer a Manichee; in the next year, the thirtieth of his life, when his mother came to him at Milan, he was only<sup>d</sup> not a Manichee; nay, in his thirty-first year he had not a<sup>e</sup> clear notion of the origin of natural and moral evil; and it was not till the thirty-third year of his age that he was baptized.

<sup>w</sup> Nam novem ferme anni secuti sunt, quibus ego in illo limo profundi ac tenebris falsitatis,—volutatus sum. *Confess.* l. 3. c. xi. n. 20. Et per annos ferme novem, quibus eos animo vagabundus audivi, nimis extento desiderio expectabam istum Faustum. *ib.* l. 5. c. vi. n. 10. Quid enim me aliud coge-  
bat, annos fere novem,—homines illos sequi ac diligenter audire—? *De Util.*  
*Cred.* cap. i. n. 2. <sup>x</sup> Novem annos totos magnâ curâ et diligentîâ  
vos audivi. *De Mor. Manich.* c. 19. n. 68.

<sup>y</sup> Per idem tempus annorum novem, ab undevicesimo anno ætatis meæ, usque ad duodevicesimum seducebamur et seducebamur. *Confess.* l. 4. c. i.

<sup>z</sup> Proloquar in conspectu Dei mei annum illum undetrigesimum ætatis meæ. Jam venerat Carthaginem quidam Manichæorum episcopus, Faustus nomine, &c. *Confess.* l. 5. c. 3.

<sup>a</sup> Et ecce jam tricenarium ætatem gerebam, in eodem luto hæsitans,—dum dico, Cras inveniam. Ecce manifestum apparebit, et tenebo. Ecce Faustus veniet, et exponet omnia. *Confess.* l. 6. c. xi. n. 18.

<sup>b</sup> Audite doctos ecclesiæ catholicæ viros tantâ pace animi, et eo voto quo ego vos audivi: nihil opus erit novem annis, quibus me ludificâstis. Longe omnino, longe brevior tempore, quid intersit inter veritatem vanitatemque, cernetis. *De M. E. C.* cap. 18. n. 34.

<sup>c</sup> Dubitans de omnibus, atque inter omnia fluctuans, Manichæos quidem relinquendos esse decrevi; non arbitrans eo tempore dubitationis meæ in illâ sectâ mihi permanendum esse.—Statui ergo tandiu esse catechumenus in catholicâ ecclesiâ, mihi a parentibus commendatâ, donec aliquid certi eluceret, quo cursum dirigerem. *Confess.* l. 5. c. ult. n. 25.

<sup>d</sup> Et invenit me periclitantem quidem graviter desperatione indagandæ veritatis. Sed tamen cum ei indicâsem, non me quidem jam esse Manichæum, sed neque catholicum christianum.—*Ib.* l. 6. c. i. n. 1.

<sup>e</sup> Et intendebam ut cernerem quod audiebam, liberum voluntatis arbitrium causam esse ut male faceremus, et rectum iudicium tuum ut pateremur, et eam liquide cernere non valebam. *Ib.* l. 7. c. 3. n. 5.

Whilst Augustine was among the Manichees he promoted their interest considerably, and<sup>f</sup> brought over divers to the same opinion; men of good condition, and bright parts, and some of them addicted to a studious course of life: as <sup>g</sup> Alypius, <sup>h</sup> Romanianus, and <sup>i</sup> Honoratus.

3. Adimantus, said to have been a disciple of Mani, wrote<sup>k</sup> a book against the law and the prophets, endeavouring to show that the gospels and epistles were contrary to them; or, in other words, the disagreement between the Old and New Testament, and that consequently the former could not be of God. This book Augustine confuted in a distinct piece, still extant: and he<sup>l</sup> elsewhere occasionally confutes this writer's objections against the Old Testament.

In another place he says that<sup>m</sup> Adimantus was that disciple of Manichee who was also called Addas. Beausobre<sup>n</sup> thinks this a mistake of Augustine, because the Greek writers distinguish between Addas and Adimantus: but perhaps Augustine had good reason for what he said. Toutée, the Benedictine editor of St. Cyril, assents<sup>o</sup> to Augustine; as does<sup>p</sup> Tillemont, without hesitation. Cave supposed<sup>q</sup> Addas and Adimantus to have been two different persons: I put his words at the bottom of the page. I shall hereafter take some farther notice of the names of those who are said to have been disciples of Mani.

<sup>f</sup> —seducebamur et seducebamur—et sectabar ista, atque faciebam cum amicis meis, per me ac mecum deceptis. Confess. l. 4. cap. i. Vid. ib. cap. 4. n. 7.

<sup>g</sup> Et audire me rursus incipiens, illâ mecum superstitione involutus est, amans in Manichæis ostentationem continentiæ, quam veram et germanam putabat. Conf. l. 6. c. 7. n. 12. vid. ib. l. 11.

<sup>h</sup> Ipsa me penitus ab illâ superstitione, in quam te mecum præcipitem dederam, liberavit. Contr. Academicos, ad Roman. l. 1. c. i. n. 3.

<sup>i</sup> Tu nondum christianus, qui hortatu meo, cum eos vehementer execraberis, vix adductus es, ut audiendi tibi atque explorandi viderentur.—De Util. Cred. cap. i. n. 2.

<sup>k</sup> Eodem tempore venerunt in manus meas quædam disputationes Adimanti, qui fuerat Manichæi discipulus, quas conscripsit adversus legem et prophetas, velut contraria eis evangelica et apostolica scripta demonstrare conatus. Huic ego respondi. Aug. Retract. l. i. c. 22.

<sup>l</sup> Vid. Aug. in Psalm. Sermon. 12. cap. i.

<sup>m</sup> Jam illud aliud quod in eodem codice scribi cœperat, Adimanti opus est, illius discipuli Manichæi, qui prænomine Addas dictus est; ubi de utroque Testamento velut inter se contraria testimonia proferuntur versipelli dolositate. Aug. Contr. Adv. Leg. et Proph. l. 2. cap. ult. n. 41.

<sup>n</sup> Beaus. ib. T. i. p. 432. not. (6.) <sup>o</sup> Vid. Cyril. Cat. vi. c. 13. not. (ε)

<sup>p</sup> Mem. T. iv. Les Manich. Art. 14. in.

<sup>q</sup> Diversus ab Addâ nostro erat Adimantus ille, cujus toties apud Augustinum occurrit mentio, quemque ipse peculiari opere refutavit. In catalogo enim discipulorum Manetis, tum apud Petrum Siculum, tum apud formulæ Cotelerianæ et Tollianæ auctorem distincte recensentur, etsi in aliâ sententiâ me olim fuisse fateor, et mecum ipse Augustinus. Cav. H. L. T. i. p. 145.

Adimantus is much admired by<sup>r</sup> Faustus; he is next in his esteem to Mani himself, which Augustine<sup>s</sup> fails not to observe: Beausobre therefore concludes that<sup>t</sup> Adimantus was the apostle of Mani, who planted Manichæism in Africa: but to me this appears a conjecture without foundation. Augustine has<sup>u</sup> often mentioned this man, but says nothing of that kind of him. He says he<sup>v</sup> was a disciple of Mani, and much extolled, as having been an eminent teacher of that sect; and<sup>w</sup> that it was commonly said he was a follower of Mani in his lifetime; but he no where intimates that they gave out that Africa was indebted to Adimantus for his presence or personal instructions.

If Adimantus and Addas be two names of one and the same person, as Augustine supposed, it may be reckoned very probable that he was a disciple of Mani in his lifetime, or however, one of the most early abettors of his principles afterwards: for according to the Dispute ascribed to Arche-laüs, the three chief disciples of Mani were<sup>x</sup> Thomas, Addas, and Hermas: in Cyril<sup>y</sup> their names are Thomas, Baddas, and Hermas; in Epiphanius<sup>z</sup> Thomas, Hermias, Addas; in Theodoret<sup>a</sup> Aldas, (by mistake of transcribers probably for Addas,) Thomas, and Hermas. I need not add any more authors.

Whether Adimantus be the same person as Addas or not, it is fit I should take notice of what Photius writes in his extracts out of Heracleän. ‘That<sup>b</sup> author said that Diodorus of Tarsus, in his first seven books, really argued against a work of Addas, called Modion, whilst he thought he had been overthrowing the living gospel of Manichee himself.’ That title is supposed to have been taken from Mark iv. 21.

Here then is a book of Addas; was it the same with that of Adimantus, confuted by Augustine? We cannot be ab-

<sup>r</sup> ———a doctissimo scilicet, et solo nobis post beatum patrem nostrum Manichæum studendo [al. stupendo] Adimanto. Faust. l. i. c. 2. ap. August. T. 8.

<sup>s</sup> Faustus sic miratur Adimantum, ut ei solum præferat Manichæum. Contr. Faust. l. 6. c. 6.

<sup>t</sup> Beaus. ib. T. i. p. 433.

<sup>u</sup> Contr. Adimant. c. 12. n. 2. c. 13. n. 1, et 4, et passim.

<sup>v</sup> Quid quod etiam insultare ausus est populo Israël Adimantus, unus ex discipulis Manichæi, quem magnum doctorem illius sectæ fuisse commemorant. Contr. Adim. c. 12. n. 2.

<sup>w</sup> Si autem recenseatis quæ

contra Faustum Manichæum scripsimus, et contra Adimantum, qui Manichæi sectator cum ille viveret fuisse jactatur. Contr. Adv. Leg. et Pr. c. 12.

<sup>x</sup> Acquisivit etiam discipulos tres, quorum nomina sunt hæc, Thomas, Addas, et Hermas. Arch. Disp. c. 53. p. 98.

<sup>y</sup> Cat. vi. c. 31. p. 107.

<sup>z</sup> Hær. 65. c. v. et xii.

<sup>a</sup> Hær. Fab. l. i. c. 26. p. 214. C.

<sup>b</sup> ‘Ὅς δια μὲν τῶν πρώτων βιβλίων ἑπτα τὸ τῶν Μανιχαίων ζῶν εὐαγγελίων ανατρέπει’ ἢ τυγχάνει ἐξ ἐκείνων, ἀλλὰ ανατρέπει τὸ ὑπο Ἀδδά γεγραμμένον, ὃ καλεῖται Μοδιόν. Cod. 85. p. 204.

solutely certain; but possibly it was. The book used in Africa might be a Latin translation of the Greek original; and Addas might be more generally called Adimantus by the Latins, as Mani himself, who for the most part is called Manes by the Greeks, is generally called Manchæus by the Latins. We saw before that Adimantus and his book were much esteemed by the Manichees in Africa. If what Heraclian says of Diodorus of Tarsus be true, we have also proof of the great regard paid to the book of Addas in Asia; it must have been common there, and in high esteem; otherwise Diodorus had not allotted his first seven books to the confutation of it, and that upon the supposition of its being Mani's gospel.

Heraclian ascribes a like mistake to<sup>c</sup> Titus of Bostra. I rather think that Titus was not mistaken: he knew well enough whom he argued against; but he reckoned it to be one and the same thing to confute the master or a chief disciple. The objections he answered were sometimes taken from Mani himself, sometimes from Addas; but he did not judge it needful expressly to distinguish his authors. Titus has himself more than once intimated, that<sup>d</sup> he argued against somebody beside Mani himself, though he does not name the author. However here is another proof of the commonness of the book of Addas, and of the esteem it was in.

Possibly this book was not always fully titled, or inscribed, exactly in the same manner: and Augustine, a Latin in Africa, might mean, and have before him, the same book that was used by Diodorus and Titus; though he does not call it the Modion of Addas, but Dissertations of Adimantus.

Upon the whole, I think it probable that Addas and Adimantus are only two names of one and the same person; and that the book of Adimantus, which (as appears from Faustus and Augustine) was famous in Africa, is the same with that of Addas, which was used by the Manichees in Asia. In short, this book was every where considered by that sect as one of the best books they had; and I wish we had it too.

4. We are indebted to Photius for the knowledge of another Manichæan writer named Agapius; but his age is uncertain. Photius says that<sup>e</sup> Agapius seems to oppose

<sup>c</sup> Phot. Cod. 85.

<sup>d</sup> —ὡς γε τα τῆ Μανεντος συγγραφῶν φησιν. Tit. contr. Manich. l. i. p. 71. infr. m.—Φησι δε προς λεξιν εκεινος, η ἑτερος τις των απ' εκεινῶ, επιγραφας το κεφαλιον περι της ανθρωπινης πρωτοπλασιας. Ib. l. 3. p. 137.

<sup>e</sup> Μαχεσθαι δε δοκει προς-την Ενωμις κακοδοξίαν. Cod. 179. p. 405.

the error of Eunomius, who flourished about the year 360. But those words need not be understood to mean any more than<sup>f</sup> that his sentiments were different from those of Eunomius, insomuch that he seemed to oppose them: as indeed it is allowed that the Manichæan doctrine concerning the Trinity was different from that of the Arians.

However, what Photius says<sup>g</sup> of this writer's confessing a consubstantial Trinity, and agreeing mightily in expression with the orthodox christians, may be an argument for his having lived and written after the Nicene council; forasmuch as it is very common with Photius to find in ecclesiastical authors, who lived before that council, many forms of expression different from those in use afterwards.

Photius speaks of a piece, or, as he is generally understood, of two pieces of<sup>h</sup> Agapius; one a work of three-and-twenty books, another consisting of a hundred-and-two chapters, inscribed to a woman of the same sect, named Urania: but perhaps that is a fictitious name and character. If those books were extant they would be very curious. It may be collected from the account which Photius gives of them, that they would have furnished us with a good knowledge of the Manichæan scheme; for most, if not all their principles, seem to have been there treated.

In another work Photius, reckoning up the twelve disciples of Mani, mentions<sup>i</sup> Agapius, author of the Heptalogus, as does likewise<sup>k</sup> Peter of Sicily: this book is also in the<sup>l</sup> Anathemas against the Manichees, or Form of abjuring Manichæism. Timothy, presbyter of Constantinople, mentions, perhaps by mistake, the<sup>m</sup> Heptalogus of Alogius: it is generally supposed that<sup>n</sup> this is another book of the same Agapius, who wrote the other two beforementioned; if so, Agapius wrote three books in defence of the Manichæan principles. Whether this computation be right I cannot tell; but I can by no means allow that the placing Agapius among the twelve disciples of Mani affords any help for settling this age: because I do not admit the authority of

<sup>f</sup> Vid. Cav. Diss. de Scriptor. incert. Æt. et Beaus. Hist. de Manich. T. i. p. 434.

<sup>g</sup> Και τριαδα δε ὁμοουσιον ὁ καταρατος λεγει μεν ὁμολογειν. Cod. 179. p. 404. in. τας μεν των ευσεβων λεξεις συνομολογων. ib. infr. p. 7.

<sup>h</sup> —— Αγαπις βιβλιον, λογοδρια περιεχον τρια και εικοσι, και ἑτερα κεφαλαια εηθεν δυο και εκατον. Cod. 179. p. 401.

<sup>i</sup> —— και Αγαπιος, ὁ την Ἑπταλογον καλεμενην συνταξας. Phot. contr. Manich. l. i. c. 14.

<sup>k</sup> Pet. Sic. de Manich. ap. B. P. P. T. 16. p. 758. B.

<sup>l</sup> Ap. Fabr. Hippolyt. T. 2. p. 203. et Cotel. not. ad Recogn. Clem. l. 4. c. 27, et Toll. Insign. Ital. p. 142.

<sup>m</sup> Vid. Timoth. in Fabr. Cod. Apocr. N. T. T. i. p. 138, 139, et Meursii Var. Divin. p. 117.

<sup>n</sup> Vid. Cav. et Beaus. ubi supra.

the Catalogues in Photius and Peter, and the Anathemas just quoted; the reasons will be assigned hereafter.

5. Philostorgius tells a story of<sup>o</sup> Athonius at Alexandria, whom he speaks of as a bishop of the Manichees, and a man in great reputation for knowledge and eloquence. Ætius, he says, had a public disputation with Athonius, and so entirely overcame him that he died of grief seven days after. In the Catalogues of Photius and Peter of Sicily, and likewise in the Form of abjuring Manichæism, before referred to, is the name of Athonius; and he is spoken of as one of Mani's commentators.

6. Faustus of Milevi,<sup>p</sup> in Africa, published a volume in defence of Manichæism, which St. Augustine answered<sup>q</sup> in a large work of three-and-thirty books, always prefixing at the beginning of each book a passage or section of Faustus himself. Beausobre<sup>r</sup> commends this author's manner of writing, and supposeth that we have his work entire in Augustine; so does<sup>s</sup> Cave: but I do not perceive that clearly: we have the<sup>t</sup> introduction, but I do not see any conclusion. Augustine did not consider every thing in the book of Adimantus, but left a part of it near the end answered, as he acknowledges<sup>u</sup> in a work written long afterwards. Augustine wrote a book against Mani's epistle of the Foundation; but he therein confuted only the beginning of that epistle, as he informs us in his<sup>v</sup> Retractations. In like manner he may have been obliged, by the multitude of affairs upon his hands, to break off his answer to Faustus before he had confuted the whole of his book. It seems to me that Augustine, having followed Faustus step by step a great way, until he had produced and confuted<sup>w</sup> his furious passages concerning the gospels, supposed he might then put an end

<sup>o</sup> Αθθονιος τις της Μανιχαιων λυσης προεως, και μεγαλην παρα πολλοις επι σοφια και δεινοτητι λογων φερων την δοξαν. Philost. l. 3. c. 15. p. 487, 488.

<sup>p</sup> Faustus quidam fuit, gente Afer, civitate Milevitanus, eloquio suavis, ingenio callidus, sectâ Manichæus, ac per hoc nefando errore perversus. Novem ipse hominem. Aug. contr. Faust. l. i. c. 7.

<sup>q</sup> Contra Faustum Manichæum—scripsi grande opus, verbis ejus propositis reddens responsiones meas. Triginta et tres disputationes sunt, quas etiam libros cur non dixerim? Retract. l. 2. c. 7.

<sup>r</sup> Hist. de Manich. T. i. p. 224. <sup>s</sup> In quibus Faustum *κατα ποδας* sequitur, integrumque ejus librum in suum opus transcripsit. Hist. Lit. T. i. p. 344. Oxon.

<sup>t</sup> Vid. Faust. lib. i. ap. Aug. T. 8.

<sup>u</sup> Quamvis quædam sint perpauca in fine ipsius operis Adimanti, quibus non respondi; nescio quibus enim, ut fieri solet, incurrentibus, quæ magis videbantur urgere, illa interrupta sic remanserunt. Contr. Adv. Leg. et Pr. l. 2. c. 12. n. 41. fin.

<sup>v</sup> Liber contra epistolam Manichæi, quam vocant Fundamenti, principia ejus sola redarguit. Retr. l. 2. c. 2.

<sup>w</sup> Vid. Faust. l. 32, et 33. ap. Aug.

to his labours: I think that at the conclusion Augustine intimates he had considered some chapters only of<sup>x</sup> Faustus.

Of this writer Beausobre speaks farther to this purpose: 'We<sup>y</sup> might expect in this work of Faustus pure and genuine 'Manichæism: but beside that the African sect was one of 'the most absurd and heretical among them, Faustus treats 'but a small number of questions.' But, as before said, perhaps we have not his piece entire: and here again our desires may be raised for the works of Agapius, which seem to have been more full and copious. However, I shall be able to make good use of the work of Faustus, for showing the Manichæan sentiments concerning the scriptures, and other matters.

Augustine insinuates that<sup>z</sup> Faustus was at first very poor, but that he lived well, and somewhat delicately, among the Manichees; notwithstanding the strict rules by which all the elect are bound to govern themselves. Augustine calls him<sup>a</sup> bishop: he speaks of the great esteem which Faustus was in among that people; but says that,<sup>b</sup> excepting his eloquence, there was little in him extraordinary; and that he was no more able, than their other teachers, to remove the difficulties in the Manichæan scheme, which he then began to be sensible of. However, Augustine<sup>c</sup> has often commended Faustus's manner of speaking; and<sup>d</sup> owns that he was well qualified to make converts, and that he seduced many. He must have excelled in the art of speaking, or Augustine<sup>e</sup> had not given him the preference in that respect to Ambrose, the famous bishop of Milan, who had more learning, and was a good speaker likewise. Faustus and

<sup>x</sup> Quapropter, post omnes Fausti calumnias refutatas, duntaxat horum ejus capitulorum, quibus hoc opere quantum Dominus adjuvare dignatus est, sufficienter, ut arbitror, prolixèque respondi, &c. Aug. contr. Faust. l. 33. c. 9.

<sup>y</sup> Ib. p. 224. <sup>z</sup> Et quia in mattis dormiunt, mattarii appellantur: a quorum stratis longe dissimiles fuerant plumæ Fausti, et caprinæ lodices; quâ deliciarum affluentiam non solum mattarios fastidiebat, sed etiam domum patris sui hominis pauperis Milevitani. Contr. Faust. l. v. c. 5.

<sup>a</sup> Jam venerat Carthaginem quidam Manichæorum episcopus, Faustus nomine, magnus laqueus diaboli; et multi implicabantur in eo per illecebram suaviloquentiæ, quam ego tametsi laudabam, &c. Confess. l. 5. c. 3. n. 3.

<sup>b</sup> ———quæ mihi cunctatio in dies major oboriebatur, ex quo illum hominem, cujus nobis adventus, ut nôsti, ad explicanda omnia, quæ nos movebant, quasi de cælo promittebatur, audivi, eumque exceptâ quâdam eloquentiâ talem, qualem cæteros cognovi. De Util. Cred. c. 8. n. 20.

<sup>c</sup> Ergo ubi venit, expertus sum hominem gratum et jucundum verbis, et ea quæ illa solent dicere multo suavius garrientem. Confess. l. 5. c. 6. n. 10.

<sup>d</sup> Vid. supr. not. <sup>a</sup> <sup>e</sup> Et delectabar suavitate sermonis, quamquam eruditionis minus tamen hilarescentis atque mulcentis quam Fausti erat, quod adtinet ad dicendi modum: cæterum rerum ipsarum nulla comparatio. Confess. l. 5. c. 13. n. 23.

other Manichees<sup>f</sup> were banished into some island by the Roman proconsul; but it was not long before they were released. Tillemont<sup>g</sup> supposeth this to have happened in the year 386.

I cannot tell how it came to pass, that in Fabricius it is said,<sup>h</sup> Augustine heard Faustus nine years; when Augustine, in the place referred to, and elsewhere, assures us, that it was not till the ninth year of his being in the Manichæan sentiments that Faustus came to Carthage.

Faustus is spoken of by<sup>i</sup> Cave as flourishing at the year 400; but that is placing him too late. Augustine forsook the Manichees before he was quite thirty years of age; he became acquainted with Faustus in his twenty-eighth or twenty-ninth year: at which time he speaks of Faustus as a bishop, and very famous in his party. If Augustine was born in 354, Faustus must have come to Carthage, and their acquaintance must have begun in 382 or<sup>k</sup> 383. Augustine's book against Faustus seems not to have been written till about the year 400; but the book of Faustus might be written a good while before, and he himself dead; as indeed I suspect he was, from Augustine's manner of writing<sup>l</sup> at the beginning of his work, and elsewhere. However, I willingly place Faustus at the year 384; though, according to the preceding argument, that is rather too late.

7. Hierax is reckoned among Manichæan writers by<sup>m</sup> Fabricius and Beausobre. This last writer speaks of him in this manner: 'he<sup>n</sup> was an Egyptian, a native of Leonopolis, well skilled in the learning of the Greeks and Egyptians: he was not one of those extravagant Manichees that reviled the law and the prophets;' and a great deal more, which I need not transcribe.

But, with submission, I see no reason to call Hierax, or Hieracas, a Manichee: that supposition depends upon the authority<sup>o</sup> of Photius, and Peter of Sicily, and the Anathemas, or Form of abjuring Manichæism, before taken notice

<sup>f</sup> Faustus autem, convictus vel confessus quod Manicheus esset, cum aliis nonnullis secum ad iudicium proconsulare perductis,—in insulam relegatus est. Contr. Faust. l. 5. c. 8. <sup>g</sup> St. Augustin. Art. 18. Mem. T. 13. p. 43.

<sup>h</sup> —et novem annos a se auditum testatur. Conf. l. 5. c. 6. Fabric. Bib. Gr. T. v. p. 288. <sup>i</sup> Hist. Lit. T. i. p. 344.

<sup>k</sup> Nam annum ætatis vicesimum nonum egit Carthagine cum Fausto. Libro enim 6 Confessionum cap. xi. scribit: Et ecce jam tricenariam ætatem gerebam.—Erat tunc annus Christi tricentesimus octogesimus tertius. Pagi in Baron. Ann. 377. n. iii. <sup>l</sup> Faustus quidem fuit gente Afer.—Noveram ipse hominem, quemadmodum eum commemoravi in libris Confessionem mearum. Contr. Faust. l. i. c. 1.

<sup>m</sup> Bib. Gr. T. 5. p. 288.

<sup>n</sup> Hist. de Manich. T. i. p. 430, 431. <sup>o</sup> See Beaus. p. 430. not. (6.)

of; where Hierax is named among the disciples and commentators of Mani. But they are all so late, that their testimony is of no weight against other evidence; for Photius and Peter are writers of the ninth century: and in their writings against the Manichees they so agree that it is<sup>p</sup> reckoned one copied the other; but which is the original is hard to say; and the Anathemas, as given us by Cotelerius and Tollius, plainly appear not to be of an earlier age. The composer of that Form was acquainted with the Paulicians, and must have borrowed from Photius, or Peter, or both: in Tollius it is entitled, ‘A<sup>q</sup> Form of receiving those who are converted ‘from the Heresy of the Manichees and Paulicians to the ‘true Faith.’ Beausobre himself has somewhere well observed, upon another occasion, that things are not to be received upon the credit of pieces of so late age.

Hierax has a great character in<sup>r</sup> Epiphanius for learning and piety: nevertheless he had, it seems, some errors which induced Epiphanius to consider him as an heretic; but he does not call him a follower of Mani: he makes a distinct heresy of his opinions: and in like manner<sup>s</sup> Augustine, <sup>t</sup>John Damascenus, and <sup>u</sup>Prædestinatus: nor do any of them insinuate that he borrowed any thing from Mani: and all of them, except Augustine, (who has entirely omitted their sentiments concerning the scriptures,) expressly say that the Hieracites received the Old and New Testament; particularly Epiphanius, briefly in his<sup>v</sup> Synopsis, and more largely in his<sup>w</sup> Panarium. The only ancient author, that I know of, who says the Hieracites rejected the Old Testament, is the anonymous author<sup>x</sup> against all heresies, among the works of Athanasius: nor are they any where charged with holding two principles. Philaster and Theodoret have nothing about them.

Hierax, it is true, is said to have denied the resurrection of the body, and<sup>y</sup> to have expected only a spiritual resurrection: but it does not appear that he took that opinion from Mani. Epiphanius expressly says he supposeth

<sup>p</sup> Quæ dum memoro, non possum non significare dubitationem, quam in notis professus sum, et in quâ me adhuc hærerere fateor, uter scilicet horum alterum in scribendo imitatus videatur. Wolf. Præf. ad Phot. contr. Manich. p. 6.

<sup>q</sup> Ap. Toll. Insign. Ital. p. 126.

<sup>r</sup> Hær. 67. n. 1.

<sup>s</sup> De Hær. c. 47.

<sup>t</sup> Χρωμενοι δε παλαια και νεα διαθηκη. Dam. de Hæres. n. 67. ap. Cot. Monum. Gr. T. i. p. 297.

<sup>u</sup> Prædest. i. n. 47.

<sup>v</sup> Vid. Epiph. T. i. p. 605. T. ii. p. 147.

<sup>w</sup> Hær. 67. n. 1.

<sup>x</sup> Ap. Athan. T. 2. p. 235. D. Ed. Bened.

<sup>y</sup> — πνευματικην δε την ανατασιν φασκει. κ. λ. Epiph. II. 67. n. 1.

that Hierax learned it of Origen, or formed it out of his own<sup>z</sup> head.

In the letter of Arius to Alexandria, as we have it in <sup>a</sup>Epiphanius and <sup>b</sup>Athanasius in Greek, and in <sup>c</sup>Hilary in Latin, divers opinions concerning the Son are represented; that of Mani, Sabellius, and Hierax, all as different from each other.

If Hierax had been a Manichee, it would be very strange that<sup>d</sup> great numbers of the Egyptian monks, or ascetics, should admire and follow him, as Epiphanius says they did.

Finally, there is no notice taken of Hierax as a disciple of Mani, in the Disputation of Archelaus, nor in St. Cyril of Jerusalem, no more than in Epiphanius.

I conclude therefore there is no reason to think that Hierax, whose opinions make a distinct heresy in Epiphanius, was a Manichee. If Photius, or Peter of Sicily, knew any one of that name who was a Manichee, he must have been different from him mentioned by Epiphanius, and other ancient writers; and probably he was no very early or ancient follower of Mani: but I rather think that they knew not any such person, but have mistaken the character of Hierax, of whom Epiphanius writes.

Let it not be thought to no purpose that I have said so much to show that Hierax was not a Manichee. Beausobre in several parts of his work has divers arguments, built upon the supposition that Hierax was in the Manichæan scheme; all which reasonings therefore now fall to the ground; nor can we in any case judge of the Manichæan sentiments by

<sup>z</sup> Beausobre is pleased to say, (T. i. p. 431,) 'What we know of his sentiments is, that he denied the resurrection of the body; that he did not believe, that Jesus had a true human body; and that he admitted three principles of 'all things, God, Matter, and Malice.' But these things are not in Epiphanius. Beausobre here builds upon a passage of a writer of the seventh or eighth century; De Hieracitis locus insignis Joannis Carpathi episcopi, ex MS. opere de Anachoretis, productus a Cangio in Appendice ad Glossarium Græcum:—*οἵτινες λεγῶσι, μη ἀνθρωπινον σωμα ἀνεληφέναι τον Σωτηρα, μητε εγγειρεσθαι το ἡμετερον σωμα ὁ περικειμεθα και ὅτι τρεις εισιν αρχαι, θεος, και ἰλη, και κακια.* ap. Fabric. Bib. Gr. T. 8. p. 333. I need to say no more than that this is not an authentic account of the principles of Hierax the Egyptian, mentioned by Epiphanius, and other ancient writers. If there ever were people called Hieracites, who held these notions, there is no reason to think they borrowed them from him.

<sup>a</sup> Hær. 69. n. 7. p. 732. D.

<sup>b</sup> Ath. de Synod. T. i. p. 729. E.

<sup>c</sup> —nec, sicut Manichæus, partem unius substantiæ Patris natum exposuit; nec sicut Sabellius,—nec sicut Hieracas, lucernam de lucernâ, vel lampadem in duas partes. Hilar. de Trin. l. 4. p. 833. Vid. et l. 6. p. 881, et p. 885. D. E.

<sup>d</sup> *Αυτικά πολλοι των ασκητων των Αιγυπτιων αυτη συναπηχθησαν.* Hær. 67. c. i. p. 710. A.

those of Hierax, for he was not of that sect, nor had he any concern with it.

Hierax is placed by<sup>e</sup> Cave at 302, who takes his account from Epiphanius, and says nothing of his being a Manichee. Tillemont<sup>f</sup> has written A History of the Hieracites. He says that this heresy arose after that of the Manichees, about the year 290 or 300; but he does not charge the author of it with holding the Manichæan doctrine.

According to Epiphanius, Hierax, notwithstanding his errors, was a very extraordinary person: he was skilful<sup>g</sup> in medicine, was a man of<sup>h</sup> great acuteness, and<sup>i</sup> of a strict and unblemished life, for which he was much respected. He<sup>k</sup> had the scriptures of the Old and New Testament by heart, and wrote commentaries upon them; in particular, A<sup>l</sup> Dissertation upon the Creation of the World in six Days: he likewise composed<sup>m</sup> hymns: he was<sup>n</sup> acquainted with the Greek and Egyptian learning, and<sup>o</sup> wrote in both languages. He lived to a great age, being, as<sup>p</sup> some say, upwards of ninety years old when he died: he retained his eye-sight to the last, using no amanuensis, but writing out his own works, and transcribing likewise the works of others in a fair hand.

Such a character of this Egyptian christian may well induce us to form a wish for some of his works: though, as may be collected from Epiphanius, his<sup>q</sup> interpretations of scripture were somewhat allegorical.

As all ancient writers in general, who make mention of Hierax, say he received the scriptures of the Old and New Testament, it may be concluded that his canon was much the same with that of other christians in the place where he lived: in particular, we plainly perceive from Epiphanius that<sup>r</sup> he received the epistle to the Hebrews as the apostle

<sup>e</sup> Hist. Lit. T. i. p. 161.

<sup>f</sup> Mem. T. iv. P. 2. p. 817, &c.

<sup>g</sup> —ιατροσοφικη τε και τοις αλλοις. Epiph. Hær. 67. cap. i.

<sup>h</sup> —οξυς κατα παντα τροπον. ib. p. 709. D.

<sup>i</sup> —ην δε ο ανηρ εκπληκτος τη αυτε ασκησει. ib. p. 710. A.—ο δε 'Ιερακας αυτος τψ μεν οντι πολλην ειχε την ασκησιν. ib. n. 3. p. 712. C.

<sup>k</sup> Ουτος μεν γαρ παλαιαν και καινην διαθηκην σαφως ειπεν αποσηθιζων, και εις αυτα εξηγησαμενος. ib. n. i. p. 709. D.

<sup>l</sup> Συνεγραψατο δε 'Ελληνικως τε και Αιγυπτιακως εξηγησαμενος, και συνταξας της εξαμερης μυθου τινος πλασαμενος. κ. λ. ib. n. 3. p. 712. B.

<sup>m</sup> Ψαλμους τε πολλους νεωτερικους επλασατο. ib.

<sup>n</sup> Τοις των Αιγυπτιων και 'Ελληνων μαθημασιν ακριβως επιστας<sup>o</sup> ib. n. i. p. 709. C. Vid. et B.

<sup>o</sup> Vid. supra not. 1.

<sup>p</sup> Φασι δε

τινες περι αυτε, οτι υπερ εννενηκοντα ετη βιωσας, εως της ημερας ης ετελευτα, εκαλλιγραφει εκαλλιγραφος γαρ ην' εμεινε γαρ αυτε συνεσως ο οφθαλμος. Hær. 67. c. 3. p. 712. C.

<sup>q</sup> Και συνταξας της εξαμερης μυθου τινος πλασαμενος, και κομπωδεις αλληγοριας. ib. B.

<sup>r</sup> Vid. Epiph. ib. n. 2, 3, 6, 7.

Paul's: and, if Epiphanius be not mistaken, he<sup>s</sup> likewise made use of a book entitled, *The Anabaticon*, or *Ascension of Isaias*.

8. Sebastian, a Manichee, then a young man, was general in Egypt in the reign of Constantius, about the year 356, and afterwards was in high offices under several emperors. Athanasius<sup>t</sup> complains of him more than once: he is mentioned several times by<sup>u</sup> Zosimus, and<sup>v</sup> Ammianus Marcellinus. A note<sup>w</sup> of Valesius upon the last-mentioned writer contains a brief history and character of Sebastian, and shows particularly his acquaintance with Libanius.

9. Secundinus, an<sup>x</sup> auditor among the Manichees, wrote a letter to Augustine, which we still have in that ancient writer's works, together with his own answer.

Cave placeth Secundinus at the year 390: he<sup>y</sup> conjectures that he was of Africa, and speaks of his being an old friend and intimate acquaintance of Augustine. But herein that learned and laborious writer has made several mistakes; for Secundinus was a perfect stranger. Augustine<sup>z</sup> had not any personal knowledge of him; nor was Secundinus an African, but<sup>a</sup> a Roman, as he himself plainly intimates. If he had been an African he would not have reproached Augustine<sup>b</sup> with the faithlessness of that country in deserting the

<sup>s</sup> Ib. n. 3. p. 712.

<sup>t</sup> ——— παροξυνει τον στρατηλατην Σεβαστιανον, Μανιχαϊον οντα. κ. λ. Ath. Ap. pro Fugâ suâ. n. 6. p. 323. C. Εχοντες δε υπρωγες εις την πονηριαν τον δεκα Σεβαστιανον, Μανιχαϊον οντα, και ασελγη νεωτερον. Id. in Histor. Arian. ad Monach. p. 379. f. Vid. eund. ib. p. 381. C. 387. A. B. C.

<sup>u</sup> Zosim. Hist. l. 3. p. 714. l. 4. 749.

<sup>v</sup> ——— tringinta millia—commisit Procopio, juncto ad parilem potestatem Sebastiano comite ex duce Ægypti. Amm. Marcell. l. 23. c. 3. p. 385. Vid. eund. l. 31. c. 13. f. et passim.

<sup>w</sup> Is est igitur Sebastianus dux Ægypti, sectâ Manichæus.—Erat autem filius Antiphili, a quo in disciplinam traditus Libanio, mox relicto eloquentiæ studio ad militiam se contulit, temetsi excellenti ingenio præditus: ut docet Libanius in epistolis duabus ad Antiphilum, quibus et aliam subjungit ad Sebastianum, exhortans ut redeat. Exstant in editione Cracoviensi Lat. Libanius, 308, 340, 494. epistolas ad eum scribit. Vales. not. <sup>h</sup> p. 385.

<sup>x</sup> Secundinus quidam, non ex eis quos Manichæi electos, sed ex eis quos auditores vocant, quem nec facie quidem noveram, scripsit ad me velut amicus, honorifice objurgans, quod oppugnarem literis illam hæresim, et admonens ne facerem. Aug. Retr. l. 2. c. x.

<sup>y</sup> Secundinus natione, ni fallo, Afer, sectâ Manichæus, claruit circa ann. 390, certe post Augustini ad ecclesiam reditum.—Magna illi cum Augustino intercesserat familiaritas, dum uterque in hæresi Manichæicâ versaretur.—Objicit Punicæ gentis perfidiam. Cav. Hist. Lit. T. i. p. 286.

<sup>z</sup> Vid. not. <sup>x</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Legit enim aliquanta exile meum, et qualecunque Romani hominis ingenium, reverendæ tuæ dignationis scripta, in quibus sic irasceres veritati, ut philosophiæ Hortensius. Secund. ad Aug. n. 3.

<sup>b</sup> Muta quæso sententiam, depone Punicæ gentis perfidiam, &c. ib. n. 2.

Manichees. Tillemont<sup>c</sup> mentions divers other reasons for thinking that Secundinus lived at Rome, or somewhere in Italy. Nor was this letter written so soon as the year 390; it is probable that Augustine would not so long delay to answer it; but in his *Retractations* he speaks of his answer after his books against Faustus, and after the disputes held with Felix in the year 404, and after another book against the Manichees, entitled *De Naturâ Boni*. The character too which Augustine himself gives of his answer, as<sup>d</sup> the best of all his books against the Manichees, leads us to suppose it was one of his last works written in that controversy. In a word, the order in which this book is placed, and the manner in which Augustine speaks of it, may induce us to think it was not written before 405 or 406.

V. 'The<sup>e</sup> Manichæan sect, or church,' as Augustine's phrase is, 'consisted of two parts, elect and auditors.' He afterwards says: 'As<sup>f</sup> Mani had twelve disciples, in imitation of the twelve apostles, that number is still respected by the Manichees: for there are twelve of their elect, whom they call masters; and there is a thirteenth who is their president: they have seventy-two bishops ordained by the masters, and presbyters ordained by bishops. Their bishops likewise have deacons: the rest are called elect only: but when they are judged fit, they also are sent abroad, either for upholding and spreading their error where it is already, or for planting it where it is not.'

That we may the better judge of this division of the Manichees into elect and auditors, it is needful to take notice of some passages of divers authors.

Epiphanius calls their auditors<sup>g</sup> catechumens; and in *The Acts of Archelaus* the second order of the Manichees is<sup>h</sup> twice spoken of by the name of catechumens.

<sup>c</sup> St. Augustin, Art. 168. Mem. T. 13. p. 450. a Paris.

<sup>d</sup> Hujus autem mei voluminis titulus est, *Contra Secundinum Manichæum*; quod, meâ sententiâ, omnibus quæ adversus illam pestem scribere potui, facile præpono. Retr. l. 2. cap. x.

<sup>e</sup> Nam in his duabus professionibus, hoc est, Electorum et Auditorum, ecclesiam suam constare voluerunt. Aug. de Hær. cap. 46.

<sup>f</sup> Propter quod etiam ipse Manichæus duodecim discipulos habuit, ad instar apostolici numeri, quem numerum Manichæi etiam hodie custodiunt. Nam ex electis suis habent duodecim, quos appellant magistros, et tertium-decimum principem eorum: episcopus autem septuaginta duos, qui ordinantur a magistris; et presbyteros, qui ordinantur ab episcopis. Habent etiam episcopi diaconos. Jam cæteri tantummodo Electi vocantur: sed mittuntur etiam ipsi qui videntur idonei ad hunc errorem, vel ubi est, sustentandum et augendum, vel, ubi non est, etiam seminandum. Id. ibid.

<sup>g</sup> Παρακλινονται εν τοις αυτων καθημενοις τρεφειν αυτες δαψιλως' οι δε παν οτι εν αναγκαιον προσφερεισι τοις εκλεκτοις εαυτων. Epiph. H. 66. c. 53. p. 665. B.

<sup>h</sup> ———μετονοματευται

Faustus expresseth himself as if<sup>i</sup> by elect were meant clergy, and by auditors seculars, or the laity: Augustine<sup>k</sup> in his argument takes notice of this without directly allowing it, that I perceive.

By the Manichæan rule, a very different course of life was prescribed to the elect from that of the auditors. These last<sup>l</sup> might eat flesh, drink wine, bathe, marry, traffic, possess estates, bear magistracy, and the like; all which things were forbidden the elect, as appears from divers passages of Augustine. The elect<sup>m</sup> might eat grapes, but they were not to drink wine, though ever so new: the elect also ate<sup>n</sup> apples, pears, melons, and all sorts of fruit and herbage, and<sup>o</sup> common bread; but forbore, as it seems, not<sup>p</sup> only flesh, but also eggs, and milk, and<sup>q</sup> fish. In this respect, as Augustine says, the<sup>r</sup> elect and auditors looked like men of two different religions. He elsewhere speaks of the elect as<sup>s</sup> persons who pretended to greater perfection, and were

*εις καθηχθμενων σωματα.* Arch. c. 9. p. 16. m. λεγει τω καθηχθμενω. ib. p. 17.

<sup>i</sup> Idcircoque Christo jam credere non poterant [Judæi] indifferentiam docenti ciborum, et a suis quidem discipulis omnia penitus remotione, sæcularibus vero vulgo consedenti omnia quæ possent edi. Faust. l. 16. c. 6. Neque enim justa hæc nunc vestra sententia est, ut nos quidem, qui solum in plebe sacerdotale hominum genus censeamus, a carnibus abstinere debere, dæmoniorum doctrinæ videamur vobis assectatores. Id. l. 30. cap. 1.

<sup>k</sup> Auditoribus autem vestris, quos tamquam distinctos a genere sacerdotum dixisti, secundum veniam hæc edendâ conceditis. Contr. Faust. l. 30. c. 5.

<sup>l</sup> Auditores autem qui appellantur apud eos, et carnibus vescuntur, et agros colunt, et, si voluerint, uxores habent: quorum nihil faciunt qui vocantur Electi. Aug. ad Deuter. Ep. 236. al. 74. Nisi forte quod non vescimini carnibus, et vinum non bibitis. De Mor. Manich. c. 13. n. 27. Quandoquidem auditores vestri, quorum apud vos secundus gradus est, ducere atque habere uxores non prohibeantur. ib. c. 18. n. 65.

<sup>m</sup> Nam et vinum non bibunt, dicentes fel esse tenebrarum, cum vescantur uvis: nec musti aliquid, vel recentissimi, sorbent. De Hær. c. 46. jam vero quæ tanta perversio est, vinum putare fel principum tenebrarum, et uvis comedendis non parcere? De Mor. Manich. c. xvi. n. 44.

<sup>n</sup> Vid. de M. Manich. cap. xiii. et xiv.

<sup>o</sup> Sicut enim in ipso errore vestro, cum eo pane vescamini quo cæteri homines, et fructibus vivatis et fontibus, lanâ et lino similiter texto amiciamini, &c. Contr. Faust. l. 20. c. 23. <sup>p</sup> Nec vescuntur saltem carnibus.—Nec ova saltem sumunt,—sed nec alimoniâ lactis utuntur. De Hær. cap. 46.

<sup>q</sup> ——cur ita eum vos noxium prædicatis, ut si alia esca non occurrat, prius fame consumamini, quam pisce vescamini? Contr. Faust. l. 16. c. 9.

<sup>r</sup> ——non intuentes, non considerantes, in eisdem habendis agendisque rebus tantum ad diversam vitam valere, si diversa sit fides, ut cum auditores vestri ut uxores habeant, et filios quamvis inviti suscipiant, eisque patrimonia congerant vel custodiant, carne vescantur, vinum bibant, lavent, metant, vindemient, negotientur, honores publicos administrent, vobiscum eos tamen, non cum gentibus computetis, cum facta eorum gentibus videantur similiora quam vobis. Contr. Faust. l. 20. c. 23.

<sup>s</sup> ——quam purgare putant Electis suis eo genere vitæ, quam vivunt Electi

supposed to be in the highest rank for virtue, and more holy than others: and he sometimes pleasantly calls the elect<sup>t</sup> their grandees or quality; unless he is to be understood to mean only some of the chief even of them.

For what reason the elect were required to forbear flesh and wine, is not clear. The catholic christians often say, that<sup>u</sup> Paul prophesied of them in 1 Tim. iv. 1—4. And Augustine charges them with<sup>v</sup> thinking such meats to be evil in their own nature; and Faustus himself says that,<sup>w</sup> in his opinion, all flesh is impure; possibly, however, for no other reason, but because flesh was supposed to be a great fuel of concupiscence, which therefore they, who are obliged to continence, ought to avoid: somewhat of this kind is intimated in The Acts of<sup>x</sup> Archelaus. If so, the Manichæan elect forbore those things for the like reasons that the catholics, as Augustine says, practised<sup>y</sup> certain abstinences, to humble the body and strengthen the mind.<sup>z</sup> But that this was the only reason and foundation of this forbearance, I do not affirm.

The auditors<sup>a</sup> were obliged to maintain the elect. They<sup>b</sup> kneeled down to the elect to ask their blessing. This cere-  
Manichæorum, velut sanctius et excellentius Auditoribus suis. De Hær. cap. 46. Nôstis, fratres,—quasi justos eminentiores, in se tenentes primum gradum justitiæ, Electos vocari apud Manichæos. Enar. in Ps. 140. n. 10.

<sup>t</sup> Nam etiam de quodam dicente, nullam substantiam malum esse, unus de primatibus hujus hæresis, quem familiarius crebriusque audiebamus, dicebat. De M. Manich. cap. 8. n. 11.—cum ad ipsos primates detulissemus,—ib. c. 19. n. 70.

<sup>u</sup> Veruntamen quod apostolus Paulus—futuram præviderit in talibus, qualis Manichæus fuit, quales et estis vos.—Spiritus autem manifeste dicit, quia in novissimis temporibus quidem recedent a fide,—prohibentes nubere, abstinere a cibus, quos Deus creavit, &c. Act. cum Felic. l. i. c. 7.

<sup>v</sup> Vos autem ipsam creaturam negatis bonam, et immundam dicitis, quod carnes diabolus operetur fæculentiore materiâ mali.—Hoc animo, hac voluntate, hac opinione ab escis hujusmodi temperatis, quod non significatione, sed naturâ malæ et immundæ sint. Contr. Faust. l. 30. c. 5.

<sup>w</sup> Ego quidem, quia omnem carnem immundam existimem. Faust. l. 6. c. i.

<sup>x</sup> Cum quis vestrûm carnalibus, aliisque cibus fuerit satiatus, tunc ei concupiscentiæ oboritur invitatio. Manes, ap. Arch. cap. 14. p. 17.

<sup>y</sup> Et christiani, non hæretici, sed catholici, edomandi corporis causâ, propter animam in orationibus amplius humiliandum, non quod illa immunda esse credant, non solum a carnibus, verum etiam a quibusdam terræ fructibus, abstinere. Contr. F. l. 30. c. 5.

<sup>z</sup> See Beaus. T. 2. p. 767, &c.

<sup>a</sup> Suisque Auditoribus ideo hæc arbitrantur ignosci, quia præbent inde alimenta Electis suis.—Itaque ipsi Electi, nihil in agris operantes, nec poma carpentes, nec saltem folia ulla vellentes, exspectant hæc afferri usibus suis ab Auditoribus suis.—Aug. de Hær. cap. 46. Illac autem purgare nos ab istis sordibus expetentes cum eis qui appellarentur electi et sancti, afferremus escas. Confess. l. 4. c. i. in. Vid. et Epiph. H. 66. c. 53. p. 665. B.

<sup>b</sup> Sed ipsi Auditores ante Electos, genua figunt, ut eis manus supplicibus imponantur, non a solis presbyteris vel episcopis aut diaconis eorum, sed a quibuslibet electis. Aug. ad Deut. Ep. 236. [al. 74.] n. 2.

mony was performed by the auditors before all the elect, and not only before bishops, presbyters, and deacons.

From all these passages we may be able to form some judgment concerning this distinction in the Manichæan sect. Archelaus and Epiphanius denoting the second order by the name of catechumens, we might have been induced to think that elect and auditors, among the Manichees, answered to faithful and catechumens among the catholics. But when we consider what Faustus said, and that the elect, when qualified, were employed in spreading their principles, and that the auditors maintained the elect, and asked a blessing from them upon their knees, we are rather led to another notion.

Beausobre gives this account of the matter: ‘The<sup>c</sup> elect were their doctors, their bishops, their presbyters, their ecclesiastical ministers: but this title does not properly denote the episcopate, or any other office; it denotes a particular kind of life, or the observation of some counsels, called evangelic; such rules as Mani had prescribed to those who aimed at perfection, and particularly to the ministers of his sect. Thus the Manichæan elect were the ministers of their church, and in general who made profession of celibacy, virginity, poverty, and practised certain abstinences and austerities, which were judged proper for them; for which reason they are called<sup>d</sup> the perfect by Theodoret.’ Beausobre farther observes, that<sup>e</sup> among the catholics, catechumens were such as had not been initiated by baptism; whereas among the Manichæan auditors there were many who had been baptized, though perhaps not all.

According to this account, as the same learned writer expresseth himself in another<sup>f</sup> place, ‘the elect were ecclesiastics, and in general all such as made profession of observing certain counsels, called evangelic; as if we should say the clergy and the monks. The auditors were laity.’

Whether this account be quite right I cannot certainly say; for Augustine seems to intimate that<sup>g</sup> the reason why he was not present at their eucharist was, that he was only an auditor.

But, however that be, I would observe that the word elect,

<sup>c</sup> Hist. de Manich. T. 2. p. 763, 764. See likewise T. i. p. 17. n. 8.

<sup>d</sup> Οἱ καλῆμενοι τελεῖαι παρ’ αυτοῖς. H. Fab. l. 1. c. 26. p. 214. A.

<sup>e</sup> Ib. p. 763.

<sup>f</sup> Ib. T. i. p. 17. note 8.

<sup>g</sup> Quid autem inter vos agatis, qui Electi estis, ego scire non possum. Nam et Eucharistiam audivi a vobis sæpe quod accipiatis: tempus autem accipiendum cum me lateret, quid accipiatis, unde nôsse potui? Disput. contr. Fort. i. n. 2.

denoting the higher order so often found in Augustine, is also used in the like manner<sup>h</sup> by Gregory Nazianzen; and that<sup>i</sup> some Manichees, who were only in the rank of auditors, appear to have practised much strictness and abstemiousness, resembling that required of their elect.

Beausobre thinks that<sup>k</sup> the auditors were so called, because they heard in the church whilst others taught and instructed.

I do not remember to have seen in him, or any one else, a reason assigned for the use of the word elect, denoting all those of the sect which were not auditors; but perhaps they borrowed it from those texts of the gospels and epistles where the word is used for christians, or God's peculiar people; as Matt. xxiv. 22, 24, 31; Luke xviii. 7; Rom. viii. 33; Col. iii. 12, and other places: Augustine<sup>l</sup> has a passage which may lead us to this thought.

Photius, in his first book against the Paulicians, usually reckoned a branch of the Manichees, relates a singularity of theirs: they<sup>m</sup> reduced all their sect, or the professors of their principles, to six churches; the first was called Macedonia, the second Achaia, the third was called the church of the Philippians, the fourth that of the Laodiceans, the fifth that of the Ephesians, the sixth that of the Colossians; themselves<sup>n</sup> they called christians; the catholics they named Romans, as<sup>o</sup> if they had been mere heathens. This fancy of reducing their sect to six churches is also taken notice of by<sup>p</sup> Peter of Sicily, and the author of The Form of abjuring Manichæism, as it is in<sup>q</sup> Cotelerius, and<sup>r</sup> Tollius.

Moreover, it was a common thing among them, their leaders especially, to change the name by which they were first called for that of some apostolical man. Photius<sup>s</sup> produced several instances: Simeon, who changed his name

<sup>h</sup> ——ὡσπερ οἱ Μανιχαιοὶ τοῖς ἐκλεκτοῖς λεγομένοις, ὄλην τὴν νοσον αὐτοῖς ἐκκαλυπτοῦτες. Greg. N. Or. 52. p. 746. C.

<sup>i</sup> Nam quidam vester auditor, in illâ memorabili abstinentiâ nihil electis cedens. De M. Manich. c. 20. n. 74. in. <sup>k</sup> T. 2. p. 763.

<sup>l</sup> Electi quidem Dei sunt omnes sancti, et habemus hoc in scripturis: sed usurpârunt sibi illud nomen, et quasi familiarius sibi applicaverunt, ut tanquam proprie jam Electi appellentur. Enarr. in Ps. 140. n. 10.

<sup>m</sup> Ἐξ δὲ αὐτῶν ἀνομολογῶσιν ἐκκλησίας, ὡς τὴν μὲν Μακεδονίαν καλεῖσιν, κ. λ. Phot. l. i. cap. v. in. <sup>n</sup> Καὶ τῆς μὲν ἀληθῶς οὐτὰς χριστιανῶς Ῥωμαῖς οἱ τρισαλισηριοὶ ὀνομαζῶσιν, ἑαυτοῖς δὲ τὴν κλησιν, ἧς ἀλλοτρίοι παντελῶς καθεσηκασί, τῶν χριστιανῶν περιπτῶσιν, Phot. ib. l. i. cap. 6.

<sup>o</sup> Seipos—christianos nuncupant; nos autem—Romanos, ethnico nomine proprium permutare conati, appellant. Pet. Sic. ap. Bib. Petr. T. 16. p. 756. B. <sup>p</sup> Vid. supr. not.<sup>o</sup>

<sup>q</sup> Ap. Recognit. Clem. l. 4. c. 27.

<sup>r</sup> Insign. Ital. p. 144.

<sup>s</sup> Phot. ib. l. i. c. iv.

to Titus; Joseph, who, leaving his own name, took that of Epaphroditus; Gegnesius, who altered his name to Timothy; and Sergius, who called himself Tychicus: insomuch that Mr. Wolff, the learned editor of Photius, could not forbear remarking that<sup>t</sup> these people mightily affected apostolical things.

VI. The Manichees are sometimes spoken of as an impious, dissolute sort of people: their eucharist particularly is represented as an abominable rite, not fit to be described; as may be seen in<sup>u</sup> Cyril of Jerusalem, and<sup>v</sup> Augustine. Beausobre<sup>w</sup> speaks largely to this infamous story of their eucharist, to whom I refer: however I shall here mention some of his arguments and observations.

The thing is altogether incredible, especially when related<sup>x</sup> of people who by profession were christians; who believed that Jesus Christ was a perfect model of all virtues; who acknowledged the reasonableness and excellence of the precepts of the gospel, and that the essence of religion lies in obeying them.

The Manichees always denied their practising the abominable rites laid to their charge: so<sup>y</sup> Augustine himself says. And in the year 392, when he had been several years a catholic, and was now presbyter, he had a public conference with Fortunatus, a Manichæan presbyter. Before they enter into dispute upon matters of belief, Fortunatus openly calls upon Augustine, who for several years was one of them, to tell<sup>z</sup> if he knew any of the crimes with which they were reproached. This confidence of Fortunatus, says<sup>a</sup> Beausobre, is a strong

<sup>t</sup> Adeo in omnibus apostolici ævi speciem affectarunt, ut, quemadmodum virorum apostolicorum, ita et ecclesiarum veteris memoriæ nomina adoptarent, ad exemplum factionis istius, quæ apostolicorum nomine apud veteres nominatur. Ap. Phot. p. 15. <sup>u</sup> Cat. vi. c. 33.

<sup>v</sup> Quâ occasione, vel potius execrabilis superstitionis quâdam necessitate, coguntur Electi eorum velut eucharistiam conspersam cum semine humano sumere. Sed hoc se facere negant, et alios nescio quos sub nomine Manichæorum id facere affirmant. Detecti tamen sunt in ecclesiâ, sicut scis, apud Carthaginem,—ubi puella, nomine Margarita, istam nefariam turpitudinem prodidit, quæ, cum esset annorum nondum duodecim, propter hoc scelestum mysterium se dicebat esse vitiatam. Tunc Eusebiam quamdam Manichæam quasi sanctimonialem, idipsum propter hoc ipsum passam, vix compulsi confiteri—quæ totum illud turpissimum scelus, ubi ad excipiendum et commiscendum concumbentium semen farina substernitur—similiter indicavit. Aug. de Hæres. cap. 46.

<sup>w</sup> Beaus. Hist. de Manich. l. 9. ch. 7, 8, 9. T. 2. p. 720, &c. <sup>x</sup> Beaus. ib. p. 732.

<sup>y</sup> Sed hoc se facere negant. Vid. supr. not.<sup>v</sup>

<sup>z</sup> Ex te ergo præsentibus audiant boni viri, utrum sint vera super quibus criminamur et appetimur, an sint falsa.—Purgare me prius volo penes conscientiam vestram—si ea, quæ jactantur, vidit in nobis, vel consecutus est. Act. contr. Fortunat. in. <sup>a</sup> Ibid. p. 737. m.

presumption of the innocence of the sect. Augustine<sup>b</sup> puts by that question. When he is still pressed by Fortunatus, who insists upon an answer, Augustine is not able to produce any thing material against them of his own knowledge; but excuseth<sup>c</sup> himself because he was not one of the elect, but only an auditor.

In the year 391 or 392, Augustine wrote a book for the sake of his friend Honoratus, whom<sup>d</sup> of a heathen he had persuaded to become a Manichee; who also still adhered to that sect when he had himself left it. Augustine is allowed to argue here for the most part very well: but, says<sup>e</sup> Beausobre, Why does he not in this book, for the sake of his dear and illustrious friend, make use of that decisive argument, their abominable mysteries? No good reason, he thinks, can be assigned for this omission; but that there was no ground for the accusation.

The general silence of ancient authors is another argument of the falsehood of this story. Cyril of Jerusalem published his Catechetical Discourses about the year 347, seventy years, as is supposed, after the death of Mani: but, as<sup>f</sup> Beausobre says, he is the first who has spoken of this matter: and<sup>g</sup> from Cyril to Augustine he does not find any author, christian or heathen, who has reproached the Manichees with these obscene mysteries. There<sup>h</sup> is no mention made of them in the Dispute of Archelaus; Serapion, bishop of Thmuis, contemporary with Cyril, says not a word of them; nor has he perceived this accusation in any works of Ephrem; Theodoret, Titus of Bostra, and Abulpharagius, in his Dynasties are also silent upon this head. And, as Beausobre goes on, if to these fathers we add the two pagan philosophers, Alexander of Dicapolis, and Simplicius, who both wrote against these people, and are profoundly silent about the crimes they are reproached with, the number of witnesses to their innocence in this respect will greatly surpass that of their accusers.

I shall say nothing more concerning that point: but as<sup>i</sup> Suidas, without any particular regard to their eucharist, upbraids the Manichees with nocturnal assemblies and obscene

<sup>b</sup> Interfui. Sed alia quæstio est de fide, alia de moribus; ego de fide proposui. Act. Fortun. n. 2.

<sup>c</sup> Nôstis autem me non Electum vestrum, sed Auditorem fuisse.—Quid autem inter vos agatis, qui electi estis, ego scire non possum, et reliqua. ib. n. 3.

<sup>d</sup> Tu nondum christianus, qui hortatu meo, cum eos vehementer exsecraris, &c. De Util. Cred. c. i. n. 2.

<sup>e</sup> Ib. p. 741:

<sup>f</sup> ———p. 725.

<sup>g</sup> ———p. 728.

<sup>h</sup> Ib. p. 734, 735.

<sup>i</sup> Καὶ καταδύσεις τινὰς ἐναγείς καὶ νυκτερινὰς, καὶ παρανομὰς μίξεις. κ. λ. Suid. V. Μανησ.

mixtures, and others<sup>k</sup> often speak of them as an impious set of men, I shall add some things which perhaps may be of use to set the character of this people in a proper light.

About the year 388, some time after he was returned to the catholics, Augustine wrote two books; one entitled, Of the Manners of the catholic church, the other, Of the Manners of the Manichees; and they were occasioned by the Manichees<sup>l</sup> boasting of their own strict course of life, and<sup>m</sup> by their censures of the loose behaviour of the catholics.

At the beginning of the first of those two books Augustine owns that<sup>p</sup> the Manichees ensnared many by the specious appearance of chastity and temperance. This was the very thing that<sup>o</sup> brought his friend Alypius into their nets.

Augustine himself seems to have acquitted them. Whilst he was among them he lived a sensual course of life, and his head was filled with ambitious schemes: but he owns that<sup>p</sup> this was not owing to their doctrine; for they earnestly exhorted men, he says, to mind better things. So he writes at the beginning of his book addressed to his friend Honoratus: and at the end of it he speaks of the pale countenances of these<sup>q</sup> men.

It is a saying of Ephrem the Syrian, that<sup>r</sup> the devil gave Mani a pale complexion, the better to deceive the simple and unwary.

<sup>k</sup> In Moreri's article of Manes are these words: 'He condemned marriage, ' still allowing his followers to plunge themselves in all manner of sensuality: ———' et condamnoit le mariage, permettant pourtant à ses disciples de se plonger dans toutes sortes de voluptés brutales. Docens,—illicitas esse nuptias, licitos concubitus promiscuos. Lamp. Synops. H. E. l. 2. c. 2. p. 125. How could any man believe that? <sup>l</sup> Jam baptizatus autem cum Romæ essem, nec ferre tacitus possem Manichæorum jactantiam de falsâ et fallaci continentia et abstinentiâ,—scripsi duos libros, unum de Moribus Ecclesiæ Catholicæ, alterum de Moribus Manichæorum. Retr. l. i. c. 7.

<sup>m</sup> Nolite consecrari turbas imperitorum, qui vel in ipsâ verâ religione superstitiosi sunt, vel ita libidinibus dediti, ut obliti sint quid promiserint Deo. De Mor. Ec. Cath. c. 34. n. 75.

<sup>n</sup> Sed quoniam duæ maximæ sunt illecebræ Manichæorum, quibus decipiuntur incauti,—altera, cum vitæ castæ et memorabilis continentia imaginem præferunt. De Mor. Ec. Ca. cap. i. n. 2.

<sup>o</sup> ———amans in Manichæis ostentationem continentia, quam veram et germanam putabat. Confess. l. 6. c. 7. n. 12.

<sup>p</sup> Cum vitæ hujus mundi eram implicatus, tenebrosam spem gerens, de pulchritudine uxoris, de pompâ divitiarum, de inanitate honorum, cæterisque noxiis et perniciosis voluptatibus. Hæc enim omnia, quod te non latet, cum studiose illos audirem cupere et sperare non desistebam. Neque hoc eorum doctrinæ tribuo. Fateor enim et illos sedulo monere, ut ista caveantur. De util. Cred. ad Honorat. c. i. n. 3.

<sup>q</sup> ———quo illi homines exsanguis corporibus, sed crassis mentibus, adspirare non possunt. ib. cap. ult. <sup>r</sup> Quare sic interpretor: Pallore Manetem diabolus tinxit, ut incautos falleret. Assem. Bib. Or. T. i. p. 119.

St. Chrysostom observes of the Manichees, that<sup>s</sup> they had an appearance of modesty, but they hid the wolf under sheep's clothing.

It appears, from divers things said by St. Jerom, that the<sup>t</sup> Manichees were great fasters, and that they had among them many virgins, persons who professed to live a chaste and single life. The gay ladies of his time endeavoured many ways to put a good face upon their luxurious course of life: sometimes they<sup>u</sup> said: "To the pure all things are pure." And if at any time they met a woman who looked pale and sad, they would say: 'Ah child, thou art a nun, or a 'miserable Manichee, I suppose.'

Jerom, commenting upon Amos iii. 15, "And I will smite the winter-house with the summer-house," says, that 'by 'the<sup>v</sup> winter-house may be understood those heretics that 'mortified themselves with fasting and abstinence, who fared 'hard and lodged hard, such as Tatian, and Mani, and their 'followers: the summer-house may denote the Nicolaitanes 'and other heretics, who indulged their appetites, and lived 'in all manner of excess.' And upon Joel i. 14, "Sanctify 'ye a fast," he has these words: 'Mani<sup>w</sup> and Tatian, and 'many other heretics fast, but their fasting is worse than 'gluttony and drunkenness.' Once more the same ancient and learned writer declares: 'Virgins, such<sup>x</sup> as are said to 'be among divers heretics, and even among the impure 'Manichees, are to be esteemed whores, not virgins.' Such is the unhappiness of heresy which turns virtues into vices! It is true, however, that the Manichees fasted and lived chastely; but their great abstinence and virginal chastity were of no value.

Chrysostom expresseth himself in the like manner. He

<sup>s</sup> Καὶ γὰρ οἱ Μανιχαῖοι—το σχῆμα μὲν ἐπιδεικνύνται ἐπιεικίας,—καὶ κατακρύπτουσι τὴ δόρα τῆ προβάτου τὸν λύκον. In Gen. Serm. 7. p. 680. B. ed. Bened.

<sup>t</sup> Atque utinam omni tempore jujunare possimus,—Nec tamen Manichææ hæreseos accusandi sunt, quum carnalis cibus præferri non debuerit spirituali. Ad Lucin. Ep. 52. [al. 28.] T. 4. p. 579.

<sup>u</sup> Istæ sunt, quæ solent dicere: Omnia munda mundis.—Et quam viderint pallentem atque tristem, miseram monacham, et Manichæam vocant. De Custod. Virg. Ep. 18. [al. 22.] p. 32. f.

<sup>v</sup> Et percutiet domum hiemalem; eos hæreticos, qui laborant continentia et jejuniis, xerophagiis, chamæuniis, e quibus Tatianus et Manichæus. Et domum æstivam, ut Nicolaitas,—qui, propter ventris ingluviem, omnem recipiunt voluptatem. In Amos l. i. T. 3. p. 1396. in.

<sup>w</sup> Jejunat Manichæus, et multi hæretici, maximeque Enkratitæ, quorum princeps Tatianus. Sed hoc jejunium saturitate et ebrietate deterius est. In Joël. cap. i. ib. p. 1345. f.

<sup>x</sup> Cæterum virgines, quales apud diversas hæreses, et quales apud impurissimum Manichæum esse dicuntur, scorta sunt æstimandæ, non virgines. De Custod. Virg. Ep. 18. T. 4. p. 47.

says he<sup>y</sup> dares not call the virgins of heretics virgins; and affirms that<sup>z</sup> the sobriety of heretics is worse than the greatest dissoluteness.

I suppose the reason of these hard sentences may be, what is somewhere observed by Augustine, that<sup>a</sup> actions are qualified by the views and ends with which they are performed.

I presume that all these passages of ancient writers may be sufficient to render it probable, that the Manichees had no doctrines which countenanced a licentious course of life. Some of their elect, it is likely, failed<sup>b</sup> in observing the strict rules by which they were bound; but so it was with the catholics: there were bad livers likewise among them; some<sup>c</sup> who pretended to much sanctity and devotion were guilty of great enormities. Augustine's complaint of the Manichees is verified in all parties; men<sup>d</sup> say, and do not; they commend and teach what they do not perform.

VII. The Manichees seldom had the protection of the Roman laws. Tillemont, in his history of this people, has an entire article concerning the laws of the emperors against them. In Augustine's works against the Manichees we find frequent notice of the difficulties they lay under. Faustus<sup>e</sup> glories in the persecutions they endured, as a proof of their being good christians: this was a common subject of boasting among them: and they argued that<sup>f</sup> they were not of

<sup>y</sup> Τας γαρ των αίρετικων εκ αν ειπομι ποτε παρθενας εγω. Chr. De Virgin. T. i. p. 268. B. <sup>z</sup> Και γαρ ασελγειας άπισσης ή των αίρετικων σωφροσυνη χειρων εστιν. ib. p. 271. E. Vid. et. A. B. C. ib.

<sup>a</sup> Nisi forte quod non vescimini carnibus, et vinum non bibitis,—Quod quæro a vobis, quo fine faciatis? Finis enim quo referuntur ea quæ facimus,—si non solum inculpabilis, sed etiam laudabilis fuerit, tunc demum etiam facta nostra laude aliquâ digna sunt. De Mor. Manich. l. 2. cap. 13. n. 27.—Sed tamen significantes, vanem esse continentiam istam, nisi ad aliquem rectissimum finem, certâ ratione feratur. ib. n. 28. Si ergo parcimonix gratiâ et coercendæ libidinis, quâ escis talibus et potu delectamur et capimur, audio et probô. Sed non ita est. ibid. Vid. et eund. contr. Faust. l. v. c. 5.

<sup>b</sup> Vid. Aug. de Mor. Manich. cap. 18, 19, 20.

<sup>c</sup> Novi multos esse sepulcrorum et picturarum adoratores. Novi multos esse, qui luxuriosissime super mortuos bibant, et epulas cadaveribus exhibentes, super sepultos se ipsos sepeliant, et voracitates, ebrietatesque suas deputent religioni, &c. De Mor. Ec. Ca. c. 34. n. 74.

<sup>d</sup> Cum autem laudatis et docetis ista, nec facitis, quid vobis fallacius—dici aut inveniri potest? De Mor. Manich. c. 19. n. 68.

<sup>e</sup> Vides pauperem,—esurientem, sitientem, persecutiones et odia sustinentem propter justitiam. Et dubitas, utrum accipiam evangelium? Faust. l. 5. c. 1.

<sup>f</sup> Ubi est ergo quod perpetuam sibi persecutionem in hoc mundo futuram prædicant, eoque se commendatores haberi volunt, hinc interpretantes, quod hic mundus eos oderit. De M. Manich. c. 19. n. 69.—aut definite vos inde jactare, quod multis detestabiles sitis. Contr. Faust. l. 6. c. 8.

the world, and must needs be sincere lovers of truth, because the world hated them, and they were always under persecution.

It appears by Augustine's second day's conference with Felix, at Hippo, in the year 404, that the Manichæan books, or papers of Felix, had been taken from him, and were in the custody of a public officer. Felix<sup>g</sup> desired to have them restored to him for his assistance in the debate: Augustine at length allows that any thing he pointed to might be recited out of those writings. Among them was a letter of Mani, called *The Epistle of the Foundation*. And, in the first day's conference, Felix several times intimates<sup>h</sup> the difficulty he lay under in disputing against the imperial laws.

When Augustine<sup>i</sup> speaks of the banishment of Faustus and others into an island, I think he intimates that by law they might have been punished more severely: for he says that moderate sentence was obtained by the intercession of those very christians who prosecuted Faustus and his Manichæan friends in the proconsul's court. And, in the same context, a little before, he speaks of the<sup>k</sup> advantage the Manichees had from the mildness of the catholics, which was such that their sufferings were few and almost none at all. But then it should be observed that<sup>l</sup> Augustine computes banishment into a desert island to be a mere trifle, and little more than retirement, which gave men an opportunity for meditation: moreover, as he assures us, the banishment of the Manichees before mentioned was of short duration; they were all soon released by public authority.

And it may be collected from some things said by Augus-

<sup>g</sup> Et quia nullam scripturam inter manes habui, quia non mihi sunt redditæ, unde me instruere possem. Nullus enim ad certamen exit, nisi prius munitus fuerit: et nullus litigator potest sine suis chartis litigare. Similiter et ego sine meâ scripturâ respondere non possum.—Modo peto, codices reddantur mihi.—Aug. dixit: Sed quia codices tuos repetis, qui sub sigillo publico custodiuntur.—Tolle autem codices tuos, et dic quid inde velis proferri.—Felix dixit: Omnes scripturas, quæ mihi sublatae sunt. Ista enim Epistola Fundamenti est, &c. Act. cum Fel. l. 2. c.

<sup>h</sup> Non tantum ego possum contra tuam virtutem, deinde contra leges Imperatorum.—Act. cum Fel. l. 1. c. 12. Vid. ib. infra, et cap. 6.

<sup>i</sup> Faustus autem, convictus vel confessus quod Manichæus esset, cum aliis nonnullis secum ad iudicium proconsulare perductis, eis ipsis christianis a quibus perducti sunt intercedentibus, levissimâ pœnâ, si tamen illa pœna dicenda est, in insulam relegatus est; quod suâ sponte quotidie servi Dei faciunt, se a turbulento strepitu populorum remove cupientes;—Denique non multo post inde omnes eâdem sollemni sorte dimissi sunt. Contr. Faust. l. 6. c. 8.

<sup>k</sup> Pro quâ impiâ perversitate, propter christianorum temporum mansuetudinem, quam parva et prope nulla patiamini, cur non cogitatis? Ib.

<sup>l</sup> Vid. not. <sup>i</sup>.

tine, upon another occasion, that<sup>m</sup> though their assemblies were prohibited by law at Carthage, they<sup>n</sup> found opportunities to meet together for divine worship: such was the zeal of these unhappy people, or such was the moderation of those who were intrusted with the execution of the laws against them.

Not long after the year 440, pope Leo<sup>o</sup> made strict inquiry after the Manichees at Rome and in other places, and destroyed great numbers of their books; so writes Prosper: and from Leo himself, in a letter to the bishops of Italy, we learn that<sup>p</sup> he detected many of this people at Rome: some he converted; the rest, who were unmoved by his arguments, were condemned to perpetual banishment as the laws directed.

Photius says that<sup>q</sup> though many emperors had punished those apostates even with death, the progress of their impiety had not been stopped.

They who are desirous of knowing more of this matter, may consult the Codes<sup>r</sup> of Justinian and<sup>s</sup> Theodosius; where are divers laws against these men, which cannot be denied to have an appearance of much severity.

In Baronius<sup>t</sup> may be seen such a rescript of Dioclesian and Maximian, said to be given at Alexandria in the year 290, occasioned by an account received from Julian, proconsul of Africa, of the great disturbances occasioned by the Manichees in that country. This rescript is, I think, generally allowed to be<sup>u</sup> genuine: but Samuel Basnage<sup>v</sup> offers divers weighty arguments against that supposition:

<sup>m</sup> ———quod eo tempore, quo conventicula, eorum lege publicâ prohiberentur. De Mor. Man. c. 19. n. 69.

<sup>n</sup> Non erant hi [Electi] ex unâ domo; sed, diverse prorsus habitantes, ex eo loco ubi conventus omnium factus erat, pariter forte descenderant. ib. n. 68.

<sup>o</sup> Hoc tempore plurimos Manichæos intra Urbem latere diligentia Papæ Leonis innotuit, qui eos de secretis suis erutos, et oculis totius ecclesiæ publicatos, omnes dogmatis sui turpitudines et damnare fecit et prodere, incensis eorum codicibus, quorum magnæ moles erant interceptæ, &c. Prosper. Chr. Integr. ap. Canis. et Basnag. Lection. T. i. p. 304.

<sup>p</sup> Plurimos impietatis Manichææ sequaces et doctores in Urbe investigatio nostra reperit.—Aliquantum vero, qui ita se demerserant, ut nullum his auxiliantis posset remedium subvenire, subditi legibus, secundum christianorum principum constituta, ne sanctum gregem suâ contagione polluerent, per publicos judices perpetuo sunt exilio relegati. Leo. Ep. 2. ad omn. Ep. Ital.

<sup>q</sup> ———πολλων δε ευσεβων βασιλεων ξιφει την δικην της αποστατας εισπρατομενων, και μηδ' ετω της ασεβας φορας ισαμενης. Phot. Contr. Man. l. i. c. 16. p. 61.

<sup>r</sup> Just. cod. l. i. Tit. v. De Hæreticis, et Manichæis,

<sup>s</sup> Cod. Theod. l. 16. Tit. v. De Hæreticis.

<sup>t</sup> Baron. Ann. 287. n. i. ii. &c. Vid. et Coteler. Mon. Gr. T. i. p. 778, 779.

<sup>u</sup> Vid. Tillem. Les Manicheens, Art. 17. et Diocletien. sect. 14.

<sup>v</sup> Basn. Ann. 287. n. iv.

one of them is, that there is no mention of this law in Eusebius, Cyril, or Augustine : he has many other reasons which are very considerable, and may be seen in his own work.

Indeed it seems to me altogether unlikely that Manichæism should so soon have gained footing, and made such progress in Africa, as is here supposed, so as to cause disturbances to divers people and <sup>w</sup> cities, and <sup>x</sup> be received by men of high rank as well as others.

It appears to me also very probable that, if Dioclesian had made such a law as this, the Manichees would have been expressly named in Constantine's edicts against heretics ; whereas, it does not appear from Eusebius, that <sup>y</sup> they were so named in any such laws of that christian emperor.

It must be owned Ammianus Marcellinus says that ' Constantine, <sup>z</sup> desirous to get exact information concerning the ' opinions of divers sects, the Manichees and the like, employed Strategius for that purpose ; who acquitted himself ' so well in the office assigned him, that the emperor ordered ' he should for the future be called Musonianus.' But perhaps Ammianus accommodates his way of speaking to the state of things in his own time, when the Manichees were well known, as well as greatly disliked. Ammianus mentions no other sect distinctly beside the Manichees, as if they were the principal subject of inquiry ; which can hardly be allowed, when we perceive from our ecclesiastical historians that there were other sects at that time which made much more noise in the Roman empire : however, the inquiry here spoken of is no proof that the Manichees were named in any of Constantine's laws against heretics.

Beausobre <sup>a</sup> admits the genuineness of this law : but then he says Dioclesian <sup>b</sup> and his ministers must have been very little acquainted with the true principles of the Manichees ; which I think should have led him to suspect the reputed original of this rescript, and ascribe it rather to some ignorant and designing impostor.

<sup>w</sup> ———et multa facinora ibi committere: populos namque quietos perturbare, nec non civitatibus maxima detrimenta inferre. ap. Baron. *ib.* n. 3.

<sup>x</sup> Si qui sane etiam honorati, aut cujuslibet dignitatis, vel majoris personæ, ad hanc inauditam, turpemque sectam,—se transtulerunt. *ib.* n. 4.

<sup>y</sup> Vid. Eus. de Vit. Constant. l. 3. cap. 63, 64.

<sup>z</sup> Constantinus enim cum limatius superstitionum quæret sectas, Manichæorum et similium, nec interpres inveniretur idoneus, hunc sibi commendatum ut sufficientem elegit ; quem, officio functum perire, Musonianum voluit appellari, ante Strategium dictitatum. Amm. M. l. 15. c. 13.

<sup>a</sup> See B. Hist. de Man. T. i. p. 183. T. 2. p. 799.

<sup>b</sup> Dioclétien et ses ministres connoissoient fort mal ces hérétiques, s'ils les croyoient capables d'approuver les incestes, eux qui toléroient à peine le mariage. *ib.* T. i. p. 284.

Before I conclude the remarks upon this rescript, I should acknowledge that it is mentioned in<sup>c</sup> the Commentaries upon St. Paul's thirteen epistles, usually joined with the works of St. Ambrose: but, as the Benedictine editors say, those<sup>d</sup> Commentaries have been interpolated in many places; and they may have been so here. However, the age of that work is not certainly known: I formerly<sup>e</sup> took some notice of it.

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## SECT. II.

### THE HISTORY OF MANI.

I. *His name, country, parents, qualifications.* II. *The time of the rise of Manichæism.*

I. MANI, always<sup>a</sup> so called by the Persians and Arabians, usually called Manes, or Manichee, by the Greeks and Romans, was<sup>b</sup> a Persian, or at least lived in the territories of the king of Persia; as is allowed<sup>c</sup> by all authors who speak of him.

Beausobre<sup>d</sup> says it is certain he was a Persian, if thereby he meant that he was a native subject of the kings of Persia: but if thereby he meant that he was of the province of Fars, or Persia, it is doubtful. Ephrem says<sup>e</sup> he was a Baby-

<sup>c</sup> Quippe cum Diocletianus imperator constitutione suâ designet, dicens: Sordidam hanc et impuram hæresim, quæ nuper, inquit, egressa est de Perside. Ambrosiast. in 2 Tim. c. iii. p. 310. C.

<sup>d</sup> Illud insuper adjiciendum est, eosdem librariorum magnâ licentiâ saltem in tres priores epistolas abusos esse: quandoquidem ab eis non raro longa fragmenta ibidem inserta fuisse probabile est, quæ in vetustioribus manuscriptis non inveniuntur, &c. Admon. p. 21. f.

<sup>e</sup> See before, p. 26.  
<sup>a</sup> Manes Persa, in eorum libris dictus Mani pictor, nam talis fuit professione suâ.—Cum itaque in omnibus Arabum et Persarum libris constanter vocetur Mani, hoc verum ejus nomen Persicum fuisse tuto credamus. Hinc Græcis et aliis vulgo audit *Μανης*. Hyde de Relig. Vet. Pers. c. 21. p. 280, 281. Vid. et Moshem. de Reb. Christian. ante Constantin. m. p. 734.

<sup>b</sup> *Μανης δε ετος απο της των περσων ορματο γης*. Epiph. Hær. 66. n. 1. Manichæi a quodam Persâ extiterunt, qui vocabatur Manes. Augustin. de Hær. c. 46. in.

Persa, quem accusâsti, non aderit. Secundin. Ep. ad Aug. c. 3.

<sup>c</sup> Manetem genere Persam omnes veteres faciunt. Assem. B. Or. T. i. p. 122.

<sup>d</sup> T. i. p. 66.

<sup>e</sup> Babylonium fuisse docet [Ephræm] infra hymno xiv. Assem. ib.

lonian; that is, of the province of Babylon, or else of Chaldæa, which <sup>f</sup> is often confounded with that of Babylon: this seems to be confirmed by The Acts of Archelaus, where<sup>g</sup> that bishop reproaches Mani with understanding no language but his Chaldee; which implies that he was a Chaldean.

It is not a little disagreeable to observe the poor thoughts of divers ancient Greek writers, occasioned by the name of this man. The thing is taken notice of by several moderns: I quote two of them in the margin,<sup>h</sup> Cave and<sup>i</sup> Tollius.

They speak as if his name had been derived from the Greek noun mania, signifying madness, or from the verb mainomai; and as if his name were the same as maneis, that is, mad or furious; whereas the name is certainly Persic or Chaldaic. Eusebius, formerly quoted, is pleased to allude to this imaginary signification of the word. Cyril of Jerusalem says, ‘ he<sup>k</sup> changed his name from Cubricus to Manes, ‘ thinking thereby to gain honour among the Persians; but ‘ divine Providence so ordered that he thereby affixed to ‘ himself among the Greeks the character of madness.’ Epiphanius<sup>l</sup> has somewhat to the like purpose. Titus of Bostra, who writes the name Maneis, instead of Manes, has also condescended<sup>m</sup> to adopt this slight thing; for so I must call it, though it is also found in so fine a writer as<sup>n</sup> Photius.

The poor people were so often teased with this silly fancy, that, as Augustine says, for that reason they<sup>o</sup> prolonged the

<sup>f</sup> Vid. Cellar. Orb. T. 2. p. 755.

<sup>g</sup> Persa barbata, non Græcorum linguæ,—non ullius alterius linguæ scientiam habere potuisti, sed Chaldæorum solum, &c. Arch. n. 36. p. 63.

<sup>h</sup> Græci vero, quo aptiorem irridendi occasionem arriperent, illud a *μανια* deducere solent. Cav. H. L. T. i. p. 140. f. Oxon.

<sup>i</sup> Quia vero, Græcis, aut Græca intelligentibus adversariis, vox illa *Μανης* uberiorem irridendi ansam præbebat, quasi a Græco *μανια*, *insania*, seu *μαιομαι*, *insanio*, derivata esset, et sic nomen et omen insanix Maneti obtigisset; tum quod et eadem vox *Μανης* *stupidum* significaret, ut apud Aristophanem, *Μεγαλειτος θ' ὁ μανης*. Manichæi Manichæos se vocari volebant, quasi derivato nomine a *manahath* requies. Nec apud Judæos iidem contumeliâ caruerunt, qui omnes impios Manetes appellârunt, &c. Toll. not. ap. insgn. Ital. p. 126.

<sup>k</sup> Η δε τς θες οικονομια και ακοντα αυτον εαυτε κατηγορον επομει γενεσθαι' ινα εν Περσιδι νομισας εαυτον τιμαν, παρ' Ελλησι μανιας επωνυμον εαυτον καταγγελη. Cyr. Cat. 6. n. 24.

<sup>l</sup> Hær. 66. n. i. p. 617. C. D.

<sup>m</sup> Ο δε Μανεις εκ βαρβαρων, και της μανιας αυτης επωνυμος. κ. λ. Titus contr. Manich. l. i. in. p. 60.

<sup>n</sup> Vid. Phot. contr. Man. l. i. c. 12. p. 45—47.

<sup>o</sup> Manichæi a quodam Persâ exstiterunt, qui vocabatur Manes: quamvis et ipsum, cum ejus insana doctrina cœpisset in Græciâ prædicari, Manichæum discipuli ejus appellare maluerunt, devitantes nomen insanix. Unde quidam

name, and called their master Manichee, to avoid the reproach of that odious derivation; and some of them pretended that the true way of writing the name was Mannichee, denoting one that poured down the heavenly bread manna. I have transcribed at the bottom of the page two passages of Augustine, where he speaks of this matter. James Basnage, in his notes upon Titus,<sup>p</sup> has judiciously censured both sides for these trifles. One might be apt to think that<sup>q</sup> Mani, or Mane, or Manes, should be the name of the man, and <sup>r</sup>Manichæus denote a follower of him. But the Greeks and Latins do often use<sup>s</sup> this last for himself, as well as the former. I put in the margin<sup>t</sup> a few other observations, though of no

eorum quasi doctiores, et eo ipso mendaciores, geminatâ n literâ, Mannichæum vocant, quasi manna fundentem. Aug. de Hær. c. 46. in.

Et per dominum vestrum Manichæum, qui Manes linguâ patriâ vocabatur. Sed vos, ut apud Græcos nomen insanîæ vitaretis, velut declinato et prolongato nomine, quasi fusionem addidistis, ubi amplius laberemini. Sic enim mihi quidam vestrum exposuit, cur appellatus sit Mannichæus, scilicet in Græcâ linguâ tamquam manna fundere videretur, quia Græce fundi χεειν dicitur, &c. Contr. Faust. l. 19. c. 22.

<sup>p</sup> — Ut averterent omen Manetis discipuli apud Græcos Manichæum illum appellabant, eumque velut angelum e cœlis *μαννα χεοντα*, panem celestem, manna scilicet, effundentem referebant. Sic ab utrâque parte ludebatur circa nominis etymologiam. Sed futiles admodum sunt illæ observationes, quas quisque ad suæ partis gloriam trahere conatur. Basn. ad Tit. B. p. 60.

<sup>q</sup> Manichæi post hos de Perside a Mane homine—ita dicto surrexerunt. Philast. de H. c. 61. in.

<sup>r</sup> — Notabis Manichæum dici a Leone, quem Manem potius vocare debebat. *Μανης* est hæresiarcha ipse, *Μανιχαιος*, qui ejus sectæ est, et *Μανιχαιον δογμα*. Tamen nunquam aliter a veteribus patribus vocatur, quem Manichæus, ut Hieronymo, et aliis primæ notæ scriptoribus: quod perinde est, ac si Marcionista pro Marcione diceretur, Valentinianus pro Valentino, Photinianus pro Photino. Neque semel *Μανιχαιος* et *Μανης* pro eodem apud Epiphanium. Jos. Scal. Animadv. in Eus. Chron. p. 240. f.

<sup>s</sup> Even in the Acts of Archelaus, Mani's name is written both ways; that is, sometimes he is called Manes, at other times Manichæus. I shall refer to some examples: Et post triduo venit ad Manem. Arch. c. 6. p. 9. Nullum ex nobis, ô Manes, Galatam facies. ib. c. 36. p. 62. His auditis, turbæ volebant comprehendere Manem. c. 55. p. 100. Dic mihi illud etiam, ô Manichæe. c. 49. p. 90. His letter to Marcellus is there thus inscribed: *Μανιχαιος*, κ. λ. c. 5. p. 6. In like manner Epiphanius useth both ways of writing Mani's name.

<sup>t</sup> Suidas says: *Μανης, ονομα Περσων—κλινεται Μανεντος*. Which might almost induce one to suppose, that he wrote the name *Μανεις*, for *Μανης*, the proper name of a slave is, I think, generally declined *Μανω*. In Titus, this name is always written *Μανεις*, and he declines as Suidas directs: *οι χαλεπως προς τω Μανεντος ηπατημενοι*. Tit. B. contr. Man. l. i. p. 64. m. The same way of declining is used in the Form of abjuring Manichæism. *Αναθεματιζω τον ληρωδη Μανεντος μυθον*. ap. Toll. p. 130. *Αναθεματιζω τον πατερα Μανεντος Πατεκιον*. ib. p. 144. Epiphanius declines otherwise: *εκ Μανη τινος*. H. 66. n. i. p. 617. C. *εως τω Μανη*. ib. c. 20. p. 637. D. *μαθητη οντι τω Μανη*. ib. c. 12. p. 629. R. I add some other examples from other au-

great importance, concerning the different ways of writing this name in several authors. I hope I need not make any apology for generally writing his name Mani<sup>u</sup> after the people of the east, where he lived: and Epiphanius says that<sup>v</sup> Mane was the name he took instead of Cubricus.

It is not among the Greeks that we must seek for the original of this name; for Archelaus himself says that<sup>v</sup> Corbicius changed his name after the death of the widow, his patroness, at the court of Persia; and all the Greek writers in general say that in taking the name Manes he intended to secure himself honour among the Persians.

But though the name Mani be Persic or Chaldaic, learned moderns, skilled in the oriental languages, are not agreed about the original of it. However, it may be observed that Cyril of Jerusalem says, Manes<sup>x</sup> in the Persian language signifies discourse or eloquence; and that he changed his name from Cubricus to Manes, partly to obliterate the memory of his servitude, partly for the sake of gaining the reputation of a good speaker: this is taken up by<sup>y</sup> Photius and others. Epiphanius says that<sup>z</sup> Mane, in the Babylonian language, signifies vessel or instrument: Ephrem the Syrian<sup>a</sup> seems to refer to this notion of the word; which is

thors.—εις τον Μανητα. Thdrt. H. F. l. i. c. 26. p. 213. D. Cyril of Jerusalem always writes Manes, never Manichee. And he declines, as Epiphanius—αντι τε Κεβρικε Μανην εαυτον επωνομασεν. Cat. 6. n. 24. καταπαλαισε τον Μανην ο Αρχελαος. ib. n. 30.—αλλ' ενος των κακων τριων τε Μανη μαθητων. ib. n. 31. How Philaster declined Manes, appears from the beginning of his article. See note <sup>q</sup>. In the Acts of Archelaüs, where the name is written Manes in the nominative, and not Manichæus, it is not prolonged in the genitive: et quomodo de Perside venientem Manem.—Arch. n. 35. p. 61. His auditis, turbæ volebant Manem comprehensum tradere.—c. 55. p. 100.—non ex Mane originem mali hujus manasse. ib. p. 101. And see before, note <sup>s</sup>.

<sup>u</sup> Les Persans et les Arabes appellent notre hérésiarque Mani.—Beaus. Hist. Manich. T. i. p. 73. m. and see note <sup>a</sup>. p. 116.

<sup>v</sup> Κεβρικος μεν το πρωτον καλεμενος, επονομασας δε εαυτω Μανη ονομα. H. 66. n. i. in. <sup>w</sup> Tunc ergo Corbicius, sepultâ dominâ, bonis sibi derelictis omnibus uti cœpit, et migravit ad medium civitatis locum, in quo manebat Rex Persarum, et commutato sibi nomine Manem semetipsum pro Corbicio appellavit. Arch. n. 53. p. 98.

<sup>x</sup> Ειτα, ινα μη το της δελειασ ονομα επονειδισον η, αντι τε Κεβρικε Μανην εαυτον επωνομασεν, οπερ κατα την Ηερσων διαλεκτον την ομιλιαν δηλοι' επειδη γαρ διαλεκτικος εδοκει τις ειναι, Μανην εαυτον επωνομασεν, οιοινη ομιλητην τινα αριστον. κ. λ. Cyr. Cat. 6. n. 24. <sup>y</sup> Δηλοι δε ττω Περσιδι γλωσση τον οιον ομιλητικον, και προς διαλεξιν δραστηριον. Ph. contr. Man. l. i. c. 12. p. 45. <sup>z</sup> Το γαρ Μανη απο της Βαβυλωνιασ εις την 'Ελληνιδα μεταφερομενον σκενος αποφαινει τ' ενομα. H. 66. n. i. p. 617. C. D.

<sup>a</sup> Manes, Chaldaicum nomen, vas, vestem, instrumentum quodlibet significat. Huc spectat quod S. Ephræm hoc loco scribit: Manetem diabolus tamquam propriâ induit veste, ut eo, velut instrumento suo abuteretur, suaque per ipsum promeret oracula. Assem. Bib. Or. T. i. p. 119.

also approved by Asseman; and it may be supposed to be alluded to in<sup>b</sup> The Acts of Archelaus; nor does Hyde deny that<sup>c</sup> Mân, or Mana, in Assyrian and Chaldee, signifies vessel.

I shall not concern myself about other derivations or significations of this name; but only refer to some<sup>d</sup> authors, where they may be seen by those who are curious.

Whatever was the meaning of the name, as<sup>e</sup> Beausobre observes, it certainly was very honourable; and, if it signified any thing, there is reason to think it denoted some advantageous quality; for<sup>f</sup> divers kings of Edessa were named Manes, or Maanes; and Asseman says that<sup>g</sup> it was a common name of the princes of Syria and Arabia.

It is said that Mani's father's name was Patitius, or Pateticus, and his mother's name Carossa: their names are in The<sup>h</sup> Form of abjuring Manichæism, and in<sup>i</sup> Hyde. Cave<sup>k</sup> has Patricius, by mistake probably; but the thing is of no importance.

The Greek writers continually represent Mani as a slave, purchased by a widow, and afterwards set at liberty. This we have already seen in Socrates, with whom others agree. This is one thing with<sup>l</sup> which Cyril upbraids him; though he at the same time owns that it is no real scandal. If he was once poor and a slave, he obtained his liberty, and came to the possession of a great estate by that time he was twelve years of age. According to<sup>m</sup> Archelaus and<sup>n</sup> Cyril, the

<sup>b</sup> Vas es Antichristi, et neque bonum vas, sed sordidum et indignum. Arch. c. 36. p. 62.

<sup>c</sup> Verum quidem est, quod in linguâ Assyriacâ et Chaldaicâ Mân seu Manâ sit Vas. De Rel. V. Persp. p. 281. in.

<sup>d</sup> Vid. Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. v. p. 281, 282. Hyde de Rel. Vet. Pers. p. 281. Le Moyne Var. Sacr. p. 634. Joseph. Scal Animadv. in Eus. Chron. p. 240, 241. Touttée ad Cyr. Cat. 6. n. 24. Beausobr. Hist. de Manich. T. i. p. 70—74. Jac. Basn. ad Tit. Bostr. l. i. p. 60.

<sup>e</sup> T. i. p. 73.

<sup>f</sup> Vid. Chron. Edess. ap. Asseman. Bib. Or. T. i. p. 418, 419, &c.

<sup>g</sup> Maanes, nomen tum Syris tum Arabibus principibus familiare. Assem. ib. p. 418.

<sup>h</sup> Αναθεματιζω τον πατερα Μανεντος Πατεκιον, και την αυτη μητερα Καροσσαν. ap. Toll. Insign. p. 144.

<sup>i</sup> Ille——apud Shahristanium vocatur Manes ibn Phaten doctus seu Philosophus. At pro Phaten legendum Phatec. Nam pater fuit Πατεκιος, et mater Καροσσα. Hyde ib. p. 280.

<sup>k</sup> ——patre Patricio, matre Carossâ natus. H. L. T. i. p. 140. b.

<sup>l</sup> ——τα περι αυτη παμπολλα κακα, μεμνησο πρωτον την βλασφημιαν δευτερον, την δελειαν' εχ' οτι αισχυνη η δελεια. κ. λ. Cat. 6. n. 26.

<sup>m</sup> ——comparavit sibi puerum annorum fere septem, Corbicium nomine, quem statim manumisit, ac literis erudit: quique cum duodecim annorum esset effectus, anus illa diem obiit, ipsique universa bona sua tradidit. Arch. n. 53. p. 97.

<sup>n</sup> Και τετον εις υιοθεσιαν λαβησα, παιδευσει τοις Περσων μαθημασιν ως υιον —και Κεβρικος ο κακος οικητης εις μεσον φιλοσοφων ηκμασε' και τελευτησασης της χηρας εκληρονομησε και τα βιβλια και τα χρηματα. Cat. 6. n. 24.

widow that purchased him for a slave soon set him at liberty, adopted him for her son, gave him a good education, and in the end made him her heir.

But I think it may be questioned whether Mani ever was a slave; for there is no notice taken of it in the eastern writers; and even the Greek authors speak of him as rich, learned, educated among philosophers, and at the court of Persia in his early age. Manes among the Greeks was a common name for<sup>o</sup> slaves: and one may be almost apt to think that this gave occasion for the common opinion of the Greek writers concerning Mani's servitude.

The eastern authors, cited by<sup>p</sup> Hyde and<sup>q</sup> Herbelot, say that Mani was a painter and engraver by profession: what use he is said to have made of his skill in painting will be seen hereafter.

It is said by the same writers, quoted both by<sup>r</sup> Hyde and<sup>s</sup> Herbelot, that he had so fine a hand as to draw lines and make circles without rule or compass: and he made a terrestrial globe with all its circles and divisions.

It may be argued that Mani was skilful in the science of astronomy, because Epiphanius says he<sup>t</sup> wrote a book of astrology, and that his followers boasted of their understanding in astronomy.

Augustine too says, that<sup>u</sup> the Manichæan writings were filled with a fabulous philosophy about the heavens and the

<sup>o</sup> Μανης γαρ εστι δειλος. Aristoph. Av. ver. 1329. et passim. Γελιοιον εφη, ει Μανης μεν χωρις Διογενους ζη Διογενους δε χωρις Μανης ου δυναται. Diog. Laërt. l. 6. n. 55. Vid. Maneg. in locum, et in. l. 5. n. 55. Conf. Senec. de Tranq. Anim. c. 8. Vid. et Suid. V. Μανης, cum Kusteri notis, et Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. v. p. 281, 282.

<sup>p</sup> Manes Persa, in eorum libris dictus Mani pictor. Nam talis fuit professione suâ. Hyde ubi supra, c. 21. p. 280. <sup>q</sup> Mani. Manes—étoit peintre et graveur de sa profession. Herbelot. Bib. Orient.

<sup>r</sup> Orientales aiunt, quod ex pictoriæ artis, quâ excellebat, superbiâ elatus, se prophetam venditaret. Ferunt eum potuisse ad 20 ulnarum longitudinem ducere lineam, in quâ applicando normam nulla curvitas deprehendi potuit. Hyde ib. p. 282. m.

<sup>s</sup> Ce Manes savoit faire quelques prestiges, et avoit la main si juste, qu'il tiroit des lignes, et décrivoit des cercles sans règle et sans compas. Il fit aussi un globe terrestre avec tous ses cercles et ses divisions. Herbelot. ib.

<sup>t</sup> —αλλην δε την περι ασρολογιας· ο γαρ αποδειξι της τοιαυτης περιεργιας, αλλα μαλλον αυτοις εν προχειρω κανχηματος προκειται ασρονομια. Hær. 66. n. 13. p. 629. D.

<sup>u</sup> Libri quoque eorum pleni sunt longissimis fabulis, de cælo et sideribus et sole et lunâ:—quæ tamen ubi consideranda et discutienda protuli, modeste sane ille nec ausus est subire ipsam sarcinam. Noverat enim se ista non nôsse, nec eum puduit confiteri. Non erat de talibus, quales multos loquaces passus eram, conantes eam docere, et dicentes nihil. Iste vero cor habebat, etsi non rectum ad te, nec tamen nimis incautum ad seipsum. Conf. l. 5. c. 7. n. 12.

stars, and the sun and moon. Faustus, however, the Manichæan bishop, did not concern himself with those speculations; which, I think, is to his honour, and seems to show that as among other sects, so among them likewise, there were doctrines maintained by some, which the wiser and more understanding did not consider as essential parts of their scheme, or at all belonging to it.

Beausobre<sup>v</sup> has shown it to be probable that Mani believed our earth to have two hemispheres, an upper and a lower, both inhabited; and consequently that there are antipodes. He collects as much from some things said in The<sup>w</sup> Acts of Archelaus; and he refers to a passage of Cosmas Indicopleustes, who says that<sup>x</sup> the Manichees are of much the same opinion with the Greeks, and believe as they do that the heaven is spherical.

Sharistani, an Arabian author in Hyde, calls Mani<sup>y</sup> a learned man, and a philosopher; and another author of the same country says<sup>z</sup> that Mani wrote a system of philosophy, and invented a musical instrument, called by the Arabians Oud.

Beausobre argues that<sup>a</sup> Mani was skilled in medicine; but he has no direct evidence: it is not expressly said by the Greek or eastern writers. And Beausobre does not give credit to the story of his attempt to cure the king of Persia's son. I therefore leave that a doubtful point.

But Mani was learned. This appears from all the particulars just mentioned, and from what is said by the Greek writers of the literary and philosophical<sup>b</sup> education bestowed upon him by the good widow, into whose hands he came. And in The Acts of Archelaus he is spoken of as<sup>c</sup> if he was equal to the most knowing among the Persians, or was the first man of his time among them for learning.

I shall now translate a long article in Herbelot, taken from eastern authors, who say that 'Mani,<sup>d</sup> having gained some

<sup>v</sup> Hist. de Manich. T. 2. p. 374—376.

<sup>w</sup> Και παλιν εισιν ἑτεροι κοσμοι τινες, των φωσηρων δυνατων απο τετα τε κοσμου, εξ ων ανατελλεσι. Arch. c. 9. p. 17. Και οι ανθρωποι παντες ριζας εχουσι, κατω συνδεθεις τοις ανω. ib. c. 8. p. 14. Conf. Lactant. Instit. l. 3. c. 24.

<sup>x</sup> Μανιχαιοι, παραπλησια τοις Ἑλλησι φρονοντες, τον τε θρανον και αυτοι σφαιροειδη νομιζοντες, κ. λ. Cosm. l. 6. p. 271. B.

<sup>y</sup> Apud Shahristanium—Manes ibn Phaten doctus, seu Philosophus. Hyde, p. 280.

<sup>z</sup> Ibn Shahna dicit Manetem scripsisse philosophiam, quam vertit in linguam Persicam: eumque exlitisse auctorem instrumenti musici, dicti Arabibus Oud, id est, Testudo, Chelys. ib. p. 280.

<sup>a</sup> T. i. p. 81, 82.

<sup>b</sup> —εις μεσον φιλοσοφων ηκμαζει. Cyr. Cat. 6. n. 24.

<sup>c</sup> —eruditus secundum doctrinam quæ in locis illis est, et pene dixerim super omnem hominem. Arch. n. 53. p. 98.

<sup>d</sup> Vid. Herbelot. Bib. Or. v. Mani.

‘ esteem, began to gather together a number of people, ‘ in the character of disciples, who opposed the worship ‘ and ceremonies of the religion of Zoroaster, which the ‘ Persians professed at that time. This novelty having ‘ occasioned some disturbances, Sapor would have had him ‘ punished; but Mani, perceiving that he was sought for, ‘ fled, and retired into Turkestan: here he had full scope to ‘ spread his notions among an ignorant sort of people, and ‘ make himself pass among them for a wonderful man, or ‘ even a god. Having found a cave where was a fine spring, ‘ he got some provisions, sufficient for a year, to be lodged ‘ there: and then he told his disciples that he was about to ‘ take a journey to heaven, and that they would be a whole ‘ year without seeing him; after which time he would come ‘ down again from heaven, and appear in a certain cave ‘ which he told them of.

‘ At the end of the year they failed not to look for him, ‘ and found him at the appointed place. Then he showed ‘ them that wonderful book, filled with uncommon images ‘ and figures, and called Ergenk and Estenk, which he said ‘ he had brought from heaven. This new imposture greatly ‘ increased the number of his followers, who all went from ‘ Turkestan into Persia upon the death of Sapor.

‘ Hormisdas, having succeeded his father Sapor, used ‘ Mani very kindly: he even embraced his sect, and built ‘ him a castle for his security.

‘ Baharam, or Varanes, succeeding his father Hormisdas, ‘ appeared in the beginning of his reign to favour Mani: ‘ but, having got him out of his castle under a pretence of ‘ disputing with the doctors of the Zoroastrian sect, he soon ‘ after flayed him alive, filled his skin with chaff, and had it ‘ hung up in a conspicuous place to terrify those of his sect; ‘ whereupon the greatest part of his followers fled into India, ‘ and some even to China. All that staid in Persia lost their ‘ liberty, and were reduced to servitude.’

The same story is told in<sup>e</sup> Hyde from the same historian

<sup>e</sup> Persarum historicus Chondemir narrat, quod Manes, Saducæus, fuit egregius pictor et sculptor: qui postquam audierat quod Jesus se missurum paraclætum declarasset, diabolus lapideæ cordis ejus tabulæ insculpsit suggestionem, ipsum esse dictum paraclætum. Quod tempore Shabar filii Ardeshar Babecam prophetiam jactabat: cumque Shabar eum interficere quæreret, aufugit in Turkistan, ubi multos seduxit. Postea ibi inveniens speluncam, ubi optimæ aquæ fons erat, ibi clanculum reposuit annonam ad unius anni spatium duraturam, et asseclis suis prætendebat, se ad cælum ascensurum, et post unius anni spatium se rursus ad eos descensurum. Quocirca seipsum ab eis subducens, in dictam speluncam abiit, ibique ad præstitutum tempus permansit. Et deinde rursus comparrens, produxit tabulas egregie pictas, quas Ertengh-Mani

Condemir, or Khondemir, with only some few variations. As Hyde's book is not very common, I have transcribed his words at the bottom of the page.

I think it may be best to make here a few remarks, omitting others, which might be mentioned, and possibly may be remembered at another time.

1. The eastern authors, quoted in Hyde's and Herbelot's collections, are not ancient, but rather modern : for they are either Mahometans, or christians of late times.

2. The eastern writers declare Mani to have been a christian. It seems to be implied in Khondemir's account, as it stands in Herbelot : but it is plainly intimated at the beginning of his article in Hyde : and Sharistani, cited by Hyde, says that<sup>f</sup> Mani received the prophecy or religion of Jesus, but not that of Moses.

3. The eastern writers agree with the Greeks in representing Mani as an impostor, or one that pretended to prophesy and inspiration.

4. If these writers are to be relied upon, Mani improved his skill in painting for gaining, or supporting the reputation of his being a prophet, or some extraordinary person. This is more than once taken notice of<sup>g</sup> by Hyde, who likewise speaks particularly<sup>h</sup> of the painted, finely-figured book of his Revelations, called Ertengh.

5. According to the eastern, as well as the Greek writers, Mani was put to death by a king of Persia ; so Khondemir, before transcribed ; and<sup>i</sup> so likewise Sharistani ; but the Persian and Arabian authors make Mani's death owing to his zeal for religious principles, or the disturbances occa-

vocant, affirmans se eas a cœlo accepisse : unde plurimi ei fidem adhibuere. Deinde in Persidem festinans Regem Behrem ad suam religionem invitavit. Et quidem Rex fuit ex primis qui ejus dictis fidem adhibuit. Et cum asseclæ ejus multi evaderent, Magorum doctoribus præcipit, ut cum eo disputarent. At tandem omnes qui servitio ejus addicti erant, Regis Behrem jussu occisi sunt, et fervor ejus ignis hoc modo extinctus. Hyde de Rel. V. Pers. cap. 21. p. 282, 283.

<sup>f</sup> ———— Ille amplexus est religionem inter Magismum et christianismum, asserens prophetiam Christi, sed non asserens prophetiam Mosis. Apud Hyde, p. 282.

<sup>g</sup> Orientales aiunt quod ex pictoriæ artis, quâ excellebat, superbiâ elatus, se prophetam venditavit. ib. p. 282.

<sup>h</sup> Utcunque tamen fuerit, impius iste Mani, cum esset professione pictor, impiorum suorum dogmatum librum, ut speciosior appareret oculis, et eo nomine multo gratior esset, eleganter quâ potuit pinxit, et varii generis picturis ornavit et decoravit, et Persice illum vocavit Ertengh, vel abbreviate Tengh——ibi intelligendum est Manetis Evangelium pictum, seu Ertengh sc. picturarum liber, in quo dogmata sua et revelationes scripsit. ib. p. 281, 282.

<sup>i</sup> Shahrستاني in libro de Religionibus Orientis de eo refert : Mani apparuit tempore Shabur filii Ardeshir, et occidit eum Behram filius Hormuz filii Shabur. ib. p. 282.

sioned thereby. Thus Khondemir, as we have seen. And Hyde says it<sup>k</sup> is certain that Varanes put to death the dualists, or those who maintained two principles, and hung up Mani at the gate of the city. These writers say nothing of Mani's having occasioned the death of the king of Persia's son: they seem not to have had any the least knowledge of that matter.

6. I must take notice of a mistake of these writers; for according to them the place of Mani's retirement was China; where likewise they say he had several churches finely painted. But<sup>l</sup> Hyde says they must or should mean Turkestan; for Mani never was in China. This we should not have been able to perceive from Herbelot, who seems to have concealed and disguised this mistake of his authors. He declares indeed that they speak of Mani's followers going into India and China after his death; but as for the place of his retirement, when he fled from Sapor, one would have thought that they had called it Turkestan, whereas it seems they name China. This may be collected from Hyde, and must lessen the credit and authority of those writers.

Perhaps some may suspect that by China those writers mean what we call Turkestan. To which I answer; if so, this remark is of no value: but I am confirmed in the persuasion of its solidity by a passage of Abulpharagius, who says that Mani<sup>m</sup> sent his twelve disciples into all the countries of the east, even as far as India and China; where by China he must, I think, mean the same country that we call by that name; but if he does, very probably it is a mistake.

Turkestan<sup>n</sup> is said to be a country containing several provinces, or small kingdoms: it is situated on the east of the Caspian sea, and borders upon Sogdiana.

II. I now proceed to what I formerly proposed to do in this space: which is to settle the time of the rise of the Manichæan sect; or, if that cannot be done, to show at least the sentiments of ancients and moderns about it.

<sup>k</sup> Sic ille; nam Rex Behram interfecit dualistas, et Manetem in portâ urbis crucifixit. p. 283.

<sup>l</sup> Apud Rustemi epitomatores legitur.—Tchigil est picturarum domus Chinensis, scil. illud delubrum, quod in regno Chinæ Manes magister pinxit. Quod autem dicunt de Chinâ, intelligendum est de Turkistan, ubi Manes comoratus est. Et ibidem est alia ecclesia dicta Ghalbila, quam Manes picturis ornavit. Et ibi est urbs Tchigil. Ille enim nunquam fuit in Chinâ. Hyde, p. 281.

<sup>m</sup> Deinde a fide descissens, seipsum Messiam nominavit, et duodecim discipulos sibi adscitos in omnes Orientis regiones, Indiam usque et Sinam misit, qui in ipsis doctrinam Thanawiorum seminarent; sc. duos esse in mundo deos.—Abulph. Dynast. p. 82.

<sup>n</sup> See Beausobre, T. i. p. 187. See likewise the article of Turkestan, in Herbelot's *Bibliothèque Orientale*.

We have already seen the sentiments of two learned ancients. Eusebius,<sup>o</sup> or Jerom, said that Manichæism rose in the second year of Probus, the year of Christ 277; Socrates<sup>p</sup> not long before the reign of Constantine. I shall now show the sentiments of divers others.

Jerom elsewhere says it<sup>q</sup> is certain that the Manichees appeared before the council of Nice.

Augustine, that<sup>r</sup> this sect did not arise until after Tertullian, and even after Cyprian. In another place he says that<sup>s</sup> Cyprian obtained the crown of martyrdom before Manichæism was at all known in the Roman empire. It is likely that Augustine thought that he spoke within compass. However, if we should not be able to be more exact than this with full certainty, it is of importance to be assured, that as this sect evidently appeared in the Roman empire before the council of Nice, so it did not arise in the world until after Cyprian, who was ordained bishop about the year of Christ 248, and obtained the crown of martyrdom in 258.

In The Acts of Archelaus<sup>t</sup> the reign of Probus is several times mentioned at the time of Mani's appearing, or the time of the dispute with him; soon after which he was put to death.

Cyril of Jerusalem, who wrote his Catechetical Lectures about the year 347, observes, that<sup>u</sup> the Manichæan heresy arose not very long ago, about seventy years, and that there were then men living who had seen Mani. In another place he speaks<sup>v</sup> of Mani's not appearing till the apostles had been dead two hundred years. Toutée supposes Cyril to mean the year of Christ 277, which was the second of Probus;

<sup>o</sup> P. 260.

<sup>p</sup> P. 261.

<sup>q</sup> Alioqui hoc argumento,—nec Marcion, nec Cataphryges nec Manichæus damnari debent; quia Synodus Nicæna eos non nominat; quos certe ante Synodum fuisse non dubium est. Hieron. ad Pamm. et Ocean. Ep. 41. [al. 65.] p. 344. in.

<sup>r</sup> Nam constat, non solum post Tertullianum, verum etiam post Cyprianum, hanc hæresim exortam. Aug. contr. Faust. l. 13. c. 4. in. Ecce prædicatissimus tractator divinatorum eloquiorum [Cyprianus] antequam terras nostras vel tenuissimus odor Manichææ pestilentie tetigisset. Id. contr. duas Ep. Pelag. l. 4. c. 8. n. 24.

<sup>s</sup> ————— numquid et gloriosissimæ coronæ Cyprianus dicitur ab aliquo, non solum fuisse, sed vel esse potuisse Manichæus, cum prius iste sit passus, quam illa in orbe Romano pestis apparuit? De Nuptiis et Concup. l. 2. c. 29. n. 51.

<sup>t</sup> ————— sub Probo demum Romano imperatore.—Arch. n. 27. p. 46. Vid. n. 28. init.

<sup>u</sup> ————— τον πρωην επι Προβης βασιλευς αρξαμενον' προ γαρ όλων εβδομηκοντα ετων ή πλανη' και εισι μεχρι τω νυν ανθρωποι αυτοις οφθαλμιας θεωρησαντες εκεινον. Cat. 6. n. 20.

<sup>v</sup> Αρα οι τελευτησαντες αποσολοι απο διακοσιων ετων εξεδεχοντο Μανην.—Cat. 16. n. 9.

and that he computed the apostolic age to have ended about the year of Christ 77. It may be also supposed that Cyril took his date of Manichæism from The Acts of Archelaus, where Mani's coming is placed under the emperor Probus.

Epiphanius is not consistent with himself, placing Mani earlier at one time than another. In one of his works he says that<sup>w</sup> Mani came from Persia, and disputed with Archelaus in the ninth of Valerian and Gallienus; that is, in the year of our Lord 261 or 262; which date is also in<sup>x</sup> Photius. But, in his work Against Heresies, Epiphanius sometimes mentions<sup>y</sup> the fourth of Aurelian; that is, the year 273 or 274; at other times<sup>z</sup> the reigns of Aurelian and Probus; that is, about the year 276. Moreover, Epiphanius, who wrote about the year 376, says he<sup>a</sup> had conversed with persons who were acquainted with Hermias, disciple of Mani.

Pope Leo<sup>b</sup> placeth the rise of Manichæism in the consulate of Probus and Paulinus, or the year 277.

In the Edessen Chronicle,<sup>c</sup> published by Asseman, Mani's birth is placed at the year of our Lord 240, a thing not mentioned, that we know of, any where<sup>d</sup> else.

Alexander of Lycopolis mentions it as a common report that<sup>e</sup> Mani lived in the time of the emperor Valerian, who was taken captive by the Persians in<sup>f</sup> the year 259; that he went to the wars with Sapor king of Persia; and, having by some means displeased the king, was put to death by him.

Having put down so many accounts from ancient authors, I shall now mention the opinions of moderns.

The general opinion, as Asseman owns, is, that<sup>g</sup> Mani

<sup>w</sup> ———εν τῷ ἐννατῷ ἐν εἰτι τῆς τετῶν βασιλείας ἐνεβη Μανῆς ἀπο τῆς Περσίδος, κ. λ. De Mens. et Pond. c. 20. p. 176. A.

<sup>x</sup> Contr. Manich. l. 1. c. 15. in.

<sup>y</sup> Περὶ ἐτος τετάρτον τῆς αὐτῆς [Αυρηλιανῆς] βασιλείας. Hæc. 66. c. i. in.

<sup>z</sup> Ἐως τῶν χρόνων τῶν προδηλωθέντων Αὐρηλιανῶν τε καὶ Προβῶν, ἐν ᾧ ἔτος ὁ Μανῆς ἐγνωρίζετο. κ. λ. ib. c. 19. f. vid. et n. 20. p. 637. D. Προβὸς δὲ ἦν ὁ κατ' ἐκεῖναις καιρῶν βασιλεὺς, καὶ Αὐρηλιανὸς ὁ πρὸ αὐτῆς, ὅτε ἔτος ὁ Μανῆς ἐνεδήμει. ib. n. 77. in.

<sup>a</sup> Οὐκ ἐστὶ γὰρ ἀρχαίως ἢ αἵρεσις, καὶ οἱ συντετυχηκότες τῷ προειρημένῳ Ἑρμείᾳ, μαθητῇ ὄντι τῶν Μανῆν, ἡμεῖν τα κατ' αὐτὸν ἐσηγήσαντο. H. 66. n. 12.

<sup>b</sup> Manichæus ergo, magister falsitatis diabolicæ, et conditor superstitionis obscenæ, eo tempore damnandus innotuit.—Probo Imperatore Paulinoque Consulibus. Leo. Hom. 2. de Pentec. cap. 7.

<sup>c</sup> Anno quingentesimo quinquagesimo primo natus est Manes. Chr. Ed. ap. Assem. Bib. Orient. T. i. p. 393.

<sup>d</sup> ———natus enim fuit juxta Chronicon nostrum anno Græcorum 551, Christi 240, quod nemini hactenus de ejus natali observatum. Assem. ib. in notis.

<sup>e</sup> Αὐτὸς ἐπὶ Οὐαλεριανῶν μὲν γεγρονεναὶ λεγεται, συζητευσαι τε Σαφῶρῳ τῷ Περσῇ· προσκρυσσαντα δὲ τι τετῶν ἀπολωλεναὶ. Alex. lyc. p. 4. A.

<sup>f</sup> Vid. Pagi Crit. in Bar. 250. n. 7, et seqq.

<sup>g</sup> Deinde communior fert scriptorum

disputed with Archelaus in the year 277, and died in 278. To the like purpose<sup>h</sup> Tillemont, and<sup>i</sup> Basnage, and others. And Zacagni observes, that<sup>k</sup> whereas Epiphanius, in the work first quoted above, placed the dispute of Archelaus and Mani in the ninth of Valerian and Gallienus, he afterwards followed a later date in his work *Against All Heresies*, having then obtained better information. But Asseman<sup>l</sup> prefers the first account of Epiphanius, followed by Photius and others; though then, if Mani was born in 240, he must have finished his course when he was little more than twenty years of age; which, surely, must appear improbable to most persons.

Tillemont never saw the *Edessen Chronicle*: but having taken notice of what Alexander says of Mani's living in the time of Valerian, he adds, that<sup>m</sup> in order to reconcile him with Jerom's *Chronicle*, we may suppose Mani to have been in an advanced age in 277, when he was put to death; and then he may easily have gained reputation in Persia before the year 260.

Beausobre does not disallow it to be probable that<sup>n</sup> Manichæism began to be known in the Roman empire about the year 277, the time fixed in Jerom's *Chronicle*; but it may have arisen<sup>o</sup> eight or ten years sooner in Persia. Nor is it, he says, very improbable that<sup>p</sup> Mani might be author of a

opinio, eam disputationem anno Christi 277, Manetis interitum anno 278, accidisse. *Bib. Or. T. 3. P. 2. p. 45.*

<sup>h</sup> Mem. Ec. T. 4. Les Manichéens, art. 7, et 12, et note v.

<sup>i</sup> Ann. 277. n. 3. etc. Vid. Fabr. *Bib. Gr. T. v. p. 262, 281.*

<sup>k</sup> Dicendum itaque est, Epiphanium in libro de Mensuris et Ponderibus errasse, et multo certiora de Manichæorum hæresis exortu in libris adversus hæreses nobis tradidisse, licet in eisdem quoque libris iterum sibi non constare deprehendatur. Zacagn. Pr. n. 8. p. 9.

<sup>l</sup> Hujus hæreseos initium accurate describitur a S. Epiphanio lib. de Mensuris et Ponderibus. *Assem. Bib. Or. T. i. p. 393. not. 2.* Atqui ex Epiphanio, Photio, et Petro Siculo, Manes ex Persarum carceribus in Mesopotamiam anno Gallieni nono, id est Christi 261, aufugit. Anno igitur sequenti, vel ad summum anno 263, dignas impietatis suæ pœnas persolvit; idque anno ætatis suæ circiter vigesimo tertio, si auctori *Chronici Edesseni* credendum, qui illum, ut supra dixi, natum scribit anno Christi 240. *Assem. ib. T. 3. P. 2. p. 45.*

<sup>m</sup> Les Manichéens, Note v. fin.

<sup>n</sup> Sec Beaus. Vol. i. p. 121, 122.

<sup>o</sup> J'explique tous ces passages, non du tems de la naissance du Manichéisme, qui avoit commencé en Perse environ dix ans auparavant, mais du tems, ou cette hérésie commença de faire du bruit dans l'empire. *Beaus. T. i. p. 123.*

<sup>p</sup> Je ne vois point de raison assez forte, pour rejeter le témoignage de la *Chronique d'Edesse*, sur le tems de la naissance de Manès.—Or ce prince [*Sapor*] étant mort en l'année 271 ou en 272, il ne pouvoit avoir alors que trente deux, ou trente trois ans. Il est vrai encore, que l'on peut être surpris que Manès soit devenu chef de secte, étant encore si jeune. Mais ces raisons ne sauroient balancer le témoignage d'un auteur Syrien, ou Mesopotamien, qui paroît bien instruit des faits, qui se sont passés en Orient. *Beaus. T. i. p. 65.*

new sect by that time he was thirty years of age: for more he could not be, admitting the authority of the Edessen Chronicle concerning the time of his birth, as Beausobre does: nay, he supposeth that<sup>q</sup> Mani might make a figure in 267.

Toutée observes that,<sup>r</sup> since Cyril says in his time there were persons living who had seen Mani, we cannot reasonably place the dispute with him before the year 277, at which time his heresy was first brought into the Roman empire, and in the following year he was put to death: which, I think, cannot be denied by those who have any regard for the Acts of<sup>s</sup> Archelaus.

Cave therefore is somewhat singular when he says that<sup>t</sup> Mani began to spread his notions in 277, and<sup>u</sup> lived to near the end of that century; and yet he may be thought to have some reason for that supposition, when it is recollected that in Cyril's time there were some who had seen Mani; in Epiphanius's, some who had conversed with his disciple Hermias; provided those authors may be depended upon.

Pagi approves<sup>v</sup> of the date in Jerom's Chronicle, but says that, according to the success and progress of this doctrine in several places, authors have spoken differently concerning the time of it.

For my own part, I think it very difficult to determine exactly the time of the rise of Manichæism in Persia, or of its first appearance in the Roman empire: and I am apt to think that most considerate persons may be in suspense here. It is evident from the letter of Arius, and the testimonies of Jerom and Augustine, that Manichæism was known in the

<sup>q</sup> J'en ai marqué le tems à l'année deux cens soixante sept, en quoi j'ai suivi Abulpharagè, qui témoigne, quelle parût sous Aurélien. Ib. p. 186. in.

<sup>r</sup> Is est annus 277 a Christi nativitate. Non esse in anteriora tempora retrahendum Manetis exortum argumento est id quod Cyrillus subjicit, fuisse adhuc suo tempore superstitès, qui Manetem ipsi suis oculis conspexissent. Quod autem sub Probo innotuit Manes, intelligendum de ejus in Mesopotamiam et Romanorum imperium adventu, qui uno tantum anno ejus necem antecessit. Tout. ad Cyr. Cat. 6. p. 99. not. 3.

<sup>s</sup> Vid. Arch. n. 55. p. 100.

<sup>t</sup> Hæresin suam disseminare cœpit circa ann. 277. Probi imperatoris anno secundo. H. L. T. i. p. 139, in Manete.

<sup>u</sup> Insaniæ suæ virus non ante annum 277 propinare cœpit Manes, et plures postea annos in vivis erat, ac proinde, ad exitum vergente hoc sæculo, Agapium sibi discipulum adscivit. Cav. Diss. de Script. incertæ æt. sub. in.

<sup>v</sup> In Annalibus origo hæreseos Manichæorum anno præcedenti consignatur; sed eam ad præsentem retrahendam esse evincit Eusebius in Chronico. Pagi Ann. 277. n. vi. Verum est, varias sub idem fere tempus eruptiones monstri illius fuisse, et insignibus alicujus facinoris notis celebratas. Quæ causa fuit, cur non iisdem Imperatoribus hæresis istius origo mandata fuerit. Ib. n. vii.

Roman empire before the council of Nice, and not till after the time of Cyprian. As for the edict of Dioclesian, I am not satisfied about its genuineness. What ground Eusebius, or rather Jerom, in the Chronicle, had for fixing Manichæism at the second year of Probus, we cannot now certainly say: excepting only the authority of The Acts of Archelaus, which there is much reason to think that Eusebius was acquainted with. It appears to me remarkable that Alexander of Lycopolis, who, as is said, once was a Manichee, and afterwards wrote against them, speaks not with assurance about Mani's time. The little notice taken of Manichæism by Eusebius is another thing that deserves observation; as do likewise the words of Cyril and Epiphanius, where they speak of Mani or Hermias having been personally known to some of their times: insomuch that, upon the whole, I am doubtful whether Manichæism was known in the Roman empire before the very end of the third century, or the beginning of the fourth. If it was known there sooner, I think its progress must have been very inconsiderable.

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### SECT. III.

#### MANI'S PREDECESSORS AND WORKS.

- I. *His predecessors*; 1. *Scythian*; 2. *Terebinthus*.
- II. *His works*.

IT will be proper, in the next place, to give an account of Mani's works.

I. But it is requisite that I beforehand take notice of two persons spoken of as Mani's predecessors, and<sup>a</sup> sometimes called his masters, Scythian and Terebinthus; both expressly named in the long passage of Socrates, transcribed at the beginning of this chapter.

1. It has been the prevailing opinion of learned men that Scythian lived in the apostolic age, or near it. Epiphanius<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> ———— τες Μανεντος διδασκαλεις. Vid. Anathem. ap. Cotelier. Clem. Recogn. l. 4. c. 27. in.

<sup>b</sup> ———— περι τες χρονεις των αποστολων. H. 66. n. 3. p. 620. A.

placeth him near the times of the apostles; which<sup>c</sup> Cave thinks may be understood with so great latitude as to leave room to suppose that Scythian lived to near the end of the second century.

In The Acts of Archelaus, Scythian is said<sup>d</sup> to have lived in the time of the apostles; but that seems not very consistent with what follows, where<sup>e</sup> it is said that Terebinthus was a disciple of Scythian, and intimate with him: and Mani, who appeared not in the world till after the middle of the third century, is said to have been the slave and adopted son of the woman at whose house Terebinthus died.

Indeed there is reason to believe that Scythian was contemporary with Mani, as<sup>f</sup> some learned men have perceived; for<sup>g</sup> in Photius is express mention made of a<sup>h</sup> letter of Mani to Scythian.

Archelaus in one place says that<sup>i</sup> Scythian was of the country of Scythia: but afterwards he says he<sup>k</sup> was a Saracen or Arabian; which is also said by<sup>l</sup> Cyril and<sup>m</sup> Epiphanius. Photius too says, not very differently from<sup>n</sup> Archelaus, that Scythian<sup>o</sup> was descended from the Saracens, but chose to live in Egypt, and particularly at Alexandria.

2. Terebinthus, reckoned another predecessor of Mani, is said by<sup>p</sup> Epiphanius to have been a learned man as well as Scythian. The common account of this man in<sup>q</sup> Archelaus,

<sup>c</sup> Tradit Epiphanius ipsum Hierosolyma profectum *περι της χρονος των αποσολων*. [H. 66. n. 3. p. 620. A.] Quod laxiore quidem sensu de sæculo ævum apostolicum proxime secuto intelligendum est; adeo ut vergente ad exitum sæculo secundo diem fatalem obiisse censi potest. Cav. H. l. T. i. p. 140. Oxon. 1740.

<sup>d</sup> Scythianus nomine apostolorum tempore fuit sectæ hujus auctor et princeps.—Arch. n. 51. p. 95.

<sup>e</sup> Discipulum habuit quemdam nomine Terebinthum. Arch. n. 52. p. 96.—quia ergo aliquantulum temporis secum isti ambo decreverunt soli habitare;—Ille vero discipulus, qui cum eo fuerat conversatus,—ib.

<sup>f</sup> Hunc Scythianum Manetis adhuc ætate vixisse non dubito, licet ætate ac senio eum præcessit.—Certe ex Manetis epistolâ ad Scythianum fragmentum a me infra afferetur. Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. v. p. 280. Vid. et Beausobre Hist. des Manich. T. i. p. 26, et 63.

<sup>g</sup> *Και μην και ο Μανιχαιος προς Σκυθιανον επισελλων*—ap. Phot. in Eulogio cod. 230. p. 849.

<sup>h</sup> See a French translation of the fragment of that letter in B. T. i. p. 45.

<sup>i</sup> —quidam ex Scythiâ, Scythianus nomine. Arch. n. 51. p. 95.

<sup>k</sup> Cuique Scythianus ipse ex genere Saracenorum fuit, et captivam quamdam accepit uxorem de superiore Thebaide, quæ eum suasit habitare in Ægypto, magis quam in desertis. ib. n. 52. p. 96.

<sup>l</sup> —Σαρακηνος το γενος. Cat. 6. n. 22.

<sup>m</sup> —απο της Σαρακηνιας ορμωμενος. H. 66. n. 1.

<sup>n</sup> See before, not. k.

<sup>o</sup> Σκυθιανος τις την πατριδα Αιγυπτιος, το δε εξ ανθρωπων γενος Σαρακηνος την Αλεξανδριαν φκει. Ph. contr. Manich. l. 1. c. 12. in.

<sup>p</sup> Ην γαρ και βτος εν γραμμασι ενπιμελεσαστα πεπαυεινμενος. H. 66. n. 3. p. 620. D.

<sup>q</sup> —et Babyloniam petiit, quæ nunc provincia habetur a Persis,—quo cum venisset, talem de se famem pervulgavit ipse Tere-

<sup>r</sup> Cyril, <sup>s</sup> Epiphanius, and others, is, that after the death of his master Scythian, he went into Persia, or the country of Babylon, where he changed his name from Terebinthus to Buddas; and gave out that he was born of a virgin, and brought up by an angel in the mountains; and that at last he was thrown off the top of a house by<sup>t</sup> an angel, or some other spirit, where he had gone up very early one morning to perform some sacred rites.

As for his changing his name, in all probability there was no bad design in that, Buddas<sup>u</sup> being in the Babylonian language equivalent to Terebinthus, which in Greek signifies a certain tree.

What is said of his pretending to have been born of a virgin, and educated in the mountains, must needs be a fiction; because,<sup>v</sup> Beausobre observes, the Manichees universally denied the possibility of such a birth, and always supposed that<sup>w</sup> Mani himself was born in the ordinary way.

As for the manner of his death, there is no reason to receive the account of it as true, from those who have suffered themselves to be imposed upon in so many particulars: but it is not improbable that Terebinthus often went to the upper part of the house to perform his devotions there; the Manichees being frequent in prayer, and the top of the house<sup>x</sup> being a place much used for that purpose by the eastern people. Whether Terebinthus died suddenly in such a place I do not know.

Finally, whereas it is said that Terebinthus outlived Scythian, and that having died himself at the house of a widow, who, coming to the possession of his estate, purchased the boy Cubricus or Mani, then seven years of age, it must be all without foundation; for Scythian himself was

binthus, dicens—se—vocari non jam Terebinthum, sed alium Buddam nomine, —ex quâdam autem virgine natum se esse, simul et ab angelo in montibus enutritum.—Tunc deinde mane primo ascendit solarium quoddam excelsum, ubi nomina quâdam cœpit invocare.—Hæc eo cogitante, justissimus Deus sub terras eum detradi per spiritum jubet, et continuo de summo dejectus, exanime corpus deorsum præcipitatum est, quod anus illa miserta collectum locis solitis sepeliit. Arch. c. 52. p. 97.

<sup>r</sup> Cyr. Cat. vi. n. 23.

<sup>s</sup> Hær. 66. n. 3.

<sup>t</sup> ————— ὑπο ἀγγέλῳ καταχθεις κατεπεσε. Epiph. ib. p. 621. A.

<sup>u</sup> Qui in Persiam concedens, ut melius celaretur, transtulit nomen suum in Buddam, (rectius Butm, seu Budm,) Terebinthum significans. Hyde, p. 280. Conf. Beaus. Hist. de Manich. T. i. p. 53—55.

<sup>v</sup> T. i. p. 56.

<sup>w</sup> ————— cur hominem susceptum a Spiritu Sancto, Manichæum, non putatis turpe, natum ex utroque sexu prædicare? Aug. contr. Ep. Fund. c. 7. n. 8. Cum enim vos non timeatis viscera et sanguinem Manichæi de humano concubito venientem, id. ib. Vid. et Alex. Lyc. p. 14. D.

<sup>x</sup> See Beausobre, T. i. p. 60.

contemporary with Mani, and alive after that Mani had published his peculiar opinions, as has been shown. Moreover, Terebinthus, or Buddas, or Addas, was a disciple of Mani: his name is in all catalogues of the first disciples of that Persian master, and he wrote in defence of his scheme. And by Scythian may then be meant Mani, who, as<sup>y</sup> Theodoret says, was sometimes so called; possibly, because he was awhile in that country.

Let this suffice for showing that the common accounts concerning these two predecessors of Mani, are not to be relied upon, but are really idle fictions.

I have already several times quoted Beausobre.<sup>z</sup> I here again refer to his *History of the Manichees*.

II. We come now to Mani's works, of which I shall give the best account I can.

Socrates, in the passage formerly cited, speaks of four books written by Terebinthus or Buddas, entitled *Mysteries, The Gospel, The Treasure, and Chapters*. By<sup>a</sup> Cyril, and<sup>b</sup> Epihanus, and<sup>c</sup> Photius, they are ascribed to Scythian, as they are also in The<sup>d</sup> Acts of Archelaus. But there being an ambiguity in one place of that work<sup>e</sup> where they are mentioned, it is likely that thereby Socrates was induced to call them Terebinthus's, as has been hinted by<sup>f</sup> some learned men.

Socrates says that Mani, coming to the possession of those books, distributed them among his followers as his own. Archelaus<sup>g</sup> speaks to the like purpose; only he says that Mani first made additions to them. It seems to me probable that they are really Mani's; and I shall consider them as such. Beausobre does the same.

The four books, mentioned by Socrates, are differently placed by the authors just cited. I choose to speak of them

<sup>y</sup> Σκυθιανος δε δελευων προσηγορευετο. Hær. Fab. l. i. c. 26. in.

<sup>z</sup> T. i. p. 53—64.

<sup>a</sup> Cat. 6. n. 22.

<sup>b</sup> Hær. 66. n. 2.

<sup>c</sup> Ph. contr. Manich. l. i. c. 12.

<sup>d</sup> ——— etiam quatuor illos libellos, quos Scythianus scripserat, non multorum versuum singulos. Arch. n. 53. p. 97.

<sup>e</sup> Discipulum autem habuit [Scythianus] quemdam nomine Terebinthum, qui scripsit ei quatuor libros, ex quibus unum quidam appellavit *Mysteriorum*, alium vero *Capitulorum*, tertium autem *Evangelium*, et novissimum omnium *Thesaurum* appellavit. Arch. n. 52, p. 96.

<sup>f</sup> Scythianus—discipulum habuit Terebinthum, qui alio nomine Buddam se vocavit, scripsitque ei (hoc est ab eo dictatos) quatuor libros. Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. v. p. 280. Vid. et Toutée in Cyr. not. 2. p. 101. et confer. Beaus. T. i. p. 46. m.

<sup>g</sup> Tunc assumit illos libellos, et transfert eos, ita ut multa alia a semetipso insereret eis—nomen vero libellis proprium adscribit, prioris nomine deleto, tanquam si eos solus ex semetipso conscripserit. Arch. n. 53. p. 98.

in the order in which they are named by Archelaus and Epiphanius: Mysteries, Chapters, Gospel, Treasury. Afterwards I shall put down the titles of other things ascribed to him.

1. The first is The Mysteries. ‘It appears,’ says<sup>h</sup> Beausobre, ‘by comparing Titus of Bostra and Epiphanius, that it began with these words: “God<sup>i</sup> and matter existed, light and darkness, good and evil: they were entirely separate and contrary to each other.” This book was divided into<sup>k</sup> two and twenty sections, according to the number of the letters of the Syriac alphabet. As for the subject of the book, Photius<sup>l</sup> says the author there blasphemed the law and the prophets. But that was not the principal design of this pernicious work: it is the doctrine of two principles that Mani there endeavoured to prove by a demonstration a posteriori: I mean from the mixture of good and evil which there is in the world. All his reasoning is founded upon this maxim, that if there were one sole cause, who is most simple, most perfect, most good, all effects would be answerable to the nature and will of that cause; the whole would show his simplicity, his perfection, his goodness; and every thing would be immortal, holy, happy, like himself. We may with assurance conclude what were the contents of this book, The Mysteries, from the confutation of it by Titus of Bostra; who follows his adversary very closely, though he does not concern himself minutely with every<sup>m</sup> thing.’

Some learned men, as<sup>n</sup> Cave, and<sup>o</sup> Fabricius, thought that Mani wrote a book Concerning the Faith. They suppose it to be quoted by Epiphanius. But Beausobre well argues that<sup>p</sup> the passage in Epiphanius is taken out of the book of the Mysteries, as appears by comparing him with Titus of Bostra. I think Epiphanius does not intend a book different from others there named, but says that in the books mentioned by him, particularly that of The Mysteries, Mani shows what was his faith or doctrine.

I therefore shall not speak of this as a distinct book of Mani, as some have done.

2. The second book is that called Chapters or Heads:

<sup>h</sup> B. T. i. p. 46, 47.

<sup>i</sup> *Ἦν θεος και υλη· φως, και σκοτος\**

*αγαθον, και κακον· εν τοις πασιν ακρως εναντια.* Tit. contr. Manich. l. i. p. 63. in. et ap. Epiph. H. 66. n. 14. in.

<sup>k</sup> Epiph. H. 66. n. 13. p. 629. C. D.

<sup>l</sup> Ph. contr. Manich. l. i. c. 12. p. 40.

<sup>m</sup> What Beausobre says farther of this book may be seen T. i. p. 427.

<sup>n</sup> H. l. T. i. p. 139.

<sup>o</sup> Bib. Gr. T. v. p. 282.

<sup>p</sup> T. i. p. 426, 427.

summarily representing, it is likely, the fundamental, principal articles of the Manichæan doctrine. Beausobre<sup>a</sup> puts the question, whether this be not The Epistle of the Foundation. As I see no reason for such a supposition, I shall speak of that afterwards among Mani's epistles.

3. The third book was entitled The Gospel; which, as Cyril says, did<sup>r</sup> not contain the history of the life of Christ, but resembled the gospels in name only. We might be apt to conclude from those words of Cyril that he had seen the book; but perhaps he speaks only by way of conjecture; as<sup>s</sup> Photius seems to have done when he says that<sup>t</sup> therein were related things derogatory to the honour of Christ our Saviour. I suppose this to be the same book which is sometimes called<sup>u</sup> The Living Gospel. Beausobre says<sup>v</sup> it was a collection of Mani's meditations and pretended revelations. But I cannot see how he should know this, when he adds that it was written in Persic, and probably was never translated into Greek: and in another place he says that<sup>w</sup> he has not observed any fragments of it in the authors that have confuted Mani. I suppose that conjectural conclusion is built upon the story of Mani's journey to heaven, spoken of by eastern authors, for which I see no good foundation. For my own part I cannot say what was in the book; I know nothing of it beside the title.

4. The fourth is called The Treasure, and<sup>x</sup> Treasure of Life, and<sup>y</sup> The Treasures in the plural number, as if there were more than one: a greater, perhaps, and a less. Epiphanius speaks of a book called The little Treasury, as distinct from that called The Treasure:<sup>z</sup> perhaps it was an abridgment of the former; but we cannot be certain. The Treasure was one of the books which were confuted by<sup>a</sup> Heracleon. Beausobre thinks that<sup>b</sup> the pompous title of The Treasure, or Treasure of Life, might be an allusion to some words of Christ, where he compares his doctrine to

<sup>a</sup> Ib. p. 48. in.

<sup>r</sup> ———— *εὐαγγελιον, ἢ Χριστὸς πράξεις περιεχέσαν, ἀλλ' ἀπλῶς μόνον τὴν προσηγοριαν.* Cyr. Cat. 6. n. 22.

<sup>s</sup> Vit. Toutée not. <sup>b</sup> in Cyr. p. 101.

<sup>t</sup> Phot. contr. Manich. l. i. c. 12. p. 40.

<sup>u</sup> *Τὸ τῶν Μανιχαίων ζῶν εὐαγγελιον.* Ap. Phot. Cod. 85. p. 204. f. Conf. Timoth. Const. ap. Meurs. Varia Divina. p. 117. et Form. Recip. Manich. ap. Toll. P. 142. et Cotel. Clem. Recogn. l. 4. c. 27.

<sup>v</sup> T. i. p. 48.

<sup>w</sup> Ib. p. 426. not. 2.

<sup>x</sup> *Θησαυρὸς ζωῆς.* ap. Phot. contr. Manich. l. i. p. 40. *Θησαυρὸς τῆς ζωῆς.* ap. Meurs. Var. Div. p. 117. et Toll. p. 142. et Cotel. ubi supr.

<sup>y</sup> *Καὶ τὰς Θησαυροὺς κατέλεγει.* Phot. Cod. 85. p. 204.

<sup>z</sup> *Ἐτέρα δὲ Θησαυρὸς καὶ ἀλλὰς δὴ βιβλῶς καττυσας φανταζεται, τὸν μικρὸν δὲ Θησαυρὸν ἐπὶ καλεῖμενον.* Epiph. H. 66. n. 13. p. 629. D.

<sup>a</sup> Phot. Cod. 85.

<sup>b</sup> Beaus. T. i. p. 49.

a treasure hid in a field : See Matth. xii. 44. Augustine<sup>c</sup> and the author<sup>d</sup> De Fide, joined with Augustine's works, allege a passage as taken out of The Treasure : but<sup>e</sup> Beausobre says it is not genuine, and offers very weighty arguments against it. As I do not intend to examine all the notions of the Manichees, I shall have no occasion to consider that passage.

5. By Epiphanius, Mani is said to have written<sup>f</sup> a book about astrology : it is likely he means astronomy.

6. In Photius is a book entitled<sup>g</sup> The Gigantic Book : it is one of the three books of Mani which were confuted by Heracleon : the other two are The Gospel and the Treasures. Timothy of Constantinople mentions a Manichæan book, entitled<sup>h</sup> The Giant's Enterprize : very probably he means the same with that just taken notice of.

7. Mani's epistles : of which there was a<sup>i</sup> book or<sup>k</sup> collection made by somebody.

(1.) The first to be observed by us is The Epistle of the Foundation : this was confuted by Augustine, who transcribed the beginning of it into his own<sup>l</sup> works. There is a large fragment of it in another book of<sup>m</sup> Augustine : there are fragments of it also in the<sup>n</sup> treatise De Fide, joined with Augustine's works. It was publicly read by the Manichees in their<sup>o</sup> assemblies. Possibly it was a long epistle ; for Augustine<sup>p</sup> calls it a book, and says it contained almost their whole scheme.

There is an epistle to Patricius, cited by<sup>q</sup> Julian the Pelagian, in the Opus Imperfectum of Augustine. Tillemont<sup>r</sup> considers this as different from the Epistle of the

<sup>c</sup> Aug. de Natura Boni. cap. 44. Vid. et Act. cum Felice. l. 2. c. 7. et Contr. Faust. l. 20. c. 6.

<sup>d</sup> Cap. 14, &c. <sup>e</sup> Vid. Hist. de Manich. T. i. p. 49, 426. T. ii. p. 387, &c.

<sup>f</sup> Ἀλλην δὲ τὴν περὶ ἀστρολογίας. H. 66. n. 13. p. 619. D. <sup>g</sup> Ανατρέπει δὲ τὸ παρα τοῖς Μανιχαίοις καλεῖμενον εὐαγγελίου, καὶ τὴν γιγαντεῖον βιβλίον, καὶ τὰς θησαυροὺς. Phot. Cod. 85. p. 204.

<sup>h</sup> Ἡ τῶν γιγαντῶν πραγματεία. ap. Meurs. Var. Div. p. 117.

<sup>i</sup> Καὶ τὸ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν αὐτῶν βιβλίον. ap. Coteler. ubi supr. et Toll. p. 152.

<sup>k</sup> Ἡ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν ὅμας. ap. Meurs. ib. p. 117.

<sup>l</sup> Vid. Aug. contr. Ep. Manichæi. <sup>m</sup> Vid. De Naturâ Boni. cap. 46. T. 8.

<sup>n</sup> De Fide. cap. v. xi. xxviii.

<sup>o</sup> Ipsa enim nobis illo tempore miseris quando lecta est, illuminati dicebamus a vobis. Aug. contr. Ep. Man. cap. v. n. 6.

<sup>p</sup> Et potissimum illum consideremus librum, quem Fundamenti epistolam dicitis, ubi totum pene quod creditis continetur.—Aug. Ibid.

<sup>q</sup> Sic etiam in illâ ad Patritium epistolâ. ap. Aug. Op. Imp. l. 3. c. 186.—Dixit hoc idem et Manichæus in epistolâ ad Patritium. Dixit et in epistolâ, quam scripsit ad filiam Menoch. ib. l. 4. c. 102.

<sup>r</sup> Mem. Ec. T. iv. Les Manichéens, Art. 13.

Foundation, though he allows that also to have been sent to some particular person. But to me it seems probable that they are one and the same epistle; for according to the reading<sup>s</sup> in the Benedictine edition of Augustine's Answer, The Epistle of the Foundation appears to be sent to Patri-cius. Which is the right reading, that in the *Opus Imperfectum* of Augustine, or that in his Answer to The Epistle of the Foundation, I do not determine: but it seems likely that hereby is meant the same name with that of Mani's father: and if Patec, or Phatec, was the name of his father, and of his friend, or disciple, to whom The Epistle of the Foundation was sent, it may afford ground to think that this was a common name among the Persians or Chaldeans.

2. A letter to<sup>t</sup> Menoch, a Manichæan woman, found at<sup>u</sup> Constantinople, and<sup>v</sup> often quoted by Julian the Pelagian. I think the genuineness of this letter is not disputed; but<sup>w</sup> Augustine did not know any thing of it till it was quoted against him by Julian.

3. A letter to Marcellus, found in The<sup>x</sup> Acts of Arche-laus, and in<sup>y</sup> Epiphanius. Beausobre<sup>z</sup> allows this letter to be genuine: but I think that if those Acts are fictitious, and the history of Mani there recorded is for the most part im-probable, and without ground, it will be difficult to maintain this letter. Again, if genuine, it must have been written in Greek, as Beausobre grants. That learned writer has indeed some arguments to prove that Mani understood Greek; but perhaps they are of no great moment: the contents of the letter may increase the suspicion of its genuineness. It may be doubted whether in writing to a stranger Mani would take upon him his apostolical character, as he here does, unless indeed he means nothing extraordinary by it; and whether he would call one who was not of his opinion his<sup>a</sup> dear son. It seems to me likewise improbable that Mani should reveal his sentiments so clearly to one, who as yet

<sup>s</sup> De eo igitur, frater dilectissime Pattici, de quo significasti, &c. ap. Aug. contr. Ep. Manich. c. 12. n. 14, 'ubi subjicitur in imâ paginâ hoc monitum.' Editi, 'dilectissime audisti.' Vetus codex Corbeiensis, ante mille annos scrip-tus, loco 'audisti,' habet 'Pattici:' forte nomen illius, cui epistolam dedit Manichæus. <sup>t</sup> See before, note <sup>a</sup>.

<sup>u</sup> Sed quia post editionem illorum,—apud Constantinopolim Manichæi epistola inventa est, atque ad has directa partes, opera est aliqua ejus inserere. ap. Aug. Op. Imp. l. 3. c. 166.

<sup>v</sup> Ap. Augustin. ib. c. 172, 174, 175, 176, 187, et passim.

<sup>w</sup> Si dicam tibi, istam Manichæi epistolam me omnino nescire; quamvis verum dicam, non credes. Aug. Op. Imp. l. 3. c. 172.

<sup>x</sup> Arch. c. v. p. 6. 7.

<sup>y</sup> H. 66. c. 6.

<sup>z</sup> T. i. p. 94, 95.

<sup>a</sup> ———— *τεκνον αγαπητον*. ap. Arch. p. 6.

had no knowledge of him ; for he declares openly the doctrine of two principles, and his opinion concerning the birth of Christ : and, in speaking of this last, he<sup>b</sup> useth broad and offensive expressions. I might add other observations ; but I forbear.

(4.) A letter to Scythian, cited by Eulogius in<sup>c</sup> Photius. The passage may be likewise seen among some other fragments of Mani's writings in<sup>d</sup> Fabricius.

(5.) An epistle to Zebenna, of which there are two fragments in<sup>e</sup> Fabricius.

(6.) A letter to Cudarus, of which Fabricius has also a<sup>f</sup> fragment.

(7.) A letter to Odas : [or perhaps Addas, or Buddas :] Fabricius<sup>g</sup> has likewise obliged us with a fragment of this epistle.

(8.) Augustine<sup>h</sup> speaks of an epistle of Mani, containing the strict rules by which the elect ought to govern themselves. By his manner of speaking it appears to have been well known at Rome and in Africa. Whether it was The Epistle of the Foundation, or some other, I cannot say ; but I suppose it was not improper just to mention here this particular.

8. In some late writers mention is made of a book entitled<sup>i</sup> Memoirs, or Memorable Sayings and Actions, of Mani ; the loss of which is much regretted by<sup>k</sup> Beausobre.

9. Alexander of Lycopolis mentions<sup>l</sup> a book of Mani concerning our Saviour's crucifixion. But it may be questioned whether he means a distinct book, or only that in some book Mani had treated of that subject.

10. An eastern author, cited by Hyde, speaks of a<sup>m</sup> book of philosophy written by Mani.

11. In<sup>n</sup> Photius is quoted a passage as Mani's ; it is to this purpose : ‘ I am not so merciful as Christ, who declared, ‘ ‘ Him that denies me before men, him also will I deny.’ ‘ As for me, I say on the other hand : ‘ him that denies me

<sup>b</sup> Χριστον, Μαρίας τινος γυναικος ελεγον ειναι υιον εξ αιματος και σαρκος, και της αλλης δυσωδιας των γυναικων γεγενησθαι. ib. p. 8.

<sup>c</sup> Cod. 280. p. 849. m.

<sup>d</sup> Eib. Gr. T. v. p. 284.

<sup>e</sup> Ibid.

<sup>f</sup> Ib. p. 285.

<sup>g</sup> Ibid.

<sup>h</sup> Proposita est vivendi regula de Manichæi epistolâ. Aug. de Mor. Manich. c. 20. n. 74.

<sup>i</sup> Και την των απομνημονευματων. (sive Manetis dictorum factorumque memorabilium Commentarium.) ap. Tollii Insign. p. 142. et Cotel. ubi supra.

<sup>k</sup> T. i. p. 430.

<sup>l</sup> ‘Οπερ αυτος ο Μανιχαιος διαπραττεται λογω περι τωτων διδασκων. Alex. Lyc. p. 19. B.

<sup>m</sup> Ibn Shahna dicit Manetem scripsisse philosophiam, quam vertit in linguam Persicam. Hyde, p. 283.

<sup>n</sup> Ph. contr. Manich. l. i. c. 8.

‘ before men, and by lying secures himself, I will receive with joy as if he had not denied me; and his lie and apostasy I will consider as a service to my interest.’ This saying, with some difference, and not quite so absurd and impudent, is in The Form of abjuring Manichæism, as we have it in<sup>o</sup> Cotelerius, and<sup>p</sup> Tollius. I think that<sup>a</sup> Beausobre is in the right to dispute the genuineness of this passage found only in late authors, without naming the work whence it is taken. I am sure it is contrary to the noble saying of Mani, to be alleged by and by<sup>r</sup> from The Acts of Archelaus, where he professes willingness to suffer, and to fear God more than men: it is also contrary to the practice of his followers, who are generally in suffering circumstances for their principles, and yet persevered, and showed as much constancy as the men of any other sect. Beausobre<sup>s</sup> has quoted a passage of<sup>t</sup> Secundinus, showing that the Manichees did not approve of dissimulation, nor of denying the Lord Jesus. Augustine assures us, that<sup>u</sup> the Manichees alleged as genuine words of Christ what is recorded Luke xviii. 29, 30; “ There is no man that has left house, or parents, or wife, or children, for the kingdom of God’s sake, who shall not receive manifold.”

Perhaps this impudent saying was in The Memoirs, or Memorable Acts and Sayings, of Mani: if so, Beausobre had no reason to set any great value upon that piece. Indeed I suspect the collection with that name to have been a late thing; and I apprehend it not unlikely to have been made by Mani’s enemies, and to have been injurious to him in some respects, though there may have been in it some of his genuine sayings and observations.

12. Titus of Bostra intimates that<sup>v</sup> Mani’s books, at least the book he answered, was written in Syriac. Augustine however supposeth that<sup>w</sup> they had books written in Persic.

<sup>o</sup> Ubi supra.

<sup>p</sup> Toll. ubi supr. p. 148.

<sup>q</sup> T. ii. p. 796.

<sup>r</sup> See next section, near the beginning.

<sup>s</sup> Ib. p. 796, 797.

<sup>t</sup> Ipse enim non ignoras, quam pessimus

sit, quamque malignus, quique etiam tantâ calliditate adversus fideles et summos viros militat, ut et Petrum coëgerit sub unâ nocte tertio Dominum negare. Secundin. ad August. c. 4.

<sup>u</sup> —quid si alius dicat illud esse immisum, et falsum, quod ipsi proferunt dicente Domino: Omnis qui reliquerit domum, aut uxorem, aut parentes, aut filios propter regnum cœlorum, &c. Aug. contr. Adimant. c. 3. n. 2.

<sup>v</sup> Όσα μὲν ἐν ἑτέρα, γραφὸς δὲ κεν μυθολογεῖ καὶ γραφεὶ τῇ Συριῶν φωνῇ χρομενος. Tit. l. i. p. 69. in.

<sup>w</sup> Itane Persicis libris me jubes credere, qui Hebræis me dixisti non credere? Aug. contr. Faust. l. 13. c. 17.

13. From Augustine we learn that the<sup>x</sup> Manichees had many and large books, adorned at great expense. Perhaps the bulk of the volumes was owing to the largeness of the letters in which<sup>y</sup> they were written throughout; such as were otherwise generally used only at the beginnings of books or chapters.

14. I have now finished my account of Mani's works; I wish we had more of them, or at least The Epistle of the Foundation entire, that we might judge for ourselves. Perhaps it might please the curious if some learned man would publish a collection of all Mani's fragments.

<sup>x</sup> —conspuuntur [al. conspiciuntur] tam multi et tam grandes et tam pretiosi codices vestri: et multum dolentur labores antiquariorum, et sacelli miserorum, et panis deceptorum. Contr. Faust. l. 13. c. 6. Incendite omnes illas membranas, elegantesque tecturas decoris pellibus exquisitas, ut nec res superflua vos oneret. ib. cap. 18.—cum te illi sonarent mihi frequenter et multipliciter voce solâ, et libris multis et ingentibus. Confess. l. 3. c. 6. n. 10. Vid. et c. 12.

<sup>y</sup> Habeant, qui volunt, veteres libros, vel in membranis purpureis auro argentoque descriptos, vel initialibus, ut vulgo aiunt, literis, onera magis exarata, quam codices: dummodo mihi, meisque permittant pauperes habere schedulas, et non tam pulchros codices quam emendatos. Hier. Pr. in Job. T. i. p. 798.

## SECT. IV.

THE SENTIMENTS OF THE MANICHEES CONCERNING  
DIVERS POINTS.

- I. *Mani was a christian.* II. *Divers particulars in which the Manichees agreed with other christians.* III. *Whether Mani was an impostor? The question proposed, and the opinions of several about it.* IV. *Reasons for thinking he was an impostor, with an examination of those reasons.* V. *Additional observations.* VI. *The Manichæan sentiments concerning the divine perfections. Whether they believed two gods? They believed God creator, and a Trinity. Whether they worshipped the sun?* VII. *They held two eternal principles.* VIII. *Their account of the creation of the world.* IX. *Of the formation of man.* X. *That man has two souls.* XI. *Of the fall of man.* XII. *Of marriage.* XIII. *Of free will.* XIV. *Of fate.* XV. *Of the lawfulness of war.* XVI. *They held the transmigration of souls.* XVII. *They denied the resurrection of the body.* XVIII. *Of the future judgment, and the eternity of hell torments.* XIX. *Of the end of the world.* XX. *The grounds and reasons of their faith in Christ.* XXI. *They believed Christ to be God, but not man.* XXII. *Their opinion of Christ's crucifixion, death, and resurrection.* XXIII. *Whether they thought the death of Christ to be a propitiatory sacrifice?*

I. THE first thing I observe for showing Mani's sentiments is, that he was a christian.

Entering into the debate with Archelaus, he is made to say: 'I, brethren, am<sup>a</sup> a disciple and an apostle of Jesus Christ.' His letter to Marcellus, inserted in the work ascribed to Archelaus, is thus inscribed: 'Mani, an<sup>b</sup> apostle of Jesus Christ, and all the saints with me, unto Marcellus my dear son, grace, mercy, and peace from God the Father, and from the Lord Jesus Christ.' In that letter he com-

<sup>a</sup> Ego, viri fratres Christi quidem sum discipulus, apostolus vero Jesu. Arch. n. 13, p. 24. in.

<sup>b</sup> Μανιχαῖος ἀποστολὸς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ————— χάρις, ἐλεος, εἰρήνη ἀπο Θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. κ. λ. n. 5. p. 6.

plains that ‘some,<sup>c</sup> even christians, did not believe the things ‘said in the gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.’ At the village Diodoris, Mani is represented speaking to Archelaus in this honest, and resolute, and truly christian manner: ‘If<sup>d</sup> you have a mind to persecute me, I submit: ‘if you would inflict punishments upon me, I do not decline ‘them; if you would kill me, I am not afraid. For we ‘ought to fear him alone, who is able to destroy both soul ‘and body in hell:’ see Matt. x. 28.

Faustus in his book usually proposeth difficulties and objections against their scheme in the way of question: ‘Do<sup>e</sup> you receive the gospel? Yes certainly.’ Afterwards: ‘Do<sup>f</sup> you receive the gospel; and do you ask me whether ‘I receive the gospel, when in fact it appears that I receive ‘it by doing what it commands?’ which he there proceeds to show in a variety of particulars. He<sup>g</sup> speaks ‘of the ‘wholesome, or saving words of the Lord, and his divine ‘discourses.’ And, according to him, Christ<sup>h</sup> is light and truth itself, and<sup>i</sup> a teacher and model of all virtue.

Faustus readily professeth himself and the rest of the Manichees<sup>k</sup> to be disciples of Christ and his apostles: nor<sup>l</sup> will they be prevailed upon by any to forsake Jesus, the son of God, their master. Our<sup>m</sup> Lord, and our Saviour, are characters and titles by which they continually speak of Jesus Christ.

Titus of Bostra owns that<sup>n</sup> they honoured the name of

<sup>c</sup> Ουτε γαρ τοις ειρημενοις εν ευαγγελιοις παρ’ αυτε τω σωτηρος ημων και κυριου Ιησου Χριστου πιτευουσιν. ib. p. 7.

<sup>d</sup> Si persequi volueris, paratus sum: et si inferre supplicia, non refugiam. Si etiam interficere me vis, non reformido. &c. Arch. n. 47. p. 84.

<sup>e</sup> Accipis evangelium? Et maxime. Faust. l. 2. c. i.

<sup>f</sup> Accipis evangelium? Tu me interrogas, utrum accipiam evangelium, in quo id ipsum accipere apparet, quia quæ jubet observo—? Ego patrem dimisi—, et interrogas, utrum accipiam evangelium? Nisi adhuc nescis, quid sit quod evangelium nuncupatur. l. 5. c. i.

<sup>g</sup> ———credimus, —tum præcepta salutaria ejus, tum parabolus, cunctumque sermonem deificum. Id. l. 32. c. 7. <sup>h</sup> ———Christum lumen, sanctimonium, divina omnia petentem. l. 14. c. i. f.—veritatis auctori. l. 16. c. 2.

<sup>i</sup> Quid vero et de magistro ipso dicemus ac sanctimonii totius auctore Jesu———? l. 30. 3. 4.

<sup>k</sup> ———ut fere Christo placet et ejus apostolis, et nobis profecto. l. 24. c. i. med.—neque id temere aut præsumtive, sed a Christo discentes et ejus apostolis, &c. eod. cap. ad fin.

<sup>l</sup> Nos vero quamvis de hac sententiâ nemo prorsus dejiciat, ex Deo accipiendi filium Dei. l. 23. c. 3. in.

<sup>m</sup> Et merito dixisse Dominum nostrum. Fortunat. Disp. i. c. 14. Evasimus igitur, quia spiritalem secuti sumus salvatorem. Nam illius tantum erupit audacia, ut si noster Dominus carnalis foret, omnis nostra fuisset spes amputata. Secundin. ad Aug. c. 4.

<sup>n</sup> ———αλλ’ επειδη τετιμηται το ονομα τω Ιησου,——Tit. l. 3. in. p. 139.

Christ. Augustine observes, that<sup>o</sup> they would not say the doctrine of the apostles of Christ was in any respect false and mistaken.

By all which we may perceive how much the late ingenious Stephen Nye was mistaken, when he said that<sup>p</sup> the Manichees never were accounted a sect of christians.

I shall add but little more here.

Fortunatus, the Manichæan presbyter, in the dispute with Augustine, says, the<sup>q</sup> soul cannot be reconciled to God but by the Lord Jesus Christ: that<sup>r</sup> Christ our Saviour has taught us what good we ought to do, and what evil we ought to avoid, in order to please God: that<sup>s</sup> the doctrine of Christ is sound doctrine, by which the soul may be purified from its defilements, and brought back to the kingdom of God.

II. Mani then and his followers were christians. It will appear farther from great numbers of things to be taken notice of as we go along. However, I would here add a few passages showing, in some measure, what opinions they held in common with other christians.

They believed a God and a Trinity, and that God made the world; so Augustine<sup>t</sup> says. Nevertheless we may hereafter observe some differences between them and other christians upon these heads.

They required and encouraged repentance, as Augustine likewise assures<sup>u</sup> us.

And he observes that<sup>v</sup> he and the Manichees agree in

<sup>o</sup> Nam illa vox altera Paganorum est, qui dicunt, Apostolos Christi non recta docuisse. Contr. Faust. l. 32. c. 16. in.

<sup>p</sup> Nye's Def. of the Canon of the New Test. p. 87, &c.

<sup>q</sup> ———— et animam aliter non posse reconciliari Deo, nisi per magistrum, qui est Jesus Christus. Aug. et Fortu. Disp. i. n. 17.

<sup>r</sup> ———— auctore Salvatore nostro, qui nos docet et bona exercere, et mala fugere. Disp. 2. n. 20. f.

<sup>s</sup> ———— si post admonitionem Salvatoris nostri, et sanam doctrinam ejus, a contrariâ et inimicâ sui stirpe se segregaverit anima;—Unde patet recte esse pœnitentiam datam post adventum Salvatoris, et post hanc scientiam rerum, qua possit anima, acsi divino fonte lota, de sordibus et vitiiis tam mundi totius, quam corporum in quibus eadem anima versatur, regno Dei, unde progressa est, repræsentari. Fort. Disp. 2. c. 21.

<sup>t</sup> Numquid propterea dicere non debemus, quod bonus Deus fecerit mundum; quia hoc dicit etiam Manichæus?—Item si interrogemur, utrum sit Deus? et nos et Manichæi respondemus: Est Deus.—De ipsa quoque Trinitate interrogati, utrique dicimus, Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum ejusdem esse naturæ. Aug. Op. Imp. l. v. c. 30.

<sup>u</sup> Nam ut inter omnes sanos constat, et quod ipsi Manichæi non solum fatentur, sed et præcipiunt, utile est pœnitere peccati. Aug. de duab. Anim. c. 14. n. 22. m.

<sup>v</sup> Atque in his duobus convenit mihi cum Manichæis, id est, ut Deum et proximum diligamus: sed hoc veteri testamento negant contineri. De Mor. Ec. Cath. c. 28. n. 57.

saying that we ought to love God and our neighbour. But they denied that this was taught in the Old Testament.

Let me here add the confession of faith made by Fortunatus at the beginning of the dispute with Augustine in the year 392; though some expressions there used are not altogether agreeable to the catholic doctrine.

‘Our belief,’ says<sup>w</sup> Fortunatus, ‘is this, that God is incorruptible, glorious, inaccessible, incomprehensible, impassible, dwelling in his own eternal light: that he produceth nothing from himself that is corruptible, not darkness, not dæmons, not Satan: that he has sent a Saviour like himself, the Word, born before the foundation of the world; who after the world was made, came among men to save the souls worthy of his holy favour, sanctified by his heavenly precepts, through faith and reason endowed with the knowledge of heavenly things: and that under his conduct those souls shall again return to the kingdom of God, according to his holy promise, who said: “I am the way, the truth, and the door: and no man cometh unto the Father but by me,” John xiv. 6. These things we believe, forasmuch as souls cannot otherwise, that is, through any other mediator, return to the kingdom of God: for he himself says, “He that hath seen me hath seen the Father also,” ver. 9: and, “He that believeth on me shall not taste death, but passeth from death to life, and cometh not into condemnation,” chap. v. 24. These things we believe, and this is the ground of our faith; as also, that with all the powers of our mind we are to obey his holy commandments, holding the doctrine of the Trinity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.’

<sup>w</sup> Et nostra professio ipsa est, quod incorruptibilis sit Deus, quod lucidus, quod inadibilis, quod intenibilis, impassibilis æternam lucem et propriam inhabitet: quod nihil ex sese corruptibile proferat, nec tenebras, nec dæmones, nec Satanam; nec aliquid adversum in regno ejus reperiri possit: Sui autem similem Salvatorem direxisse, Verbum natum a constitutione mundi, cum mundum fabricaret, post mundi fabricam inter homines venisse, dignas sibi animas elegisse sanctæ suæ voluntati, mandatis suis cœlestibus sanctificatas, fide ac ratione imbutas cœlestium rerum; ipso ductore hinc iterum easdem animas ad regnum Dei reversuras esse, secundum sanctam ipsius pollicitationem, qui dixit: Ego sum via, veritas, et janua? et nemo potest ad Patrem pervenire nisi per me. His rebus nos credimus, quia alias animæ, id est, alio mediante non poterunt ad regnum Dei reverti, nisi ipsum repererint, viam, veritatem, et januam. Ipse enim dixit: qui me vidit, vidit et patrem meum; et, qui in me crediderit, mortem non gustabit in æternum, sed transitum facit de morte ad vitam, et in judicium non venit. His rebus credimus; et hæc est ratio fidei nostræ, et pro viribus animi nostri mandatis ejus obtemperare, unam fidem sectantes hujus Trinitatis, Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti. Fortunat. Disp. i. n. 3.

Thus Fortunatus; who likewise just before had professed his belief and expectation<sup>x</sup> of the future judgment of the just judge Jesus Christ: and Secundinus, in his letter to Augustine, reminds<sup>y</sup> him of the just tribunal of the Great Judge; and asks him if<sup>z</sup> it be not true which Paul says, “that every one must give an account of his works?” Rom. xiv. 12.

III. Before we proceed to a more particular examination of Mani’s principles, it may be proper to consider what were his pretensions, or upon what grounds he recommended his peculiar doctrines; whether upon the foot of reason only, or of a peculiar revelation.

We have already seen how Eusebius and some other catholic writers express themselves. Eusebius in particular says, ‘he<sup>a</sup> made an appearance of being Christ, and sometimes said he was the Comforter, and the Holy Ghost himself; and that like Christ he chose himself twelve apostles.’ Epiphanius says that<sup>b</sup> he presumed sometimes to say he was the Holy Ghost, and at other times that he was an apostle of Jesus Christ. According to Cyril, Mani<sup>c</sup> said he was the Comforter, and the defender of truth: and in another place that<sup>d</sup> he said he was the Holy Spirit.

In the Acts of Archelaus, at the beginning of the conference at Caschar, he is made to say: ‘I,<sup>e</sup> brethren, am a disciple and apostle of Jesus Christ. I am the comforter, promised to be sent by Jesus, “to convince the world of sin, and of righteousness,” John xvi. 8; as also Paul sent before me said, “We know in part, and prophecy in part;” 1 Cor. xiii. 9, 10; reserving to me that which is perfect, that I might “do away that which is in part:” receive therefore this third testimony by me, and own me

<sup>x</sup> ———et in futurâ justî judicis Christi examinatione.—ib. n. 3.

<sup>y</sup> Quis igitur tibi patronus erit ante justum tribunal judicis, cum et de sermone et opere cœperis te teste convinci. Secund. ad Aug. n. 3.

<sup>z</sup> An falsum in Paulo est, quod operum singuli suorum non erunt reddituri rationem? ib. <sup>a</sup> See before, p. 260.

<sup>b</sup> Ελεγε δε εαυτον ο Μανης ειναι το πνευμα το παρακλητον, και ποτε μεν αποσολον φασκει εαυτον Χριστο, ποτε δε πνευμα παρακλητον. Epiph. H. 66. n. 12. p. 629. B. Conf. n. 19. p. 635. C.

<sup>c</sup> ———ο γαρ λεγων εαυτον παρακλητον, και της αληθειας αγωνιστην. κ. λ. Cyr. Cat. 6. n. 26.

<sup>d</sup> Μανης ο εαυτον ειπων το πνευμα το αγιον. Cat. 16. n. x. p. 248. D.

<sup>e</sup> Ego, viri fratres, Christi quidem sum discipulus, apostolus vero Jesu.—Sum quidem ego Paracletus, qui ab Jesu mitti prædictus sum, ad arguendum mundum de peccato, et de injustitiâ, sicut et qui ante me missus est Paulus, ex parte scire et ex parte prophetare se dixit; mihi reservans quod perfectum est, ut hoc quod ex parte est destruam. Tertium ergo testimonium accipite, apostolum me esse Christi electum. Et si vultis mea verba accipere, invenietis salutem; nolentes autem, vos æternus ignis absumere habet. Arch. n. 13. p. 24.

‘ as a chosen apostle of Jesus Christ. If you will receive  
‘ my words, you will obtain salvation : if not, you will be  
‘ consumed by everlasting fire.’

Theodoret says that<sup>f</sup> Mani gave out he was the Christ, and called himself the Holy Ghost.

And, as Jerom expresseth it, some<sup>g</sup> pretended that Mani was the Comforter himself. And to the like purpose<sup>h</sup> Rufinus.

It is not easy to conceive how any man should say all these things of himself; that he is the Christ, and an apostle of Christ, and the Holy Ghost himself. However, to reconcile these accounts, if possible, it may be observed, that perhaps some of these writers use words in a different sense from that in which they are now generally understood by us : and when it is said that Mani pretended to be Christ, the meaning may be that he acted like Christ in choosing for himself twelve companions ; or, by Christ may be meant the Holy Ghost, with whom Christ was anointed, and whom Mani pretended to have received. So the word Christ is used in some ancient<sup>i</sup> writings, particularly in<sup>k</sup> The Acts of Archelaus.

As for his calling himself the Comforter, or the Holy Ghost, and an apostle of Christ, possibly the meaning is, that he said he had received the Holy Ghost, and was an apostle of Christ, eminently furnished with spiritual gifts.

That must be the highest pretension he made. This is Augustine’s summary account of the matter in his book Of Heresies. ‘ They<sup>l</sup> say that Our Lord’s promise of sending  
‘ the Comforter, the Holy Ghost, has been fulfilled in their  
‘ master Mani : and in his epistle he styles himself apostle  
‘ of Jesus Christ, forasmuch as Christ had promised him,  
‘ and in him had sent the Holy Ghost. Accordingly he had  
‘ himself twelve disciples, in imitation of the number of the

<sup>f</sup> ——— ετολμησεν ἑαυτον ὁ παμπονηρος και Χριστον προσαγορευσαι, και πνευμα ἁγιον ονομασαι. Thdr̄t. H. F. l. i. c. 26. p. 214.

<sup>g</sup> Sicut aliæ hæreses Paracletum in Montanum venisse contendunt, et Manichæum ipsum dicunt esse Paracletum. Ad Vigilant. T. 4. P. 2. p. 285. in.

<sup>h</sup> Consilium namque vanitatis est, quod docet Manichæus : primo, quod seipsum Paracletum nominavit. Ruf. in Symb. ap. Hieron. T. v. p. 142.

<sup>i</sup> See Beaus. T. i. p. 115, and 255.

<sup>k</sup> Hic est Christus Dei, qui descendit super eum, qui ex Mariâ est. Arch. n. 50. p. 93. in. Vid. ib. n. 34. p. 59, 60.

<sup>l</sup> Promissionem Domini Jesu Christi de Paracleto Spiritu Sancto in suo hæresiarchâ Manichæo dicunt esse completam. Unde se in suis literis Jesu Christi apostolum dicit, eo quod Jesus Christus se missurum esse promiserit, atque in illo miserit Spiritum Sanctum. Propter quod etiam ipse Manichæus discipulos habuit, ad instar apostolici numeri ; quem numerum Manichæi hodieque custodiunt. Aug. de Hær. c. 46.

‘apostles, which number is still kept up by the Manichees.’ Again, Augustine says, ‘the<sup>m</sup> Manichees pretended that ‘Christ’s promise of sending the Holy Ghost had been fulfilled in their leader.’ And in another place, ‘they said ‘that<sup>n</sup> the Holy Ghost, whom the Lord had promised to send ‘to his disciples, had come to them by him.’ Once more Augustine says, that ‘Mani<sup>o</sup> endeavoured to persuade men, ‘that the Holy Ghost did personally dwell in him with ‘full authority.’

That this is all which Mani can be supposed to have pretended to, is evident from the arguments made use of in confuting him. The ancient writers, in their answers, show that the promise of sending the Holy Ghost had been fulfilled in the apostles soon after our Lord’s ascension: whereas Mani did not appear until long after the death of all the apostles, in the time of Probus, or Aurelian. This is largely argued by<sup>p</sup> Archelaus,<sup>q</sup> Epiphanius, and others. And in the dispute itself Mani is represented explaining his claim in this manner, ‘that<sup>r</sup> the Spirit came upon him.’ And Archelaus argues, that<sup>s</sup> the Holy Ghost was to descend upon and dwell in none but Christ, and Paul, and the other apostles; that is, in the most eminent and extraordinary manner.

All therefore that Mani could say is, that he was an apostle of Christ, and had the Spirit as an apostle.

But whether he said so much may be questioned. Godfrey<sup>t</sup> Arnold, a learned German, who wrote a history of heresies in his own language, denies that Mani took upon him any extraordinary character: but Beausobre, though a man of great candour, thinks Arnold was mistaken herein. ‘Arnold<sup>u</sup> was in the right to say that Mani never pretended ‘to be the Comforter; but he was in the wrong to deny that

<sup>m</sup> — Mirâ cœcitate asserentes eandem Domini promissionem in suo hæresiarchâ Manichæo esse completam. Aug. ad Ceret. Ep. 237. [al. 253.] n. 2.

<sup>n</sup> Nôsti enim, quod, auctoris sui Manichæi personam in apostolorum numerum inducere molientes, dicunt Spiritum Sanctum, quem Dominus se missurum esse promisit, per ipsum ad nos venisse. De Util. Cred. c. 3. n. 7.

<sup>o</sup> Non enim parvi existimari se voluit, sed Spiritum Sanctum consolatorum et ditatorem fidelium tuorum, auctoritate plenariâ personaliter in se esse persuadere conatus est. Confess. l. 5. cap. 5. n. 8.

<sup>p</sup> Vid. Arch. n. 27, 28.

<sup>q</sup> Ep. H. 66. n. 20, 21.

<sup>r</sup> Spiritum enim venisse super te dixisti, quem promiserat Jesus esse missurum. Arch. n. 50. p. 92. m.

<sup>s</sup> Et sicut non super omnes homines Spiritus habitare poterat, nisi super eum qui de Mariâ natus est, ita et in nullum alium Spiritus Paracletus venire poterat, nisi super apostolos, et super beatum Paulum. Arch. n. 34. p. 59. m.

<sup>t</sup> Germanice illam epistolam [Fundementi,] exhibet Gothofredus Arnoldus in Historiâ sive Apologiâ Hæresium. T. iv. Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. v. p. 283.

<sup>u</sup> Hist. de Manich. T. i. p. 239, 240.

‘ he aimed to pass for the prophet of the Comforter ; or a  
‘ man extraordinarily sent to reveal to the christian church  
‘ some truths which Jesus Christ had not made known to  
‘ his disciples. The Manichees themselves had this opinion  
‘ of their patriarch.’ So Beausobre.

I beg leave to consider this point distinctly. I have not had the advantage of seeing Arnold’s work. I can only represent the case as it appears to me.

IV. In the first place I shall mention divers reasons and arguments for thinking that Mani was an impostor, and examine them. After which I shall mention some additional observations.

The reasons and arguments are such as these: 1. The ancient Greek and Roman christian authors represent his pretensions as very extraordinary ; 2. As do likewise the eastern writers. 3. Mani imitated Christ in choosing and sending out twelve apostles. 4. He called himself apostle. 5. Divers other of his expressions show him to have pretended to a divine commission. 6. His followers conceived of him as an apostle, or an inspired teacher. 7. They rejected the book of the Acts, because of the evidence it afforded, that the promise of sending the Spirit had been fulfilled in the apostles, and therefore could not belong to Mani.

1. The ancient Greek and Roman christian writers represent Mani’s pretensions as very extraordinary.

I answer, that we have shown them to be mistaken in several things. In particular, divers of them say that Mani called himself the Comforter, which is not true. We must therefore look for some other evidence of his imposture beside their word. Mani published several new notions as doctrines of religion : some might therefore say : ‘ A man that does this had need to be inspired.’ And thence some might be led to conclude, that he actually pretended to be inspired in an extraordinary manner, and sent by Christ to reveal new truths. Some might speak of him to this purpose ; and others might take up this account without much examination.

2. The eastern writers, whether Persians or Arabians, whose account was formerly<sup>v</sup> taken, speak of him in the like manner.

I answer, that those writers are not very ancient. Their account of Mani’s imposture, particularly his journey to heaven, is taken from the history of Mahomet, who is much later than the person whose affairs we are examining. Therefore probably that story is a fiction, without any real found-

<sup>v</sup> See p. 311.

dition. I formerly<sup>w</sup> observed a mistake of these writers (some of them at least) concerning the place of Mani's retirement. It is also very improbable, which is said by the eastern historians, as quoted by Herbelot, that numerous followers have been gained in China, or Turkestan; they all went into Persia upon the death of Sapor. Nor did Mani attempt to pass for a god. Once more, the eastern writers are not agreed about the time in which Mani lived, some<sup>x</sup> placing him much later than others. The testimony of these authors therefore is not to be relied upon.

3. The third argument is, that Mani imitated Christ in choosing and sending out twelve disciples.

In answer to which I would say: supposing that he had twelve disciples, and sent them abroad to propagare his principles, it does not follow that he was an impostor; for we have been informed by<sup>y</sup> Augustine, that this was the ecclesiastical constitution of the Manichæan sect. There were twelve of the elect called masters, and a thirteenth, who was their chief or principal. If this was an institution of Mani himself, and put in practice in his own time, he must have been the principal; and perhaps only by way of an innocent, or at the worst an affected, imitation of the state of things at the first rise of the christian religion in the time of Christ and his apostles: which, I suppose, is all that can be thought of their keeping up the same form in Augustine's time.

But it may be questioned whether Mani had twelve disciples distinguished from the rest. It is true Eusebius intimates as much; but what ground he had for it we cannot say. However, Augustine<sup>z</sup> says it expressly, as does<sup>a</sup> Theodoret, about the year 420. But this is not to be found in more ancient authors, excepting Eusebius only, who has been just named; and there are two reasons to doubt of it. First, several ancient writers are silent about this particular, who would have mentioned it if true. In<sup>b</sup> The Acts of the Dispute with Archelaus there are but three of Mani's disciples named, whom likewise he is there said to have sent abroad to spread his opinions; one into the east, another into Syria, and the third into Egypt; Thomas, Addas, and

<sup>w</sup> See p. 312.      <sup>x</sup> L' auteur du Tarikh Khozidek le fait plus moderne, &c. See Herbelot Bib. Orient. in Mani.      <sup>y</sup> See before, p. 290.

<sup>z</sup> Propter quod etiam ipse Manichæus duodecim discipulos habuit, ad instar apostolici numeri. Aug. de Hær. c. 46.      <sup>a</sup> Οὗτος εἰκοσιδυοκαίδεκα μαθητὰς κατὰ τὸν κυριακὸν ποιησαμένος τυπὸν. Hær. Fab. l. i. p. 214. C.      <sup>b</sup> Ταυτηνὴν δὲ πᾶσαν τὴν διδασκαλίαν παρέδωκε τοῖς τρισὶν αὐτῶν μαθηταῖς, κελύσσας ἕκαστον εἰς κλίματα ἰδεῖν. κ. λ. Arch. c. xi. p. 22. Acquisivit etiam discipulos tres, quorum nomina sunt hæc, Thomas, Addas, et Hermas. ib. c. 53. p. 98.

Hermas: the same three that are mentioned by<sup>c</sup> Cyril and<sup>d</sup> Epiphanius. Secondly, if Mani had twelve disciples, whom he called apostles, or employed as such, it is likely that their names would have been transmitted to us by some ancient authors: but there is no such catalogue any where to be found, except in the fore-mentioned authors, Photius, Peter, and The Form of abjuring Manichæism: all which are too late to be of any authority, as was observed formerly. That catalogue too is itself liable to several exceptions. In<sup>e</sup> Photius their names stand thus, Sisinnius, said to have succeeded Mani in his<sup>f</sup> chair; Thomas, Budas, Hermas, Adamantus, and Adimantus; Hierax, Hieraclides, and Athonius, called<sup>g</sup> commentators upon Mani; Agapius, author of the Heptalogus, Zarvas and Gaurialius: and to the like purpose in the two other<sup>h</sup> writers. But it is plain that this catalogue is of no value. In the Acts of Archelaus<sup>i</sup> Sisinnius is said to have deserted Mani, and to have been a convert to the catholic church. Then there are two or three different names, which are but one and the same person; Budas, Adamantus, and Adimantus; that is, Addas, otherwise called also Buddas and Baddas. Athonius lived in the fourth century, as was<sup>k</sup> formerly shown. Hierax was no<sup>l</sup> Manichee. Toutée has a good note upon Cyril relating to this matter, which might be consulted. I put down a small part of<sup>m</sup> it.

4. The fourth argument is that Mani called himself an apostle of Jesus Christ. Augustine assures us that<sup>n</sup> all his letters began in that manner; particularly that<sup>o</sup> called The Epistle of the Foundation: ‘Mani, apostle of Jesus Christ ‘by the providence of God the Father:’ in like manner<sup>p</sup>

<sup>c</sup> Τῶν μαθητῶν τρεῖς γεγόνασι, Θωμᾶς, καὶ Βαδδᾶς, καὶ Ἑρμάς. Cyr. Cat. vi. n. 31.

<sup>d</sup> Epiph. H. 66. n. v. et xii.

<sup>e</sup> Phot. contr. Manich. l. i. n. 14.

<sup>f</sup> Σισίννιος ὁ καὶ το

ἀξίωμα αὐτῆ τῆς δυσσεβῆς διδασκαλίας ἀναδιξάμενος. ib.

<sup>g</sup> Εξηγηταί, δε αὐτῆ καὶ οἷον ὑπομνηματίζονται. ib.

<sup>h</sup> Porro discipuli Maneti antichristo fuere duodecim: Sisinnius, qui Maneti successit: Thomas, qui Evangelium Manichæi novum condidit: Buddas, et Hermas, Adamantus et Adimantus, quem in diversas orbis partes erroris præconem amandavit. Manetis interpretes et explanatores erant Hierax, et Hieraclides, atque Athonius. Adjuncti his et alii terni hujus sectatores, Agapius, qui Heptalogum commentus est, Zarvas, et Gabrialius. Bet. Sic. de Man. ap. Bib. P. P. T. 16. p. 758. A.

<sup>i</sup> Arch. n. 51. p. 94.

<sup>k</sup> See p. 283.

<sup>l</sup> See before, p. 286, &c.

<sup>m</sup> Quod quamvis antiqua sit illa de duodecim Manetis discipulis opinio, ab Augustino in libro de Hæresibus, et Theodoro commemorata, non tamen apud antiquiores legatur. Non id refert Archelaüs, non Epiphanius. In Cyril. Cat. p. 107.

<sup>n</sup> Omnes tamen ejus epistolæ sic exordiantur:

Manichæus apostolus Jesu Christi. Contr. Faust. l. 13. c. 4.

<sup>o</sup> Certe sic incipit: Manichæus, apostolus Jesu Christi, providentiâ Dei Patris. Contr. Ep. Manich. c. 5. n. 6.

<sup>p</sup> Arch. cap. v.

The Epistle to Marcellus, in The Acts of Archelaus ; and The<sup>q</sup> Epistle to Menoch, cited by Julian the Pelagian.

Answer : If this title must be here understood in the highest and strongest sense, of a person commissioned by Christ, and inspired as an apostle, the argument is complete and unanswerable. But possibly Mani meant no more than a disciple of Christ, and a teacher of his religion. This may be argued from the passage already cited from Augustine, where he speaks of the ecclesiastical constitution of the sect. The word may be supposed to be so used in The Dispute of Archelaus. That bishop having given hard words, Mani tells him that<sup>r</sup> apostles are patient and long-suffering : thereby, perhaps, intending to show what Archelaus should be, as well as what he himself was, according to his own profession. Turbo, when asked who he was, answered, that<sup>s</sup> he came from Persia, and was sent by Mani, a master of the christians ; the very title, which, as Augustine informs us, was<sup>t</sup> given to twelve of the Manichæan elect in his own time, who yet, I presume, were not reckoned inspired apostles : and masters is a word made use of in<sup>u</sup> The Acts of Archelaus to denote ministers of the catholic church. I might add that the eastern people are very apt to use a lofty style. They give and take high titles without incurring the suspicion or charge of blasphemy.

5. It is argued that Mani's imposture may be proved by other high expressions made use of by him beside that of apostle. In the Epistle to Marcellus he not only styles himself apostle of Jesus Christ, but says also that<sup>v</sup> he was sent for the amendment and reformation of men. Several passages have been already cited<sup>w</sup> from the Dispute of Archelaus, containing high pretensions, which should be recollected here ; particularly that passage where he says : ' If you receive my words, you will obtain salvation : if not,

<sup>q</sup> Manes, apostolus Jesu Christi, filiæ Menoch. ap. Aug. Op. Imp. l. 3. c. 172. Sed nisi Menoch filiam, et Manichæum, qui se Christi apostolum nominat, titulus indicaret, te omnino suum pollicerentur auctorem. Julian. ib. c. 187.

<sup>r</sup> Tu quoque, Archelaë, bene me de Deo sentientem, dignamque opinionem de Christo retinentem, verbis molestissimis obtundis, licet tale sit apostolorum genus, patiens et ferens omnia, etiamsi eos conviciis quis aut maledictis obtrectet. Arch. c. 47. in.

<sup>s</sup> De Perside autem venio, a Manichæo, magistro christianorum, missus. ib. c. 4.

<sup>t</sup> Nam ex electis suis habent duodecim, quos appellant Magistros. Aug. de Hær. c. 46.

<sup>u</sup> Cui enim oportet credi ? magistris illis vestris, qui carnibus vescuntur, et affluentissimis deliciis perfuuntur— ? Manes ap. Arch. c. 13. p. 24.

<sup>v</sup> Ὅθεν προς επανορθωσιν τε των ανθρωπων γενεσ αποσαλεισ. Ap. Arch. c. 5.

<sup>w</sup> See before, p. 332.

‘ you will be consumed with everlasting fire.’ But then it should be remembered likewise, that in that piece are many misrepresentations of things.

There are also strong expressions at the beginning of The Epistle of the Foundation. After having called himself apostle, he adds: ‘ That<sup>x</sup> the words he is going to deliver are wholesome words, proceeding from the living fountain. He that hears, and believes, and keeps, them shall never die, but shall obtain a glorious and eternal life.’ These expressions ought to be considered. If they relate to any doctrines not founded on scripture, they contain a bold claim: but if he intends to recommend only scriptural doctrines, the interpretation may be softened. And it is observable that Augustine, having cited those words, does not, in his remarks upon them, censure them as wicked, or antichristian, or the like; but only says that<sup>y</sup> here is indeed a promise of teaching the truth, but without good assurance: and that any body might say as much to draw in simple people. Augustine then cites the words next following in that epistle: ‘ The<sup>z</sup> peace of the invisible God, and the knowledge of the truth, be with the dear and holy brethren, who both believe and keep the heavenly commands:’ which Augustine does not blame at all, but says he readily joins in the same wish: and if Mani never spoke otherwise he might be read and followed by every body. Nay, he seems to declare himself well satisfied<sup>a</sup> with every thing at the beginning of that epistle.

6. Still it is argued that his followers conceived of him as an apostle and messenger of Christ, and honoured him accordingly. Some of their expressions have been mentioned already, to which others may be now added.

Faustus, considering that text, Matt. v. 17: “ I came not to destroy the law, but to fulfil,” says: ‘ He<sup>b</sup> must be for

<sup>x</sup> Hæc sunt, inquit, salubria verba ex perenni ac vivo fonte, quæ qui audierit, et eisdem primum crediderit, deinde quæ insinuant custodierit, nunquam erit morti obnoxius, verum æternâ et gloriosâ vitâ fruatur. ap. Aug. contr. Ep. Manich. c. xi. n. 12.

<sup>y</sup> Et hæc, ut videtis, pollicitatio est, nondum exhibitio veritatis; et vos quoque animadvertere facillime potestis, isto velamine quoslibet errores fucari posse, ut imperitorum animis per ornatam januam latenter irrepant. August. ibid.

<sup>z</sup> Pax, inquit, Dei invisibilis, et veritatis notitia sit cum fratribus sanctis et carissimis, qui mandatis cœlestibus credunt pariter atque deservunt. Ita sit, ut dicit. Nam et ista benigna et acceptissima optatio est. Tantum meminimus hæc et a bonis doctoribus et a deceptoribus dici posse. Itaque si nulla nisi talia diceret, omnibus legendum et amplectendum esse concederem. ibid. n. 13.

<sup>a</sup> Et omnino, quidquid in hujus epistolæ initio scriptum est, donec veniatur ad causam, nolo reprehendere. ibid.

<sup>b</sup> Quare indeficientes ego præceptori meo refero gratias, qui me similiter labentem retinuit, ut essem hodie christianus. Faust. l. 19. c. 5.

‘ever thankful to his master,’ meaning Mani, ‘for helping him here: for otherwise he had been a Jew, not a christian.’ However, he might speak thus of Mani, though he considered him only as a good interpreter, and no inspired prophet or apostle. In another place Mani is called<sup>c</sup> their divine. What can be inferred from this I do not know; I do not perceive any uncommon honour to be here given. Faustus also calls Mani<sup>d</sup> their blessed father. But perhaps no more is meant thereby than what the catholics often said of saints and martyrs. Faustus in another place speaks<sup>e</sup> as if by the Spirit, whom they had received, they were enabled to discern what texts of the New Testament are genuine, what not. But afterwards<sup>f</sup> he retracts in some measure those bold expressions.

Farther, the Manichees celebrated the day of their master’s death: but so did the catholics that of many martyrs. Mani’s Epistle of the Foundation was read in the assemblies of his followers; and so likewise were some writings publicly read among the catholics, which they never esteemed canonical scripture, or a part of the rule of their faith. Nay, I do not know but here may offer a thought, which may afford a good argument that the Manichees did not esteem their leader an apostle: for if they had so done they would have had more of his writings, and have publicly read them: whereas it seems that the Manichees in Africa had few of them. Augustine, who was nine years among them, and afterwards wrote many volumes in the controversy, has quoted very few, and does not speak of any other book, or letter of his being read in their assemblies, but the epistle above named.

And upon all these things, beside what has been already hinted, I observe in general, that some or all of these honours were paid by catholics to men who had not the character of apostles: that it is no uncommon thing for honours to be given to men after their death, by some people, which they never expected or desired; and that we should interpret expressions as they are intended to be understood. The catholic christians often speak<sup>g</sup> of men’s receiving the Holy Ghost in baptism. In The Dispute of Archelaus it is spoken

<sup>c</sup> Sic enim mali principium ac naturam theologus noster appellat. Faust. l. 20. c. 3.

<sup>d</sup> ———a doctissimo scilicet, et solo nobis post beatum patrem nostrum Manichæum stupendo, Adimanto. Faust. l. i. c. 2.

<sup>e</sup> Et nobis Paracletus ex novo testamento promissus perinde docet, quid accipere ex eodem debeamus, et quid repudiare. Id. l. 32. c. 6.

<sup>f</sup> Ib. c. 7. <sup>g</sup> Και γαρ συ θειας απηλασας χαριτος βαπτιζομενος, και πνευματος μετεσχες, ει και μη προς τα σημεια ποιειν. Chryst. De Compunct. ad Dem. l. i. T. i. p. 136. D. Ed. Bened.

as an incontestable thing that<sup>h</sup> the Spirit was still given to men. And Epiphanius says that<sup>i</sup> God, according to his promise, bestowed gifts of the Spirit largely upon the presbyter at Diodoris, to enable him to confute Mani: quoting also Matt. x. 19. But yet no one thinks that apostolical inspiration is here intended.

7. In the seventh place it is argued that they rejected the Acts of the Apostles, because of the evidence it afforded, that the promise of sending the Spirit had been fulfilled in the apostles of Christ, and therefore could not belong to Mani. Augustine<sup>k</sup> says as much.

I answer, first, whether the Manichees always and universally rejected the book of the Acts will be considered hereafter. Secondly, they were not obliged to reject the Acts for the reason here supposed. They might give the highest character to Mani, under Christ, and not receive that book. The Montanists, as<sup>l</sup> Augustine observes, spoke of Montanus, as these people did of Mani: yet<sup>m</sup> they readily received the Acts of the Apostles. The Manichees could not deny that the Holy Ghost was poured out upon Christ's apostles. It is evident from St. Paul's epistles, which they received. Besides, we know, that<sup>n</sup> they acknowledged the divine illumination of the apostles, and admitted their authority in every thing said by them, when so illuminated. 'This,' says<sup>o</sup> Faustus, 'is the doctrine of Christ and his

<sup>h</sup> Spiritus enim secundum rectam rationem habitat in homine, et descendit, et permanet; et competenter hoc et factum est, et fit semper, sicut tu teipsum ante hoc tempus profitebaris esse Paracletum Dei. Arch. c. 50. p. 92. m.

<sup>i</sup> Ὁ Θεὸς γὰρ αἰετοῖς ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐπιζῆσιν ἑτοιμαζέει τὰς ἐκ πνεύματος ἀγίῳ ὄψεας ἐπιχορηγημένος, ὡς καὶ ἐπηγγεῖλατο, ἀψευδῆς ὢν. H. 66. n. xi.

<sup>k</sup> Nōsti autem, quod, auctoris sui Manichæi personam in apostolorum numerum inducere molientes, dicunt Spiritum Sanctum, quem Dominus discipulis se missurum esse promisit, per ipsum ad nos venisse. Itaque si illos Actus Apostolorum acciperent, in quibus adventus Sancti Spiritus predicatur, non invenirent, quomodo id immisum esse dicerent. De Util. Cred. c. 2. n. 7.

<sup>l</sup> Nam quidam Manichæi canonicum librum, cujus titulus est, Actus Apostolorum, repudiant. Timent enim evidentissimam veritatem, ubi apparet Sanctus Spiritus missus, qui est a Domino Jesu Christo in evangelicâ veritate promissus. Sub ejus quippe Spiritûs nomine, a quo penitus alieni sunt, indocta hominum corda decipiunt, mirâ cœcitate asserentes eandem Domini promissionem in suo hæresiarchâ Manichæo esse completam. Quod et illi hæretici faciunt, qui vocantur Cataphryges, dicentes, per nescio quos insanos, Montanum scilicet et Priscillam, quos et proprios suos prophetas habent, venisse Spiritum Sanctum, quem Dominus missurum se esse promisit. Aug. Ep. 237, [al. 253.] n. 2. <sup>m</sup> See Tertullian in this work. Vol. ii. p. 279.

<sup>n</sup> Et nos de Testamento novo sola accipientes ea, quæ in honorem et laudem Filii majestatis vel ab ipso dicta comperimus, vel ab ejus apostolis, sed jam perfectis et fidelibus. Faust. l. 32. c. 7. <sup>o</sup> ————ut fere Christo placet, et ejus apostolis, et nobis profecto.—Faust. l. 24. c. 1.

‘apostles, and, for certain, ours likewise.’ Again, says Faustus, ‘This<sup>p</sup> we believe not without ground, but upon ‘the authority of Christ and his apostles, who first taught ‘this doctrine.’ They did not deny that the Holy Ghost was given to the apostles: all that they could be led to say is, that some farther discoveries were made by Mani. But I dispute their saying so much as that. Thirdly, they might have other reasons for rejecting the Acts, different from that assigned by Augustine. According to their notions, they could not approve of the death of Ananias and Sapphira, nor the blindness of Elymas. They could not like any text where Jesus is called a man, as Acts ii. 22. And they disliked all references therein to the books of the Old Testament. Finally, they never told Augustine that they rejected the Acts for the reason mentioned by him. It does not appear that he had any hint of it from them; but it is a conjectural reason of his own invention, after he had left them, as is evident<sup>q</sup> from what precedes the passage above<sup>r</sup> quoted: and therefore he entreats Honoratus candidly to weigh and examine the reason proposed by him, and judge whether it is not right. For he says he had often wondered at their conduct in rejecting that book, without being able to find out what ground they went upon in so doing.

V. I have now considered the most material reasons and arguments for thinking that Mani was an impostor, and pretended to apostolical inspiration. I beg leave to add some farther observations.

I. It is not a pleasing thing, unless there be very cogent reasons, to fix the charge of imposture on a christian, and a man of great knowledge and understanding, as Mani was. All must be sensible that he is treated roughly enough in the Acts of Archelaus. Yet even there he is sometimes represented speaking honestly, and like a good christian, and with a due regard to the authority of Jesus Christ. Moreover, we suppose that he suffered a violent death, which was commemorated by his followers in a solemn manner: and there is reason to believe that the occasion of it was innocent, if not honourable. If he attempted to cure the king’s son and did not succeed, no reasonable person can

<sup>p</sup> Neque id temere aut præsumtive, sed a Christo discentes et ejus apostolis, qui primi eadem in mundo docuisse probantur. Id. l. 24. c. i. fin.

<sup>q</sup> Hoc enim de illo libro fecerunt, qui Actus Apostolorum inscribitur. Quod eorum consilium cum mecum ipse pertracto, nequeo satis mirari.——Sed nimirum illud est quod mihi videtur, quod peto placidissimo et serenissimo judicio mecum consideres. Nôsti enim quod auctoris sui, &c. De Util. Cred. c. 2. n. 7.

<sup>r</sup> See note <sup>k</sup>.

think he failed designedly. But there is a great deal of reason to suppose that all that story is fictitious. It is more probable that he died a martyr to some principles, philosophical, or religious, or both.

2. The accounts of his pretension to inspiration are not easily reconciled with other accounts, given by the same writers, of his borrowing his peculiar principles from other men; from Scythian, and Terebinthus, and Pythagoras, and Empedocles, and I know not how many more. Eusebius, and others, say his system was patched up out of ancient heresies. Archelaus, or whoever composed the Dispute under his name, particularly desires the by-standers and hearers to take notice that<sup>s</sup> the doctrine taught by Mani was not his own invention. Cyril says<sup>t</sup> that he collected every thing bad in former heresies; and for that reason he calls him a<sup>u</sup> thief, appropriating to himself what were other men's things, though they were very bad. Augustine expressly affirms that,<sup>v</sup> in the doctrine about two principles and natures, Mani followed more ancient heretics. The ancients therefore were sensible that Mani's doctrine was not new. Learned moderns are of the same opinion, and allow that in the main his principles had been taught before by divers heathen philosophers and christian sects. Mr. Wolff of Hamburgh wrote a learned work, entitled<sup>w</sup> Manichæism before Mani, where this is largely shown. And Beausobre likewise<sup>x</sup> deserves to be consulted upon this point.

3. Though Mani, at the beginning of his epistles, called himself apostle of Christ, we do not plainly perceive, from any remaining fragments of his works, that he professed to teach in the name of Christ, and by special authority under him, or to deliver dictates of the Holy Ghost.

4. If Augustine had found such expressions in any of Mani's works which he met with, where he pretends to speak by inspiration, it is likely that he would not have insisted so much as he does upon<sup>y</sup> that single appellation of Apostle of Christ. Moreover, Augustine having cited a

<sup>s</sup> Addidit etiam hoc Archelaüs dicens, Viri fratres, ne quis vestrum incredulus sit his, quæ a me dicta sunt, id est, quod non ipse primus auctor scelerati hujus dogmatis extiterit Manes; sed tantum, quod per ipsum aliquibus terræ partibus manifestatum sit. Arch. n. 55. p. 100.

<sup>t</sup> ——— ἐνσοσεβει-ατος Μανης, ὁ τα των αἰρεσεων πασων κακα συνειληφως—τα παντων συλλεξας ὁμω των αἰρετικων. Cat. 16. n. 9. p. 247. D.

<sup>u</sup> Κλεπτης γαρ εστιν αλλοτριων κακων, εξιδιοποιουμενος τα κακα. Id. Cat. 6. n. 21. p. 100.

<sup>v</sup> Iste duo principia inter se diversa,—duasque naturas atque substantias,—sequens alios hæreticos, opinatus est. De Hær. c. 46. in.

<sup>w</sup> Manichæismus ante Manichæos, et in christianismo redivivus. Hamb. 1707.

<sup>x</sup> See him, T. i. p. 29—41.

<sup>y</sup> Vid. Aug. contr. Ep. Manich. cap. vi. vii. viii.

part of The Epistle of the Foundation, where Mani delivers some of his notions about two principles, he adds: 'How<sup>z</sup> will he prove these things to me? how came he to know them himself?' If Mani had any where declared that these things had been communicated to him by special revelation, Augustine would have taken notice of it here. Nay, it seems to me that<sup>a</sup> from the following words of Augustine it may be strongly argued, and even concluded, that Mani did not make use of such expressions, to recommend his uncertain disputed doctrines, or to assure the truth of them, and that it was not his manner of teaching.

5. The leading principles of Mani's scheme, wherein he differed from other christians, are of a philosophical nature. Such principles may be recommended without pretending to inspiration. Felix, in the dispute with Augustine, boasts that 'Mani<sup>b</sup> had taught them the beginning, middle, and end: who made the world, why, and out of what; the course of the sun and moon, and other things.' Augustine<sup>c</sup> answers that Christ promised to send the Spirit, to teach us all truth, meaning religious truth: not to make us mathematicians and philosophers, but christians.

6. Mani and his followers were great reasoners. So he is represented in many places<sup>d</sup> of the Acts of Archelaus. Such an one was Faustus: he openly professeth that<sup>e</sup> the doctrine of Mani taught him not to receive every thing recommended,

<sup>z</sup> Hæc mihi unde probaturus est? aut hæc ipse unde cognovit? ib. c. 13. n. 17.

<sup>a</sup> Et quoniam quæsi vi unde ipse probet, nunc quæro unde ipse cognoverit? Si dicit sibi esse revelatum a Spiritu Sancto, suamque mentem divinitus illustratam, ut ea, quæ dicit, certa et manifesta cognosceret; ipse significat, quod intersit inter cognoscere et credere.—Debit ergo non nobis polliceri scientiam, neque manifestam cognitionem;—sed dicere potius sibi ista esse monstrata, illos autem, quibus narrantur, credere sibi debere quæ nesciunt. ib. n. 18.

<sup>b</sup> Et quia venit Manichæus, et per suam prædicationem docuit nos initium, medium, et finem: docuit nos de fabricâ mundi, quare facta est, et unde facta est, et qui fecerunt: docuit nos, quare dies, et quare nox: docuit nos de cursu solis et lunæ. Act. cum. Fel. l. i. c. 9.

<sup>c</sup> Non legitur in Evangelio Dominum dixisse, Mitto vobis Paracletum, qui vos doceat de cursu solis et lunæ. Christianos enim facere volebat, non mathematicos. Aug. ib. c. 10.

<sup>d</sup> Pro nimia autem humanitate Marcelli adesse festinavi, ut qualiter observare modum divinæ religionis eum edoceam: ne, sicut muta animalia, quæ intellectu carent, nec quid agunt advertunt, ita etiam Marcellus,—ap. Arch. n. 13. p. 24. Vid. ib. p. 7, 8, 25, et passim.

<sup>e</sup> Et tamen me quidam adversus capituli hujus necessitudinem Manichæa fides reddidit tutum, quæ principio mihi non cunctis, quæ ex Salvatoris nomine scripta leguntur passim, credere persuasit, sed probare, si sint eadem vera, si sana, si incorrupta.—Tu vero, qui temere credis, qui naturæ beneficium rationem ex hominibus damnas, cui inter verum falsumque judicare religio est, cuique bonum a contrario separare, non minus formidini est, quam infantibus mania, &c. Faust. l. 18. c. 3.

as said by our Saviour, but first to examine and consider whether it be true, sound, right, genuine: whilst the catholics, he says, swallowed every thing, and acted as if they despised the benefit of human reason, and were afraid to examine and distinguish between truth and falsehood. He insinuates elsewhere that<sup>f</sup> the catholics esteemed that a faith not worth naming, which depended upon reasons. The christian religion, they said, is a plain and simple thing, and curious inquiries are needless and insignificant. I put in the margin<sup>g</sup> another like reflection of his. They were not pretensions to inspiration, but specious and alluring promises of rational discoveries, by which Augustine was deluded, as he<sup>h</sup> particularly says in his letter to his friend Honoratus. His words are strong and remarkable; and therefore I transcribe them largely at the bottom of the page. Augustine almost continually represents this as the characteristic of the sect, and the main pretence by which they seduced<sup>i</sup> men. They<sup>k</sup> ridiculed the frightful authority of the church: they<sup>l</sup> bantered the catholic credulity, and<sup>m</sup> promised men science and demonstration. Upon this<sup>n</sup> point turns Augus-

<sup>f</sup> Sed tamen hoc enervis fidei confessio est, in Christum sine teste et argumento non credere. Nempe ipsi vos docere soletis, idcirco nihil esse curiosius exquirendum, quia simplex sit et absoluta christiana credulitas. Id. l. 12. c. i. in.

<sup>g</sup> At, inquis, beatiore appellat, qui non viderunt et crediderunt. Hoc si ideo dictum putas, ut sine ratione et judicio quidque credamus; esto tu beator sine sensu, ego mihi contentus ero cum ratione beatus audisse. Id. l. 16. c. 8. fin.

<sup>h</sup> Nôsti enim, Honorate, non aliam ob causam nos in tales homines incidisse, nisi quod se dicebant terribili auctoritate separatâ, merâ et simplici ratione eos qui se audire vellent introducturos in Deum, et errore omni liberaturos. Quid enim me aliud cogebat, annos fere novem, spretâ religione quæ mihi puerulo a parentibus insita erat, homines illos sequi ac diligenter audire, nisi quod nos superstitione teneri, et fidem nobis ante rationem imperari dicerent, se autem nullum premere ad fidem, nisi prius discussâ et enodatâ veritate?—Tu—quâ, quæso, aliâ re delectatus es, recordare obsecro te, nisi magnâ quâdam presumptione ac pollicitatione rationum? De Util. Cred. c. i. n. 2.

<sup>i</sup> Nonnulli autem hæretici, quia non decipiunt, nisi cum scientiam quam non exhibent, pollicentur,—De Diversis Quæst. 83. Qu. 68. n. 1. T. 6.

<sup>k</sup> See just before, note <sup>h</sup>.

<sup>l</sup> Est igitur mihi propositum, ut probem tibi, si possim, quod Manichæi sacrilege ac temere invehantur in eos, qui, catholicæ fidei auctoritatem sequentes, ante quam illud verum quod purâ mente conspicitur intueri queant, credendo præmuniuntur. De Ut. Cred. n. 2. in. vid. et not. °. Vos enim nôstis, temere credentibus quam vehementer insultare soleatis. Contr. Ep. Manich. c. 13. n. 17.

<sup>m</sup> Quid infelicius istâ superstitione inveniri potest, quæ non modo non exhibet scientiam quam promittit et veritatem, sed ea dicit, quæ vehementer sunt scientiæ veritatique contraria? Contr. Ep. Manich. c. 15. n. 19.

<sup>n</sup> Jam vero—scripsi librum de utilitate credendi, ad amicum meum, quem, deceptum a Manichæis, adhuc eo errore noveram detineri, et irridere in catholicæ fidei disciplinâ quod juberentur homines credere, non autem, quid esset verum, certissimâ ratione docerentur. Retr. l. i. c. 14.

tine's book to his friend Honoratus, still a Manichee, which also is entitled, *Of the Usefulness of believing*. In another place Augustine complains of them, that they<sup>o</sup> set up reason above authority or scripture.

7. Mani made no pretensions to miraculous powers: this is particularly insisted upon in<sup>p</sup> *The Acts of Archelaus*. If it should be here said, that his attempt to cure the king of Persia's son was pretending to do a miracle, I might answer, that story is not credibly related. But, setting aside that consideration for the present, I think that what is said in the fore-mentioned Acts, about his doing no miracles, ought to induce us to suppose Mani did not pretend to a miraculous cure. Nor do the Acts, in the relation of that attempt, say so: but that he<sup>q</sup> took upon him to cure the king's son, and killed him: which leads us to think he made use of some external means that proved hurtful. Epiphanius says he<sup>r</sup> had recourse to medicines, but his hopes of cure failed him: Cyril, that<sup>s</sup> he promised to cure the young prince by prayer. Nor was it, I think, unbecoming a pious man, and a teacher of religion, if called upon occasion of sickness, to make use of prayer. However, it must be owned that<sup>t</sup> Cyril likewise speaks of Mani's killing the king's son; which, as already observed, seems to imply some external applications that were prejudicial; provided there is any foundation at all for this story.

8. I do not recollect that Mani or his followers were ever famous for visions and revelations, as some others have been. It is indeed said, in the *Acts of Archelaus*, that<sup>u</sup> Mani was admonished in a dream of the king's design to put him to death. But surely every one perceives that to be ridiculous. Does a man, imprisoned by order of his prince, need

<sup>o</sup> Unde igitur exordiar? ab auctoritate, an ratione? Naturæ quidem ordo ita se habet, ut, cum aliquid discimus, rationem præcedat auctoritas.—Sed, quoniam cum iis nobis res est, qui omnia contra ordinem et sentiunt, et loquuntur, et gerunt, nihilque aliud maxime dicunt, nisi rationem prius esse reddendam, morem illis geram. De Mor. E. C. c. 2. n. 3.

<sup>p</sup> Et post ista omnia mandata, iste nec signum quidem aliquod, aut prodigium ullum ostendens. Arch. c. 35. p. 61. f. Et hæc quidem non in explorata proloquor; sed ex eo quod nullum te video facere virtutem, ita de te sentio, &c. ib. c. 36. p. 63.

<sup>q</sup> ——— præsentiam suam Manes exhibet apud regem, dicens se esse puerum curaturum.—Verum, ne multa narrando quæ gessit, tædium auditoribus inferam, mortuus est puer in manibus ejus, vel potius extinctus. ib. c. 53. p. 98.

<sup>r</sup> ———τινα εἶδη φαρμακευτικῆς προενεγκας τῆ νοσηλευομένῳ παιδὶ τῆ βασιλεως. H. 66. n. 4.

<sup>s</sup> Ἀλλ' ὁ Μανῆς ἐπηγγέλλετο δια προσευχῆς, ὡσανεὶ εὐσεβῆς, κατορθώσῃν. Cat. 6. n. 25.

<sup>t</sup> ———τῆ παιδος τον φονον. Ib. n. 26.

<sup>u</sup> Quod cum rex Persarum cognovisset, dignis eum supplicis subdere parat. Quo Manes agnito, admonitus in somniis, elapsus de carcere, in fugam versus est, auro plurimo custodibus corruptis. Arch. c. 54. p. 99.

a revelation to let him know he had best escape if he can? It may also, perhaps, be worth while to observe here, that Mani's deliverance is not ascribed to magic, or any such like thing, but to<sup>v</sup> a large sum of money, by which he bribed his keepers. As for the journey to heaven, mentioned by some eastern writers, I suppose that no one can think it worthy of any regard. In a word, the Manichees, as it seems, were rather a sect of reasoners and philosophers, than visionaries and enthusiasts.

It is observable, that Gregory Nazianzen, mentioning altogether the<sup>w</sup> Montanists, Manichees, Novatians, and Sabelians, distinguishes the first by their pretence of inspiration, without imputing any such thing to any of the rest. And in like manner in another<sup>x</sup> place, where, beside the forenamed, are also mentioned Valentinus, Marcion, and some others.

Not that the Manichees were silent about the Spirit. No, for certain they, as well as other christians, claimed an interest in the promise of the Spirit made by Christ: but, whereas Augustine says they<sup>y</sup> pretended that the Spirit came to us by Mani, I am not fully satisfied about the justness of his expression. One might be rather apt to conclude from<sup>z</sup> words of Faustus, and even from those words of Augustine just cited, 'came to us,' that they considered the gift of the Spirit as a blessing common to believers under the gospel dispensation.

If they had gone upon the ground of a particular inspiration in Mani, it might be expected that the traces of that high notion concerning their master should appear more distinctly than they do, in the discourses of the Manichees, with whom Augustine disputed. Fortunatus seems to use strong expressions to the contrary, when he says: 'He<sup>a</sup> knows that he cannot by any means show his faith to be right, unless he proves it by the authority of the scriptures.'

<sup>v</sup> See the preceding note <sup>u</sup>.

<sup>w</sup> Μοντανε δε τε πονηρον πνευμα, και τε Μανε σκοτος, κ. λ. Greg. Or. 25. p. 414. C.

<sup>x</sup> Μοντανε το πονηρον πνευμα, και γυναικειον Μανε την υλην μετα τε σκοτης Ναυατε την αλαζονειαν, κ. λ. Or. 25. p. 441. B.

<sup>y</sup> ———dicunt Spiritum Sanctum, quem Dominus discipulis se missurum esse promisit, per ipsum [Manichæum] ad nos venisse. De Util. Cred. c. 3. n. 7.

<sup>z</sup> ———et nobis Paracletus ex Novo Testamento promissus perinde docet—de quo ultro Jesus, cum eum promitteret, dicit in Evangelio, Ipse vos inducet in omnem veritatem, et ipse vobis annuntiabit omnia, et commemorabit omnia. Faust. ap. Aug. l. 32. cap. 6.

<sup>a</sup> Et quia nullo genere recte me credere ostendere possum, nisi eandem fidem scripturarum auctoritate firmaverim. Disp. Fortun. l. 2. n. 20.

Upon the whole, I do not choose to deny that Mani was an impostor; but I do not discern evident proofs of it. I plainly see that he was an arrogant philosopher, and a great schemist: but whether he was an impostor, I cannot certainly say. He was abundantly too fond of philosophical notions, which he endeavoured to bring into religion: for this he is to be blamed. But every bold dogmatizer is not an impostor.

I put down Beausobre's judgment upon this point, when I entered upon the consideration of this question. I must here take notice of several other of his places, where he delivers his opinion concerning this matter. I do it for the sake of my readers, as well as myself, that none, who are desirous of information and judging rightly, may be destitute of any helps that can be obtained for these purposes.

He says, in the preface to his work, that 'Mani<sup>b</sup> took the character of an apostle of Christ, and a prophet immediately inspired by the Paraclete, to reveal to the world truths, in which our Lord thought not proper to instruct his first disciples. This was his imposture or fanaticism. For whatever the ancients may say, there are no evident proofs that he ever endeavoured to pass for the Paraclete, or the Spirit.' He elsewhere speaks of Mani's pretending<sup>c</sup> to a divine vocation. However, he likewise expresseth himself after this manner, speaking at the same time both of Mani, and some others called heretics: 'In<sup>d</sup> what then consisted their error? These heretics were philosophers, who, having formed certain systems, accommodated revelation to them; which was the servant of their reason, not the mistress. Mani in particular, boasted of having a perfect knowledge of all things, of having banished mysteries, and given a true account of every thing; which the Manichees called the knowledge of the beginning, middle, and end of all things. St. Augustine confesseth, that what seduced him in his youth was the hope of understanding every thing by demonstration, and of knowing God by the sole light of reason, without the help of faith.' Again says the same learned author: 'As<sup>e</sup> for his heresy in general, it was, properly speaking, a philosophical system, the grounds of which he found in the philosophy of the magi, and which he accommodated, as well as he could, to the revelation of Jesus Christ. Herein he did nothing but what had been done before by many Greeks, and both Greeks and Latins had been doing almost ever since. In all times have been seen

<sup>b</sup> T. i. Pr. p. x. xi.

<sup>c</sup> T. i. p. 179, 180.

<sup>d</sup> B. Hist. de Manich. T. i. p. 94.

<sup>e</sup> Ib. p. 179.

‘philosophers, whose minds were filled with the ideas and notions of Plato and Aristotle; which, under slight pretexts, they have mingled with christian truths, and erected into articles of faith.’

So Beausobre.<sup>f</sup> I readily assent to him in what he says of the philosophical nature of Mani’s system. Whether he pretended to divine inspiration, I cannot say. However, I leave every one to judge as he sees good. But I own I had rather vindicate a christian from the charge of imposture, than pronounce him guilty, unless the evidence against him be clear and full.

We now proceed to a more distinct examination of the Manichæan principles.

VI. Mani had honourable sentiments of the Deity, as self-existent, eternal, completely happy, and perfect in goodness. So much is evident from the passage of Fortunatus above quoted, and from a passage of Mani himself, to be taken notice of presently.

They owned God to be almighty: both <sup>g</sup> Fortunatus and <sup>h</sup> Faustus ascribe to God that attribute. Indeed they did not believe this world of ours to be made out of nothing. However, perhaps that was not from a supposition of the want of such power in God, but because they imagined<sup>i</sup> things would have been better than they are, perfectly good, without any mixture of evil, if the matter of which they consisted had been of divine original.

But Mani and his followers did not believe the divine immensity, or<sup>k</sup> that, as to his nature, he was in all places. For part of space, according to them, was occupied by Hyle, the evil principle, matter. But though they limited the divine essence in point of space, they did not limit God in point<sup>l</sup> of power and knowledge. This appears from Augustine, who owns the<sup>m</sup> Manichees taught that God had pre-

<sup>f</sup> See him also, T. i. p. 426. note 4. and T. 2. p. 253.

<sup>g</sup> ———a Deo omnipotente. Fortun. ap. Aug. Disp. i. n. 17.

<sup>h</sup> ———quia et omnipotentem Deum colam. Faust. l. 20. c. 4.

<sup>i</sup> ———Quomodo autem et condere potuit creaturas, non subsistente materiâ? Si enim de non extantibus, consequetur has visibiles creaturas meliores esse, et omnibus virtutibus plenas. Manes, ap. Arch. n. 14. p. 27.

<sup>k</sup> Ego duas naturas esse dico, unam bonam, et alteram malam, et eam quidem, quæ bona est, in quibusdam partibus habitare.—Si enim dicimus monarchiam unius naturæ, et omnia Deum replere, et nullum esse extra eum locum, quis erit creaturæ susceptor? ubi gehenna ignis? ubi tenebræ exteriores? ubi fletus? Manes, ap. Arch. n. 14. p. 26.

<sup>l</sup> See Beaus. T. i. p. 505, 506.

<sup>m</sup> Ipsi enim dicunt, Deum genti tenebrarum æternum carcerem præparare, quam dicunt esse inimicam Deo. Contr. Adim. c. 7. n. 1.

pared an eternal prison for the nation of darkness. Therefore God's dominion must be over all.

Upon account of their doctrine of two principles, to be taken notice of hereafter, the Manichees are often charged with believing two gods. So Turbo, in the Acts of Archelaus, expressly says of Mani: 'He<sup>n</sup> worships two gods, 'self-existent, eternal, opposite to each other, one good, the 'other bad.' And Socrates said, that<sup>o</sup> Mani taught his disciples to worship many gods.

Faustus particularly considers this point. 'Is<sup>p</sup> there one 'God; or are there two gods? For certain, one. Why 'then do you say there are two gods? That is no doctrine 'of ours. Why do you suspect it to be so? Because you 'believe two principles, one good, the other bad. It is true, 'we believe two principles: but one of these we call God, the 'other Hyle; or sometimes, in common discourse, the devil.' However, he adds afterwards: 'I own that<sup>q</sup> we sometimes 'call the adverse nature god: not that it is so esteemed by 'us, but by those who worship it, even as the apostle speaks 'of the "god of this world blinding the eyes of them that 'believe not." ' See 2 Cor. iv. 4.

They likewise considered God as the creator of the heavens and the earth, and all things that are therein, as<sup>r</sup> Augustine assures us; which is very different from what is said of them by<sup>s</sup> Athanasius and<sup>t</sup> Rufinus. Forasmuch therefore as some writers deny that the Manichees ascribed the creation of the world to the good principle, and some other

<sup>n</sup> Οὗτος εἶπο σεβει θεος ἀγεννητῆς, αυτοφύει, αἰδῖς, ἓνα τῷ ἐνι ἀντικειμένον, καὶ τὸν μὲν ἀγαθόν, τὸν δὲ πονηρὸν εἰσηγείται. ap. Arch. n. 7. p. 9.

<sup>o</sup> Πολλὰς θεὸς σεβειν ὁ Μανιχαῖος προτρεπεται. Socr. l. i. c. 22.

<sup>p</sup> Unus Deus est, an duo? Plane unus. Quomodo ergo vos duos asseritis? Nunquam in nostris quidem assertionibus duorum deorum auditum est nomen. Sed tu unde hoc suspicaris, cupio scire. Quia bonorum et malorum duo principia traditis. Est quidem quod duo principia confitemur; sed unum ex his Deum vocamus, alterum Hylen, aut, ut communiter et usitate dixerim, dæmonem. Faust. l. 21. in.

<sup>q</sup> Nam nec diffiteor, etiam interdum nos adversam naturam nuncupare deum, sed non hoc secundum nostram fidem, verum juxta præsumtum jam in eam nomen a cultoribus suis, qui eam imprudenter existimant deum, &c. ib. ad fin.

<sup>r</sup> Vos autem fatemini universum istum mundum, qui nomine cæli et terræ significatur, habere auctorem et fabricatorem Deum, et Deum bonum. De Mor. Manich. c. x. n. 16.

<sup>s</sup> Καὶ γὰρ κἀκεῖνοι [Μανιχαῖοι] μόνον ἀχρὶς ὀνοματὸς ἀγαθὸν θεὸν ὀνομαζέουσι, καὶ ἔργον μὲν αὐτῶ οὐτε βλέπομενον οὐτε ἀορατὸν δεικνύειν δύνανται· τὸν δὲ ἀληθινὸν καὶ οὐτως οὐτὰ θεὸν τὸν ποιητὴν ἔβραν καὶ γῆς, καὶ πάντων τῶν ἀορατῶν, ἀρνημένοι, παντέλως εἰσι μυθολογοῖ. Ath. Ep. Enc. ad Ep. Æg. et Lib. n. 16. T. i. p. 285.

<sup>t</sup> Tum deinde quod mundum a malo factum dicit, Deum creatorem negat. Ruf. in Symb. Ap. Hieron. Opp. T. 5. p. 142.

heretics also are said to have disowned God as creator, I shall put down a passage or two more from<sup>u</sup> Augustine, and<sup>v</sup> the author De Fide, where they allow that the Manichees spoke of God as the maker of the world. And Titus of Bostra, giving an account of their notion upon this head, says that<sup>w</sup> the universe, according to them, consisted indeed of a mixture of good and bad, but was formed by the good principle, that is, God. For the evil principle knew nothing beforehand of the formation of the world. Besides, I remember that I alleged a passage to this purpose<sup>x</sup> before, when I showed their agreement with other christians. And Beau-sobre<sup>y</sup> might be consulted upon this head.

The Manichees believed a consubstantial Trinity, or three persons of the same substance. I<sup>z</sup> have already taken some notice of this. I observe here a few more particulars as proofs of this, though I do not design to examine their opinion nicely.

Augustine says the<sup>a</sup> Manichees never dared to deny that the Father and the Son are consubstantial.

Secundinus begins his letter to Augustine in this manner : ‘ I<sup>b</sup> give thanks to the ineffable and most sacred Majesty, and to Jesus Christ, his first-begotten, king of all lights. ‘ I also humbly give thanks to the Holy Spirit.’

Faustus has a remarkable passage where he says : ‘ We<sup>c</sup>

<sup>u</sup> Proinde mundum a naturâ boni, hoc est a naturâ Dei factum confitentur quidem, sed de commixtione boni et mali, quæ facta est, quando inter se utraque natura pugnavit. Aug. de Hær. cap. 46.

Iste autem, cujus nomen in eodem libro non comperi, detestatur Deum mundi fabricatorem ; cum Manichæi, quamquam librum Geneseos non accipiant, atque blasphemant, Deum tamen bonum fabricasse mundum, etsi ex alienâ naturâ atque materiâ, confiteantur. Contr. adv. Leg. et Proph. l. i. c. i.

<sup>v</sup> Manichæus enim duas dicit esse naturas, unam bonam, et alteram malam ; bonam, quæ fecit mundum, malam, de quâ factus est mundus. De Fid. c. 49. in.

<sup>w</sup> Γεγονε τοινυν μιξις και κρασις, τῶτον φησι τον τροπον, της τε καταποθειςης δυναμειως τῃ αγαθῃ, και της καταπιωσις ὑλης και ετως εἰς αμφοιν εδημωρηθη το δε παν, ὑπο τῃ αγαθῃ δηλαδη ε γαρ αν προενοησεν ἡ κακια κοσμου γενεσεως. Tit. l. i. p. 68. m.

<sup>x</sup> See before, p. 330. note <sup>t</sup>.

<sup>y</sup> See B. T. 2. p. 360, 361.

<sup>z</sup> See p. 330.

<sup>a</sup> —Quia et nunquam dicere ausi sunt, Patrem et Filium nisi unius esse substantiæ. Aug. Serm. xii. in PS. cap. x. n. xi.

<sup>b</sup> Habeo et ago gratias ineffabili et sacratissimæ Majestati, ejusque primogenito omnium luminum regi Jesu Christo. Habeo gratias, et supplex sancto refero Spiritui. Secund. ad Aug. Ep. in.

<sup>c</sup> Igitur nos Patris quidem Dei omnipotentis, et Christi filii ejus, et Spiritus Sancti unum idemque sub triplici appellatione colimus numen : sed Patrem quidem ipsum lucem incolere credimus summam ac principalem, quam Paulus alias inaccessibilem vocat : Filium vero in hac secundâ ac visibili luce consistere ; qui quoniam sit et ipse geminus, ut eum apostolus novit, Christum dicens esse Dei virtutem et Dei sapientiam ; virtutem quidem ejus in sole

‘ worship one deity of God the Father Almighty, and Christ his Son, and the Holy Ghost, under a threefold appellation. But the Father we believe to inhabit the supreme and most sublime light, which Paul calls inaccessible. [1 Tim. vi. 16.] The Son we think dwells by his power in the sun, by his wisdom in the moon: the Holy Spirit, the third Majesty, has the air for his residence.’

Here therefore I observe that the Manichees are said to worship the sun. So<sup>d</sup> Socrates expressly. Libanius too owned that<sup>e</sup> they worshipped the sun in a secondary sense: and it is very likely that they paid some respect both to the sun and the moon on<sup>f</sup> account of the residence of the Son of God therein, as just mentioned by Faustus.

However, let us likewise see what others say. We find Augustine himself charging them with<sup>g</sup> the worship of the sun and the moon. But in the dispute with Fortunatus, when called upon to declare if he had seen any thing criminal in their worship, he owned that<sup>h</sup> he had observed nothing amiss in the prayers, at which he was present, except that they turned themselves toward the sun. In another place he informs us, that<sup>i</sup> when they prayed they looked toward the sun in the day time, and toward the moon in the night. In another place he speaks of<sup>k</sup> their kneeling to the sun, or toward it. Alexander of Lycopolis says they<sup>l</sup> honour the sun and moon above all things, not as gods, but as the way by which we are to go to God. Titus of Bostra ascribes their respect to the sun to their supposition that<sup>m</sup> it was composed of parts of light entirely pure, and unsullied with a mixture of evil. And<sup>n</sup> Augustine seems to speak to the

habitare credimus, sapientiam vero in lunâ: nec non et Spiritûs Sancti, qui est majestas tertia, aëris hunc omnem ambitum sedem fatemur ac diversorium. Faust. l. 20. c. 2.

<sup>d</sup> ——— και τον ήλιον προσκυνειν διδασκει. Socr. l. i. c. 22. p. 56. A.

<sup>e</sup> See before, p. 268.

<sup>f</sup> ——— quod vel tu, vel quilibet alius rogatus, ubinam Deum suum credat habitare, respondere non dubitabit, in lumine: ex quo cultus hic meus omnium pene testimonio confirmatur. Faust. ib. l. 20. c. 2. f.

<sup>g</sup> Solem etiam et lunam cum eis adorant et orant. Aug. T. 2. Ep. 236. al. 74.

<sup>h</sup> Ego autem in oratione, quâ interfui, nihil turpe fieri vidi: sed solum contra fidem animadverti—quod contra solem facitis orationem. Adv. Fortun. Disp. i. n. 3.

<sup>i</sup> Orationes faciunt ad solem per diem, quaquaversum circuit: ad lunam per noctem, si apparet; si autem non apparet, ad aquiloniam partem, quâ sol cum occiderit, ad orientem revertitur, stant orantes. De Hær. c. 46.

<sup>k</sup> Sol iste, cui genu flectitis, &c. De Mor. Manich. cap. 8. n. 13.

<sup>l</sup> Τιμωσι δε μαλιστα ήλιον και σεληνην, εχ ως θεος, αλλ' ως οδον δι' ης εστιν προς θεον αφικεσθαι. Alex. L. p. 5. D.

<sup>m</sup> Επειδη δε ήλιον σεμνυνει, και αμυγη ειναι, ως υπειληφε, τε κακω διοριζεται. Tit. contr. Manich. l. 2. p. 128. in.

<sup>n</sup> Et ideo istum solem—isti

like purpose, or at least that they esteemed it a portion of light which God inhabits. Simplicius says they<sup>o</sup> thought the sun and moon to consist of parts of the good substance, and therefore honoured them.

Upon the whole, I believe we need not surmise any great harm in the respect they showed the sun, considering that Faustus assures us they believed one God only under a three-fold appellation, and considering what Augustine says of the prayers at which he was present. But it seems that when they prayed to God, for some reason or other they turned their faces toward the sun or the moon.

VII. ‘The Manichees,’ to use Augustine’s<sup>p</sup> words, ‘held two principles, different and opposite, eternal and co-eternal: and two natures and substances, one good, the other evil, following herein other ancient heretics.’

In this<sup>q</sup> notion, as the same learned father says, they triumphed to a great degree, supposing it to afford the best account of the origin of evil.

And Epiphanius says that<sup>r</sup> by this scheme Mani endeavoured to free God from the charge of being the author of evil. To the like purpose speaks<sup>s</sup> Jerom, and<sup>t</sup> Titus of Bostra, and<sup>u</sup> Simplicius.

Indeed this difficult question, of the origin of evil, was the ruin of these men, and of many others. They perplexed and confounded themselves, and they endeavoured to puzzle and confound all other people. Augustine<sup>v</sup> intimates as much.

sic colunt, ut particulam dicant esse lucis illius in quâ habitat Deus. De Gen. contr. Man. l. i. c. 3. n. 6.

<sup>o</sup> Ποση δε και η περι τουτο αλλοκοτια, το εκ παντων των εν τη ωρανυ μονες τες δυο φωτηρος τιμαν, της τε αγαθης υπεξαιρειν τον θεον, κ. λ. In Epictet. c. 34. p. 167.

<sup>p</sup> Iste duo principia inter se diversa et adversa, eademque æterna et coæterna, hoc est, semper fuisse, composuit: duasque naturas atque substantias, boni scilicet et mali, sequens alios antiquos hæreticos, opinatus est. Aug. de Hær. c. 46.

<sup>q</sup> Hic fortasse quis dicat, Unde ipsa peccata, et omnino unde malum? Si ab homine, unde homo? Si ab angelo, unde angelus? Quos ex Deo esse cum dicitur, quamvis recte vereque dicatur, videntur tamen imperitis et minus valentibus acriter res abditas intueri, quasi per quamdam catenam ad Deum mala et peccata connecti. Hac quæstione regnare se putant, De Duab. Anim. c. 8. n. 10.

<sup>r</sup> Μανης, βελομενος κακίας υπεξαιρειν τον θεον, κ. λ. Epiph. H. 66. n. 16. p. 632. Vid. et n. 15. in.

<sup>s</sup> Inde Manichæus, ut Deum a conditione malorum liberet, alterum mali inducit auctorem. Hier. in Naum. cap. 3. T. 3. p. 1588. in.

<sup>t</sup> Κακίας γαρ αναιτιον αποδειξει τον θεον βεληθεις, κ. λ. Tit. contr. Manich. l. i. p. 60. in. ap. Basnag. et Canis. Lect. Ant. T. i.

<sup>u</sup> ——— και το θανατασον, οτι παντα ταυτα ανεπλασαν, δια θεοσεβη δηθεν ευλαβειαν μη βελομενοι γαρ αιτιον τε κακς τον θεον ειπειν, αρχην υπεσησαντο ιδιαν τε κακς, κ. λ. Simpl. in Epict. Enchir. c. 34. p. 168.

<sup>v</sup> Qui, dum nimis quærunt, unde sit malum, nihil reperiunt nisi malum. De Ut. Cred. c. 18. n. 36.

Theodoret's account is to this purpose: 'Mani<sup>w</sup> taught two eternal beings, God and matter. God he called light, matter darkness: and the light good, matter evil. He called them also by other names. Light is a good tree, full of good fruits: matter an evil tree, bearing fruits agreeable to its root.'

Photius, observing the contents of a work of Agapius, a Manichæan writer, says: 'He<sup>x</sup> advanceth a bad principle, self-existent and opposite to God; which he sometimes calls nature, sometimes matter, sometimes Satan, and the devil, and the prince and god of this world, and the like.'

Their opinion is laid down by<sup>y</sup> Fortunatus at the beginning of his second dispute with Augustine.

Jerom<sup>z</sup> often takes notice of this doctrine of the Manichees.

This doctrine Mani teaches in his letter to Marcellus. He<sup>a</sup> wonders how many christians can think that God made Satan and other evil things. This notion and the consequences of it, are much discoursed of in The Dispute of<sup>b</sup> Archelaus.

After all this, it may be still proper to put down, in the margin at least, the words of Mani himself, near the beginning of his Epistle of the Foundation, which was so much admired by his followers, and is largely cited by Augustine. 'There<sup>c</sup> were,' says he, 'in the beginning, two substances, divided from each other. The kingdom of light is held by God the Father, unchangeable, all-powerful, true in his nature, eternal, having in himself wisdom and vital powers.—His most splendid kingdom is founded upon light and blessed

<sup>w</sup> Ουτος δυο αγεννητους και αιδιους εφησεν ειναι, Θεον και υλην' και προσηγορευσε τον μεν Θεον φως, την δε υλην σκοτος. κ. λ. Thdrt. H. F. l. i. c. 26. p. 212. B. C.

<sup>x</sup> Αρχην πονηριου αυθυποστατον αντανισησιν εξ αιδιου τη Θεω, ην ποτε μεν φυσιν, αλλοτε υλην, και αλλοτε δε Σαταναν, και Διαβολον, και αρχοντα τω κοσμου, και Θεον τω αιωνας τωτω. κ. λ. Ph. cod. 179. p. 404. in.

<sup>y</sup> Disp. 2. sub in.

<sup>z</sup> Ut non juxta Manichæum, et cæteras hæreses, (quæ factorem et materiam ponunt,) aliquid, unde creaturæ factæ sint, antecesserit creaturas, sed omnia ex nihilo substiterint. Hier. in Ep. ad Gal. cap. i. T. 4. P. i. p. 435. in. Vid. eund. ad Ctes. E. p. 43. T. 4. P. 2. p. 480. infr. m. et Prol. Dial. adv. Pelag. ib. p. 485. in.

<sup>a</sup> Και πως τον Θεον τω Σατανα, και των κακων αυτεπραγματων λεγειν τολμωσι ποιητην και δημιουργον, θαυμαζειν μοι επερχεται. ap. Arch. c. 5. p. 7. f.

<sup>b</sup> Ego duas naturas esse dico, unam bonam, et alteram malam. ib. c. 14. p. 26.

<sup>c</sup> Hæ quidem in exordio fuerunt duæ substantiæ a sese divisæ. Et luminis quidem imperium tenebat Deus Pater, in suâ sanctâ stirpe perpetuus, in virtute magnificus, naturâ ipsâ verus, æternitate propriâ semper exsultans, continens apud se sapientiam et sensus vitales.—Ita autem fundata sunt ejusdem splendissima regna super lucidam et beatam terram, ut a nullo unquam aut moveri aut concuti possint. Ap. Aug. contr. Ep. Manich. c. 13. n. 16.

‘land, not to be shaken or moved by any.’ But however, as he goes on, ‘On<sup>d</sup> one side of his illustrious and holy territories was the land of darkness, deep and wide, where dwelt fiery bodies, and all sorts of pestiferous things: beyond which are muddy waters, boisterous winds, dark smoke; and at the centre the dreadful prince and universal governor, having with him innumerable princes of which he is the soul and source. And these are the five natures [or elements] of the pestiferous country.’

These five elements, as Augustine observes in plainer words, are<sup>e</sup> darkness, water, wind, fire, smoke. Darkness is the outmost, within that water, within that wind, next fire, and the inmost smoke; all which regions have their several inhabitants. In another place<sup>f</sup> Augustine mentions again these five elements, but in a different order.

There were as many elements in the<sup>g</sup> kingdom of light; air, light, fire, water, wind: which at the formation of the world, were mixed with the bad elements.

Hence it appears that<sup>h</sup> Mani ascribed to matter, the evil substance, the land of darkness, not only eternal existence, but likewise motion and life, animal passions, and, as one would think, reason or intelligence. If the inhabitants of those regions had not reason originally, they seem to have gained it afterwards.

Upon this point I shall mention a thought<sup>i</sup> of Beausobre, which is to this purpose. ‘Titus of Bostra observes this

<sup>d</sup> Juxta unam vero partem ac latus illustris illius ac sanctæ terræ erat tenebrarum terra, profundâ et immensâ magnitudine, in quâ habitabant ignea corpora, genera scilicet pestifera. Hic infinitæ tenebræ, ex eâdem manantes naturâ inæstimabiles cum propriis fetibus: ultra quas erant aquæ cœnosæ ac turbidæ cum suis inhabitatoribus, quarum interius venti horribiles ac vehementes cum suo principe et genitoribus. Rursus regio ignea et corruptibilis cum suis ducibus et rationibus. Pari modo introrsum gens caliginis ac fumi plena, in quâ morabatur immanis princeps omnium et dux, habens circa se innumerabiles principes, quorum omnium ipse erat mens et origo. Hæcque fuerunt naturæ quinque terræ pestiferæ. ap. Aug. ib. c. 14, n. 19.

<sup>e</sup> Animadvertimus quinque naturas, quasi partes unius naturæ, quam vocat terram pestiferam. Hæ sunt autem, tenebræ, aquæ, venti, ignis, fumus; quas quinque naturas sic ordinat, ut exteriores cæteris sint tenebræ, a quibus numerare incipit. Intra tenebras, aquas constituit, intra aquas ventos, intra ventos ignem, intra ignem fumum. Et habebant istæ quinque naturæ sua quæque genera inhabitatorum. Contr. Ep. Manich. c. 28. n. 31.

<sup>f</sup> ————eaque elementa his nominibus nuncupant, fumum, tenebras, ignem, aquam, ventum. Aug. De Hær. c. 46.

<sup>g</sup> His quinque elementis malis debellandis alia quinque elementa de regno et substantiâ Dei missa esse, et in illâ pugnâ fuisse permixta: fumo aëra, tenebris lucem, igni malo ignem bonum, aquæ malæ aquam bonam, vento malo ventum bonum. Id. ibid.

<sup>h</sup> Ἀρ' ἦν ἑκατέρον των παρα τη Μανεντι νομιζομενων εναντιων, οσια ζωσα τε και αγεννητος ονομαζεται. Tit. l. i. p. 65.

<sup>i</sup> See Beaus. Hist. de Manich. T. 2. p. 410, 411.

‘ absurdity in the Manichæan scheme, that<sup>k</sup> they ascribe an ‘ unreasonable life only to dæmons: and yet those dæmons ‘ are represented showing great art and skill. But,’ says Beausobre, ‘ Titus did not consider that the Manichees do ‘ not ascribe such ability to the dæmons till after they ‘ had seized on the parts of light which were devoured by ‘ them, and became incorporated with them.’ Whether this be right I cannot say: I shall mention an observation concerning this matter by and by.

‘ As for the devil,’ to take the words of<sup>l</sup> Beausobre, ‘ Mani ‘ did not believe him to be properly eternal, forasmuch as ‘ he gave him a father: which supposition he built upon the ‘ words of our Saviour in John viii. 44. According to him ‘ the father of the devil was matter agitated in a violent, ‘ irregular, and tumultuous manner.’

That learned writer does not refer to the proper vouchers for proof of this account. I shall therefore add a few references in the margin, taken from *The Dispute of Archelaus*, where<sup>m</sup> Mani is represented quoting the text of St. John’s gospel in this manner, ‘ the father of the devil is a liar and ‘ a murderer:’ where likewise he speaks<sup>n</sup> of the devil as having no former or creator but his own malice, whence he sprang.

This notion of the origin of Satan may seem strange: and yet perhaps it is not much stranger than the opinion of those who thought that<sup>o</sup> plants grew up where no seeds had been sown: and that animals in water and on the land, having sexes, sprung up out of the genial virtue of the elements alone, descended from no parents. There is this difference only, that these persons, it is likely, ascribed their genial virtue

<sup>k</sup> \*Θεν πεφευγασι προσομολογειν αυτη λογισμον τε και γνωσιν. Tit. l. i. p. 70. sub in. <sup>l</sup> B. T. i. p. 179, and see him again, T. 2. p. 263.

<sup>m</sup> Et alio in loco, patrem diaboli mendacem et homicidam esse confirmat [Salvator Christus]. Manes, ap. Arch. c. 13. p. 24.—Cum loquitur mendacium, de suis propriis loquitur, quoniam mendax est, sicut et pater ejus. ib. n. 29. p. 48. Conf. Beaus. T. 2. p. 263.

<sup>n</sup> Si vero consideretis, quomodo generentur filii hominum, invenietis non esse Dominum hominis creatorem, sed alium, qui et ipse ingenitæ est naturæ, cujus conditor nullus, nec creator, nec factor est, sed solâ malitiâ suâ talem eum protulit. ap. Arch. n. 14. p. 27.

<sup>o</sup> ——— quia, nisi talis aliqua vis esset in istis elementis, non plerumque nascerentur ex terrâ quæ ibi seminata non essent: nec animalia tam multa, nullâ marium feminarumque commixtione præcedente, sive in terrâ, sive in aquâ, quæ tamen crescunt, et coëundo alia pariunt, cum illa nullis coëuntibus parentibus orta sint. Aug. de Trin. l. 3. cap. 8. n. 13. Quod si animalia quædam vento et aurâ concipere solere, omnibus notum est.—Lact. Inst. l. 4. c. 12. sub in. Nec tamen commoveat aliquem, quod animalia quædam de terrâ nasci videntur. Hæc enim non terra per se gignit, sed spiritus Dei, sine quo nihil gignitur: l. 2. c. 8. p. 183. Vid. Id. ib. l. i. c. 8. p. 43.

of the elements to an intelligent and powerful cause, even<sup>p</sup> God.

Here, therefore, I insert the observation deferred before, which is this: since Beausobre allows that, according to the Manichees, the devil, who was not properly eternal, was formed by the violent and irregular motion of eternal matter; and since Augustine expressly says, that the elements in the kingdom of darkness<sup>q</sup> begot their several princes; in like manner, perhaps the land of darkness, once irrational, gained reason, or cunning and skill, by some violent and tumultuous agitations. Or, possibly, they never ascribed reason to dæmons, though they allowed them to have a great deal of cunning.

I beg leave to observe farther, that<sup>r</sup> Augustine often speaks of mind in matter, according to the Manichean scheme: as does<sup>s</sup> Mani himself in his Epistle of the Foundation. And Augustine thinks he has a great advantage, in his argument with them, when he observes<sup>t</sup> how many good things they placed in the evil nature; such as life, power, memory, intellect, proportion, and order.

Their doctrine of two principles the Manichees endeavoured to support by texts of the New Testament. They often argued from<sup>u</sup> those words of our Saviour, Matt. vii.

<sup>p</sup> Beausobre has exactly the like thought, though I was not aware of it when I wrote what is above. However I here transcribe his words. Il ne faut pourtant pas s'imaginer, qu'il crût le Démon éternel. Sans doute il le faisoit naître du mouvement déréglé de la matiere, comme d'anciens philosophes croyoient que les animaux étoient nés de la corruption de la terre. C' étoit le sentiment des Manichéens, qu'on attribue aussi aux Priscillianistes. Nec natura ejus [Diaboli] opificium Dei sit, sed eum ex chao et tenebris emersisse. Leo Ep. xv. N°. 5. p. 452. Beaus. T. i. p. 388.

<sup>q</sup> Quinque enim elementa, quæ genuerunt principes proprios, genti tribuunt tenebrarum. De Hær. cap. 46. sub in.

<sup>r</sup> Hinc enim et mali substantiam quamdam credebam esse talem, et habere suam molem terram, sive crassam et deformem, sive tenuem et subtilem, sicut est aëris corpus, quam malignam mentem per illam terram repentem imaginantur. Confess. l. 5. c. x. n. 20. Hæc dixi, ut, si fieri potest, tandem dicere desinatis, malum esse terram per immensum profundam et longam; malum esse mentem per terram vagantem; malum esse quinque antra elementorum—malum esse animalia in illis nata elementis. De M. Manich. c. 9. n. 14.

<sup>s</sup> ——— in quâ morabatur immanis princeps omnium et dux, habens circa se innumerabiles principes, quorum omnium ipse erat mens atque origo. ap. Aug. contr. Epist. Manich. c. 15. n. 19.

<sup>t</sup> ——— ita errantes, ita delirantes,—ut non videant, et in eo quod dicunt naturam summi mali, ponere se tanta bona, ubi ponunt vitam, potentiam,—memoriam, intellectum, temperiem,—mensuras, numeros,—ordinem. De Nat. Boni. cap. 41.

<sup>u</sup> Cui enim oportet credi? magistris vestris istis,—aut Salvatori Christo dicenti, sicut scriptum est in evangeliorum libro, Non potest arbor bona malos fructus facere—? ap. Arch. n. 13. p. 24. Vid. et n. 5. p. 7.

18, "A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit; neither can a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit:" and<sup>v</sup> from the seventh chapter of the epistle to the Romans, where the apostle speaks of two laws, or two powers; one the understanding or reason, the other the flesh or the members of the fleshly body, which are in perpetual opposition: and from<sup>w</sup> 1 John v. 19, "The whole world lies in wickedness," or the evil one; and from other texts which need not to be particularly mentioned.

VIII. According to the Manichees, the formation of this world was occasional, owing to an attempt of the kingdom of darkness upon the kingdom of light. Augustine expresseth himself briefly in his summary account of Manichæism: 'They<sup>x</sup> own, indeed, that the world was made by 'the good nature, that is, the nature of God, but out of a 'mixture of good and evil, which happened when the two 'natures fought together.'

There is somewhat about this fight in<sup>y</sup> the fragments of Mani's letter Of the Foundation. But there must have been more said of it in that part of the letter which Augustine did not answer, and therefore did not quote. For want of which I shall be obliged to take the account of this matter from other authors.

Theodoret says, 'There<sup>z</sup> being a prodigious tumult and 'intestine war in the kingdom of Hyle, as they contended 'and fought with each other, they exceeded the bounds of 'their own territories, and came to the confines of light: 'at the sight of which they were greatly surprised and de- 'lighted, and did all they could to lay hold of and mix the 'light with themselves.'

Titus of Bostra says, that 'a matter having made the inroad 'before mentioned, the good being sent out a power or spirit, 'to which the Manichees give what name they please, to

<sup>v</sup> See Beausobre, T. 2. p. 253.

<sup>w</sup> Ego duas naturas esse dico, unam bonam, alteram malam,—sicut ait Joannes: Totus mundus in maligno positus est, non in Deo. ap. Arch. n. 14. p. 26.

<sup>x</sup> Proinde mundum a naturâ boni, hoc est, a naturâ Dei factum, confitentur quidem, sed de commixtione boni et mali, quæ facta est, quando inter se utraque natura pugnavit. De Hær. c. 46.

<sup>y</sup> Unde si tibi videtur, inquit, ausculta prius quæ fuerint ante constitutionem mundi, et quo pacto proelium sit agitatam, ut possis luminis sejungere naturam ac tenebrarum. ap. Aug. contra Ep. Manich. c. 12. n. 15. Vid. et libr. De Fid. contr. Manich. cap. xi.

<sup>z</sup> ——— αωσι δε πολλοις υπειρον διασασιασαι προς εαυτην την υλην, και τες ταυτης καρπες προς αλληλες· τω δε πολεμω συσαντος, και των μεν ζωικωντων, των δε ζωικωμενων, μεχρι των ορων τω φωτος αυτες αφικεσθαι· ειτα το φως θεασαμενες, ησθηται τε επ' αυτη, και θανατωσαι και βεληθηται πασσυδει κατ' αυτην τραπενσαι, και αρπασαι, και κερασαι τω φωτι το ιδιον σκοτος. Thdr. T. iv. p. 212. C.

<sup>a</sup> Tit. contr. Manich. l. 2. p. 68.

‘ reduce matter to better order, which was in some measure effected; for matter was greatly delighted at the sight of that power, and devoured it, and thereby was rendered more tame.’

In the Acts of Archelaus this affair is related after this manner: ‘ Darkness,<sup>b</sup> exceeding its limits, fought with light. When the good Father [that is, God] perceived that darkness was come into his country, he detached from him a power called the Mother of Life. This power formed the first man, and invested him with the five elements, wind, light, water, fire, air. Thus equipped he went down to fight with darkness: but<sup>c</sup> the princes of darkness fighting against him devoured part of his armour, which is the soul.’ ‘ The first man,’ as it follows in those Acts, ‘ being overpowered, looked up to God, who taking pity upon him sent to his<sup>d</sup> relief another power called the Living Spirit; who descending reached out his hand to him and rescued him: but he left the soul below.—Then the Living Spirit created the world. He created the lights out of the souls that remained, and appointed the firmament to revolve. At length he created the earth.’

Who is meant by the Living Spirit is not certain; whether the Word, or the Holy Spirit, or some other intelligent being: but it seems to be rather more probable, that<sup>f</sup> hereby is meant some spirit inferior to the divine persons; and that Mani was of the same opinion with divers others in former times, who, judging the creation of this visible world unworthy of God, ascribed that work to some inferior intelligence.

‘ And,’ as Beausobre says, ‘ if<sup>f</sup> we reduce to simple ideas all which is said concerning the first man, his descent, his armour, his combats, a part of his armour taken from him, and devoured by the princes of darkness, the meaning may amount to this: that the soul is a celestial substance, which God has thought fit to mix with matter for making the world; and that this was occasioned by an enterprise of

<sup>b</sup> ——— Γνωστα δε τον αγαθον πατερα το σκοτος εν τη γη αυτε επιδειδημικος, προβαλλειν εξ αυτε δυναμιν, λεγομενην μητερα της ζωης, και αυτην προβεβληκεναι τον πρωτον ανθρωπον, κ. λ. ap. Arch. n. 7. p. 10.

<sup>c</sup> Οι δε τω σκοτω αρχοντες, αντιπολεμουντες αυτω, εφαγον εκ της πανοπλιας αυτε, ο εστιν η ψυχη. ib.

<sup>d</sup> ——— και επεσειδεν ιτεραν δυναμιν προβληθεισαν υπ’ αυτε, λεγομενην ζων πνευμα—εκτοτε ην κατελειψε κατω την ψυχην.—Τοτε ζων πνευμα εκτισε τον κοσμον.—Τοτε παλιν το ζων πνευμα εκτισε τες φωσηρας, α εσι της ψυχης λειψανα, και ουτως εποιησε το σερωμα κυκλευσαι και παλιν εκτισε την γην. ib. p. 10, 11.

<sup>e</sup> See Beaus. T. 2. p. 359.

<sup>f</sup> Ib. T. 2. p. 390.

‘matter, which God foresaw, but did not think fit to hinder.’ Or, as he expresseth it in another place: ‘They<sup>g</sup> supposed that the first man descended from heaven to combat the powers of darkness: and that he was armed with five celestial elements, air, wind, water, fire, and light. Matter devoured a part of his armour, which is the soul. In general God permitted that the celestial substance should be mingled with the terrestrial, or bad substance, which occasioned the creation of the world.’

The same learned and judicious author has some other observations<sup>h</sup> relating to this matter, taken from the obscure and figurative style of the eastern people, and the language in which Mani’s works were written, which might not be well understood by the Greeks and Romans.

And I shall add here a passage of Fortunatus, who, disputing with Augustine, says: ‘Hence<sup>i</sup> evidently appears our ancient original, that before the formation of the world souls were sent against the contrary nature to subdue it by their virtue and patience, that the victory and glory might be given to God. For, as the apostle says: (Eph. vi. 12.) “We wrestle not only against flesh and blood, but also against principalities and powers, against spiritual wickednesses, and the rulers of darkness.”’

To proceed: The<sup>k</sup> first work of the Creator was to separate the parts of the celestial substance, which, though mingled with matter, had preserved their purity, and to make of them the sun and the moon; which is agreeable to the words of Augustine: ‘The<sup>l</sup> Manichees say, that those vessels, the sun and the moon, were made of the pure substance of God; or of that substance of God which had preserved its purity.’ He presently afterwards explains what is meant by the substance of God, saying, that ‘the moon was made of the good water, the sun of the good fire;’ that is, according to the Manichæan sentiment.

But it should be observed, that whereas Augustine here and elsewhere often useth the phrase, “the substance of God,” it seems likely, that<sup>m</sup> thereby the Manichees (if they

<sup>g</sup> Ib. p. 555.

<sup>h</sup> As before, p. 390—392.

<sup>i</sup> Hinc ergo apparet antiquitas temporum nostrorum, quam repetimus, et annorum nostrorum, ante mundi constitutionem hoc more missas esse animas contra contrariam naturam, ut eandem suâ passione subjicientes, victoria Deo redderetur. Nam dixit idem apostolus, &c. Fortun. Disp. 2. n. 22. fin. ap. Aug. T. 8.

<sup>k</sup> See B. T. 2. p. 361, 362.

<sup>l</sup> Quas itidem naves de substantiâ Dei purâ perhibent fabricatas.—Naves autem illas, id est, duo cœli luminaria, ita distinguunt, ut lunam dicant factam ex bonâ aquâ, solem vero ex igne bono. Aug. De H. c. 46.

<sup>m</sup> Beausobre has spoken largely to this point. See him, T. i. p. 227—234. p. 592, 593, 529, &c. and T. 2. p. 339, &c.

also used the same phrase) did not mean the divine substance, or nature, which they always reckoned incorruptible, inviolable, immutable, but only the substance from God, the celestial substance, the<sup>n</sup> substance of his kingdom or empire. I suppose that every one will perceive as much from what will be hereafter said of their denying the humanity of Christ, and the incarnation of the Word, and all union of the divine nature with the human. And it might be collected from what has been already produced concerning their sentiments of the divine perfections.

In a word, not to be too minute, the<sup>o</sup> Creator formed the sun and moon out of those parts of light which had preserved their original purity. The visible or inferior heavens, (for now we do not speak of the supreme heaven,) and the rest of the planets, were formed of those parts of light which were but little corrupted by matter. The rest he left in our world, which are no other than those parts of light which had suffered most by the contagion of matter.

The<sup>p</sup> Creator formed not the earth until after he had made the heavens and the stars. This appears from the account before taken out of the Acts of Archelaus.

And that we may the better conceive of all this, we may observe and rectify a wrong account of Augustine. ‘Mani,’ says<sup>q</sup> he, ‘teaches not only that man, but that the whole world, was formed by the mixture of two co-eternal natures, one good, the other bad, in such a manner however as to ascribe the formation of the world to the good God.’ This, says<sup>r</sup> Beausobre, is not just. Do not the sun and moon, which were made out of the pure celestial substance, belong to the world? It is our earth properly, with its atmosphere, and its heavens, which were composed of two substances: which is the occasion that life and death, good and evil, reign here. The Manichees, certainly, as that learned writer goes on, were not orthodox upon the article of the creation of the world: but setting aside their particular error, they had noble ideas of the manner in which God made the world. The disorders that are in the world, says<sup>s</sup> Fortunatus, suffi-

<sup>n</sup> His quinque elementis debellandis alia quinque elementa de regno et substantiâ Dei missa esse, et in illâ pugnâ fuisse permixta. Aug. de Hær. cap. 46.      <sup>o</sup> See B. ib. p. 364.

<sup>p</sup> Ib. p. 367.

<sup>q</sup> Manichæus ex commixtione duarum naturarum coæternarum, boni scilicet et mali, non solum hominem, sed universum mundum, constare dicit, et ad eum omnia pertinentia: ita sane, ut ipsam fabricam mundi, quamvis ex commixtione boni et mali, Deo bono et artificio tribuat. Op. Imp. l. 3. c. 186.

<sup>r</sup> As before, p. 367, 368.

<sup>s</sup> Facta consonant: sed, quia inconvenientia sibi sunt, ac per hoc ergo

ciently show that it was made out of two substances; at the same time things have not come into that form and proportion which constitutes the world, but by the authority and command of one only. So my author.

IX. The Manichæan notion of the creation of man may be seen in<sup>t</sup> Beausobre, taken from Mani himself, Archelaus, Augustine, Titus of Bostra, Theodoret, and others.

A succinct account of what he says at large is to this purpose: The<sup>u</sup> dæmons, foreseeing that God would insensibly withdraw the light, or the reasonable soul which he had sent into matter, and leave them to themselves, or punish them for their late attempt, thought of a method to detain it. They had seen the first man, who came to fight them; and they still discerned his form in the sun, or the heavens. Upon this model they formed the human body, thereby to attract souls; who, not perceiving the snare which the devil had laid for them, entered the body, and were touched with the pleasure afforded by the organs of the senses, and especially that of concupiscence. Pleasure seduces and transports them, and they become delighted with their new habitation. Hereby they are led to propagate, and thus they forge their own chains and build their own prisons.

Some passages of Mani's Epistle of the Foundation, concerning the formation of man, may be seen in<sup>v</sup> Augustine.

I think it is past dispute that Mani did ascribe the formation of the human body to matter, or the devil, or the evil principle. I refer for this purpose to some passages in the Acts<sup>w</sup> of Archelaus and<sup>x</sup> Epiphanius; and shall transcribe in the margin some passages of Mani,<sup>y</sup> in his letter to Menoch, where he speaks of Satan being the author of bodies, as God is of souls. Augustine's article upon this point in<sup>z</sup> his summary account of Manichæism, as likewise what he says<sup>a</sup> elsewhere, deserves our attention.

constat non esse unam substantiam, licet ex unius jussione eadem ad compositionem mundi hujus et faciem venerint. Fortunat. Disp. i. n. 13.

<sup>t</sup> Hist. de Manich. T. 2. p. 399—418.

<sup>u</sup> Ib. p. 410.

<sup>v</sup> ———dicens, nôsse te cupere cujusmodi sit nativitas Adæ et Evæ, utrum verbo sint iidem prolati, an primogeniti ex corpore. Man. ap. Aug. contr. Ep. Manich. c. 12. n. 14. Vid. et Aug. de Naturâ Boni. cap. 46.

<sup>w</sup> Vid. Arch. n. 10. p. 19, 20. n. 14. p. 27.

<sup>x</sup> H. 66. n. 30.

<sup>y</sup> Sicut ergo auctor animarum Deus est, ita corporum auctor per concupiscentiam diabolus est, &c. ap. Aug. op. Imp. l. 3. c. 174. vid. et. c. 175, 176.

<sup>z</sup> Adam et Evam ex parentibus principibus fumi asserunt natos, cum pater eorum nomine Saclas sociorum suorum fetus omnium devorâsset, et quidquid inde commixtum divinæ substantiæ ceperat, cum uxore concumbens in carne, prolis tamquam tenacissimo vinculo colligâsset. De H. c. 46.

<sup>a</sup> ———ita sane, ut ipsam fabricam mundi, quamvis ex commixtione boni et mali, Deo bono et artifice tribuat; animalia vero, et cuncta quæ nascuntur

Alexander of Lycopolis speaks to this purpose: ‘Matter<sup>b</sup> [or Hyle] perceiving in the sun a human form, became ambitious to make a man out of his own substance. For this purpose he placed in him the utmost of his own powers, together with as much soul as he could obtain. By which means man became superior to all animals, who are mortal like him, and partook largely of the divine power; for he is an image of the divine power.’

What I have here transcribed from Alexander may be compared with<sup>c</sup> the Acts of Archelaus, and<sup>d</sup> Epiphanius.

And Mani, in a passage of the Letter of the Foundation, preserved<sup>e</sup> in Augustine, speaks of man as being a whole little world, uniting in himself the image of all powers, both celestial and terrestrial. Moreover, the Manichees, as Augustine says, believed that in<sup>f</sup> Adam was a large portion of light, that is, of the heavenly substance.

Some passages of Faustus likewise may confirm the supposition of the Manichees not ascribing the formation of the human body to God. ‘It is true,’ says<sup>g</sup> he, ‘God is not the author of that birth which brings us into the world, men and women, males and females.’ Again, says<sup>h</sup> Faustus, ‘there are two times of our nativity: one, when nature brings us into this world under the chains of carnal affec-

eterrâ, et ipsum hominem, opera esse dicat malignæ mentis, quam genti adhibuit tenebrarum. Hinc est, quod animam primam dicit a Deo lucis manâsse, et accepisse illam fabricam corporis, ut eam fræno suo regeret. Non enim hoc de homine, sed de animâ bonâ dicit, quam Dei partem atque naturam universa mundo, et omnibus quæ in eo sunt, opinatur esse permixtam, in homine autem per concupiscentiam decipi. Quam concupiscentiam, quod sæpe inculcandum est, non vitium substantiæ bonæ, sed malam vult esse substantiam. Aug. Op. Imp. l. 3. cap. 186.

<sup>b</sup> Και εικονα δε εν ηλιω εωρασθαι τοιαυτην, οιον εστι το τε ανθρωπων ειδος, και αντιφιλοτιμησασθαι την γλην ποιησαι τον ανθρωπον εξ αυτης, κατα την δια πασης αυτης της δυναμεως μξιν, εχοντα και αυτον τι της ψυχης, πολυ μεντοι συμβεβλησθαι το ειδος, εις το πλειον τι παρα τα αλλα θνητα ζωα της δυναμεως της θειας τον ανθρωπον μετασχειν’ υπαρχειν γαρ αυτον θειας δυναμεως εικονα. Alex. p. 5. B. C.

<sup>c</sup> Ap. Arch. n. 7. p. 12.

<sup>d</sup> H. 66. n. 26. et 30.

<sup>e</sup> In eâdem enim construebantur et contexebantur omnium imagines, cœlestium ac terrenarum virtutum; ut pleni videlicet orbis, id quod formabatur, similitudinem obtineret. Man. ap. Aug. de Nat. Bon. c. 46.

<sup>f</sup> Malâ non vacuum fuisse dicit Adam, sed ejus minus habuisse, multoque plus lucis. Aug. Op. Imp. l. 3. c. 186.

<sup>g</sup> Magis ac magis ostendit, nativitatem hanc, quæ nos mares fecit ac feminas,—non eam esse in quâ Deus operatur, cum hominem format. Faust. l. 24. sub fin.

<sup>h</sup> Quoniam quidem et nativitatis nostræ tempora duo sunt, unum illud, quo nos irretitos carnalibus vinculis in lucem hanc natura produxit, alterum vero, cum veritas nos ex errore conversos ad se regeneravit initiatos ad fidem. Quod tempus secundæ nativitatis in Evangelio Jesus significans dixit, &c. Faust. l. 24. sub in.

' tions ; the other when we are born again, and are converted ' from error to truth, of which Christ speaks in the gospel, ' in his conference with Nicodemus, saying, " Unless a man ' be born again he cannot see the kingdom of God." ' Which doctrine Faustus endeavours to support by long quotations from several of St. Paul's epistles.

As Beausobre says, they<sup>i</sup> pretended it was impossible that a holy and good God should join a pure and celestial soul with a terrestrial, sensitive, animal soul, whose affections resist reason, and carry the man to actions he disapproves. And they argued, that the ordinary way in which men come into the world showed it was not God who formed them at first. This argument of theirs is largely represented in the<sup>k</sup> Acts of Archelaus.

X. Moreover, the Manichees supposed that there were in man two souls. Augustine wrote<sup>l</sup> a book on purpose against this opinion : but it was a necessary consequence of their sentiment about two principles. There are, according<sup>m</sup> to them, two eternal natures, both living and animated : and both enter into the composition of man. I place in the margin<sup>n</sup> a passage of Augustine of some considerable length, taken from his summary account of Manichæism in his book Of Heresies.

This was in ancient times a common opinion of many people, and was held by the Manichees. They<sup>o</sup> supposed that it was evidently taught by St. Paul in all those places where he opposes the flesh and the spirit, the old man, and the new man, the law of the mind and the law of the members. These two men, these two laws, these two principles, are in man : and they are always contrary to each other : the spirit opposeth the desires of the flesh, and the flesh those of the spirit : but contrary desires and wills cannot proceed from one and the same cause purely spiritual. There are

<sup>i</sup> T. 2. p. 416.

<sup>k</sup> Si vero consideretis, quomodo generentur filii hominum, inveniatis, non esse Dominum hominis creatorem, sed alium. — Est igitur vobis hominibus commixtio cum uxoribus vestris de hujusmodi occasione descendens. Cum quis vestrum carnalibus aliisque cibis fuerit satiatus, tunc ei concupiscentiæ oritur incitatio, &c. ap. Arch. c. 14. p. 27.

<sup>l</sup> De duabus Animabus ; contra Manichæos. Opp. T. 8.

<sup>m</sup> See Beaus. T. 2. p. 420.

<sup>n</sup> Carnalem concupiscentiam, quâ caro concupiscit adversus spiritum, non ex vitiatâ in primo homine naturâ nobis inesse infirmitatem ; sed substantiam volentem esse contrariam, sic nobis adhærentem, ut quando liberamur atque purgamur, separetur a nobis, et in suâ naturâ etiam ipsa immortaliter vivat : easque duas animas, vel duas mentes, unam bonam, alteram malam, in uno homine inter se habere conflictum, quando caro concupiscit adversus spiritum, et spiritus adversus carnem. De Hær. c. 46. sub fin

<sup>o</sup> See Beaus. T. 2. p. 421.

therefore two souls in man, two active principles; one the source and cause of vicious passions, deriving its origin from matter, the other the cause of the ideas of just and right, and of inclinations to follow those ideas, deriving its original from God.

XI. Though the Manichees did not receive the Old Testament, nor admit the Mosaic account of the creation, they supposed the world to have had a beginning, as we have seen already; and Adam and Eve to have been the first pair, and the parents of mankind. This appears from the very beginning<sup>p</sup> of the famous Epistle of the Foundation.

The Manichees, as Augustine says, believed that in Adam was a large portion of light; that is, of the celestial substance. Again, we learn from him that<sup>q</sup> ‘they said Adam and Eve were made by the princes of darkness; but Adam had in him a great abundance of the particles of light, with but few particles of darkness: for that reason he lived holily a good while. At length the adverse part in him prevailed, and he knew Eve.’ So then conjugal commerce was the first sin of these parents of mankind.

And, in The Acts of Archelaus, it is said that<sup>r</sup> the princes, having made Adam after the form of the first man whom they had seen, made Eve likewise, giving her some of their own concupiscence, that she might deceive Adam.

XII. Hence we may be led to conclude that the Manichees must condemn marriage; and indeed those words of St. Paul, 1 Tim. iv. 3, are often applied to them. Mani himself says that<sup>s</sup> “concupiscence is the root of all evil,” quoting in that sense 1 Tim. vi. 10. It may be thought that<sup>t</sup> condemning all manner of concupiscence, however

<sup>p</sup> De eo igitur, — de quo mihi significasti, dicens, nôsse te cupere, cujusmodi sit nativitas Adæ et Evæ, &c. ap. Aug. Contr. Ep. Manich. c. 12. n. 14.

<sup>q</sup> Talis est namque apud vos opinio de Adamo et Evâ. Longa fabula est, sed ex eâ adtingam quod in præsentia satis est. Adam dicitis sic a parentibus suis genitum, abortivis illis principibus tenebrarum, ut maximam partem lucis haberet in animâ, et perexiguam gentis adversæ. Qui cum sancte viverent propter exsuperantem copiam boni, commotam tamen in eo fuisse adversam illam partem, ut ad concubitum declinaretur; ita eum lapsum esse et peccâsse, sed vixisse postea sanctiorem. De Mor. Manich. c. 19. n. 73.

<sup>r</sup> Την δε Ευαν ὁμοίως ἐκτίσαν, δόντες αὐτῇ ἐκ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας αὐτῶν, πρὸς τὸ ἐξαπατησαὶ τὸν Ἀδάμ. ap. Arch. n. 10. p. 20.

<sup>s</sup> Tolle denique malignæ hujus stirpis radicem, et statim te ipsum spiritalem contemplaris. Radix enim, ait scriptura, omnium malorum concupiscentia. Ap. Aug. Op. Imp. l. 3. c. 175. Vid. et c. 176, 186, 187.

<sup>t</sup> Modus quoque nascendi duplex est, unus ille furoris et intemperantiæ proprius, quo sumus a generatoribus turpiter et per libidinem sati; alius vero honestatis et sanctimoniam, quo in Christo Jesu per Spiritum Sanctum sub bonorum doctrinis disciplinati sumus ad fidem, &c. Faust. l. 24. c. 1.

regulated, appears in some words of Faustus, which I put in the margin: where he speaks of the first or natural birth, and of the second or spiritual birth.

This notion is handsomely confuted by<sup>u</sup> Titus of Bostra, in a passage which may be seen translated by<sup>v</sup> Beausobre: but I presume I need not transcribe it here.

Faustus has particularly considered the charge brought against them, of teaching what the apostle calls “doctrines of devils,” 1 Tim. iv. 1. And, if Faustus may be relied upon, their doctrine upon<sup>w</sup> the article of marriage and virginity was much the same with that of the catholics, or orthodox christians of that time. The churches of the catholics, he says, had in them almost as many professed virgins as married women. If the<sup>x</sup> catholics made virgins, without being liable to the charge of forbidding to marry, the same was true of them: they did not compel, they only exhorted. And he boldly says, that text of St. Paul is no more against them than against the catholics. This defence of Faustus is the fuller, if by their elect, who alone were forbidden to marry, and were required to forbear eating flesh and drinking wine, be understood priests or ecclesiastics, as<sup>y</sup> Faustus intimates.

More may be seen concerning this point in<sup>z</sup> the author, to whom I have already often referred.

Upon the whole, considering what has been observed above concerning the origin of mankind, it may be reckoned more probable, that they rather tolerated marriage as an imperfect state, in regard to human weakness, than approved it. Perhaps we may apply to this case what<sup>a</sup> Augustine

<sup>u</sup> Tit. contr. Manich. l. 2. p. 130, 131.

<sup>v</sup> T. 2. p. 468, 469.

<sup>w</sup> ———nec videtis hinc, et virgines vestras dæmoniorum doctrinâ captas notari, et vos esse antistites dæmoniorum, qui certatim semper ad hanc eas incitetis professionem suasionibus vestris, ut pene jam major in ecclesiis omnibus virginum apud vos quam mulierum numerositas habeatur? Faust. l. 30. cap. 4.

<sup>x</sup> Non ergo est interim, quod vos existimetis solis hortamentis virgines facere, et non prohibitione nubendi. Nobis enim quoque hoc insitum est.—Quapropter et nos hortamur quidem volentes ut permaneant, non tamen cogimus invitatis ut accedant.—Si igitur hoc modo virgines facere sine crimine est, extra culpam sumus et nos: sin quoquo genere virgines facere crimen est, rei estis et vos. Jam quâ mente aut consilio hoc adversum nos capitulum proferatis, ego non video. *ibid.*

<sup>y</sup> Neque enim justa hæc nunc vestra sententia est, ut nos quidem, qui solum in plebe sacerdotale hominum genus censeamus a carnibus abstinere debere, dæmoniorum doctrinæ videamur vobis assectatores. *ib. c. 1.*

<sup>z</sup> See Beaus. T. 2. p. 470, &c.

<sup>a</sup> Auditoribus autem vestris—secundum veniam hæc edenda conceditis.—Neque enim conceditur secundum veniam, nisi peccatum. Hoc vos de omni carnium cibo sentitis, hoc et ipsi———vestros auditores docetis: sed illis quod

says of the Manichæan auditors eating flesh. They were indulged it, but yet it was a fault, he says, and to be forgiven only because they maintained the elect.

And I question whether Faustus be sincere, and may be relied upon in what he says of this matter. My doubts are owing to the very disadvantageous expressions he makes use of in speaking of the natural birth, in the twenty-fourth book of his work : several of which passages I have transcribed, or referred to ; and to a passage in his thirtieth book, where he is professedly treating on the point of marriage. For, having said, as before shown, that they did not compel, but only commended and exhorted to virginity, as the catholics, he adds : ‘ And<sup>b</sup> indeed it would be no less than madness, for private persons to forbid what is allowed by public authority.’ It seems therefore that, following their doctrine, they might have been disposed to prohibit marriage, if it had been in their power.

It is said that<sup>c</sup> the Manichees were severely treated by a king of Persia for discouraging marriage.

I may mention another thought relating to this point, when I come to speak of their notion concerning the transmigration of souls.

If the Manichees did not approve of marriage, they must have condemned fornication, and all such like irregularities. This is evident from the Acts of Archelaus, where Mani himself is made to say that<sup>d</sup> adultery, fornication, covetousness, and other things, are fruits of the evil root. Nor is marriage here mentioned among evil things.

Augustine indeed charges them with allowing wicked sensual gratifications rather than marriage. But then, as<sup>e</sup> Beausobre observes, he presently adds : ‘ I<sup>f</sup> doubt not but

sit ignoscendum, propter quod vobis necessaria ministrant, ut dixi, conceditis, non dicentes non esse peccatum, sed peccantibus veniam largientes. Aug. contr. Faust. l. 30. c. 5.

<sup>b</sup> Et demens profecto ille, non tantum stultus, putandus est, qui id existimet lege privatâ prohiberi posse, quod sit publicâ concessum : dico autem hoc ipsum nubere. ib. c. 4.

<sup>c</sup> Rex vero Persarum, cum vidisset tam catholicos et episcopos, quam Manichæos Manetis sectarios, a nuptiis abstinere ; in Manichæos quidem sententiam mortis tulit. Ad christianos vero idem edictum manavit.—Quum igitur christiani ad regem confugissent, jussit ille discrimen, quale inter utrosque esset, sibi exponi. ap. Assem. Bib. Or. T. 3. p. 220.

<sup>d</sup> ———fructus autem fornicationes, adulteria, homicidia, avaritia, et omnes mali actûs malæ istius radicis. ap. Arch. c. 17. p. 30.

<sup>e</sup> T. 2. p. 473. <sup>f</sup> Non enim concubitus, sed, ut longe ante ab apostolo dictum est, vere nuptias prohibetis, quæ talis operis una est defensio. Hic non dubito vos esse clamatueros, invidiamque facturos dicendo, castitatem perfectam vos vehementer commendare atque laudare, non tamen nuptias prohibere ; quandoquidem auditores vestri, quorum apud vos secundus est

‘ you, at hearing this, will exclaim against it as injustice and calumny. You will say that you praise and commend perfect chastity, but you do not forbid marriage; forasmuch as you do not hinder your auditors, the second order among you, from marrying, and having wives.’ It is not easy to conceive that<sup>g</sup> they, who severely censured the polygamy of the patriarchs, should approve of worse things in christians.

XIII. It is a difficult question whether the Manichees believed free-will. It is generally denied; but Beausobre does not concur in that sentence. He has discoursed largely upon this point, and I refer to<sup>h</sup> him. I shall however cite a part of what he says.

‘ If<sup>i</sup> by free-will be meant a power of doing good, and resisting evil, it is certain that the Manichees ascribed it to the soul, which was sent into matter. For, first, when we showed the opinion of these men concerning the creation of the world, we saw that, among the souls which God sent to combat matter, there were some that preserved their purity entire; others that were but little affected with the contagion of matter; and others that were so corrupted, that they were left in this lower stage of the world. The Creator placed them according to their merits. Secondly, when Augustine asks Fortunatus why God sent souls into matter, that Manichee answers, to<sup>k</sup> tame it, and reduce it to order. They must therefore have had the power of so doing. Finally, what suffers me not to doubt that Mani acknowledged the soul’s liberty in its state of innocence, is a passage in his letter to Menoch; “ the<sup>l</sup> first soul that came from the God of light received the machine of the body to govern it with a rein.” ’

And, after a long discussion, that learned writer sums up all these three<sup>m</sup> propositions: ‘ 1. The Manichees allowed the soul to be free in its origin, and in its state of innocence.

gradus, ducere atque habere non prohibentur uxores. De Mor. Manich. c. 18. n. 65.

<sup>g</sup> Nec quod Jacob, filius ejus, inter Rachel et Liam duas germanas sorores, earumque singulas famulas, quatuor uxorum maritus, tamquam hircus erraverit; ut esset quotidie inter quatuor scorta certamen, quænam eum venientem de agro prior ad concubitum raperet. Faust. l. 22. cap. 5.

<sup>h</sup> T. 2. p. 433—448.

<sup>i</sup> Ib. p. 438.

<sup>k</sup> ———et in contrariâ naturâ esse animam diximus, ideo ut contrariæ naturæ modum imponeret: modo imposito contrariæ naturæ, sumit eandem Deus. Fort. Disp. 2. n. 33. vid. et. n. 34.

<sup>l</sup> Operæ, inquit, pretium est advertere, quia prima anima, quæ a Deo luminis manavit, accepit fabricam istam corporis, ut eam fræno suo regeret. Man. ap. Aug. Op. Imp. l. 3. c. 186.

<sup>m</sup> Ib. p. 447.

‘ For it had power to resist evil, and to overcome it. 2. After its fall it had not absolutely lost that power, but it had lost the use, because it was ignorant of its nature, and its origin, and its true interests; and because concupiscence, which has its seat in the flesh, carries it away by an invincible force to do or allow that which it condemns; [or, in other words, the<sup>n</sup> soul has not lost its liberty, but ignorance on the one hand, and violence of passion on the other, hinder it from making use of its power.] 3. The gospel of Jesus Christ delivers the soul from that servitude, and gives it sufficient power to subdue sin, and to obey the law of God, provided it make use of the helps therein afforded.’

After all which, Beausobre makes divers observations upon the controversy with the Manichees, as managed by ancient christian authors, and then concludes in this manner: Finally, ‘ I<sup>o</sup> allow that those ancient writers in general say the Manichees denied free-will. The reason is, that the fathers believed and maintained against the Marcionites and Manichees, that whatever state man is in, he has the command over his own actions, and has equally power to do good and evil. Augustine himself reasoned upon this principle, as well as other catholics his predecessors, so long as he had to do with the Manichees. But when he came to dispute with the Pelagians he changed his system. Then he denied that kind of freedom which before he had defended: and, so far as I am able to judge, his sentiment no longer differed from theirs concerning the servitude of the will. He ascribed that servitude to the corruption which original sin brought into our nature: whereas the Manichees ascribed it to an evil quality, eternally inherent in<sup>p</sup> matter.’

XIV. Socrates said that<sup>a</sup> the Manichees held the doctrine of fate. Whether, and how far, they did so may be seen in<sup>r</sup> Beausobre; for I do not choose to stay upon this point.

XV. It is thought by some that<sup>s</sup> the Manichees denied the lawfulness of war.

XVI. Socrates informed us, that<sup>t</sup> the Manichees held the transmigration of souls; which is very true. It is taken notice of in<sup>u</sup> the Acts of Archelaus, <sup>v</sup> in Epiphanius, <sup>w</sup> Theodoret, and other authors.

<sup>a</sup> Ib. p. 448.

<sup>o</sup> The same.

<sup>p</sup> More observations upon Augustine may be seen in the same author, p. 435—438.

<sup>q</sup> See before, 261.

<sup>r</sup> T. 2. p. 424—432.

<sup>s</sup> See Beaus. T. 2. p. 797, and the authors quoted by him.

<sup>t</sup> See p. 261.

<sup>u</sup> Arch. c. 9. p. 15.

<sup>v</sup> H. 66. n. 28.

<sup>w</sup> H. Fab. l. 1. c. 26. p. 214. A.

Agapius, as abridged by Photius, says that\* ‘souls, which have arrived at the perfection of virtue, return to God: they that have been very wicked are assigned to fire and darkness; but others of a middle rank, which have behaved but indifferently, and are neither very good nor very bad, pass into other bodies.’ That is only a summary account: if we had Agapius himself we should see more particulars.

A passage of Augustine may induce us to think it was their opinion, that<sup>y</sup> their elect needed no purification after this life: and likewise that their auditors in general, who were allowed to marry, trade, bear offices, and the like, passed into other bodies for purification, and farther trial.

The passage I have referred to is in Augustine’s summary account of the Manichæan sect. There is another like passage<sup>z</sup> in his work against Faustus, which I also put into the margin.

And perhaps this may afford an argument, that marriage, and other things practised by the auditors, were rather tolerated than approved in the Manichæan scheme: for which reason they who lived in that state would usually need to be purified, and to be put upon another trial in some other body.

XVII. It is easy to conclude, from what has been already said, that the Manichees did not believe the resurrection of the body. As Theodoret says, ‘they<sup>a</sup> derided the resurrection of bodies. No part of matter, they said, could be worthy of salvation.’

According to them, Christ came to save souls. So their opinion is represented<sup>b</sup> in the Acts of Archelaus. Augustine’s

\* Κρατνει δε και τας μετεμψυχωσεις, τες μεν εις ακρον αρετης εηλακοτας εις θεον αναλυνων τες δε εις ακρον κακιας πυρι διδως και σκοτφ τες δε μεσως πως πολιτευσαμενες παλιν εις σωματα αγων. Phot. cod. 179. p. 105.

<sup>y</sup> Animas auditorum suorum in electos revolvi arbitrantur, aut feliciore compendio in escas electorum suorum, ut jam inde purgatæ in nulla corpora revertantur. Cæteras autem animas et in pecora redire putant, et in omnia quæ radicibus fixa sunt, atque aluntur in terrâ. De H. c. 46.

<sup>z</sup> Quid autem fallitis auditores vestros, qui, cum suis uxoribus, et filiis, et familiis, et domibus, et agris, vobis serviunt, si quisquis ista omnia non dimiserit, non accipit evangelium? sed quia eis non resurrectionem, sed revolutionem ad istam mortalitatem promittitis, ut rursus nascantur, et vitâ electorum vestrorum vivant,——aut si meliores meriti sunt, in melones et cucumeres, vel in alios aliquos cibos veniant, quos vos manducaturi estis, ut vestris ructatibus cito purgentur, &c. Contr. Faust. l. 5. c. x.

<sup>a</sup> Την δε σωματων αναστασιν, ως μυθον, εκβαλλουσιν εδεν γαρ της υλης μοριον αξιον υπειληφασι σωτηριας. Theod. H. F. l. i. cap. ult. p. 214. A.

<sup>b</sup> Επεμψε τον Υιον αυτε τον ηγαπημενον εις σωτηριαν ψυχης. Ap. Arch. n. 8. p. 12.

account in his book *Of Heresies* is, ‘they<sup>c</sup> say that Christ ‘came to save souls, not bodies.’ Says Fortunatus, ‘We<sup>d</sup> ‘believe that Christ came to deliver the soul from death, ‘and bring it back to eternal glory, and restore it to the ‘Father.’ Again, says the same Manichee, ‘we<sup>e</sup> believe ‘that our Saviour Christ came from heaven to fulfil the will ‘of the Father: whose will is, that he should deliver our ‘souls from the enmity by slaying it.’

Their notion about matter led them into this opinion: and they argued from<sup>f</sup> several texts of scripture, particularly from 1 Cor. xv. 50; “Flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God.”

They allowed a resurrection of the soul now; when,<sup>g</sup> being enlightened by the gospel, it purified itself from carnal affections. And they might speak of the resurrection or<sup>h</sup> ascent of the soul, when it should return to God; but they absolutely denied the resurrection of bodies.

Souls, when they have finished their purification here, return to the world of light, whence they came. But, which is somewhat strange, they pass by the way of the moon and the sun; which<sup>i</sup> by the Manichees were considered as ships or vessels of passage, by which souls return, and are conveyed to heaven.

According to them, the increase of the moon is caused by souls, or parts of light, ascending thither from the earth; and its decrease by the departure of souls, which are thence transmitted to the sun. This appears absurd, and might be

<sup>c</sup> ———eumque Christum novissimis temporibus venisse ad animas, non ad corpora liberanda. Aug. de H. c. 46.

<sup>d</sup> ———ut eandem de morte liberaret, et perduceret eam ad æternam gloriam, et restitueret Patri. Fortunat. Disp. i. n. 11.

<sup>e</sup> Quemadmodum et Salvatorem Christum credimus de cælo venisse, voluntatem Patris complere. Quæ voluntas Patris hæc erat, animas nostras de eadem inimicitia liberare, interfectâ eadem inimicitia. Fortun. Disp. i. n. 17. Vid. et Disp. 2. n. 24.

<sup>f</sup> Vid. Epiph. Hær. 6. c. 86, 87. et Aug. contr. Adim. c. 12. n. 4. et contr. Faust. l. xi. c. 3.

<sup>g</sup> ———qui dicitis nunc esse resurrectionem tantummodo animarum, per prædicationem veritatis: corporum autem, quam prædicaverunt apostoli, futuram negetis. Aug. contr. Faust. l. 4. c. 2.

<sup>h</sup> Vid. Fortunat. Disp. i. n. 7. ii. n. 33.

<sup>i</sup> Quicquid vero undique purgatur luminis, per quasdam naves, quas esse lunam et solem volunt, regno Dei, tanquam propriis sedibus reddi. Aug. de Hær. c. 46. sub in.—quod delirâ imperitiâ Manichæi opinantes, repleti eam dicunt, sicut repletur navis, ex fugativâ Dei parte.—Hinc ergo impleri lunam dicunt, cum eadem pars Dei magnis laboribus ob inquinamento purgatur, de toto mundo—fugiens, redditur Deo—repleti vero per mensem dimidium, et alio dimidio in solem refundi, velut in aliam navem. Aug. Epist. 55. [al. 119.] cap. 4. n. 7.

incredible, if it was not affirmed by<sup>k</sup> Augustine, <sup>l</sup> Archelaus, <sup>m</sup> Titus of Bostra, and<sup>n</sup> others.

XVIII. The Manichees expected a future judgment, as<sup>o</sup> before shown; and more passages might be alleged: Mani<sup>p</sup> professeth it in the Acts of Archelaus.

But it is doubtful whether they believed the eternity of hell torments.

Mani, in the dispute with Archelaus, says that ‘all<sup>q</sup> sorts of souls will be saved, and the lost sheep will be brought back to the fold.’ A passage of the Epistle of the Foundation, preserved by the author De Fide, seems to speak<sup>r</sup> of some souls as lost, which shall be for ever excluded from the holy land, and the regions of light and happiness. They are such as have been enemies to the light, and have persecuted the church, and the elect therein.

Augustine seems to have supposed it to be their opinion that<sup>s</sup> some souls would finally perish. And, in his arguments with them, he often insists upon it as an undeniable thing, that<sup>t</sup> all the light that was mixed with darkness, or all the

<sup>k</sup> See the preceding note.

<sup>l</sup> Πλοια γαρ, ητοι πορθμια ειναι λεγει τες δυο φωστηρας' ειτα, εαν γεμισθα η σελινη, μεταπορθμειν εις απηλωτην, κ. λ. Ap. Arch. n. 8. p. 13.

<sup>m</sup> Tit. l. i. p. 69. in.

<sup>n</sup> Epiph. H. 66. n. 9. p. 626. B. C.

Thdr. T. 4. p. 213. C.

<sup>o</sup> See p. 331.

<sup>p</sup> Dicat tamen ipse, si est iudicium piorum et impiorum. *Manes dixit*; Est iudicium. Ap. Arch. n. 32. p. 54.

<sup>q</sup> Et salvabitur omne animarum genus, ac restituetur, quod perierat, proprio suo gregi. Ap. Arch. c. 25. p. 41, 42.

<sup>r</sup> Item in Epistolâ Fundamenti sic dicit de illis animabus, quæ mundi amore errare se a priore lucidâ suâ naturâ passæ sunt,—infestâ etiam persecutione suâ sanctam ecclesiam atque electos in eadem constitutos cœlestium præceptorum observatores afflixerunt, a beatitudine et gloriâ sanctæ terræ arcentur. Et quia a malo se superari passæ sunt, in eadem malâ stirpe perseverabunt, pacificâ illâ terrâ et regionibus immortalibus sibimet interdictis. De Fide, cap. 5. ap. Aug. T. 8.

<sup>s</sup> Ipsi enim dicunt, Deum genti tenebrarum æternum carcerem præparare, quam dicunt esse inimicam Deo. Et parum est; sed etiam sua membra simul cum ipsâ gente poniturum esse non dubitant dicere. Contr. Adim. c. vii. n. 1. Dicunt enim etiam nonnullas animas, quas volunt esse de substantiâ Dei, et ejusdem omnino naturæ, quæ non sponte peccaverunt, sed a gente tenebrarum, quam mali naturam dicunt, ad quam debellandam non ultro, sed Patris imperio descenderunt, superatæ et oppressæ sint, affigi in æternum globo horribili tenebrarum. De Nat. Boni. c. 42.

<sup>t</sup> Quarum inter se pugnam et commixtionem, et boni a malo purgationem, et boni quod purgari non poterit in æternum damnationem, secundum sua dogmata asseverantes, &c. Aug. de Hær. c. 46. sub in. Deum denique bonum et verum dicunt cum tenebrarum gente pugnâsse, et partem suam tenebrarum principibus miscuisse, eamque toto mundo inquinatam et ligatam per cibos Electorum suorum, ac per solem et lunam purgari asseverant. Et quod purgari de ipsâ parte Dei non poterit, in fine sæculi æterno ac pœnali vinculo colligari.—Aug. Ep. 236. al. 74. Natura vero Dei captiva ducta est, iniqua

good or celestial substance that was sent into matter at the formation of the world, would never be again entirely separated from it; which he considers as a great objection against their scheme.

Simplicius likewise argues with them upon the supposition that<sup>u</sup> some parts of the good substance, or some souls, are for ever lost, and never again separated from the evil substance.

In his summary account, Augustine represents it to be their opinion, that<sup>v</sup> the dæmons shall in the end be buried alive in the hideous mass of darkness, and that some souls will be appointed to keep them fast shut up, and watch them as guards, and cover the kingdom of light from all attempts of the princes of darkness. He speaks to the like purpose<sup>w</sup> elsewhere. Nor is this disagreeable to a passage of Mani's Epistle of the Foundation, as<sup>x</sup> cited by the author De Fide.

All which, however, as Beausobre<sup>y</sup> says, means no more than a privation of happiness, or a labour and task, rather than a punishment. Indeed, it is reasonable to think the<sup>z</sup>

facta est, nec potest tota purgari, cogitur in fine damnari. Contr. Secund. c. 20. sub fin. Nunc vero infelices audent adhuc dicere, nec totam posse purgari, et ipsam partem, quæ purgari non potuerit, proficere ad vinculum,—et affigatur in æternum carcere tenebrarum. De Agon. Christian. cap. iv. Opp. T. 6.

<sup>u</sup> Αυται εν εδε επιτρεφθαι, επι φασιν, εις το αγαθον, αλλα μενθσι τω κακω συγκεκολλημεναι. In Epict. c. 34. p. 165.—δια το τινας, ως προτερονεμνησθην, ψυχας μενειν κατ' αυτους εν τω κακω τω λοιπω του απειρον αιωνα. Ib. p. 166.

<sup>v</sup> Sed a nobis sejunctam atque seclusam substantiam istam mali, et finito isto sæculo post conflagrationem mundi in globo quodam, tanquam in carcere sempiterno, esse victuram. Cui globo affirmant accessurum semper et adhæsurum quasi coopertorium atque tectorium ex animabus, naturâ quidem bonis, sed tamen quæ non potuerint a naturæ malæ contagione mundari. De Hær. c. 46. in. fin.

<sup>w</sup> Dicat quod vult, includat in globo, tanquam in carcere, gentem tenebrarum, et forinsecus affigat naturam lucis,—ecce pejor est pœna lucis quam tenebrarum, pejor est pœna divinæ naturæ quam gentis adversæ. Illa quippe, etsi in tenebris intus est, ad naturam ejus pertinet in tenebris habitare. Animæ autem quæ hoc sunt quod Deus,—a vitâ ac libertate sanctæ lucis alienabuntur, et configentur in prædicto horribili globo. De Nat. Bon. c. 42. sub fin.—suamque naturam bonam malo coercendo superandoque miscuisse, quam turpissime pollutam——labore magno vix mundet ac liberet, non totam tamen: sed quod ejus non potuerit ab illâ iniquatione purgari, tegmen ac vinculum futurum hostis victi et inclusi. De Civ. Dei, l. xi. c. 22.

<sup>x</sup> Non igitur poterunt recipi in regna pacifica, sed configentur in prædicto horribili globo, cui etiam necesse est custodiam adhiberi. Ap. libr. de Fide. c. 5. Conf. Aug. contr. Faust. l. 21. c. 16. et de Nat. Boni, cap. 42.

<sup>y</sup> Ainsi la peine de ces ames n'est proprement qu'une privation de félicité, et un travail plutât, qu'un supplice. Beaus. T. 2. p. 574.

<sup>z</sup> C' est un fait constant. Les Manichéens n'ont point cru la partie éternelle d'aucune ame. Ib. p. 572. in.

Manichees should allow but very few, if any, souls to be lost and perish for ever. That could not be reckoned honourable to the Deity, considering how souls were sent into matter. The doctrine of transmigration may have been contrived for this purpose. The Manichees were very generous in this respect; they allowed souls no less than five<sup>a</sup> bodies for trial.

XIX. The Manichees believed that after a certain period this<sup>b</sup> visible world would be consumed by fire. But, as<sup>c</sup> Turbo says in the Acts of Archelaus, he had not been informed how long it would be before that happened. However, Ebed-Jesu, quoted by<sup>d</sup> Beausobre, says, that<sup>e</sup> according to the Manichees the world would come to an end when it had subsisted nine thousand years.

XX. The Manichees were christians, as was particularly<sup>f</sup> shown above. But they rejected the Old Testament, and pretended they<sup>g</sup> could there see no prophecies about Christ, neither in Moses, nor in the other prophets. They therefore wanted that argument of faith in Jesus. As<sup>h</sup> Faustus says, ‘being Gentiles by nature, and not Jews, they came directly to Christ, excited by the fame of his virtues and wisdom.’ He farther says, that ‘they<sup>i</sup> were induced to believe in Jesus for the sake of the voice of God, not speaking by a prophet or interpreter, but saying himself, when he sent his Son from heaven: “This is my beloved Son, hear him.”’ ‘We<sup>k</sup> also believe his own word, who said: “I came forth from the Father, and came into the world:” and much more to

<sup>a</sup> Ερω δε ἡμιν και τιστο, πως μεταγγιζεται ἡ ψυχη εις πεντε σωματα. Ap. Arch. n. 9. in. Vid. et Epiph. H. 66. c. 28. in. <sup>b</sup> Vid. supr. not. v.

<sup>c</sup> ———αχρως αν το πυρ καταναλωση τον κοσμον ὅλον, εν ποσοις ποτε ετειςιν, ὃν εκ εμαθον την προσοτητα. Ap. Arch. c. xi. p. 22.

<sup>d</sup> T. 2. p. 580.

<sup>e</sup> Manichæi, resurrectionem abnegantes, contra christianos jejuniū luctumque in die dominico faciunt, alentes, in ipso die fore ut hoc seculum subeat interitum dissolutionemque omnem post circulum novem millium annorum. Ap. Assem. Bib. Or. Gr. T. 3. P. 2. p. 361.

<sup>f</sup> See p. 328.

<sup>g</sup> Alioquin nihil eos de Christo prophetasse, abunde jam parentum libris ostensum est. Faust. l. 12. Conf. l. 13. in.

Quia omnem, ut dixi, Mōyseos scripturam scrutatus, nullas ibi de Christo prophetias inveni. Id. l. 16. c. 3.

<sup>h</sup> Quomodo Christum colitis, prophetas repudiantes, quorum ex presagiis accipitur fuisse venturum?—Porro autem nos naturā Gentiles sumus—non ante effecti Judæi, ut merito Hebræorum sequeremur fidem, euntes ad christianismum; sed solā exciti famā, et virtutum opinione, atque sapientiā liberatoris nostri Christi Jesu. Id. l. 13.

<sup>i</sup> ———quis fidelior vobis esse testis debet, quam Deus ipse de Filio suo, qui non per vatem, nec per interpretem, sed ultro cœlitus eruptā voce, cum eum mitteret ad terram, dixit: Hic est Filius meus delectissimus: credite illi. Id. l. 12.

<sup>k</sup> Nec non et ipse de se: A Patre meo processī, et veni in hunc mundum; atque multa alia hujusmodi. Ib.

‘ the like purpose.’ ‘ Moreover<sup>1</sup> he appeals to his works :  
 ‘ “ If ye believe not me, believe the works :” (John x. 38.)  
 ‘ He does not say, believe the prophets.’ For such reasons  
 then they believed in Jesus Christ, and received him as the  
 Son of God, and their Lord and Saviour.

XXI. The Manichees believed Jesus Christ to be God,  
 but not man. They believed him to be God truly, man in  
 appearance only.

Turbo, once disciple of Mani, in the Acts of Archelaus,  
 represents his master’s opinion upon that head in this man-  
 ner : ‘ The<sup>m</sup> Son of God came and took the form of a man.  
 ‘ He appeared to men as a man, though he was not a man,  
 ‘ and they took him for a man born.’

In the same work Mani is brought in saying, that ‘ <sup>n</sup> Jesus  
 ‘ appeared indeed in the form of a man, but yet was not a  
 ‘ man.’

Ancient catholic authors often take notice of this opinion  
 of theirs, and represent it after this manner.

Augustine in his summary account of their principles  
 says, ‘ they<sup>o</sup> deny the real flesh of Christ, and affirm that  
 ‘ he had only the appearance of flesh : and that neither his  
 ‘ death nor his resurrection was real.’ In another place, that  
 ‘ they<sup>p</sup> believed not a real, but only a seeming, imaginary  
 ‘ death of Christ, and no nativity at all, not so much as in  
 ‘ appearance.’

In another place Augustine says, ‘ they<sup>q</sup> do not deny our  
 ‘ Lord Jesus Christ to be God, but they pretend that he  
 ‘ appeared to men without taking the human nature.’

Theodoret’s account is, ‘ they<sup>r</sup> say that Christ took neither  
 ‘ soul nor body, but appeared as a man, though he had

<sup>1</sup> Ad hæc et opera ipsa sua sibi in testimonium vocat : Si mihi non creditis, dicens, operibus credite. Non dixit, si mihi non creditis, prophetis credite. Ibid.

<sup>m</sup> Και ελθων ὁ υἱὸς μετεσχηματισεν ἑαυτον εἰς ἀνθρωπῆ εἶδος, και ἐφαινετο τοις ἀνθρωποις ὡς ἀνθρωπος, μὴ ὡν ἀνθρωπος· και οἱ ἀνθρωποι ὑπέλαμβανον αὐτον γεγεννησθαι. Ap. Arch. c. 8. p. 12.

<sup>n</sup> Sicut vos Jesus ostendit, ejus qui apparuit quidem in hominis specie, nec tamen fuit homo. Ap. Arch. n. 47. p. 85.

<sup>o</sup> Nec fuisse in carne verâ, sed simulatam speciem carnis ludificandis humanis sensibus præbuisse, ubi non solum mortem, verum etiam resurrectionem similiter mentiretur. De H. c. 46.

<sup>p</sup> Cur ipsi mortem non veram, sed imaginariam Christi affirmant ; nati-  
 tatem autem non saltem talem, sed prorsus nullam delegerunt ? Contr. Faust.  
 l. 29. c. 3.

<sup>q</sup> ———cum ipsi Dominum nostrum Jesum  
 Christum Deum esse non negent, et sine assumptione humani corporis eum  
 hominibus apparuisse confingant. Aug. Serm. 12. [al. de diversis 16.] cap. 8.

<sup>r</sup> Τον δε Κυριον ουτε ψυχην ανεληφενα φασιν, οτε σωμα, αλλα φανηται ὡς  
 ἀνθρωπον, και εδεν ἀνθρωπινον εχοντα· και τον τσαυρον δε, και το παθος, και  
 τον θανατον, φαντασια γενεσθαι. Th. H. F. T. 4. p. 213, 214.

‘ nothing human ; and that his cross, passion, and death, were in appearance only.’

Athanasius says the<sup>s</sup> Manichees deny that the Word was made flesh. Again, they<sup>t</sup> do not believe our Lord’s incarnation and humanity.

Ambrose says they<sup>u</sup> did not believe that Christ came in the flesh.

Jerom speaks of<sup>v</sup> their allowing the salvation of the soul only, and saying that both the birth and the resurrection of Christ were in appearance only : and therefore we cannot form an argument for the resurrection of our bodies from his resurrection, because he rose in appearance only.

So say the catholics. Let us now observe the Manichees themselves, that we may judge whether they have been misrepresented.

It is plain that, according to them, Jesus was pure deity. The catholics argued that Christ had been foretold in the books of Moses, particularly in Deut. xviii. 18 ; “ I will raise them up a prophet from among their brethren, like unto thee : him shall ye hear.” How does Faustus answer that argument ? It is in this manner : ‘ That<sup>w</sup> this does not belong to Christ, any one may see : for Christ is not a prophet, nor a prophet like unto Moses. Moses was a man, Christ is God. He was a sinner, Christ holy. He was born in the ordinary way ; Christ, according to you, was born of a virgin, according to me, not at all.—How then can he be a prophet like unto Moses ?’

Faustus often denies Christ’s<sup>x</sup> nativity : and again and again insists upon the impropriety that<sup>y</sup> God, and the God of the christians too, should be born.

<sup>s</sup> ——— ἀρνούνται το, ὁ λογος σαρξ ἐγενετο. Ath. Or. i. contr. Arian. p. 457. D. <sup>t</sup> Οὐτω δὲ Μανιχαῖος ἀπίστησας τῆ σαρκώσει καὶ ἐνανθρωπήσει τῆ Κυριῆ. Contr. Apoll. l. i. p. 939. D.

<sup>u</sup> ——— Cum Manichæus adoraverit, quem in carne venisse non credidit. Ambr. de Fid. l. 5. c. 14. T. 2. p. 583. E.

<sup>v</sup> Hæreticos vero, in quorum parte sunt Marcion, Apelles, Valentinus, Manes, nomen insanîæ, penitus et carnis et corporis resurrectionem negare, et salutem tantum tribuere animæ ; frustra que nos dicere ad exemplum Domini resurrecturos, quum ipse quoque Dominus in phantasmate surrexerit ; et non solum resurrectio ejus, sed et ipsa nativitas το δοκεῖν, id est, putative, visa magis sit quam fuerit. Hier. ad Pamm. Ep. 38. [al. 61.] T. 4. p. 320. m.

<sup>w</sup> ——— Sed hoc quidem ad Christum minime spectare, nec Judæum latet, nec nobis sic credere conducibile est : quia non propheta Christus, nec Moysi similis propheta : siquidem ille fuerit homo, hic Deus ; ille peccator, hic sanctus ; ille ex coitu natus, hic secundum te ex virgine, secundum me vero nec ex virgine. Faust. l. 16. c. 4.

<sup>x</sup> Accipis evangelium ? Et maxime. Proinde ergo et natum accipis Christum ? Non ita est. Neque enim sequitur, ut, si evangelium accipio, idcirco et natum accipiam Christum. Faust. l. 2. in. <sup>y</sup> Accipis ergo genera-

They pretended that it was dishonourable for Christ to be born of a woman. This argument is taken notice of in the Acts of<sup>z</sup> Archelaus.

It is easy to suppose that the catholic christians put these people in mind of those texts of the New Testament, where<sup>a</sup> Jesus is said to be the son of David, of the seed of David, according to the flesh, and the like: to which, however, they gave answers, such as they are.

The Manichees argued from the first chapter of St. John's gospel, ver. 5, "And the light shineth in darkness, and the darkness comprehended it not." The light is the Word, or the divine nature: the darkness, according to them, is the flesh, or matter, the evil substance. The light shined in the darkness, but the darkness could not touch, seize, lay hold of the light: nor indeed would the light touch the darkness, or suffer itself to be touched by it. This thought is in a fragment of one of Mani's<sup>b</sup> letters.

And this leads us to think that this notion was chiefly owing to their doctrine of two principles. Believing matter, of which the body is formed, to be evil in itself, they could not allow a divine person to be united to the human nature; and<sup>c</sup> therefore they pretended that our Lord had only the appearance of flesh without the reality.

They said that<sup>d</sup> Christ came directly from heaven. They argued this from all those texts where<sup>e</sup> our Lord speaks of

tionem? Equidem conatus diu sum hoc ipsum, qualecunque est, persuadere mihi, quia sit natus Deus.—Quamvis nec sic quidem dignum erit ex utero natum credere Deum, et Deum christianorum. Id. l. 3. in. et fin.

Sed non, inquit, accipere evangelium hoc solum est, si quod præcepit facias: sed ut etiam credas omnibus quæ in eodem scripta sunt, quorum primum est illud, quia sit natus Deus. Id. l. 5. c. 2.

<sup>z</sup> Ergo non putas, eum ex Mariâ virgine esse? Manes dixit: Absit, ut Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum per naturalia pudenda mulieris descendisse confitear. ap. Arch. c. 47. p. 85. Vid. et cap. 5. p. 8.

<sup>a</sup> Apostolum accipis? Et maxime. Cur ergo non credis Filium Dei, ex semine David, natum secundum carnem?—Faust. l. xi. in.

<sup>b</sup> Μια τῆ φωτος εἰν ἀπλη και αληθης ἡ φυσικ, και μια αυτῆ ἡ ενεργεια' το φως γαρ εν τῇ σκοτια φαινει, και ἡ σκοτια αυτο ἔκ ελαβεν' ἢ γαρ ἑσιας ἠψατο σαρκος, ἀλλ' ὁμοιωματι και σχηματι σαρκος ἐσκιασθη, ἵνα μὴ κρατηθῇ δια τῆς σαρκος, και παθη, και φθαρθῇ, τῆς σκοτιας φθειρεσης αυτῆ τὴν ενεργειαν τὴν φωτεινην. Manet. Ep. Zeben. ap. Fabric. B. Gr. T. v. p. 284.

<sup>c</sup> See Beaus. T. i. p. 378.

<sup>d</sup> Mihi enim pium videtur dicere, quod nihil eguerit filius Dei, in eo quod adventus ejus procuratur ad terras, neque opus habuerit columbâ, neque baptismate, neque matre, neque fratribus, fortasse neque patre, qui ei secundum te fuit Josephus; sed totus ille ipse descendens, &c. Manes, ap. Arch. c. 50. p. 91.

<sup>e</sup> Ipse enim testimonium dat, quia de sinibus Patris descendit. Et, 'qui me recipit, recepit eum qui me misit.' Et, 'non veni facere voluntatem meam, sed ejus qui misit me.' Et, 'non sum missus nisi ad oves perditas Israël.'

his coming from the Father, being sent by the Father, and the like.

They argued likewise that our Lord was not born of a woman, because<sup>f</sup> when some weak people, as they call them, told him his mother and his brethren stood without, he answered, "Who is my mother? and who are my brethren?" Matth. xii. 47, 48. This text was often insisted on by them; and their argument is handsomely answered by<sup>g</sup> Jerom. Indeed, any men, not under the bias of some prejudice, might perceive that our Lord does not here disown any earthly relations; but, preserving a due affection for them, he declares that he considered every truly good man and woman as his mother, his brother, and sister; that is, all such were dear to him. And he teaches us not to suffer ourselves to be diverted from any important service by the unseasonable importunities of earthly friends and relatives. Augustine observes they<sup>h</sup> might as well argue that the disciples had no earthly fathers, because Christ says to them: "Call no man your father upon earth, for one is your Father which is in heaven," Matt. xxiii. 9.

As they were greatly pressed by the catholic argument from the genealogies in Matthew and Luke, they endeavoured to evade it many ways. Sometimes they disputed<sup>i</sup> the genuineness of those genealogies, and<sup>k</sup> they insisted upon the differences and seeming contrarieties in them, as recorded by those two evangelists. They likewise argued that<sup>l</sup> they were contrary to all those declarations of Christ, where he disowned all earthly kindred, and said he came from heaven, and was not of this world.

Sunt et alia innumera testimonia hujuscemodi, quæ indicant eum venisse, non natum esse. ap. Arch. c. 47. p. 85.

<sup>f</sup> Manes dixit: Similis tui quidam cum ei aliquando dixisset, Maria mater tua, et fratres tui foris 'stant,' non libenter accipiens eum qui dixerat, increpavit, dicens: Quæ est mater mea, aut qui sunt fratres mei? et ostendit eos, qui facerent voluntatem suam, et matres sibi esse et fratres. ap. Arch. ib. p. 85.

<sup>g</sup> Non ergo juxta Marcionem et Manichæum matrem negavit, ut natus de phantasmate putaretur; sed apostolos cognationi prætulit, ut et nos in comparatione dilectionis carni spiritum præferamus. In Matt. T. 4. p. 52. f.

<sup>h</sup> Cujus rei exemplum præbuit prior ipse dicendo: Quæ mihi mater, aut qui fratres? Unde volunt quidam perniciosissimi hæretici asserere, non eum habuisse matrem. Nec vident esse consequens, si hæc verba attendant, ut nec discipuli ejus patres habuerint: quia sicut ipse dixit, Quæ mihi mater est; sic illos docuit, cum ait: Nolite vobis dicere patrem in terris. Enarr. in Ps. ix. n. 31. T. 4. <sup>i</sup> Vid. Faust. l. 2. et 7. <sup>k</sup> Vid. eund. l. 3.

<sup>l</sup> Quare non credis in genealogiam Jesu? Multæ quidem sunt causæ. Sed palmaris illa, quia nec ipse ore suo usquam se fatetur patrem habere, aut genus in terrâ, sed, e contra, quia non sit de hoc mundo, quia a Patre Deo processerit, quia descenderit de cælo, quia non sibi sint mater et fratres, nisi qui fecerint voluntatem Patris sui qui in cælis est. Faust. l. 7.

They argued from Christ's escape from the Jews, when they would have stoned him: see John viii. 59. This argument is in Mani himself: 'By<sup>m</sup> that escape,' he says, 'Christ showed his essence, and that he was the Son of the true light: he went away from them without being seen. The immaterial form was not visible nor tangible, though there was the appearance of flesh. For what is material can have no communion with an immaterial substance, though this appear in the form of flesh.' It is likely that<sup>n</sup> here is a reference to those words of St. Paul, 2 Cor. vi. 14: "What communion hath light with darkness?"

They argued from our Lord's transfiguration. Mani himself in a fragment says, 'The<sup>o</sup> Son of the eternal light manifested his nature on the mount.'

In another fragment<sup>p</sup> Mani banter's the Galileans, as he calls them, for believing two natures in Christ, not considering that the nature of light cannot be mixed with matter: 'For it is simple and uncompounded, and cannot be joined to matter. The supreme light, being among material things, showed a body, whilst still it was one nature only.' These, and such like arguments, had great influence upon Augustine's mind for a long time, as<sup>q</sup> he humbly owns.

Farther, we find Faustus argued from<sup>r</sup> our Saviour's escape at Nazareth, when the people would have cast him down from the brow of the hill; or, as he says, when they did so, and yet he escaped.

And to prove that Jesus was man in appearance only, they<sup>s</sup>

<sup>m</sup> Ἰσθαιων βελομενων ποτε λιθασαι τον Χριστον,—εδειξε σαφως την αυτη εσιαν ο τε ανωτατε φωτος υιος, και μεσος αυτων διελθων εχ ωρατο· η γαρ αιλος μορφη συσχηματισαμενη το ειδος της σαρκος, ορατη μεν εκ ην, εψηλαφειτο δε εδαμως, δια το μηδεμαν εχειν κοινοτητα την υλην προς το αιλον, εικαι σαρκος ωρατο μορφη. Man. Ep. ad Cudar. ap. Fabr. ib. p. 285.

<sup>n</sup> See Beaus. T. 2. p. 530.

<sup>o</sup> Ο δε τε αιδης φωτος υιος την ιδιαν εσιαν εν τη ορει εφανερωσεν. ap. Fabr. B. Gr. T. 5. p. 285.

<sup>p</sup> Των Γαλιλαιων δυο φυσεις ανομαζοντων εχειν τον Χριστον, πλατυν κατασχομεν γελωτα—το δε ανωτατον φως τοις εαυτη συνεσισημενον εδειξεν εαυτη εν τοις υλικοις σωμασι σωμα, μια ων αυτος φυσεις το παν. ap. Fabr. ib.

<sup>q</sup> Ipsum quoque Salvatorem nostrum unigenitum tuum, tanquam de massâ lucidissimæ molis tuæ porrectum ad nostram salutem, ita putabam.—Talem itaque naturam ejus nasci non posse de Mariâ virgine arbitrabar, nisi carni concerneretur. Concerni enim et non inquinari non videbam, quod mihi tale figurabam. Metuebam itaque credere in carne natum, ne credere cogerer ex carne inquinatum. Confess. l. 5. c. x. n. 20.

<sup>r</sup> Legitur id quoque, quod de supercilio montis jactatus aliquando a Judæis, illæsus abierit, &c. Faust. l. 26. c. 2.

<sup>s</sup> Sed totus ille ipse descendens semetipsum, in quocunque voluit transformavit in hominem, eo pacto quo Paulus dicit, quia habitu repertus est ut homo. ap. Arch. n. 50. p. 91.

referred to those words in Philip. ii. 8, "And was found in fashion as a man."

Whereas it was objected to them that<sup>t</sup> if Jesus had not been born, and had not an human body, he could not have been seen or heard by men: they answered that angels had been seen, and had conversed with men, though they had not human bodies.

XXII. As the Manichees did not believe that Christ was born, or had a true body, so neither did they believe that he was really crucified, or that he died. They did not deny<sup>u</sup> that he was apprehended by the Jews, and so far as in them lay, fastened to the cross, and that he seemed to die: but they did not allow that he really died.

So Faustus says without any hesitation or ambiguity: 'We<sup>v</sup> own that he suffered in appearance, but he did not really die.' Again: 'It<sup>w</sup> is our opinion that Jesus did not die.' He likewise says: 'As<sup>x</sup> from the beginning, having taken the likeness of man, he appeared to have all the infirmities of the human state; so, at the conclusion of his transaction here, it was not improper that he should seem to die.'

Mani himself in his fragment says: 'A<sup>y</sup> simple nature does not die, nor is an appearance of flesh crucified.' And<sup>z</sup> more to the like purpose.

Augustine<sup>a</sup> passeth a just censure upon their notion of a seeming death, and an imaginary, deceitful resurrection.

Nevertheless they often speak<sup>b</sup> of Christ's being made

<sup>t</sup> Nam illud quidem, quod sæpe affirmare soletis, necessario eum esse natum, quia alias hominibus videri aut loqui non posset, ridiculum est; cum multoties, ut jam probatum a nostris est, angeli, et visi hominibus et locuti esse monstrentur. Faust. l. 29. c. i. f.

<sup>u</sup> See Beaus. T. i. p. 228, 229.

<sup>v</sup> Denique nos specie tenus passum confitemur, nec vere mortuum. Faust. l. 29. c. i.

<sup>w</sup> Alioquin nobis nec Jesus mortuus est, nec est immortalis Elias. Id. l. 26. c. 2. f.

<sup>x</sup> Ut enim ab initio, sumtâ hominis similitudine, omnes humanæ conditionis simulavit affectus, sic ab re non erat, si in fine quoque consignandæ œconomiae gratiâ, fuisset visus et mori. Ib. l. 26. c. i. f.

<sup>y</sup> Ἄπλη φύσις ἐκ ἀποθνήσκει, καὶ σκία σαρκὸς ἢ ψαυρεται. Manes, ap. Fabr. T. 5. p. 284.

<sup>z</sup> Πῶς ἐν ἐπαθε, μὴτε τῆς κακίας κρατῆμενης, μὴτε τῆς ἐνεργείας αὐτῆ σκοτισθείσης. Id. ibid.

<sup>a</sup> Sed illud est, quod magiæ simile dicimini asserere, quod passionem mortemque ejus specie tenus factam, et fallaciter dicitis adumbratam, ut mori videretur, qui non moriebatur. Ex quo fit, ut ejus quoque resurrectionem umbraticam, imaginariam, fallacemque dicatis: neque enim ejus, qui non vere mortuus est, vera resurrectio esse potest.—Ita fit, ut et cicatrices discipulis dubitantibus falsas ostenderit, &c. Aug. contr. Faust. l. 29. c. 2.

<sup>b</sup> Hoc ergo sentimus de nobis, quod et de Christo, qui, cum in formâ Dei esset constitutus, factus est subditus usque ad mortem, ut similitudinem anima-

subject to death, buried, and raised from the dead by the power of the Father. They believed that<sup>c</sup> for our salvation Christ hung upon the cross. And therefore Faustus pretends to be excessively angry with Moses for that saying: "Cursed is every one that hangeth on a tree:" Deut. xxi. 23. They likewise speak<sup>d</sup> of our Lord's showing the marks of his wounds for curing the unbelief of Thomas.

As the Manichees did not believe Christ to have been born, nor to have a real body, they denied his baptism, and some other facts related in the gospels. For proof of this, and likewise for farther showing their opinion concerning our Lord's crucifixion, I shall here produce part of a passage of Faustus, which must be alleged hereafter upon another account more at large.

' We<sup>e</sup> reject divers other things which have been since ' added to the history of Christ; as that he was born of a ' woman, circumcised like a Jew, that he sacrificed like ' a heathen, that he debased himself so unworthily as to be ' baptized, and was then carried into the wilderness, and ' miserably tempted of the devil. Excepting these things, ' and the quotations of the Old Testament, which have been ' clandestinely inserted, we believe all the rest, and espe- ' cially his mystic crucifixion, by which he discovers to us ' the wounds of our soul.'

These things need no answer. It would be waste of time to stay to confute what any one may presently perceive to be weak and absurd. I shall however add a word or two by way of explication.

In what is said of Christ's sacrificing, perhaps he refers to our Lord's keeping the passover, and to the offering made by Mary for her purification: see Luke ii. 24.

As they paid no regard to the institutions of Moses, and denied our Lord to be born, or to have real flesh, it is no

rum nostrarum ostenderet. Et quemadmodum in se mortis similitudinem ostendit, et se a Patre esse de medio mortuorum resuscitatum; eo modo sentinus et de animis nostris futurum, quod per ipsum poterimus ab hac morte liberari. Fortun. Disp. i. n. 7.

<sup>c</sup> Quapropter et nos Moysen,—plus tamen hinc exsecramur, quod Christum filium Dei, qui nostræ salutis causâ pependit in ligno diro devotionis, convicio laccessivit.—Ait enim maledictum esse omnem qui pendet in ligno. Faust. l. 14. c. i. in. <sup>d</sup> ———cum Christus Thomam apostolum dubitantem de se aspernatus non sit, sed quo animi ejus vulneribus mederetur, corporis sui cicatrices ostendit. Faust. l. 16. c. 8.

<sup>e</sup> Dico autem hoc, ipsum natum ex feminâ turpiter, circumcicum judaice, sacrificasse gentiliter, baptizatum humiliter, circumductum a diabolo per deserta, et ab eo tentatum quam miserrime. His igitur exceptis, et—credimus cætera, præcipue crucis ejus mysticam fixationem, quâ nostræ animæ passionis monstrantur vulnera. Faust. l. 32. c. 7.

wonder that they excepted against the things just mentioned, and to his circumcision.

In the Acts of Archelaus, Mani is represented<sup>f</sup> excepting against the account of Christ's baptism, because that ordinance signified remission of sins, whereas Jesus was free from sin. But there is no just ground for that exception in the history of our Lord's baptism, as recorded by the evangelists.

As for their denying Christ's temptation, undoubtedly that is a consequence of their supposition that Christ was God and not man.

As for the mystic, figurative crucifixion, it is likely that the passages above transcribed may be of use to enable the reader to form some notion of their meaning. I likewise refer<sup>g</sup> to Beausobre.

Faustus does elsewhere speak of<sup>h</sup> a passible Jesus. And<sup>i</sup> Secundinus has somewhat to the like purpose: but the meaning is not obvious. I apprehend that if we had Agapius, or more of Mani's works, we might understand this, and some other things, better than we do.

Before I quit this article, I choose to put down some observations of Beausobre, which may afford useful illustrations.

'The grace of the Saviour,' says<sup>k</sup> he briefly, 'consists in enabling the soul to understand its nature, its origin, its duties, its hopes, and in giving it necessary assistances for breaking the chains of carnal passions.' In other places more largely: 'The<sup>l</sup> grace of Jesus Christ has several branches: but the principal is the giving the soul the knowledge of its nature and origin, which it had in a manner lost since its union with matter. Another branch is discovering to the soul the snares of the devil, the means of escaping them, and of returning to its heavenly country. This is what Fortunatus says to Augustine: "As<sup>m</sup> we sin

<sup>f</sup> Manes dixit: Ergo baptisma propter remissionem peccatorum datur? Archelaüs dixit: Etiam. Manes dixit: Ergo peccavit Christus, quia baptizatus est? Archelaüs dixit: Absit. ap. Arch. c. 50. p. 94.

<sup>g</sup> See him, T. 2. p. 546.

<sup>h</sup> Necnon et Spiritus Sancti—aëris hunc omnem ambitum sedem fatemur ac diversorium; cujus ex viribus ac spirituali profusione, terram quoque concipientem, gignere patibilem Jesum, qui est vita ac salus hominum, omni suspensus ex ligno. Faust. l. 20. c. 2.

<sup>i</sup> ——— noli esse erroris lancea, quâ latus percutitur Salvatoris. Vides enim illum et in omni mundo et in omni animâ crucifixum, quæ anima nunquam habuit succensendi naturam. Secundin. ad Aug. n. 3.

<sup>k</sup> Beaus. T. i. p. 569. in. <sup>l</sup> T. 2. p. 548, 549. See also p. 546, 547.

<sup>m</sup> Nam quia inviti peccamus, et cogimur a contrariâ et inimicâ nobis substantiâ, idcirco sequimur scientiam rerum. Quâ scientiâ admonita anima, et

‘ unwillingly, and are compelled by the substance which is  
 ‘ adverse and contrary to us, we endeavour to gain the  
 ‘ knowledge of things. By this knowledge the soul, re-  
 ‘ covering its first ideas, comes to understand its original,  
 ‘ and its present misery. Then correcting its past faults,  
 ‘ and practising good works, it obtains reconciliation with  
 ‘ God, under the conduct of our Saviour, who teaches both  
 ‘ what good things we should do, and what evil things we  
 ‘ should avoid.” And, as Fortunatus afterwards adds :  
 ‘ “ It” is clear therefore, that repentance is given the soul  
 ‘ since the coming of the Saviour, and since this knowledge  
 ‘ of things; by which, being washed, as in a divine fountain,  
 ‘ and purified from the vices and defilements of the world,  
 ‘ which it had contracted in the body, it may be restored to  
 ‘ the kingdom of God whence it came.” ’

XXIII. And now, since the Manichees denied that Christ really suffered, we are led to observe still more distinctly whether they thought his death to have the nature of a sacrifice, or what ends and uses his seeming death answered. Beausobre, who has written their history with great care, and nicely examined their opinions, speaks to this point more than once; and his words are very remarkable.

‘ The Manichees,’ says<sup>o</sup> he, ‘ had no temples, for they  
 ‘ had no idols.—Nor had they any altars, because they had  
 ‘ no sacrifice, no, not that which the ancient church called  
 ‘ the sacrifice of commemoration. For they did not believe  
 ‘ that Jesus Christ really suffered, nor consequently that his  
 ‘ death was a true sacrifice. The eucharist with them was  
 ‘ only a ceremony of thanksgiving in memory of the mystic  
 ‘ crucifixion of our Saviour. That crucifixion, according  
 ‘ to them, had only moral views.’

Again : ‘ The<sup>p</sup> Manichees, as they ascribed little to faith,  
 ‘ ascribed a great deal to good works, which they considered  
 ‘ as an essential and absolutely necessary condition of salva-  
 ‘ tion. They had not the same notion of the death of Christ  
 ‘ that we have. According to us, it is an offering made to  
 ‘ God for the expiation of the sins of men : according to

*memoriæ pristinae reddita, recognoscit ex quo originem trahat, in quo malo versetur, quibus bonis iterum emendans quod nolens peccavit, possit per emendationem delictorum suorum, bonorum operum gratiâ, meritum sibi reconciliationis apud Deum collocare, auctore Salvatore nostro, qui nos docet et bona exercere, et mala fugere. Fortunat. Disp. 2. n. 20.*

<sup>n</sup> Unde patet recte esse pœnitentiam datam post adventum salvatoris, et post hanc scientiam rerum, quâ possit animâ, acsi divino fonte lota, de sordibus et vitiis tam mundi totius, quam corporum in quibus eadem anima versatur, regno Dei, unde progressa est, repræsentari. *ib. n. 21.*

<sup>o</sup> T. 2. p. 703, 704.

<sup>p</sup> *Ibid.* p. 794. m.

‘ them, it is only an act of sublime virtue, the end of<sup>a</sup> which is, on the one hand, to teach men not to fear death, and to crucify the flesh; and on the other hand to assure them of the immortality, of which Christ has given them a pattern in his resurrection.’

And, after quoting the passages of Fortunatus transcribed above,<sup>r</sup> the same learned author says: ‘ It<sup>s</sup> hence appears that the Manichees ascribed the salvation of the soul to the doctrine of the Saviour. They could not ascribe it in any manner to the virtue of his blood, or of his sacrifice; forasmuch as they did not believe that he had blood, or that he made himself a sacrifice. All the efficacy of the ministry of Christ consisted in the power of his doctrine, supported by his miracles.’ He then adds, ‘ he cannot certainly say how they explained those texts of scripture which speak of our being redeemed by the blood of Christ: but perhaps they thereby meant his doctrine, an explication which he has met with in so ancient and venerable a writer as<sup>t</sup> Clement of Alexandria.’

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## SECT. V.

### THEIR WORSHIP.

I. *Its simplicity.* II. *Their public worship; prayers, reading the scriptures, with discourses.* III. *Their baptism and eucharist.* IV. *They observed the Lord's-day,* V. *And Easter, and Pentecost, and the anniversary of Mani's martyrdom.* VI. *Their discipline.*

I. IT is now proper to take some notice of their worship.

Here a fine passage of Faustus offers itself. He is showing the difference between his sect and heathens: ‘ They<sup>a</sup> think

<sup>a</sup> See more to the same purpose, ib. p. 546.

<sup>r</sup> See notes <sup>m</sup> and <sup>n</sup> p. 383.

<sup>s</sup> Beaus. T. 2. p. 549.

<sup>t</sup> ‘ Et sanguis filii ejus mundat nos.’ *Doctrina quippe Domini, quæ valde fortis est, sanguis ejus appellata est.* Clem. Adumbr. in Ep. i. Joan. p. 1009. ed. Pott. *Αγοραζει δε ημας Κυριος τιμιω αιματι, δεσποτων παλαι των πικρων απαλασσωσων αμαρτιων, δι' ας τα πνευματικα της πονηριας εκυριευσεν ημων.* Id. in Ecl. p. 994. n. 20.

<sup>a</sup> Item Pagani aris, delubris, simulachris, victimis, atque incenso, Deum

‘ that God is to be worshipped with altars, victims, chapels, images, incense. I, if I might be worthy, would esteem myself a reasonable temple of God. Christ, his Son, I receive as a living image of the living God. His altar is my mind, cultivated with care, and endowed with knowledge and just sentiments. The honours and sacrifices which I present to the Deity, are prayers, and those pure and simple.’

So Faustus. And Beausobre supposeth that<sup>b</sup> their worship was generally simple and plain, like that of a sect that arose and separated from the catholics in the third century, and was always persecuted.

II. They had public worship where<sup>c</sup> prayers were performed, at which all were present, auditors as well as elect: for Augustine, who never entered into the higher order, was present at them.

Prayer was a religious exercise, in which they were often engaged, either publicly or privately, both by night and by day. This may be argued from what Augustine<sup>d</sup> said of the different points of the heavens, to which they turned themselves in praying, whether in the day time or night season: not now to mention any other proofs of this.

They read the scriptures in their public assemblies. I suppose this may be inferred from a passage of Augustine, where<sup>e</sup> he speaks of their admiring and reading the epistles of the apostles: and from another place, where<sup>f</sup> he speaks of their reading, commending, and respecting the epistles of the apostle Paul; of which they gave wrong interpretations, and thereby deceived many.

colendum putant. Ego ab his in hoc quoque multum diversus incedo, qui ipsum me, si modo sim dignus, rationabile Dei templum puto. Vivum vivæ majestatis simulacrum Christum Filium ejus accipio: aram, mentem bonis artibus et disciplinis imbutam. Honores quoque divinos ac sacrificia in solis orationibus, et ipsis puris ac simplicibus, pono. Faust. l. 20. c. 3.

<sup>b</sup> A l'égard de la pompe, je ne suis point surpris qu'il n'y en eut pas dans la fête d'une secte séparée de l'église dès le iii. siècle, lorsque le culte étoit encore assez simple, et qui étoit persécutée par-tout. T. 2. p. 711. in. See him also, p. 700—705.

<sup>c</sup> Nôsti autem me non Electum vestrum, sed Auditorem fuisse. Itaque, quamvis et orationi vestræ interfuerim, et interrogâstis, &c. Disp. contr. Fortun. i. n. 3.

<sup>d</sup> See before, p. 352.

<sup>e</sup> Et tamen epistolas apostolorum, quibus hæc omnia contestantur, tenetis, legitis, prædicatis. Aug. contr. Faust. l. 12. c. 24.

<sup>f</sup> Certe et ipsi Manichæi legunt apostolum Paulum, et laudant et honorant, et ejus epistolas male interpretando multos decipiunt. Id. de Genesi, l. i. c. 2 n. 3.

Mani's epistle of the Foundation<sup>g</sup> was read in their assemblies,<sup>h</sup> as divers pieces, beside canonical scripture, were often read among other ancient christians.

It is likely that they also had discourses, explaining the principles of religion, and exhorting to the practice of virtue. For whilst Augustine was among them, he observed that<sup>i</sup> they earnestly warned men against sensuality, ambition, and such other faults.

III. They observed the christian appointments of baptism and the eucharist. Felix, in his dispute with Augustine, mentions<sup>k</sup> both these ordinances, as usual among them.

They practised infant baptism. This appears both from <sup>l</sup>Faustus and <sup>m</sup>Mani himself. They both speak of it as common among christians; and they show their approbation of it.

They baptized into the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, as we learn from<sup>n</sup> Athanasius.

Jerom<sup>o</sup> speaks of the Manichæan baptism.

I only add, Augustine says that<sup>p</sup> the Manichees, in that respect differing from the Pelagians, say infants have need of a Saviour on account of the corruption which the sin of the first man transmits upon them.

They had the eucharist frequently, as<sup>q</sup> Augustine knew very well, though he never was present at it.

They communicated in both kinds. As much may be inferred from the infamous story of their eucharist, formerly

<sup>g</sup> Ipsa enim nobis illo tempore miseris quando lecta est, illuminati dicebatur a vobis. Contr. Ep. Fund. c. v. n. 6.

<sup>h</sup> See Vol. ii. of this work, p. 32, 33, 58.

<sup>i</sup> Neque hoc eorum doctrinæ tribuo: fateor enim et illos sedulo monere, ut ista caveantur. De Ut. Cred. c. i. n. 3.

<sup>k</sup> Si adversarius nullus contra Deum est, ut quid baptizati sumus? ut quid eucharistia? ut quid christianitas, si contra Deum nihil est? Act. cum. Fel. c. 19. ap. Aug. T. 8.

<sup>l</sup> Unde etiam omnis religio, et maxime christiana, ad sacramentum rudes infantes appellat? Faust. l. 24. c. i.

<sup>m</sup> Qui his verbis mihi interrogandi sunt: Si omne malum actuale est, antequam malum quispiam agat, quare accipit purificationem aquæ, cum nullum malum egerit per se? Aut si nec dum egerit, et purificandus est, licet [al. liquet,] eos naturaliter malæ stirpis pullulationem ostendere. Manet. Ep. ap. Aug. op. Imp. l. 3. c. 187.

<sup>n</sup> Οὕτω Μανιχαιοι, και Φρυγες, και οι τε Σαμοσατως μαθηται, τα ονοματα λεγοντες, υδεν ηττον εισιν αιρετικοι. Or. 2. contr. Ar. n. 43. p. 510. E.

<sup>o</sup> Diaconus erat, — et a Manichæis baptizatos recipiebas. Hier. contr. Lucifer. T. 4. P. 2. p. 305. m.

<sup>p</sup> — quod non vult Manichæus; ut tamen propter vitium, quod in eos per peccatum primi hominis pertransiit, fateatur et parvulis necessarium salvatorem, quod non vult Pelagius. Contr. duas Ep. Pelag. c. 4. n. 3. T. 10.

<sup>q</sup> Nam et eucharistiam audivi a vobis sæpe quod accipiatis. Tempus autem cum me lateret, quid accipiatis, unde nôsse potui? Contr. Fort. Disp. i. n. 3.

taken notice of But, as the elect might not drink wine,<sup>r</sup> it is doubtful what liquor they made use of; whether pure water, or water with raisins, or somewhat else, steeped in it. Beausobre is inclined to think that<sup>s</sup> they made use of pure water; therein following the example of some other sects more ancient than themselves. So it may be; I do not deny it. But I almost wonder that Beausobre did not here recollect what Augustine writes of the diet of the elect, which he himself also has given a distinct account of<sup>t</sup> elsewhere. For, if Augustine may be relied upon, and has been guilty of no misrepresentation, the elect,<sup>u</sup> though forbidden the use of wine, did sometimes drink beer, cyder, and a sort of boiled wine, or liquor resembling wine.

In the time of pope Leo, called the Great, the people of this sect at Rome, the better to conceal themselves and avoid the severity of the laws, communicated with the catholics. They<sup>v</sup> received the bread, but they avoided the cup as much as possible; because, as I suppose, they scrupled to taste wine.

IV. The Manichees observed the Lord's day, but fasted upon it, auditors as well as elect. This is taken notice of by<sup>w</sup> Augustine, <sup>x</sup> Ambrose, <sup>y</sup> Leo, just quoted. Ebedjesu, cited by Asseman, gives this reason of that practice: 'They<sup>z</sup> expected the coming of Christ on that day.' Which leads Beausobre to say, they<sup>a</sup> then meditated upon the last coming of Christ, at the end of this inferior world which we

<sup>r</sup> B. T. 2. p. 721.

<sup>s</sup> Ib. p. 723.

<sup>t</sup> Ib. p. 774, 775.

<sup>u</sup> ———bibat autem mulsum, carcenum passum, et nonnullorum pomorum expressos succos, vini speciem satis imitantes.—De Mor. Manich. c. 13. n. 29. Hordei quidam succo vinum imitantur, quod movendo fit optimum. Sane, quod minime prætereundum est, hoc genus potûs citissime inebriat. Nec tamen unquam succum hordei fel principum esse dixistis. ib. cap. 16. n. 46.—et carcenum, quod bibitis, nihil aliud quam coctum vinum esse videamus. ib. n. 47. Conf. c. 13. n. 30.

<sup>v</sup> Cumque ad tegendam infidelitatem suam nostris audent interesse mysteriis, ita in sacramentorum communione se temperant, ut interdum tutius lateant. Ore indigno corpus Christi accipiunt, sanguinem autem redemptionis nostræ haurire omnino declinant. Leo. Serm. 4. de Quadragesima.

<sup>w</sup> Die autem dominico jejunare scandalum est magnum, maxime posteaquam innotuit detestabilis——hæresis Manichæorum, qui suis auditoribus ad jejunandum istum tanquam constituerunt legitimam diem. Augustin. Ep. ad Casulan. 36. [al. 86.] n. 27. Vid. ib. n. 29. Die quoque dominico cum illis jejunant, 'auditores scilicet.' Ep. 236. [al. 74.] n. 2.

<sup>x</sup> Dominicâ autem jejunare non possumus, quia Manichæos etiam ob istius diei jejunium damnamus. Ambr. Ep. 23. T. 2. p. 883. n. xi.

<sup>y</sup> Vid. Leo. Serm. iv. de Quadrag. et passim.

<sup>z</sup> Manichæi, resurrectionem abnegantes, contra christianos jejunium lucrumque in die dominico faciunt, aientes, in isto die fore ut hoc seculum subeat interitum dissolutionemque omnem post circulum novem millium annorum. ap. Assem. Bib. Or. T. 4. p. 361.

<sup>a</sup> B. T. 2. p. 709.

inhabit. Supposing that the conflagration and dissolution of our earth would happen on a Lord's-day, and not knowing which, they ever passed that day in fasting and prayer, that the Lord, when he came, might find them in the exercise of humiliation and repentance.

V. The Manichees, or however those of Africa, kept Easter, as we learn from<sup>b</sup> Augustine; who only blames them that they did not keep it with sufficient solemnity.

Beausobre supposes that<sup>c</sup> there is no good reason to doubt of their keeping the feast of Pentecost.

In the month<sup>d</sup> of March, and therefore usually about the time of Easter, they celebrated the anniversary of the martyrdom of Mani, which was called Bema, or the master's chair.

VI. Their ecclesiastical constitution we<sup>e</sup> saw formerly, in the passage of Augustine concerning their elect and auditors.

It is likely they had also some ecclesiastical discipline, and that censures of their church were pronounced upon bad livers. This is supposed in a story told by Augustine of an indecency committed by some of the elect, whilst he was of that sect. He says, that<sup>f</sup> he and others were offended, and expected that the men should have been excommunicated, or at least sharply reprov'd; but, as it seems, little notice was taken of the matter. The excuse they made was, that their assemblies were then prohibited by the laws, and therefore some inconvenience might happen, if their principal men were disobligh'd. He argues with them, as<sup>g</sup> if an elect would be degraded for eating the smallest bit of flesh.

<sup>b</sup> Cum sæpe a vobis quærerem, illo tempore quo vos audiebam, quæ causa esset, quod Pascha Domini plerumque nullâ, interdum a paucis tepidissimâ festivitate frequentaretur,——cum vestrum Bema, id est, diem quo Manichæus occisus est, quinque gradibus instructo tribunali, et pretiosis linteis adornato,——magnis honoribus prosequamini? Contr. Ep. Manich. c. 8. n. 9.

<sup>c</sup> See T. 2. p. 711. n. xi.

<sup>d</sup> Illo enim mense (Martio) Bema vestrum cum magnâ festivitate celebratis. Contr. Faust. l. 18. c. 5. Vid. not. <sup>a</sup>.

<sup>e</sup> See before, p. 290, 291.

<sup>f</sup> ——vidimus ergo in quadrivio Carthaginis,——non unum, sed plures quam tres electos simul, post transeuntes nescio quas feminas tam petulanti gestu adhinnire.—Nos autem graviter commoti, graviter etiam questi sumus. Quis tandem hoc vindicandum, non dicam separatione ab ecclesiâ, sed pro magnitudine flagitii vehementi saltem objurgatione arbitratus est? Et hæc erat omnis excusatio impunitatis illorum, quod eo tempore quo conventicula eorum lege prohiberentur, ne quid læsi proderent, metuebatur. De Mor. Manich. cap. 19. n. 68, 69.

<sup>g</sup> Quæ ergo ratio est, vel potius amentia, de numero electorum hominem pellere, qui forte carnem valetudinis causâ, nullâ cupiditate gustaverit——? Ita fit ut in electis vestris esse non possit, qui proditus fuerit, non concupiscendo, sed medendo, partem aliquam cœnâsse gallinæ. De Mor. Manich. cap. 16. n. 51.

## SECT. VI.

## THE MANICHEAN DOCTRINE CONCERNING THE SCRIPTURES.

- I. *A summary account of their scheme.* II. *They rejected the Old Testament.* III. *Their notion of John Baptist.* IV. *What books of the New Testament they received.* 1. *They received the New Testament in general, or the gospels and the epistles of St. Paul.* - 2. *What they said of St. Matthew's gospel.* 3. *Whether they received the Acts of the Apostles?* 4. *They received St. Paul's epistles:* 5. *Particularly that to the Hebrews.* 6. *Of their receiving an epistle to the Laodiceans.* 7. *Whether they received the catholic epistles?* 8. *And the Revelation?* 9. *Probably, they received all the canonical scriptures of the New Testament.* V. *Proofs of their respect for the scriptures of the New Testament.* VI. *Of their pretence that the books of the New Testament had been corrupted and interpolated.* 1. *Passages of ancient catholic authors concerning that matter.* 2. *Passages of Faustus concerning the same.* VII. *Remarks upon the passages of Faustus.* VIII. *The Manichees vindicated from the charges of forging and interpolating scripture.* 1. *They did not forge a letter ascribed to Christ.* 2. *That they did not interpolate the books of the New Testament.* IX. *Of the apocryphal books used by them.* 1. *Augustine's definition of such books.* 2. *Proofs of their using apocryphal scriptures, and what.* 3. *An account of Leucius, a great writer of apocryphal books.* 1. *His works.* 2. *His opinions.* 3. *His time.* 4. *Remarks upon the works of Leucius, and the apocryphal books used by the Manichees.*

WE are now come to the principal point, and perhaps as difficult as any, to show what books of scripture the Manichees received, and what regard they had for them.

I. Augustine's general account is to this effect: 'They<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Deum, qui legem per Moysen dedit, et in Hebræis prophetis locutus est, non esse verum Deum, sed unum ex principibus tenebrarum. Ipsiusque Testamenti Novi scripturas, tanquam infalsatas, ita legunt, ut quod volunt ipsi accipiant, quod nolunt rejiciant; eisque, tanquam totum verum habentes, nonnullas apocryphas anteponunt. Aug. de Hær. c. 46.

‘ say that the God who delivered the law by Moses, and  
 ‘ spake in the Hebrew prophets, is not the true God, but  
 ‘ one of the princes of darkness. The scriptures of the New  
 ‘ Testament they receive, but say they are interpolated, tak-  
 ‘ ing what they like, and rejecting the rest, and preferring  
 ‘ to them some apocryphal scriptures as containing the whole  
 ‘ truth.’

Here are therefore four things to be observed by us,—their rejecting the Old Testament; what books of the New Testament they received; then in what manner they received them, or what regard they had for them; and lastly, what apocryphal books they made use of.

## II. Concerning the Old Testament.

That the Manichees universally, and all along, rejected the books of the Old Testament, or the Jewish scriptures, is evident from the testimonies of almost all writers, who have taken any notice of this people.

It is intimated by<sup>b</sup> Serapion.

The design of the<sup>c</sup> third book of Titus of Bostra was to vindicate the Old Testament against their objections.

In the Acts of Archelaus it is represented as one article of Mani's doctrine, that<sup>d</sup> the Jewish prophets were deceived by the princes of darkness: that<sup>e</sup> the princes of darkness spake with Moses, and the Jewish priests and prophets. Mani<sup>f</sup> himself is there made to speak to the same purpose, and to say that there are some things true and right inserted in the Jewish scriptures, that the wrong might be received, but that nothing before John the Baptist ought to be admitted as of authority.

Faustus, we may be sure, does<sup>g</sup> not speak with greater reverence of the God of the Jews, than other Manichees.

He says, moreover, that<sup>h</sup> the moral precepts of the law of

<sup>b</sup> —μητε τον νομον τιμωντες. Serap. ap. Canis. Ant. Lect. T. i. p. 47. f. Conf. p. 54. sub fin.

<sup>c</sup> 'Ο τριτος υπερ τε νομου και των προφητων ποιειται λογον, ως παρα τε Θεε πασης της παλαιας διαθηκης δοθεισης. Tit. p. 59. ap. Canis.

<sup>d</sup> Περὶ δε των παρ' ἡμιν προφητων εως λεγει πνευμα ειναι ασεβειας, ητοι ανομας τε σκοτους, κ. λ. Ap. Arch. c. 10. p. 18.

<sup>e</sup> Τον δε λαλησαντα μετα Μωσεως, και των Ισδαιων, και των ιερεων, τον αρχοντα λεγει ειναι τε σκοτους. Ib. cap. xi. p. 20.

<sup>f</sup> Sed et ea, quæ in prophetis et in lege scripta sunt, ipsi [Satanæ] adscribenda sunt. Ipse est enim, qui in prophetis tunc locutus est—et scribere pauca quædam vera, ut per hæc etiam cætera, quæ sunt falsa, crederentur. Unde bonum nobis est ex omnibus quæ usque ad Joannem scripta sunt, nihil omnino suscipere. Ap. Arch. c. 13. p. 25. Vid. et p. 26.

<sup>g</sup> Placet ad ingluviem Judæorum dæmonis, (neque enim Dei,) tunc tauros, nunc arietes, cultris sternere? Faust. l. 18. c. 2. <sup>h</sup> ——— diffamatae in gentibus, id est, ex quo mundi hujus creatura existit. Id. l. 22. c. 2.

Moses were not revealed by him; for they are as old as the world, and are of perpetual obligation. They<sup>1</sup> were taught Enoch, Seth, and the other ancient patriarchs by angels, for the good government of the world. These laws Moses inserted in his two tables.

Epiphanius in his Synopsis briefly says, they<sup>k</sup> blaspheme the Old Testament, and the God that speaks therein. And in his long argument with them he often takes notice of<sup>l</sup> their disadvantageous notion of the Old Testament.

Hilary<sup>m</sup> speaks of their enmity to the law and the prophets.

Cyril of Jerusalem<sup>n</sup> takes notice of the same thing.

In Jerom,<sup>o</sup> Mani is frequently joined with Marcion, and others, who rejected the Old Testament.

Augustine had frequent occasion to speak of this matter, and sometimes says they<sup>p</sup> presumed to affirm that ‘the law given by Moses was not from God, but from one of the ‘princes of darkness.’ And he informs us that<sup>q</sup> this was one of those arguments in which they triumphed; and that they had too much success in deceiving weak people by the objections they brought against the Old Testament. Arche-laüs too intimates that Mani argued upon this point with much confidence, and in a specious manner, when he says he<sup>r</sup> thought the devil helped him. Indeed it is thought

<sup>1</sup> Hæc autem erant antiquitus in nationibus, ut est in promptu probare, olim promulgata per Enoch, et Seth, et cæteros eorum similes justos quibus eadem illustres tradiderint angeli temperandæ in hominibus gratiâ feritatis. Ib. l. 19. c. 3.

<sup>k</sup> Παλαιαν διαθηκην βλασφημουντες, και τον εν αυτη λαλησαντα Θεου. Epiph. T. i. p. 605.

<sup>l</sup> Id. Hær. 66. c. 43. p. 656. c. 70. p. 691. et passim.

<sup>m</sup> Manichæus enim abrupti in improbandâ lege et prophetis furoris. Hil. de Trin. l. 6. n. 10. p. 884.

<sup>n</sup> Cat. 6. c. 27. p. 104.

<sup>o</sup> Et contrario hæretici, Marcion et Manichæus, et omnes qui veterem legem rabido ore dilaniant. Hieron. in Ecc. T. 2. p. 778. in. Non quo legem juxta Manichæum et Marcionem destruamus. Id. ad Aug. Ep. 74. [al. 89.] p. 624. m. Audiant Marcionem et Manichæus, et cæteri hæretici, qui vetus laniant instrumentum. Id. in Matt. c. x. T. 4. P. i. p. 33. m. Audi Marcionem, audi Manichæum; bonæ margaritæ sunt lex et prophetæ, et notitia Veteris Testamenti. Id. in Matt. c. 13. p. 59. f. Aliud est damnare legem, quod Manichæus facit, aliud legi præferre evangelium, quæ apostolica doctrina est. Id. in Dial. i. adv. Pelag. T. 4. p. 503. in.

<sup>p</sup> Patriarchas prophetasque blasphemant. Legem per famulum Dei Moysen datam, non a vero Deo dicunt, sed a principe tenebrarum. Aug. Ep. 236. al. 74.

<sup>q</sup> Nam bene nôsti, quod reprehendentes Manichæi catholicam fidem, et maxime Vetus Testamentum diserpentes et dilaniantes, commovent imperitos. Id. de Util. Cred. c. 2. n. 4. T. 8.

<sup>r</sup> Deinde cæpit dicere plurima ex Lege, multa etiam de Evangelio, et apostolo Paulo, quæ sibi videntur esse contraria; quæ etiam cum fiduciâ dicens, nihil pertimescit. Credo, quod habeat adiutorem draconem illum, qui nobis semper inimicus est. Arch. cap. 40. n. 69.

by some that<sup>s</sup> the ancient christians were not able to defend the Old Testament so well as we have done in late times.

It would be tedious to mention all the Manichæan objections; I shall however take notice of some of them.

They pretended to take offence at the representations<sup>t</sup> given of God in the Old Testament, as if he had bodily parts and human passions; as if he was ignorant of some things, and envious, and cruel, and passionate.

Their objections against the first three chapters of the book of Genesis may be seen in "Faustus, and in a work of<sup>v</sup> Augustine, purposely written in defence of the beginning of that book.

Faustus argues, that<sup>w</sup> they were not Jews, but Gentiles: that they came directly to Christ, and not by the way of judaism. If therefore there had been, as possibly there were, Gentile prophets, they would be more profitable to them than the Jewish.

They said that,<sup>x</sup> whilst they were Gentiles and before they believed, the scriptures of the Old Testament were useless, because they could then be of no authority with them; and when the gospel was embraced, they were altogether needless.

They said they<sup>y</sup> were satisfied with the New Testament, which the Jews rejected, and that very much, out of too great a regard for the Old.

They found fault with<sup>z</sup> the Israelites spoiling the Egyptians by the order of Moses.

<sup>s</sup> See Beaus. T. i. p. 283, &c.

<sup>t</sup> ———nunc ignarum futuri,—nunc ut improvidum—nunc ut invidum et timentem, ne, si gustaret homo suus de ligno vitæ, in æternum viveret: nunc alias et appetentem sanguinis atque adipis ex omni genere sacrificiorum—nunc irascentem in alienos, nunc in suos, nunc perimentem millia hominum ob leviam quidem aut nulla commissa; nunc etiam comminantem, venturum se fore cum gladio, et parciturum nemini, non justo, non peccatori. Faust. l. 22. c. 4.

<sup>u</sup> Ibid.

<sup>v</sup> Aug. de Genesi contra Manichæos. libr. iii. Tom. i.

<sup>w</sup> Porro autem nos naturâ Gentiles sumus,—sub aliâ nati lege,—non ante effecti Judæi, ut merito Hebræicorum sequeremur fidem, euntes ad christianismum.—Ita nihil, ut dixi, ecclesiæ christianæ Hebræorum testimonia conferunt, quæ magis constat ex Gentibus quam ex Judæis. Sane si sunt aliqua, ut fama est, Sibyllæ de Christo præsentia, aut Hermetis, quem dicunt Trisnegistum, aut Orphei, aliorumque in Gentilitate vatum; hæc nos aliquanto ad fidem juvare potuerunt, qui ex Gentibus efficitur christiani, &c. Faust. l. 13. c. i.

<sup>x</sup> Hebræorum vero testimonia nobis, etiam si sint vera, ante fidem inutilia sunt, post fidem supervacua; quia ante fidem eis crede e non poteramus, nec vero ex superfluo credimus. Faust. l. 13. c. i.

<sup>y</sup> Quare non accipis Testamentum Vetus? Quia et omne vas plenum superfusa non recipit, sed effundit,—Præinde et Judæi ex præoccupatione Moyseos Testamento Veteri satiati, respuerunt Novum. Id. l. 15. cap. i. in.

<sup>z</sup> Ibi vero Moses argentum et aurum ab Ægyptiis sumens, cum populus

The appointment of sacrifices, such as those in the law of Moses, they pretended was unworthy of God, and therefore was not from him, but from some evil beings. This way of arguing is ascribed to Mani<sup>a</sup> in the Acts of Archelaus, and is also made use of by<sup>b</sup> Faustus.

It is easy to think they<sup>c</sup> did not fail to expose the ordinance of circumcision, as much as they were able.

They pretended that<sup>d</sup> the law and the gospel were contrary to each other, and therefore they were not both from one and the same being. In the Old Testament men are encouraged by the hopes of riches, and other temporal blessings. But Jesus Christ blesseth the poor, and declareth that no man can be his disciple who forsaketh not all that he hath. This argument is put into the mouth of<sup>e</sup> Mani in the Acts of Archelaus: and it is with the utmost disdain that<sup>f</sup> Faustus speaks of the blessings promised in the Old Testament; such as riches, plenty, long life, a numerous progeny, a land flowing with milk and honey. He is fully satisfied with the spiritual blessings of the gospel. Nor would he accept of such good things as the law promiseth, if offered him. Again, says Faustus: ‘Our<sup>g</sup> church is poor indeed, but she is

fugisset ex Ægypto. Jesus autem nihil proximi desiderandum præcepit. Ap. Arch. c. 40. p. 69.

<sup>a</sup> Ipse [Satanas] est enim, qui in prophetis tunc locutus est, plurimas eis de Deo ignorantias suggerens, et tentationes, et concupiscentias. Sed et devotorem eum sanguinis et carnis ostendunt. Quæ omnia ad eum pertinent Satanam, et ad prophetas ejus. Ap. Arch. c. 13. p. 25.

<sup>b</sup> Placet ad ingluviem Judæorum dæmonis—nunc tauros, nunc arietes, nunc etiam hircos, ut non et homines dicam, cultris sternere; ac propter quod idola sumus exosi, id nunc exercere crudelius sub prophetis ac lege? Faust. l. 18. c. 2. Vid. supr. not. <sup>t</sup>.

<sup>c</sup> Nam peritomen ege, ut pudendam, despui, ac, si non fallor, et tu. Id. l. 6. c. i. Placet circumcidi, id est, pudendis insignire pudenda, et Deum credere sacramentis talibus delectari? Id. l. 18. c. 2.

<sup>d</sup> Legem Moysi, ut breviter dicam, dicebat hic non esse Dei boni, sed maligni principis, nec habere eam quidquam cognationis ad novam legem Christi; sed esse contrariam et inimicam, alteram alteri obsistentem. Arch. c. 40. p. 69.

<sup>e</sup> Dicebat ergo, quod ibi dixerit Deus, Ego divitem et pauperem facio. Hic vero Jesus beatos dicebat pauperes. Addebat etiam, quod nemo possit ejus esse discipulus nisi renunciaret omnibus quæ haberet. Id. ib.

<sup>f</sup> Cur non accipis Testamentum Vetus? Quia et ab ipso hoc, et ex Novo didicimus, aliena non concupiscere.—Divitias promittit, et ventris saturitatem, et filios et nepotes, vitamque longam, et Chananitidis regnum.—Judæis bona sua habere, libens volensque permisi, solo scilicet evangelio, et regni cælorum splendidâ hæreditate contentus. Faust. l. x. c. 1. Secunda vero causa est, quod tam etiam misera ejus, et corporalis, ac longe ab animæ commodis hæreditas est, ut post beatam illam Novi Testamenti pollicitationem, quæ cælorum mihi regnum, et vitam perpetuam repromittit, etiam si gratis eam mihi testator suus ingereret, fastidirem. Id. l. 4. c. i.

<sup>g</sup> Et quia ecclesia nostra, sponsa Christi, pauperior quidem ei nupta, sed diviti, contenta sit bonis mariti sui, humilium amatorum dedignatur opes.

‘ married to Christ, who is rich ; and she is contented with the estate of her husband : nor will she hold any strange correspondence, or receive either presents or letters from another.’

The Manichees<sup>h</sup> took great liberties in reviling the patriarchs and the kings of Israel for the practice of polygamy : and they unmercifully aggravated the faults, which some good men of the Old Testament were surprised into, and misrepresented some other things. Faustus is very copious in his declamations upon these points.<sup>i</sup>

And Augustine tells us that<sup>k</sup> when he was young they would come to him, and ask, ‘ if he thought they were righteous men who had more than one wife at a time !’

Jerom informs us that<sup>l</sup> they alleged those words of our Lord in John x. 8, “ All that ever came before me are thieves and robbers.” And in fact the Manichæan bishop and author, so often quoted already, fails not to insist upon<sup>m</sup> this text, and to apply it particularly to Moses.

Jerom represents the Manichees arguing that<sup>n</sup> it was allowed the law of Moses was abolished, and therefore we ought to receive the New Testament only.

The catholic christians maintained the authority of the Old Testament, and put the Manichees in mind of divers things contained in the New ; as those words of our Lord himself, Matth. v. 17 : “ I came not to destroy the law, but to fulfil.”

This is in the<sup>o</sup> Acts of Archelaus, where Mani by way of Sordent ei Testamenti Veteris et ejus auctoris munera ; famæque suæ custos diligentissima, nisi sponsi sui non accipit literas. Faust. l. 15. c. i.

<sup>b</sup> ———soceros dormire cum nurbus, tanquam Judas ; patres cum filiabus, tanquam Loth ; prophetas cum fornicatricibus, tanquam Osee ; maritos uxorum suarum noctes amatoribus vendere, tanquam Abraham ; duabus germanis sororibus unum miseri maritum, tanquam Jacob ; rectores populi, et quos maxime entheos credas, millenis et centenis volutari cum scortis, tanquam David et Solomon. Faust. l. 32. c. 4. Vid. et l. 22. c. 3. 5. l. 12. c. 1.

<sup>i</sup> ———ac per hoc et Judæorum patres, Abraham scilicet et Isaac et Jacob ———quanquam fuerunt ipsi flagitiosissimi ; ut fere Moses indicat eorum pronepos, sive quis alius historiæ ejus conditor est, quæ dicitur Geneseos, qui eorum vitas nobis odio omni fastidioque dignissimas scripsit. Faust. l. 33. c. 1.

<sup>k</sup> ———cum a me quærent, ———et utrum justî existimandi essent, qui haberent uxores multas simul. Confess. l. 3. c. 7. n. 12.

<sup>l</sup> ———detrans prophetis ejus, quasi auctoritate testimonii evangelici, in quo salvator ait : Omnes, qui venerunt ante me, fures fuerunt et latrones. Hier. in Is. T. 3. p. 171.

<sup>m</sup> Quippe cum et ipsum dicentem audirem, fures fuisse et latrones omnes, qui venerunt ante se. Quâ sententiâ primum omnium video ferri Moysen. Faust. l. 16. c. 2.

<sup>n</sup> Manichæus nobis consurgit repente, qui legem dicit abolitam, et solos Novi Testamenti legendos libros. Adv. Pelag. l. 2. T. 4. p. 510. m.

<sup>o</sup> Ego, audiens, dicebam eis sermonem evangelicum, quomodo dixit Dominus noster Jesus Christus, Non veni solvere legem, sed adimplere. Ille vero

answer says: 'Christ never spake those words, for it is not true that he fulfilled the law, but that he destroyed it.'

Faustus in his work likewise proposes this catholic objection, to which he gives a variety of answers, weak and trifling.

They are such as these: 'This<sup>p</sup> is related by Matthew only, and as spoken by Christ in his sermon on the mount, when he was not present, but only the first four disciples, who attended on him before Matthew was called. Of those disciples who were present at that sermon none have written a gospel but John, who says nothing of this matter. It may therefore be questioned whether Jesus ever spoke these words.' He also says that Matthew himself did not write this, which will be considered another time.

Then he adds, that<sup>q</sup> all in general are agreed that Christ came not to fulfil the law, but to destroy it.

After which<sup>r</sup> he comes again to the Manichæan principle, of examining and judging what is right, what not, in the scriptures, and rejecting what does not appear agreeable to truth. And he pretends that<sup>s</sup> if the catholics will maintain the genuineness of this text, they ought to obey all the laws of Moses, and be no longer christians, but Jews.

Finally he says, let<sup>t</sup> us consider what law is here spoken of, for there are several laws. There is the law of Moses, the law of nature, and of truth. Which last, he says, is spoken

ait, nequâquam eum hunc dixisse sermonem: Cum enim ipsam inveniamus eum resolvisse legem, necesse est nos hoc potius intelligere quod fecit. Arch. c. 40. p. 69.

<sup>p</sup> Cur Legem non accipitis et Prophetas, cum Christus eos non se venisse solvere dixerit, sed adimplere? quis hoc testatur dixisse Jesum? Matthæus. Ubi dixisse? In monte. Quibus præsentibus? Petro, Andrea, Jacobo, et Joanne, quatuor his tantum: cæteros enim necdum elegerat, nec ipsum Matthæum. Ex his ergo quatuor unus, id est, Joannes, evangelium scripsit? Ita. Alicubi hoc ipse commemorat? Nusquam. Quomodo ergo, quod Joannes non testatur, qui fuit in monte. Matthæus hoc scripsit, qui longo intervallo, postquam Jesus de monte descendit, secutus est eum? Ac per hoc de hoc ipso primo ambigitur, utrum Jesus tale aliquid dixerit, quia testis idoneus tacet, loquitur autem minas idoneas; ut interim permiserimus nobis injuriam fecisse Matthæum, donec et ipsum probemus hæc non scripsisse.—Faust. l. 17. c. i.

<sup>q</sup> Uterque enim nostrum sub hac notione christianus est, quia Christum in destructionem legis et prophetarum venisse putavimus. l. 18. c. 1.

<sup>r</sup> Et tamen me quidem jam adversus capituli hujus necessitudinem Manichæa fides reddidit tutum,——Ib. c. 3. in.

<sup>s</sup> Nempe cogeris aut vanæ superstitioni succumbere, aut capitulum profiteri falsum, aut te Christi negare discipulum. l. 18. c. 3. f.

<sup>t</sup> Ecce jam consentio dictum.—Sunt autem legum genera tria: unum quidem Hebræorum, quod peccati et mortis Paulus appellat; aliud vero Gentium, quod naturale vocat. Tertium vero genus legis est veritas, quod perinde significans apostolus dicit, Lex enim spiritus vitæ in Christo Jesu liberavit me a lege peccati et mortis. Id. l. 19. c. 1, 2.

of by the apostle, Rom. viii. 2, calling it “the law of the spirit of life.” And<sup>u</sup> there are other prophets, beside those of the Jews: and that<sup>v</sup> our Saviour does not here speak of their law, appears from the things he discourseth of; which are not the peculiar ordinances of the Mosaic law, but those precepts which are of eternal obligation.

The catholics put them in mind likewise of John v. 46: “Had ye believed Moses, ye would have believed me: for he wrote of me.”

To which Faustus makes divers answers: as<sup>w</sup> that, upon searching the writings of Moses, he could not find any prophecies concerning Christ. Therefore our Lord never spoke in this manner, for all his words are true. And he himself elsewhere declares, “All who were before him were thieves and robbers,” particularly striking at Moses. Moreover, upon divers occasions, when he might have referred the Jews to Moses and the prophets, he only directs them to consider his miracles, and the testimony given to him from heaven by God the Father.

For all which reasons he pretends he may conclude that this paragraph is not genuine, but has been inserted by the corrupters of scripture, who have here said what is not true.

This may suffice for showing the opinion and the arguments of the Manichees concerning the Old Testament.

III. I shall only add a word or two for showing what they thought of John the Baptist.

Didymus of Alexandria intimates that<sup>x</sup> they did not admit his authority, reckoning him one of the Old Testament. And Photius says of Agapius, the Manichee, that<sup>y</sup> he reviled not only Moses and the prophets, but the forerunner likewise. But, in the Acts of Archelaus, Mani is said<sup>z</sup> to have

<sup>u</sup> Item Prophetæ, alii sunt Judæorum, alii Gentium, alii veritatis. ib. c. 2.

<sup>v</sup> Lege ergo tripartitâ, et tripartitis Prophetis, de quonam eorum Jesus dixerit, non satis liquet. Est tamen conjicere ex consequentibus, &c. ib. c. 3.

<sup>w</sup> Quare Moysen non accipitis, cum Christus dicat: Moyses de me scripsit; et si crederetis Moysi, crederetis mihi—? Nam ego quidem scripturas ejus perscrutatus,—nullas ibidem de Christo prophetias inveni.—Unde in ingenti positus æstu, ratione cogebam in alterum e duobus; ut aut falsum pronuntiarem capitulum hoc, aut mendacem Jesum. Sed id quidem alienum pietatis erat, Deum existimare mentitum. Rectius ergo visum est, scriptoribus adscribere falsitatem, quam veritatis auctori mendacium, &c. id. l. 16. c. i. ii.

<sup>x</sup> Ου γαρ δεχονται τον βαπτιστην, Ιωαννην, τυγχανοντα ενα της παλαιας γραφης. Didym. contr. Manich. p. 214.

<sup>y</sup> Την δε παλαιαν γραφην κωμωδει, Μωσσεα και αυτον, και τες προφητας, και τον προδρομον. Phot. cod. 179. p. 404.

<sup>z</sup> Aiebat autem, Joannem regnum cœlorum prædicare; nam et per abscissionem capitis ejus hoc esse indicatum, quod, omnibus prioribus et superioribus ejus abscissis, posteriora sola servanda sint. Arch. cap. 40. p. 70. Vid. ib. c. 13. p. 25, 26.

spoken of John the Baptist as a preacher of the kingdom of heaven. Beausobre therefore concludes that<sup>a</sup> the Manichees received John's testimony to the divine mission of our Saviour. And indeed Didymus himself intimates, in the place before referred to, that<sup>b</sup> they were willing to argue from some things said by John the Baptist. Perhaps they were not all of the same opinion about him. Nor is it any great wonder that men should differ upon the question, whether John the Baptist belonged to the Old Testament or to the New.

IV. In the next place we are to consider what books of the New Testament were received by the Manichees. I shall observe the testimonies of divers authors.

1. Serapion, having said he would not insist upon matters in the Old Testament, adds: 'Since<sup>c</sup> they respect the gospels, my proofs shall be taken from them.' What books of the New Testament he quoted in his work against the Manichees was shown<sup>d</sup> formerly.

Titus of Bostra expressly says, 'they<sup>e</sup> receive the gospel.' Several of his passages will be more particularly cited hereafter, when we come to observe what they said of the interpolation of the scriptures. But when Titus here says, 'they received the gospel,' he means, I think, the New Testament in general, because the gospel is there opposed to the law and the prophets.

Epiphanius says they<sup>f</sup> pretended that the two Testaments were contrary to each other. He likewise says 'when<sup>g</sup> they reject the Old Testament, many things may be alleged from 'the gospels and from the apostles to confute them.' They acknowledged the New Testament therefore, both the gospels, and the epistles of the apostles, as of authority.

St. Jerom's account, in the place above referred to, is, they<sup>h</sup> say the law is abolished, and that the books of the New Testament only are to be attended to by us.

<sup>a</sup> Beaus. T. i. p. 289.

<sup>b</sup> Εἰ δὲ κακίον προφερόντο, το λέχθεν υπο τῆ βαπτισῆ Ἰωάννη — ἀκρωτώσαν, ὅτι ἔ δυνάμται προφερεῖν ἀφ' ὧν μὴ παραδέχονται. Did. ib. p. 213, 214.

<sup>c</sup> Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τὰ εὐαγγέλια μεμελετῆται αὐτοῖς, ἐκ τῶν εὐαγγελίων προηνεχθῆ ὁ ἐλεγχος. Serap. ap. Canis. T. i. p. 54. infr. m. <sup>d</sup> See p. 271.

<sup>e</sup> Το εὐαγγέλιον παραδεχομενοι τον νομον ἔ παραδεχονται. Tit. l. 3. p. 140. f. <sup>f</sup> Φασκει γὰρ τας δυο διαθηκας ἐναντίας προς ἀλλήλας. Hær. 66. c. 42. in.

<sup>g</sup> Καὶ ποσα ἐσιν εἶπεν δια τῶν εὐαγγελίων, καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων, εἰς ἐλεγχον τῆς τῆ Μανη μανίας — Ἐν Σωτηρος ὁμολογῆντος τὴν παλαιαν διαθήκην, ἔ μονον, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀποστολοὶ κ. λ. Id. H. 66. c. 43. m.

<sup>h</sup> — Manichæus nobis consurgit repente, qui legem dicit abolitam, et solos Novi Testamenti legendos libros. Adv. Pelag. l. 2. T. 4. p. 510.

Faustus often says that<sup>i</sup> he receives the gospel; meaning thereby the doctrine taught by Jesus Christ.

He says that<sup>k</sup> he, as well as the catholics, own Jesus to be the author of the New Testament or covenant.

He mentions<sup>l</sup> the four evangelists, Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, without hinting that there were any other authentic historians of Jesus Christ.

He seems to allow that John wrote the gospel under his name. For,<sup>m</sup> mentioning Peter and Andrew, James and John, as the first and most early disciples of Jesus, he says: 'of all these four John only wrote a gospel.'

In the Acts of Archelaus it is expressly said that 'Mani<sup>n</sup> argued from the gospel, and the apostle Paul;' that is, from the gospels, and from the epistles of that apostle.

Photius, in his extracts from Agapius, says that 'he<sup>o</sup> quoted many passages of the divine gospel, and the epistles of the divine Paul.'

Augustine speaks of<sup>p</sup> their using the four gospels, and the epistles of Paul; and frequently of their<sup>q</sup> approving or admitting the authority of the gospel and the apostle.

2. With regard to St. Matthew's gospel, Faustus has disputed its genuineness. He is answering the catholic argument for the authority of the Old Testament, taken from the words of our Lord in Matt. v. 17: and, among other

<sup>i</sup> Accipis evangelium? Et maxime. Faust. l. 2. c. 1. Accipis evangelium? Tu me interrogas, utrum accipiam, in quo idipsum apparet, quia quæ jubet observo.—Nisi adhuc nescis, quid sit quod evangelium nuncupatur. Est enim nihil aliud, quam prædicatio et mandatum Christi. Id. l. 5. c. 1.

<sup>k</sup> Quod Novum Testamentum Jesum condidisse utrique fatemur. id. l. 18. c. 1.

<sup>l</sup> Sed offensus duorum evangelistarum maxime dissensione, qui genealogiam ejus scribunt, Lucæ et Matthæi, hæsi insertus quemnam potissimum sequeretur.—Infinîtâ ergo eorum prætermisâ lite,——ad Joannem Marcumque me contuli; nec impariter a duobus ad duos, et ab evangelistis ad ejusdem nominis professores. Faust. l. 3. c. i.

<sup>m</sup> Quibus præsentibus? Petro, Andréâ, Jacobo, et Joanne.—Ex his quatuor unus, id est, Joannes, evangelium scripsit? Ita. Faust. l. 17. c. i.

<sup>n</sup> Deinde cœpit dicere plurima ex lege, multa etiam de evangelio, et apostolo Paulo, quæ sibi videntur esse contraria. Arch. c. 40. p. 69.

<sup>o</sup> ——ἀποσπαρασσων δὲ ῥήματα τινὰ τῶ θεοῦ εὐαγγελίῳ, καὶ ἐπιτολῶν τῶ θεοῦ Παύλου, πειραταὶ ἐρεβλῆν αὐτὰ, καὶ πρὸς τὴν οἰκειαν ἐνυστεβεῖαν ἐλκεῖν. Ph. Cod. 179. p. 405.

<sup>p</sup> ——Aut si talis oratio impudens est, sicuti est, cur in Pauli epistolis, cur in quatuor evangelii libris ea valere aliquid putant? De Util. Cred. cap. 3. n. 7.

<sup>q</sup> Nam quæro ab eis, utrum bonum sit delectari lectione apostoli,——et utrum bonum sit evangelium disserere? Respondebunt ad singula: Bonum est. Conf. l. 8. c. x. p. 24.

<sup>r</sup> Videamus, quemadmodum ipse Dominus in evangelio nobis præceperit esse vivendum; quomodo etiam Paulus apostolus. Has enim scripturas illi condemnare non audent. De M. E. C. c. 7. n. 13. in.

things, he says that<sup>s</sup> Matthew did not write this: and that he is not the author of the gospel under his name may be concluded from what is said, Matt. ix. 9, "And as Jesus passed forth from thence he saw a man named Matthew, sitting at the receipt of custom; and he saith unto him, Follow me. And he arose and followed him." Faustus argues, that if Matthew were the writer he would have said: 'Jesus saw me and called me, and I arose and followed him.' But certainly this argument is unworthy of a man of learning and consideration. The weakness of it is evident from many texts of the gospels not disputed by the Manichees. In John iii. 16, our Lord himself says: "God so loved the world, that he gave his only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth on him might not perish." John the evangelist speaks of himself in the third person several times: see John xix. 26; xx. 2; xxi. 7, 20. It is a common thing for Josephus, the Jewish historian, to<sup>t</sup> speak of himself after the like manner. And does not every one perceive that Matthew out of modesty might decline to speak of himself in the first person upon that occasion? Augustine has fully answered<sup>u</sup> this objection: and I have transcribed a part of what he says in the margin, for the satisfaction of inquisitive readers.

Not to add, what is also well observed by Augustine elsewhere, that<sup>v</sup> it is a vain imagination to think by such trifling objections to overthrow the authority of a gospel so fully established as that of St. Matthew.

3. Augustine often intimates that the Manichees rejected the Acts of the Apostles. He sometimes speaks as if their aversion to that book was very great, and they could scarce endure the mention of it. I have already cited several of his

<sup>s</sup> ———— ut interim permiserimus nobis injuriam fecisse Matthæum, donec et ipsum probemus hæc non scripsisse, sed alium nescio quem, sub nomine ejus: quod docet et ipsa lectionis ejusdem Matthæi obliqua narratio. Quid enim dicit? Et cum transiret Jesus, vidit hominem sedentem ad telonium, nomine Matthæum, et vocavit eum. At ille confestim surgens, secutus est eum. Et quis ergo de seipso scribens, dicat, Vidit hominem, et vocavit eum, et secutus est eum: ac non potius dicat, Vidit me, et secutus sum: nisi quia constat hæc Matthæum non scripsisse, sed alium nescio quem sub ejus nomine? &c. Id. l. 17. c. 1.

<sup>t</sup> Vid. Joseph. de B. J. l. 2. c. 20. n. 4, 5, et passim.

<sup>u</sup> Sed non usque adeo imperitum putaverim, ut nec legerit, nec audierit, solere scriptores rerum gestarum, cum in suam personam venerint, ita se contexere tanquam de alio narrant, quod de se narrant. Contr. Faust. l. 17. c. 4.

<sup>v</sup> ———— qui etiam de evangelico [al. evangelio,] tantæ auctoritatis culmine omnibus noto, mentiri sic audet, ut non Matthæum, ne apostolici nominis pondere comprimatur, sed nescio quem alium sub Matthæi nomine, velit putari scripsisse de Christo, quod non vult credere, et quod calumniosâ versutiâ refutare conatur. Aug. contr. Faust. l. 23. c. 6.

passages relating to this matter. To them<sup>w</sup> the reader is referred, and I entreat him to cast an eye upon them, though I add here<sup>x</sup> one or two more.

In one place he may be understood to say that<sup>y</sup> some of the Manichees reject this book. Perhaps others may interpret the place differently. But I have accidentally observed that<sup>z</sup> the composer of the general index in the Benedictine edition of Augustine's works did not understand him to say 'certain people called Manichees,' but 'some of the 'Manichees.'

And indeed I question whether the Manichees did all, and always, reject the book of the Acts as they did the scriptures of the Old Testament.

For, first, I do not see any reason they had to reject the Acts any more than the gospels, or other books of the New Testament. Augustine himself says that<sup>a</sup> in other books of the New Testament there are like things to those in the Acts: and that as they pretended other books of the New Testament were interpolated, they might have said the same of this likewise. That indeed, as he observes, would have been a groundless and impudent assertion: but if that had been what they chose to say of this book, it would have been no more unreasonable than their saying it of the rest; for there were not here more things contrary to their opinions, than in the other books which they did receive.

Secondly, I have observed that several Greek writers of the fourth century, or thereabouts, in their disputes with the Manichees, cite this book as if it was received by them.

<sup>w</sup> See before, p. 341.

<sup>x</sup> Quæ potestate Petrus apostolus usus est in eo libro quem isti non accipiunt, quoniam manifeste continet Paracleti adventum, id est, consolatoris Sancti Spiritus.—Contr. Adim. c. 17. n. 5. Quod non solum in Actibus Apostolorum canonicis, quos isti non accipiunt, ne de adventu veri Paracleti, quem promisit Dominus, convincantur, evidentè apparet. Contr. Faust. l. 19. c. 31. Deinde Paracletum sicut promissum legimus in iis libris, quorum non omnia vultis accipere; ita et missum legimus in eo libro, quem nominare etiam formidatis. In Actibus quippe Apostolorum—apertissime legitur missus die Pentecostes Spiritus Sanctus. ib. l. 32. c. 15.

<sup>y</sup> Nam quidam Manichæi canonicum librum, cujus titulus est Actus Apostolorum, repudiant. Aug. ad Ceret. Ep. 237. [al. 253.] n. 7. Vid. supr. 341. not. <sup>a</sup>.

<sup>z</sup> See the General Index in the word Manichæi—ex eis quidam Actus Apostolorum repudiant. 2 Tom. Ep. 237.

<sup>a</sup> Hoc enim de illo libro fecerunt, qui Actus Apostolorum inscribitur. Quod eorum consilium cum mecum ipse pertracto, nequeo satis mirari.—Tanta enim liber iste habet, quæ similia sunt his quæ accipiunt, ut magnæ stultitiæ mihi videatur, non et hunc accipere, et, si quid ibi eos offendit, falsum atque immisum dicere. Aut si talis oratio impudens est, sicuti est, cur in Pauli epistolis, cur in quatuor evangelii libris, ea valere aliquid putant, in quibus haud scio an multo plura sint proportione, quam in illo libro esse potuerunt, quæ a corruptoribus interjecta credi volunt? De Ut. Cred. c. 3. n. 7.

The Acts are quoted in the Dispute of<sup>b</sup> Archelaus.

Serapion having alleged the history in 2 Kings xiii. 21, adds: ‘But<sup>c</sup> if they pay no regard to these things, and despise the law, let them however hearken to what is said of sick people being healed by the very shadow of Peter’s body, and let that fill them with confusion:’ where he plainly refers to Acts v. 15.

Titus of Bostra argues with them out of the Acts. The Manichees pretended that the dispensation of the law was cruel and unmerciful. They excepted against Elisha’s cursing the children, which presently afterwards were devoured by two bears: and against Elijah’s calling for fire from heaven to consume the captains with their men, sent to him from the king of Israel. Whereupon Titus answers: ‘If<sup>d</sup> they condemn these actions as evil, what will they say of Paul, when observing that Barjesus, who was with the proconsul Sergius Paulus, strove to turn him from the truth, he deprived him of eyesight, and said: “O full of all subtilty?”’ and what follows, Acts xiii. 10. He likewise adds: ‘And<sup>e</sup> what will they say of Peter, who, when Ananias and Sapphira brought a part only of the price of what they had sold, and he had convicted them of lying, struck Ananias dead, and afterwards delivered Sapphira to the same grave?’ Upon these instances Titus proceeds to argue a great deal, without any suspicion of their contesting the credit and authority of the book whence they are taken.

Epiphanius,<sup>f</sup> in his argument with the Manichees, quotes the Acts of the Apostles several times.

Didymus of Alexandria likewise, in his short tract against them, expressly quotes<sup>g</sup> the same book for a part of the history of St. Stephen.

All this seems sufficient to render it probable that the Manichees did not always, and every where, reject the Acts of the Apostles: if they had so done, Archelaus, or Sera-

<sup>b</sup> Vid. Arch. c. 34. p. 59. c. 36. p. 63.

<sup>c</sup> ———— *Εἰ δὲ Μανιχαῖοι πρὸς αὐτὸν μνημονεύουσι, καὶ τὸ λόγιον διαβάλλουσι. μήτε τὸν νόμον τιμῶντες, καὶ ἐκ τῆ παραλλήλης δυσωπεισθῶσαν, καὶ ἡ σκία Πέτρον τὴν γνῶμην ἐκείνων αἰσχυνεῖτω. κ. λ. Serap. p. 47. f.*

<sup>d</sup> Καὶ ἐπειδὴ τοιαύτας αἰτίας καὶ τοιαύτας ἐπιθυμίας ἐν ταῖσι πονηρίας καὶ κακίας τιθενταί, τί εἰρησι περὶ Παύλου; ὅστις ποτε τὸν λεγόμενον βαρῆσεν, τὸν μαγόν, ———— ἐπετιμήσε, στερήσιν τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἐργασάτο. Tit. contr. Manich. l. 3. p. 155.

<sup>e</sup> Τι δὲ εἰρησι περὶ τῆ Πέτρον — τὸν μὲν Ἀνανίαν νεκρὸν εἰδείξεν, τὴν δὲ Σαπφείραν τῇ αὐτῇ μνηματίῳ παραδεδωκεν; Id. ib.

<sup>f</sup> Vid. H. 66. c. 61. p. 674. B. c. 62. p. 675. B. et C.

<sup>g</sup> ———— ὡσπερ καὶ ἐν ταῖς Πράξεσιν τῶν ἀποστόλων Στεφάνου, κ. λ. Didym. contr. Manich. p. 208.

pion, or Titus, or Epiphanius, or Didymus, must have known it, and would have taken some notice of it.

We have therefore Augustine's single testimony alone against them upon this head; which can affect only the Manichees of his time in Africa, if it be valid so far.

I do not recollect that Faustus has any thing which can afford us much light. He has quoted<sup>b</sup> the tenth of the Acts: but it is not in such a manner as to decide the question. He may be supposed likewise to refer to<sup>i</sup> the fifteenth chapter.

Upon the whole, I somewhat doubt whether the Manichees were so much offended at this book as Augustine insinuates.

If the reader thinks it may be of any use for finding out the Manichæan sentiment concerning the book of the Acts, he may observe the testimony of the Paulicians to the New Testament, which will be taken notice of hereafter. They are commonly reckoned a branch of this sect; and it is said that some of them did not receive the Acts.

Beausobre, considering this matter, says: 'Nevertheless,<sup>k</sup> ' Augustine has well observed that<sup>l</sup> the Manichees might ' have received the book of the Acts, and yet avoid the ' difficulties they would then have been urged with, by only ' making the like exceptions, which they did to evade the ' testimony of the gospels. Which,' as that learned author adds, ' has made me to think that the true reason why the ' Manichees excluded the history of the apostles from their ' canon, was, that it had not in the eastern churches, from ' the beginning, the same authority with the gospels and ' epistles.' After which he refers to a well known passage of St. Chrysostom.

But I am rather of opinion that this book was not always rejected by the Manichees: and I rely upon the reasons just assigned, without adding any thing farther.

Nor can I allow that the Acts of the Apostles was not of authority from the beginning in the eastern churches: for it was received by Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Dionysius of Alexandria, and other christians in the east, as has been already shown in this work.

4. I next observe what epistles of apostles they admitted.

<sup>b</sup> ———quemadmodum et illud, quod de Petro soletis adferre, tanquam idem viderit aliquando de cœlo demissum vas, in quo essent omnia genera animalium, et serpentes. Faust. l. 31. c. 3.

<sup>i</sup> De mandato vero abstinendi a cibis communibus, visum vobis est et vehementer creditum, morticina quidem et immolata esse sane immunda. l. 32. c. 3.

<sup>k</sup> B. T. i. p. 293.

<sup>l</sup> De Util. Cred. cap. 3.

Augustine speaks of it as an undoubted and well known thing, that the<sup>m</sup> Manichees read, admired, and commended St. Paul's epistles.

In another place he speaks<sup>n</sup> of their having, reading, and commending, or commenting upon, the epistles of the apostles.

He also speaks<sup>o</sup> of their receiving the gospel, and the canonical epistles: meaning by this last expression, as I apprehend, the epistles commonly received by other christians as a part of their canon; not those sometimes called catholic, as<sup>p</sup> Beausobre thought. The first sense is agreeable to Augustine's use of the word in other<sup>q</sup> places.

I suppose there is no doubt but they received thirteen epistles of the apostle Paul.

Photius, speaking of Agapius, in the<sup>r</sup> passage above cited, says, he quotes passages of the divine gospel, and of the epistles of the divine Paul.

Faustus<sup>s</sup> readily says, 'he receives the apostle;' thereby meaning Paul, or the epistles of that apostle. And in his yet remaining work he quotes expressly, and by name, many of them: as well as frequently without naming them: as<sup>t</sup> the epistle to the Romans, the<sup>u</sup> first and<sup>v</sup> second to the Corinthians, to<sup>w</sup> the Galatians, to<sup>x</sup> the Ephesians, to<sup>y</sup> the Colossians, to<sup>z</sup> Titus.

5. Let us now consider whether the Manichees received the epistle to the Hebrews. There is some reason to think they did: for there are references to it in<sup>a</sup> the Acts of Archelaus. Serapion in his book<sup>b</sup> Against the Manichees,

<sup>m</sup> Certe et ipsi Manichæi legunt apostolum Paulum, et laudant et honorant; et ejus epistolas male interpretando multos decipiunt. De Gen. contr. Manich. l. i. c. 2. n. 3. <sup>n</sup> Et tamen epistolis apostolorum, quibus hæc omnia constantur, tenetis, legitis, prædicatis. Contr. Faust. l. 12. c. 24.

<sup>o</sup> ———ut quidquid est in evangelio vel epistolis canonicis, quo adjuvari hæresim suam putent, id esse a Christo et apostolis dictum teneant atque suadeant. Contr. Faust. l. 22. c. 15. <sup>p</sup> T. i. p. 292.

<sup>q</sup> Qui etiam in scripturis canonicis Testamenti Novi, hoc est in veris evangelicis et apostolicis literis, non accipiunt omnia,—ad Ceret. Ep. 237. [al. 253.] et passim. <sup>r</sup> See p. 398. note °.

<sup>s</sup> Apostolum accipis? Et maxime. Faust. l. xi. c. i.

<sup>t</sup> Aut si vobis secundum quod ad Romanos scribit, credere cordi est. l. xi. c. 1. <sup>u</sup> 'Quapropter idem rursus' apostolus ad Corinthios dicit. —l. 24. c. 1. fin. <sup>v</sup> Scribensque ad Corinthios. l. xi. c. 1. et passim.

<sup>w</sup> Quippe Paulus inde Galatas arguit. l. 8. c. i. Et ad Galatas de semetipso. l. 24. c. 1. <sup>x</sup> Dicit ad Ephesios. Id. l. 24. c. 1.

<sup>y</sup> Necnon et ad ipsos Colossenses idipsum denuo dicit. *ibid.*

<sup>z</sup> De Gentium [lege] vero si quis ambigit, audiat Paulum qui, scribens ad Titum de Cretensibus, dicit. Id. l. 19. c. 2.

<sup>a</sup> Arch. c. 5. p. 7. c. 43. p. 77.

<sup>b</sup> Serap. p. 46. m. and see before, p. 271.

quotes this epistle, as does<sup>c</sup> Titus of Bostra, and<sup>d</sup> Didymus of Alexandria. Epiphanius, in his argument with these people, quotes this epistle<sup>e</sup> several times. Augustine, in his book against Adimantus, quotes it<sup>f</sup> together with the epistle to the Romans. He also quotes it<sup>g</sup> in his answer to Faustus.

6. Timothy of Constantinople says the<sup>h</sup> Manichees received an epistle to the Laodiceans: but possibly he means the Paulicians. However, I think this<sup>i</sup> testimony can be of but little value here.

7. As for the catholic epistles, we cannot say any thing very particularly about them.

However Epiphanius, in his confutation of them, has quoted, beside most other books of the New Testament, the<sup>k</sup> first and<sup>l</sup> second epistles of Peter. Augustine, in his books against Faustus, again and again<sup>m</sup> quotes the first epistle of Peter, as received by them. In another work against the Manichees he openly quotes<sup>n</sup> the second epistle of Peter. And in his answer to Faustus he cites<sup>o</sup> the first epistle of John, which is also quoted by Mani himself<sup>p</sup> in the Acts of Archelaus.

8. Augustine, in his work against Faustus, quotes<sup>a</sup> words of the Revelation with others of the first epistle to the Corinthians, as if they received the former as well as the latter, which may lead us to think that the Manichees, those in Africa at least, did not reject the book of the Revelation.

9. In a word, Augustine, Epiphanius, and other ancient catholic authors, who wrote against the Manichees, do so

<sup>c</sup> Tit. l. 3. p. 142, 153. See before, p. 274.

<sup>d</sup> Did. p. 209.

<sup>e</sup> Epiph. H. 66. c. 63. in fin. c. 74. p. 695. B. c. 79. p. 701. D.

<sup>f</sup> Interpretatus apostolus sabbatum ad Hebræos, cum dicit, 'remanet igitur sabbatismus populo Dei.'—Apostolicam itaque interpretationem spiritualiter teneo. Contr. Adim. cap. 16. n. 3.

<sup>g</sup> Contr. Faust. l. 6. c. 9.

<sup>h</sup> Ἡ πεντεκαίδεκατη προς Λαοδικεις επισολη. Tim. ap. Meurs. Var. Div. p. 117.

<sup>i</sup> Le témoignage du Prêtre Timothée, ou de ceux qui ont interpolé son ouvrage, n'est d'aucun poids. Beaus. T. i. p. 366. Le Décret de Gélase, et la Formule de Timothée, ont été fort interpolés. Id. p. 396, 367. not. 2.

<sup>k</sup> Hær. 66. c. 73. p. 693. D.

<sup>l</sup> Ib. c. 64. p. 678. B. et C.

<sup>m</sup> Contr. F. l. 22. c. 14, et 20.

<sup>n</sup> Quia vero et ipsi mali angeli non a Deo mali sunt conditi, sed peccando facti sunt mali, sic Petrus in epistolâ suâ dicit: Si enim Deus angelis peccantibus non pepercit, —[2 Pet. ii. 4.] De Nat. Boni, cap. 33.

<sup>o</sup> Quod etiam Joannes dicit; Filii Dei sumus; et non apparuit, quid erimus. [1 John iii. 2.] Contr. Faust. l. 32. c. 18.

<sup>p</sup> Ap. Arch. c. 14. p. 26. Vid. loc. citat. supra, p. 15.

<sup>q</sup> Non solum enim in Vetere Testamento scriptum est, 'Quem enim diligit Deus, corripit'—sed etiam in Novo, 'Ego, quem amo, arguo et castigo.' Apoc. iii. 19. Contr. F. l. 22. c. 14.

quote all the books of the New Testament, that one is induced to think they received all the evangelical scriptures which other christians did; for if they had not, those authors would have taken notice of it. They inform us distinctly, that the Manichees did not receive the Old Testament. If they had rejected any books of the New Testament generally received, they would have mentioned it. Augustine indeed says, they did not receive the book of the Acts: but as he does not speak of their entirely disliking any of the rest, it may be hence inferred, that in other respects their canon of the New Testament was much the same with that of the catholics.

Augustine once<sup>r</sup> speaks of their not only rejecting some passages of the New Testament, but also of their choosing what books they pleased; but the only instance he produceth is that of the Acts: which confirms what has been just now said, that the Manichees did not reject any book of the New Testament, received by other christians, except the book of the Acts, if indeed they rejected that. Augustine, who so often speaks of their not liking the Acts of the Apostles, must some time have joined with it other books, if there had been any other disowned by them.

V. We have therefore now seen what books of the New Testament were generally received by the Manichees. Under the next particular we shall observe what they said of the scriptures of the New Testament being interpolated; where, it is likely, we shall more distinctly perceive what regard they had for them. Nevertheless I would add here some things for showing the credit and authority which these scriptures had with them.

And it seems evident that they ascribed a good degree of authority to the books of the New Testament before mentioned. This appears from passages of Serapion, and others above cited, and from the constant method of arguing with them by Serapion, Titus, Epiphanius, and all authors in general who wrote against them. To add here only one instance from Serapion, who supposeth that he fully confutes and overthrows a sentiment of theirs by arguing from the New Testament in this manner: ‘The<sup>s</sup> gospel says, publicans and harlots go into the kingdom of heaven before

<sup>r</sup> Qui non accipiunt omnia, sed quod volunt, et libros eligunt quos accipiunt, aliis improbat. Sed in singulis quibusque libris loca distinguunt, quæ putant suis erroribus convenire. Cætera in eis pro falsis habent. Nam quidam Manichæi canonicum librum, cujus titulus est Actus Apostolorum, repudiant. Aug. Ep. 237. [al. 253.] T. 2.

<sup>s</sup> ‘Όταν εν λεγη το ευαγγελιον —οταν λεγη Παυλος.—Serap. p. 46. infr. m.

‘you. And Paul says, that Raab the harlot perished not with them that believed not.’

Augustine, at the beginning of one of his books against these men, says: ‘I will<sup>t</sup> observe this method, to quote no texts but such as they cannot except against; that is, out of the New Testament only; and out of that too none of those texts which they, when hardly pressed, are wont to call interpolations: but I shall allege such things only as they both approve and commend.’

Every one, I presume, has observed in the history which has been given of their opinions, that they endeavoured to justify their doctrine of two principles, their notion of the person of Christ, and all their peculiar sentiments, by texts of the New Testament. Particularly, when they reject the Old Testament, one of their strongest arguments is taken from its contrariety to the New. Therefore this last was received, and was of authority with them. The<sup>u</sup> design of the book written by Adimantus, the old disciple of Mani, as Augustine informs us, was to overthrow the Old Testament, by showing it to be contrary to the evangelical and apostolical scriptures.

Mani, in his letter to Marcellus,<sup>v</sup> complains ‘that men, even christians, did not believe the gospels.’ And in that same short letter he has words of the gospels of Matthew and John, of the first epistle to the Corinthians, and of the epistle to the Hebrews. And in the<sup>w</sup> dispute with Archelaus he quoted and argued from many passages of the gospels and Paul’s epistles. And there are large and numerous quotations of the books of the New Testament in his letter to<sup>x</sup> Menoch, if it be genuine.

Fortunatus, the Manichæan presbyter, in his dispute with Augustine, quotes Philip. ii. 5. in this manner: ‘We<sup>y</sup> think,’ as the apostle directs: and says, ‘he<sup>z</sup> knows very well, that he cannot prove his faith to be right, unless he shows it to be agreeable to the scriptures.’

<sup>t</sup> Et ea de scripturis assumam testimonia, quibus eos necesse est credere, de Novo scilicet Testamento. De quo tamen nihil proferam eorum quæ solent immissa esse dicere, cum magnis angustiis coarctantur; sed ea dicam, quæ et approbare et laudare coguntur. De M. Ec. Cath. c. i. n. 2.

<sup>u</sup> Eodem tempore venerunt in manus meas quædam disputationes Adimanti, —quas conscripsit contra legem et prophetas, velut contraria eis evangelica et apostolica scripta demonstrare conatus. Aug. Retr. l. i. c. 22. in.

<sup>v</sup> Ap. Arch. cap. v. p. 6, 7, 8.

<sup>w</sup> Ib. c. 13. p. 24, 25, et passim.

<sup>x</sup> Ap. Augustin. Op. Imperf. l. 3. c. 177, 180, 185, 186.

<sup>y</sup> Hoc sentimus, quod nos instruit beatus Paulus, qui dixit: Fortunat. Disp. i. n. 7. <sup>z</sup> Et quia nullo genere recte me credere ostendere possum, nisi eandem fidem scripturarum auctoritate firmaverim. Id. in Disp. ii. n. 20.

Secundinus, in his letter to Augustine, though of no great length, quotes the gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, and the epistles to the Romans, the Ephesians, and first to Timothy. And in a short compass he owns<sup>a</sup> a great number of facts recorded in the gospels; as Peter's thrice denying his Lord; the final apostasy of Judas; the unbelief of Thomas after our Lord's resurrection; Christ's crucifixion; the Jews' preferring Barabbas to Jesus at the instigation of the scribes and pharisees; that Jesus was crowned with thorns, and had vinegar given him to drink; that his side was pierced, and that he was crucified between two thieves, by one of whom he was reviled. He refers also to Hymeneus and Alexander, and other things spoken of by Paul, 1 Tim. i.

Indeed a large part of the New Testament may be found quoted by Faustus, and other Manichees with whom Augustine was concerned, and according to our copies.

Notwithstanding what is said of their charging the catholic christians with having interpolated the gospels, which will be considered hereafter, Faustus readily says, 'They<sup>b</sup> believe Christ's mystic crucifixion, his saving or wholesome precepts, his parables, and his divine discourses, as related in the gospels.'

And in Faustus alone we find these following, and many other things; our<sup>c</sup> Lord's gathering disciples gradually, and not completing at once the number of his apostles; <sup>d</sup> his conference with Nicodemus; the<sup>e</sup> imprisonment of John the Baptist, his<sup>f</sup> message to Jesus, and the answer sent back to him; Peter's<sup>g</sup> confession, that Jesus was the Christ the Son of God; that<sup>h</sup> unclean spirits crying out owned Jesus to be the son of God; many<sup>i</sup> miracles of our Lord, his curing a

<sup>a</sup> ————ut et Petrum coegerit sub unâ nocte tertio Dominum negare, et eidem resurgenti Thomam non permiserit credere—et tanto pastori Iscariotem rapuerit; et ut ad ultimum crucis supplicium veniretur, in perniciem ipsius scribas pharisæosque accenderit, ut Barabbam dimitti clamarent, et Jesum crucifigi.—Et tamen ne ipso quidem crucis opprobrio potuit satiari. Quin imo insaniens hinc coëgit spinis coronari, illinc aceto potari: hinc militum lanceâ percuti, illinc sinistri latronis ore blasphemari, &c. Secundin. ad Aug. cap. 4.

<sup>b</sup> His igitur exceptis,—credimus cætera, præcipue crucis ejus mysticam fixationem,—tum præcepta salutaria ejus tum parabolas, cunctumque sermonem deificum. Faust. l. 32. c. 7.

<sup>c</sup> Quis hoc testatur dixisse Jesum? Matthæus. Ubi dixisse? In monte. Quibus præsentibus? Petro, Andrea, Jacobo, et Joanne, quatuor his tantum. Cæteros enim necdum elegerat, nec ipsum Matthæum. Id. l. 17. cap. 1.

<sup>d</sup> L. 24. c. i.

<sup>e</sup> Nam et in ipso Matthæo, post inclusum Joannem in carcerem, tunc legitur Jesum cœpisse prædicare evangelium regni Dei. l. 2. c. i.

<sup>f</sup> L. 5. c. i.

<sup>g</sup> L. 5. c. 3.

<sup>h</sup> ————quia nec spiritibus immundis, cum iidem Jesum esse filium Dei exserte indissimulanterque confiterentur, profuit. l. 16. c. i.

<sup>i</sup> Nam et

man blind from his birth, raising the dead, the woman healed upon touching Christ's garment; the<sup>k</sup> history of the centurion, whose servant Christ healed; the<sup>l</sup> escape of Barabbas at the petition of the Jews; and the penitent thief, and Christ's acceptance of him; Thomas's<sup>m</sup> unbelief, and Christ's showing him the marks of his wounds; and many other things.

Augustine having quoted the histories of the dæmoniacks at the tombs, and of the barren fig-tree, which withered at Christ's word, particularly observes, that<sup>n</sup> these were things which they had never pretended to be interpolations.

Faustus, quoting the gospel, calls it<sup>o</sup> scripture.

I shall here<sup>p</sup> in the margin put down a number of passages, showing the respect which the Manichees had for the apostles of Jesus, though I have before taken notice of some of them. That<sup>q</sup> the apostle Paul should contradict himself, or teach different doctrine at one time, or in one epistle, from what he had taught in another, is a thought which Faustus rejects with indignation.

VI. What comes to be considered by us in the next place, is, their pretence that the scriptures of the New Testament were corrupted, having been interpolated by the catholics; and therefore, as Augustine said in his summary account, 'they took what they liked, and rejected the rest.' What has been already said may be of some use to help us in

cœcum a nativitate lumen videre natura non sinit, quod tamen Jesus potenter operatus videtur erga hujus generis cœcos—? manum aridam sanâsse, vocem ac verbum privatis his per naturam redonâsse; mortuis et in tabem jam resolutis corporibus compage redditâ, vitalem redintegrâsse spiritum, quem non ad stuporem adducat—? Quæ tamen omnia nos communiter facta ab eodem credimus christiani. l. 26. c. 2. <sup>k</sup> L. 33. c. 2.

<sup>l</sup> An Barabbas, latro ille insignis, qui non solum in ligno suspensus minime est, sed etiam Judæorum rogatu emissus e carcere, magis fuit benedictus, quam ille qui cum Christo de cruce adscendit in cœlum? l. 14. c. i.

<sup>m</sup> L. 16. c. 8.

<sup>n</sup> Sed quoniam privilegio quodam vos tuemini, ut de scripturis opprimi nequeatis, dicendo eas esse falsatas; quanquam ea quæ commemoravi de arbore, et de grege porcorum, nunquam a corruptoribus inmissa esse dixistis. De Mor. Manich. c. 17. n. 55.

<sup>o</sup> —ut scriptura testatur. Nam pannum, inquit, novum nemo assuit vestimento veteri, &c. l. 8. c. i.

<sup>p</sup> Ut fere Christo placet, et ejus apostolis, et nobis profecto. Faust. l. 24. cap. 1.

Neque id temere aut præsumtive, sed a Christo discentes et ejus apostolis. *ibid.* in fin.

Sed quærendum potius est, quid ipse de se, quidve apostoli sui de eodem prædicârint. Id. l. 19. c. 1.

Ecce quid apostolus dixit, ecce quid evangelista. Fel. Act. l. 2. c. 2. ap. Aug. T. 8.

<sup>q</sup> Non equidem crediderim apostolum Dei contraria sibi scribere potuisse, et modo hanc, modo illam de Domino nostro habuisse sententiam.—Alioquin, absit apostolum Dei, quod ædificavit, unquam destruxere. Faust. l. xi. c. i.

understanding this notion of theirs. Nevertheless, divers passages of ancient authors should be observed by us, that we may the more distinctly perceive how far they carried this principle.

1. Some might complain if I did not largely transcribe so ancient a writer in this controversy as Titus of Bostra, who, I think, has used the strongest expressions of any of their adversaries in speaking of this matter. They are such as these :

‘Mani, and his followers,’ he says, ‘for<sup>r</sup> supporting their doctrines, quote some texts of scripture, and wrest them from their right meaning.’

The<sup>s</sup> Old Testament, even the law and the prophets, he ascribes to what he calls the evil principle. ‘The gospels, and other parts of the New Testament,’ he says, ‘are from the good principle; but are not uncorrupt: for many things of Hyle, or the bad principle, are mixed with them. For which reason we are to make a distinction, and are to follow, and make use of those parts only which belong to what is called the good principle.’ He adds, ‘that<sup>t</sup> Mani pretends to correct the holy scriptures, and, acting here the assumed character of the Paraclete, he takes away a large part of the New Testament, and leaves in it a few things only, so spoiling all its harmony.’

Titus says farther: ‘Because<sup>u</sup> they honour the name of Christ, they pretend to honour also the gospels. But if they did really honour the gospels, they would neither take away from them, nor add to them.—Whereas they have added to the gospels what they pleased, and have taken away from them what they thought fit: still calling

<sup>r</sup> ῥησεις τινας των ἁγιων γραφων εκβιαζομενος προς την αυτη ψευδολογιαν. Tit. l. 3. p. 135. f.

<sup>s</sup> Των δε γραφων τας μεν παλαιωτερας ανατιθησι τη προς αυτη λεγομενη κακι, νομον τε και προφητας· τα δε ευαγγελια, και τα λοιπα της καινης διαθηκης μαθηματα, παρα μεν τε αγαθς, ως οιοται, διδοσθαι, φησιν· εδε ταυτα μην ο της βλασφημιας ευρετης δυσχυριζεται δι’ ολς καθαρευειν, τε, ως φησιν, εναντις θες· ενυπαρχειν δε και τωτοις ωσπερ κατα τινα μιζιν, πολλα της υπ’ αυτης κλημενης υλης· και χρομαι ταυτα περιελοντα μονα καθ’ εαυτα, καταλιπειν α τη τε αγαθς μεριδι. ib. p. 136.

<sup>t</sup> Ουτω την ἁγιων γραφων την διορθωσιν, ως οιοται, καθ’ εαυτον μεταχειριζομενος, και δια τωτο μαλιτα τολμων παρακλητος ειναι δοκειν, τα μεν πλειονα περιγραφει, βραχεια δε καταλιπων, και της καινης διαθηκης ποθοντα των συγγενων λογων την συμφωνιαν· ib. p. 136.

<sup>u</sup> Αλλ’ επειδη τετιμηται το ονομα Ιησς, προσποιωνται· ειδει γαρ αυτες, ειγε τα ευαγγελια ετιμων, μη περιτεμνουν τα ευαγγελια, μη μερη των ευαγγελιων εξυφελειν, μη ετερα προσθηναι——προσεγεγραφηκασι γεν οσα βεβωληνται, και εξυφειλαντο οσα κεκρικασι· και λοιπον ονοματι——καθισι το ευαγγελιον, μη τετηρηκοτες το σωμα. Tit. l. 3. p. 139.

‘ it the gospel, however, when it is not; for they have not the body [or substance] of the gospel.’

Presently afterwards he says that ‘ they<sup>v</sup> had treated the scriptures worse than the heathens: for they only rejected them, whereas these men, pretending to receive the gospels, have abused, perverted, and adulterated them.’

More to the like purpose may be seen in<sup>w</sup> Titus. But I suppose I have transcribed enough to satisfy every one concerning the nature of the charge which he brings against this people.

And there is reason to think that he aggravates and exaggerates beyond the truth. Therefore Mill<sup>x</sup> says judiciously, ‘ they did not alter the gospels; they only said of those passages, which they did not like, that they were additions, made long ago by some corrupters of the scriptures.’ And Beausobre<sup>y</sup> has shown largely, that Titus has in part misrepresented the case.

Jerom intimates either<sup>z</sup> that the Manichees curtailed the copies of the New Testament, or did not receive and admit the authority of every thing found in the copies generally used by the catholics.

What Photius says of Agapius was observed<sup>a</sup> formerly. He does not expressly charge Agapius with pretending that the books of the New Testament were interpolated.

Augustine often speaks of this matter. Divers of his passages must be produced.

The general account which he gives in his Retractions of what he wrote against Faustus, is this: ‘ I<sup>b</sup> wrote a large work against Faustus, blaspheming the law and the prophets, and their God, and the incarnation of Christ, and

<sup>v</sup> ——— οἱ δὲ εὐληφέναι δοκούντες, ἐνεβατεύσαν, ἐνεχορεύσαν, ἐνεκαπηλεύσαν τοῖς γραμμασι· ib. p. 139.

<sup>w</sup> Id. ib. p. 140, 141.

<sup>x</sup> Non quidem palam rejecti istis capitulis, sed dissimulatis, seu ita apud animum repudiatis; ut nihilominus, cum ab eis premerentur, haud necesse haberent, cum Marcionitis, reformare codices suos, sive ex ipsis tollere quæ sibi minus probata fuerint; sed sufficeret dixisse, loca illa jam olim a corruptoribus S. textûs fuisse inserta.—Mill. Proleg. n. 726. Gemina istis, ipsiusque textûs depravationem objicit Manichæis Titus. Dicit eos circumcidisse evangelia.—Verum criminatio hæc quousque valeat, et quomodo interpretanda sit, ex supra dictis liquet—non mutilantes quidem scripturas, textumve ipsum quovis modo mutantes. Id. n. 761.

<sup>y</sup> Hist. de Manich. T. i. p. 302—309.

<sup>z</sup> Marcion et Manichæus hunc locum, in quo dicit apostolus, Quæ quidem sunt allegorica, et cætera quæ sequuntur, [Gal. iv. 24.] de codice suo tollere noluerunt, putantes adversum nos relinqui. Hier. in Gal. T. 4. p. 281. f.

<sup>a</sup> See before, p. 398.

<sup>b</sup> Contra Faustum Manichæum, blasphemantem legem et prophetas, et eorum Deum, et incarnationem Christi; scripturas autem Novi Testamenti, quibus convincitur, falsatas esse dicentem, scripsi grande opus. Retr. l. 2. c. 7.

‘ saying that the scriptures of the New Testament, by which he is confuted, are interpolated.’

He frequently speaks to this purpose: ‘ When<sup>c</sup> any text is alleged against them from the gospels which they cannot answer, they say it is interpolated.’ Again, ‘ When<sup>d</sup> they are greatly pressed with the authority of the scriptures, they cry out: “ That passage was inserted in the gospel by the corruptors of scripture.” ’ ‘ When<sup>e</sup> the words of scripture are clearly against them, so that they can find no way to pervert them, they betake themselves to their common answer, and say the passage is an interpolation.’

In an epistle to Ceretius, having represented their opinion concerning the Old Testament, he adds: ‘ And<sup>f</sup> in the canonical scriptures of the New Testament, that is, the genuine evangelical and apostolical writings, they do not receive all, but what they like.—In every book they mark the places, taking such as they think favourable to their errors, and setting aside the rest as interpolations.’

He somewhere calls this<sup>g</sup> a certain privilege of theirs, by which they endeavoured to defend themselves against arguments brought from a text of scripture.

In another place he says: ‘ This<sup>h</sup> is their principle—Whatever is found in the gospels, or in the epistles, by which they imagine their error may be supported, that they allow and maintain to have been said by Christ and his apostles: whatever appears contrary to them in the same

<sup>c</sup> Quod si dicunt, hoc capitulum falsum esse, et a corruptoribus scripturarum esse additum; (nam hoc solent, quando non inveniunt quid respondeant, dicere:) Contr. Adim. cap. 3. n. 2.

<sup>d</sup> An forte dicturi sunt, sicut solent dicere, cum scripturarum eos urget auctoritas, hoc capitulum a corruptoribus scripturarum insertum esse evangelio? Contr. Adim. c. 15. n. 1. m.

<sup>e</sup> Hoc est quod paulo ante dixi, quia, ubi sic manifestâ veritate isti præfocantur, ut, obsessi dilucidis verbis sanctarum scripturarum, exitum, in eis fallaciæ suæ reperire non possint, id testimonium, quod prolatum est, falsum esse respondent. Contr. Faust. l. xi. c. 2.

<sup>f</sup> Qui etiam in scripturis canonicis Testamenti Novi, hoc est, in veris evangelicis et apostolicis literis, non accipiunt omnia, sed quod volunt—Sed et in singulis quibusque libris loca distinguunt, quæ putant suis erroribus convenire, cætera in eis pro falsis habent. Ad. Ceret. Ep. 237. al. 253.

<sup>g</sup> Sed quoniam privilegio quodam vos tuemini, ut de scripturis opprimi nequeatis, dicendo eas esse falsatas. De M. Manich. c. 17. n. 55.

<sup>h</sup> An forte, quæ de Novo Testamento protulimus, ipsa quoque audent dicere falsa esse atque perversa, privilegio suo diabolico, ut, quidquid est in evangelio vel epistolis canonicis, quo adjuvari hæresim suam putent, id esse a Christo et apostolis dictum teneant atque suadeant, quidquid autem ex iisdem codicibus adversus eos sonuerit, immisum ab infalsatoribus, ore impudenti ac sacrilego non dubitent dicere? Cui furori eorum, auctoritatem omnium librorum extinguere atque abolere conanti, jam supra—non pauca respondi. Contr. Faust. l. 22. c. 15.

‘ books, they make no scruple to say, without shame, has been inserted by some corrupters of scripture. By which diabolical privilege of theirs they think themselves secure against every thing that can be alleged from scripture.’

Hence we learn that, according to them, the apostolical epistles, as well as the gospels, had been corrupted.

He elsewhere says that ‘ they<sup>i</sup> receive and approve some things in the books of the New Testament : and that when asked, why they rejected and found fault with other things in the same books, they answered, because those passages had been inserted by corrupters of the scripture.’

Augustine intimates that<sup>k</sup> this principle was taught by Mani himself, ‘ to accept whatever favoured him in the New Testament, and reject what did not.’

It is found in the Acts of Archelaus. That<sup>l</sup> bishop argued in favour of the Old Testament from those words of Christ, Matt. v. 17: “ I came not to destroy, but to fulfil.” To which Mani answers, that ‘ Christ never spoke those words. For since in fact he destroyed the law, we ought to conclude his discourses agreed therewith.’

The same thing is implied in some charges<sup>m</sup> of Archelaus against Mani.

And Faustus speaks of it<sup>n</sup> as the common Manichæan doctrine, and<sup>o</sup> taught them by their master.

2. There is a long paragraph of Faustus upon this point, which I shall transcribe largely. I need not insert it all here, because there are in it many tautologies : but I shall

<sup>i</sup> Vos scripturas Novi Testamenti, tanquam falsatas corruptasque, pulsatis, — Vos autem omnia, quæ in libris Novi Testamenti non accipitis, omnino reprehenditis, nec a Christo, nec ab apostolis ejus, dicta vel conscripta asseveratis. — Cum itaque a vobis quæritur, quare non omnia in libris Novi Testamenti accipitis, sed in eis libris, in quibus approbatis aliqua, multa respuitis, reprehenditis, accusatis, a corruptoribus inserta esse contenditis. Contr. Faust. l. 32. c. 8.

<sup>k</sup> Nam sicut te Manichæus impiam docuit perversitatem, ut ex evangelio quod hæresim tuam non impedit accipias, quod autem impedit non accipias. Contr. Faust. l. 18. c. 7.

<sup>l</sup> Ego audiens dicebam eis sermonem evangelicum, quomodo dixit Dominus noster Jesus Christus, ‘ Non veni solvere legem, sed implere.’ Ille vero ait, nequâquam eum hoc dixisse sermonem. Cum enim ipsam inveniamus eum resolvisse legem, necesse est nos hoc potius intelligere quod fecit. Arch. c. 40. p. 69.

<sup>m</sup> — et in nostris libris, sicut etiam adversus me disputans fecit, assertionem suam proferre, quædam in his accusans, quædam permutans, solo Christi nomine adjecto. Arch. cap. 54. p. 99.

<sup>n</sup> Et tamen me quidam jam adversus capituli hujus necessitudinem Manichæa fides reddidit tutum, quæ principio mihi non cuncta quæ ex Salvatoris nomine scripta leguntur, passim credere persuasit. Faust. l. 18. c. 3.

<sup>o</sup> Quare indeficientes ego præceptori meo refero gratias, qui me similiter labentem retinuit, &c. Id. l. 19. c. 5. in.

endeavour to represent the whole of his argument in his own words.

Says this Manichæan bishop: ‘ If<sup>p</sup> you receive the gospel, you ought to receive all things written therein. And do you, who receive also the Old Testament, believe every thing written therein? Excepting the prophecies concerning the king of the Jews, who was to come, whom you take to be Jesus, and some moral precepts, you no more value it than Paul does, who considers it as dung. Why then may not I do the like with the New Testament—take what is right and conducive to my salvation, and reject those things which have been fraudulently foisted in by your ancestors, and disfigure it, and spoil its beauty and excellence?’

‘ And<sup>q</sup> how much more allowable is it for us to take this method, since it is certain that the New Testament was not written by Christ himself, nor by his apostles, but a long while after their time by some unknown persons; who, lest they should not be credited when they wrote of affairs they were little acquainted with, affixed to their works the names of apostles, or of such as were supposed to have been their companions, and saying they were written by them? Whereby, in my opinion, they have greatly injured the disciples of Christ, making them the authors of books in which there are many errors and contradictions. For is

<sup>p</sup> Si accipis evangelium, credere omnia debes, quæ in eodem scripta sunt. Quid enim tu, quia Vetus accipis Testamentum, idcircone credis omnia passim, quæ in eodem scripta sunt? Nempe solas indidem excerptes prophetias, quæ regem Judæis venturum significabant, quia ipsum putatis esse Jesum; et pauca quædam disciplinæ civilis præcepta communia, ut est, non occides, non mœchaberis, cætera prætermittitis, et arbitramini, esse non minus atque eadem quæ Paulus putavit stercora. Quid ergo peregrinum hoc, aut quid mirum est, si ego de Testamento Novo purissima quæque legens et meæ saluti convenientia, prætermitto quæ a vestris majoribus inducta fallaciter, et majestatem ipsius et gratiam decolorant? Faust. l. 32. c. i.

<sup>q</sup> ——— præsertim quod nec ab ipso scriptum constat, nec ab ejus apostolis, sed longo post tempore a quibusdam incerti nominis viris, qui, ne sibi non haberetur fides, scribentibus quæ nescirent, partim apostolorum, partim eorum qui apostolos secuti viderentur, nomina scriptorum suorum frontibus indiderunt, asseverantes secundum eos se scripsisse quæ scripserunt. Quo magis mihi videntur injuriâ gravi affecisse discipulos Christi: quia quæ dissona iidem et repugnantia sibi scriberent, ea referrent ad ipsos, et secundum eos hæc scribere se profiterentur evangelia, quæ tantis sint referta erroribus, tantis contrarietatibus narrationum simul ac sententiarum, ut nec sibi prorsus, nec inter se ipsa conveniant. Quid ergo aliud est, quam calumniari bonos, et Christi discipulorum concordem cœtum in crimen devocare discordiæ? Quæ quia nos legentes animadvertimus, cordis obtutu sanissimo æquissimum judicavimus utilibus acceptis ex iisdem, id est, iis quæ et fidem nostram ædificent, et Christi Domini atque ejus Patris omnipotentis Dei propagent gloriam, cætera repudiare, quæ nec ipsorum majestati, nec fidei nostræ convenient. ib. c. 2.

‘ not this to abuse the disciples of Jesus, who certainly  
 ‘ agreed, and were all of one mind? We, perceiving this,  
 ‘ have taken the only reasonable method; which is, to ex-  
 ‘ amine every thing according to the rules of sound reason  
 ‘ and judgment, accepting those things which are useful  
 ‘ for establishing our faith, and are honourable to the Lord  
 ‘ Jesus Christ and Almighty God his Father, and rejecting  
 ‘ all other things which are not for his honour nor our benefit.

‘ Whether<sup>r</sup> the prophets prophesied of Jesus will be con-  
 ‘ sidered hereafter. In the mean time I say, if Jesus, foretold  
 ‘ in the Old Testament, teaches that some things in it are to  
 ‘ be received, and many others rejected, in like manner the  
 ‘ Comforter, promised in the New Testament, teaches us what  
 ‘ of it we ought to receive and what to reject. Of whom  
 ‘ Jesus, when he promised him, says in the gospel: “ He  
 ‘ shall lead you into all truth, and teach you all things, and  
 ‘ bring all things to your remembrance:” John xvi. 13.  
 ‘ Why therefore may not we do the same with the New  
 ‘ Testament, through the Comforter, that you do with the  
 ‘ Old by Jesus?—especially, since, as before said, it was not  
 ‘ written by Christ, nor by his apostles.

‘ To<sup>s</sup> conclude, therefore, as you in the Old take only the  
 ‘ prophecies and moral precepts; and have rejected circum-  
 ‘ cision, and sacrifices, and the sabbath, and its rest, and

<sup>r</sup> —Sed an prophetæ Jesum præagiverint, postea videbimus. Interim ad hæc me respondere oportet, quia si Jesus, per Testamentum Vetus annuntiatus, nunc dijudicat et carminat, docetque pauca ejus accipienda esse, repudianda vero quam plurima; et nobis Paracletus ex Novo Testamento promissus perinde docet, quid accipere ex eodem debeamus, et quid repudiare: de quo ultro Jesus, cum eum promitteret, dicit in evangelio: Ipse vos inducet in omnem veritatem, et ipse vobis annuntiabit omnia, et commemorabit vos. Quapropter liceat tantum et nobis Testamento Novo per Paracletum, quantum vobis in Vetere licere ostenditis per Jesum:—præsertim quod nec a Christo scriptum constat, ut diximus, nec ab ejus apostolis. ib. c. 6.

<sup>s</sup> Quapropter ut vos ex Vetere Testamento solas admittitis prophetias, et illa quæ superius diximus civilia atque ad disciplinam vitæ communis pertinentia præcepta; supersedistis vero peritomen, et sacrificia, et sabbatum, et observationem ejus, et azyma; quid ab re est, si et nos de Testamento Novo sola accipientes ea, quæ in honorem et laudem filii majestatis vel ab ipso dicta comperimus, vel ab ejus apostolis, sed jam perfectis ac fidelibus, dissimulavimus cætera, quæ aut simpliciter tunc et ignoranter a rudibus dicta, aut oblique et maligne ab inimicis objecta, aut impudenter a scriptoribus affirmata, et posteris tradita? dico autem hoc, ipsum natum ex feminâ turpiter, circumcicum judaice, sacrificasse gentiliter, baptizatum humiliter, circumductum a diabolo per deserta, et ab eo tentatum quam miserrime. His igitur exceptis, et si quid ei ab scriptoribus ex Testamento Vetere falsâ sub testificatione injectum est, credimus cætera; præcipue crucis ejus mysticam fixationem, quâ nostræ animæ passionis monstrantur vulnera; tum præcepta salutaria ejus, tum parabolas, cunctumque sermonem deificum, qui maxime duarum præferens naturarum discretionem, ipsius esse non venit in dubium. ib. c. 7.

‘ unleavened bread ; what absurdity is there, if we also  
 ‘ receive in the New those things only which we find to the  
 ‘ honour of the Son, and said by himself or his apostles, but  
 ‘ perfect and fully instructed ; and reject other things said  
 ‘ by them [that is, the apostles] in their ignorance, or falsely  
 ‘ and impudently ascribed to them, and since handed about  
 ‘ as theirs ? I mean that Jesus was born of a woman, circum-  
 ‘ cised like a Jew ; that he sacrificed like a heathen, was  
 ‘ meanly baptized, led about in the wilderness, and misera-  
 ‘ bly tempted by the devil. Excepting these, and the  
 ‘ quotations of the Old Testament, fraudulently inserted  
 ‘ by those writers, we receive all the rest ; especially his  
 ‘ mystical crucifixion, in which are manifested the wounds  
 ‘ of our own souls ; as also his salutary precepts, and his  
 ‘ parables, and all his divine discourses, teaching the differ-  
 ‘ ence of two natures, of which there can be no doubt but  
 ‘ they are his.’

I put in the margin<sup>t</sup> another passage of Faustus, without translating it exactly, where he pretends that ‘ there are  
 ‘ many differences and contrarieties in the gospels ; and that  
 ‘ the ancestors of the catholics had inserted many things,  
 ‘ mingling their own words with the oracles of the Lord,  
 ‘ which did not agree with the doctrine taught by him ; and  
 ‘ that the gospels were not written by Christ, nor his apos-  
 ‘ tles, but a long while after them by some unknown men,  
 ‘ half-Jews, who were not well informed, but put down any  
 ‘ uncertain traditions which they met with ; and then affixed  
 ‘ to their own erroneous accounts the names of Christ’s  
 ‘ apostles, or their companions.’ From all which he con-  
 ‘ cludes, that ‘ men ought never to hear or read the gospels  
 ‘ without caution, trying all things by their own reason and  
 ‘ judgment, and admitting nothing but what, after strict  
 ‘ examination, is found to be right.’

Such is the substance of a paragraph in the thirty-third and last book of this work of Faustus, and so far at least as it is given us by Augustine.

<sup>t</sup> Nec immerito nos ad hujusmodi scripturas tam inconsonantes et varias, nunquam sane sine judicio ac ratione aures afferimus : sed, contemplantes omnia, et cum aliis alia conferentes, perpendimus utrum eorum quidque a Christo dici potuerit, necne. Multa enim a majoribus vestris eloquiis Domini nostri inserta verba sunt, quæ nomine signata ipsius cum ejus fide non congruant ; præsertim, quia, ut jam sæpe probatum a nobis est, nec ab ipso hæc sunt, nec ab ejus apostolis scripta ; sed, multo post eorum assumptionem, a nescio quibus, et ipsis inter se non concordantibus, semi-judæis, per famas opinionumque comperta sunt ; qui tamen omnia eadem in apostolorum Domini conferentes nomina, vel eorum qui secuti apostolos viderentur, errores ac mendacia sua secundum eos se scripsisse mentiti sunt. Id. l. 33. c. 3.

I refer likewise<sup>u</sup> in the margin to a place or two more, where he speaks somewhat distinctly of this matter.

VII. It is fit we should now make some remarks upon these passages.

1. It appears hence, that Augustine's account upon this head is just<sup>v</sup> and right. The Manichees, or however those of Africa, took what they liked in the New Testament, and rejected what did not suit them. So Faustus evidently.

2. As for what Faustus says of the catholics not receiving every thing in the Old Testament, Augustine well answers, that<sup>v</sup> they received every thing therein as of divine original and appointment; and allowed all things to be right for the time; those which they did not now follow, as well as the laws of true and real righteousness, by which they were still obliged. I have transcribed several passages of Augustine at the bottom of the page, supposing that they will not be disagreeable to the reader.

3. The Manichees, or however Faustus and his friends, denied that the gospels were written by the apostles and evangelists whose names they bear. Mr. Nye<sup>w</sup> gives a different account of the sentiments of our Manichæan author. But it is manifest that Faustus speaks of the books of the New Testament commonly received by catholic christians, or at least of the gospels. Beausobre<sup>x</sup> is sensible of it, and speaking of the subject says, 'they denied the gospels to have been written by the sacred authors whose names they bear; and denied it with surprising rashness and assurance.'

4. Hence we perceive what in the gospels the Manichees received, and what not. They received our Lord's discourses

<sup>u</sup> Vid. Faust. l. 18. c. 3. l. 19. c. 5.

<sup>v</sup> Nos Veteris Testamenti scripturas omnes, ut dignum est, veras divinasque laudamus.—Nos ea quæ nunc de libris Testamenti Veteris non observamus, congruenter tamen illò tempore atque illi populo fuisse præcepta—ostendimus et docemus. Aug. contr. Faust. l. 32. c. 8. in.

Quæcunque scripta sunt in illis libris Veteris Testamenti, omnia verissime atque utilissime pro æternâ vitâ scripta esse laudamus, accipimus, approbamus: Sed quæ in his mandata corporali operatione non observamus, et rectissime tunc mandata intelligimus, et umbras futurorum esse didicimus, et nunc impleri cognoscimus. Id. ib. c. 14.

Hoc enim aliquâ verisimili ratione diceretur, si esset aliquid in Veteris Testamenti libris, quod nos diceremus non recte dictum, non divinitus jussum, non veraciter scriptum. Nihil horum dicimus; sed accipimus omnia, sive quæ observamus, ut recte vivamus; sive quæ non observamus, ut tamen et ipsa tunc in prophetiâ jussa et observata nunc jam compleri videamus. Id. ib. c. 15.

<sup>w</sup> See Steph. Nye's Defence of the Canon of the New Testament. p. 94—100.

<sup>x</sup> Nos hérétiques ayant supposé que les evangiles n' avoient été écrits par des Apôtres, ni par des disciples des Apôtres, mais par des inconnus à demi-juifs, &c. Beaus. Hist. de Manich. T. i. p. 299. See also p. 296.

and parables; the history of his preaching, miracles, crucifixion, and every thing else, excepting some few things most evidently contrary to their notions; as our Lord's nativity, circumcision, and the quotations from the Old Testament. Some might be apt to think they must have set aside a very large part of the New Testament, as interpolated: but from this passage of Faustus himself, and from many things already alleged, it may be perceived<sup>y</sup> that would be a wrong conclusion.

5. We see the ground and occasion of the liberty they took in censuring the New Testament, particularly the gospels. They had certain philosophical principles of which they were too fond; and therefore they would rather say any thing than give them up. They would not give up their particular notions. Nor did they dare to deny the authority of Christ or his apostles. The only refuge left them therefore was to say that the books of the New Testament were not written by apostles, or that they were interpolated. Perhaps it might have been sufficient to say this last: possibly that is all that was said by some of the sect. But Faustus is pleased to say both, rather than presume to contradict Christ or his apostles, or insinuate that their doctrine was in any thing wrong. Augustine has a<sup>z</sup> remark to the same purpose handsomely expressed.

6. The Manichæan scheme, as here represented by Faustus, is inconsistent, and overthrows itself. The gospels in some things are good authority, in others not. The gospels, he says, were not written by Christ, nor his apostles, nor apostolical men: but by some unknown people a good while after their times. Nor were those writers well acquainted with the affairs of which they had written. And yet they are, it seems, good witnesses to Christ's miracles, parables, divine discourses, and mystical crucifixion. Faustus too claims an interest in the promise of the Spirit, made by Christ; though he knows nothing of that promise but from the gospels. Augustine has well shown the inconsistency of this scheme. 'If<sup>a</sup> the books of the New Testament are

<sup>y</sup> His autem exceptis, et testimoniis ex Veteri Testamento, quæ illis inserta sunt literis, cætera vos, secundum id quod Faustus loquitur, fatemini accipere. Aug. Contr. Faust. l. 32. c. 19.

<sup>z</sup> Vos ergo jam dicite, quare non accipiatis omnia ex libris Novi Testamenti? utrum quia non sunt apostolorum Christi, an quia pravi aliquid docuerunt apostoli Christi? Respondebunt, quia non sunt apostolorum Christi. Nam illa vox altera paganorum est, qui dicunt apostolos Christi non recta docuisse. Contr. Faust. l. 32. c. 16. in.

<sup>a</sup> Ita ergo aut cogimini veraces illos codices confiteri, et continuo evertent hæresim vestram: aut si fallaces eos dixeritis, eadem auctoritate Paracletum

‘genuine and right,’ says he, ‘your doctrine is overthrown : and if they are not so, but spurious and fallacious, your principle is in like manner overthrown. For you have no other authority to go upon.’

Some may think their principle led them to pay little regard to scripture. And they may be apprehensive that there was nothing in the New Testament they relied upon as certainly genuine and said by Christ, or written by his apostles. But if that be the consequence of their principle, they did not see it. We must rather say, therefore, that they were absurd and inconsistent. For that the scriptures of the New Testament were in esteem and authority with them, must be apparent to all who have read the preceding part of this history. And it is as evident that they were well satisfied of the genuineness of some parts of the New Testament, though they affirmed other things to be interpolations. Otherwise those books could have been of no use. Moreover we just now observed Faustus to say of our Lord’s divine discourses and parables : ‘There can be no doubt but they are his.’ They received therefore many things in the New Testament, yea, the main part of it, as unquestionably genuine. These are words of Secundinus to Augustine : ‘And<sup>b</sup> is that saying blotted out of the gospel, “Broad is the way that leads to destruction?” or is not that text in Paul genuine, “that every one must give an account of himself?”’

And Augustine supposes that he argues very cogently when he reminds them that,<sup>c</sup> so far as they weaken the credit of the scriptures, they weaken the proofs of their own particular principles built thereon. They<sup>d</sup> likewise hazarded even their christianity. They weaken, he tells them, and in a manner overthrow, the grounds and evidences upon which they believe in Jesus, or would persuade others to believe

non poteritis asserere, et vos evertitis hæresim vestram. Contr. Faust. l. 32. c. 16. in.

<sup>b</sup> An emendatum in evangelio est, quod spatiosa via not ducat in interitum? An falsum in Paulo est, quod operum singuli suorum erunt reddituri rationem? Secundin. ad Aug. c. 3.

<sup>c</sup> Unde asseritis personam vestri auctoris, vel potius deceptoris? Respondetis, Ex evangelio vos probare. Ex quo evangelio? quod non totum accipitis, quod falsatum esse vos dicitis. Quis ergo testem suum prius ipse dicat falsitate esse corruptum, et tunc producat ad testimonium? Contr. Faust. l. 32. c. 16. Vid. ib. l. 13. c. 4, 5.

<sup>d</sup> Vocem Patris de cœlo non audistis; opera Christi, quibus de seipso testificabatur, non vidistis; codices in quibus hæc scripta sunt, ut specie christianâ fallatis, velut accipitis; ne tamen contra vos legantur, infalsatos dicitis. ib. l. 13. c. 5. Sed tamen si paganus in Novo Testamento talia reprehenderet, qualia isti reprehendunt in Vetere, nonne et ipsi ea defendenda susciperent? &c. ib. l. 22. c. 14.

in him: such as the history of his words and works, and the divine appearances in his favour, recorded in the gospels.

7. The arguments they make use of for showing that the gospels were not written by apostles or are interpolated, are insufficient.

They are such as these: That there are in the gospels many things which are absurd and contrary to reason. But that is false: every thing in the gospels is right and reasonable.

Again, they say that the evangelists disagree, and that there are contrarieties in the accounts of things contained in the gospels: which too is false, as Augustine well observes. If<sup>e</sup> they cannot reconcile these several accounts, it is for want of skill and attention, or it is owing to prejudice. Again, says Augustine: ‘Let<sup>f</sup> them study the gospels more, and let them come with a pious disposition, and judge with the candour required in reading and comparing other historians who have severally written of like matters, and all will be easy.’

As for any pretensions to the Spirit, they gave no proofs of their having a greater interest in him than other christians had. Therefore, if their reason and judgment failed them, as they evidently did in this matter, their whole argument is desperate, and of no value. Augustine has spoken<sup>g</sup> to this particular likewise.

8. Their principle was arbitrary. They said the scriptures used by the catholics were corrupted. They<sup>h</sup> should then, as Augustine well observes, produce other copies more

<sup>e</sup> Vos ergo quid dicitis? Unde ostenditis scripturas illas non ab apostolis ministratas? Respondetis, quia multa sunt in eis et inter se et sibi contraria. Omnino falsissimum est; vos non intelligitis.—Quis enim ferat lectorem, vel auditorem, scripturam tantæ auctoritatis facilius quam vitium suæ tarditatis audere culpare? Contr. Faust. l. 32. c. 16.

<sup>f</sup> Sed contraria, inquit, inter se scripta eorum reperiuntur. Maligni malo studio legitis, stulti non intelligitis, cæci non videtis. Quid enim magnum erat ista diligenter inspicere, et eorundem scriptorum magnam et salubrem invenire congruentiam, si vos contentio non perverteret, et si pietas adjuvaret? Quis enim unquam, duos historicos legens de unâ re scribentes, utrumque vel utrumlibet eorum aut fallere aut falli arbitratus est, si unus eorum dixit quod alius prætermisit; aut si alter aliquid brevius complexus est, &c. Contr. Faust. l. 33. c. 7.

<sup>g</sup> An hoc dicitis vos Paracletum docuisse, scripturas istas apostolorum non esse, sed sub eorum nominibus ab aliis esse conscriptas? Hoc saltem docete, ipsum Paracletum esse, a quo didicistis hæc apostolorum non esse. Contr. Faust. l. 32. c. 16.

<sup>h</sup> Proferendus est namque tibi alius codex eadem continens et tamen incorruptus et verior, ubi sola desint ea quæ hic immissa esse criminariis. Ut si, verbi causâ, Pauli epistolam, quæ ad Romanos est, corruptam esse consentis, aliam proferas incorruptam, vel alium codicem potius, in quo ejusdem apostoli

correct, where were the things they allowed and contended for as right; whilst the other things, insisted on by the catholics in arguing against them, were wanting. But they produced no such copies, nor ever pretended to have any different from those commonly used.

Augustine has very agreeably and thoroughly exposed them upon this head in a<sup>i</sup> passage which I transcribe in his own words at the bottom of the page.

9. That the several books of the New Testament were written by apostles, or apostolical men, that is, by the persons whose names they bear, is evident from the testimony of all christians in general, who lived before the time of Faustus and Mani.

10. The charge against the catholics is false and groundless. Neither they, nor their ancestors, had corrupted and interpolated the scriptures of the New Testament. Some faults may have crept into them: and lesser differences there will be in copies of books often transcribed: but no considerable alterations could be made in writings so much valued, so well known, in the hands of so many persons, preserved in their original language, and translated likewise into many other languages.

On these two last observations, which contain the main answer to all the Manichæan pretences and objections relating to the books of the New Testament, Augustine has insisted largely, and admirably, in his confutations of the Manichees, and elsewhere. I am sure my readers will be pleased to see what he has said; and therefore I mean to transcribe several of his passages.

1. In a letter to Jerom, Augustine writes to this purpose; • The<sup>k</sup> Manichees pretend that many passages of the divine

*eadem epistola sincera et incorrupta sit. Non faciam, inquis, ne ipse corrupisse credar. Hoc enim soletis dicere. Et verum dicitis, &c. De Mor. Ec. Cath. cap. 29. n. 61.*

<sup>i</sup> Aliud est ergo auctoritate aliquorum vel librorum vel hominum non teneri, et aliud est dicere, Iste quidem vir sanctus omnia vera scripsit, et ista epistola ipsius est; sed in eâ ipsâ hoc non est ejus. Ubi cum ex adverso audieris, Proba; non confugies ad exempla veriora, vel plurium codicum, vel antiquorum, vel linguæ præcedentis, unde hoc in aliam linguam interpretatum est: sed dicas, Inde probo hoc illius esse illud non esse, quia hoc pro me sonat, illud contra me. Tu es ergo regula veritatis? &c. *Contr. Faust. l. xi. c. 2.*

<sup>k</sup> Manichæi plurima divinarum scripturarum, quibus eorum nefarius error clarissimâ sententiarum perspicuitate vincitur, quia in alium sensum detorque non possunt, falsa esse contendunt; ita tamen ut eam falsitatem non scribentibus apostolis tribuant, sed nescio quibus codicum corruptoribus. Quod tamen quia nec pluribus, nec antiquioribus exemplaribus, nec præcedentis linguæ auctoritate, unde Latini libri interpretati sunt, probare aliquando poterunt, notissimâ omnibus veritate superati confusique discedunt. *Aug. Ep. 82. [al. 19.] n. 6.*

‘scriptures, by which their impious opinions are clearly  
‘confuted, and which therefore they cannot wrest to their  
‘purpose, are not right: which wrong things however they  
‘do not ascribe to the apostles, but to some unknown cor-  
‘rupters of the same scriptures. But since they cannot  
‘justify themselves by the more numerous, or more ancient  
‘copies, nor by the authority of the original language, from  
‘which the Latin copies have been translated, their foolish  
‘assertion is easily confuted.’

(2) In his book to his friend Honoratus, Augustine observes: ‘Their<sup>1</sup> opinion is, that some unknown men, who  
‘were desirous to mix the law with the gospel, had inter-  
‘polated the scriptures of the New Testament before the  
‘time of Mani. But,’ says he, ‘this opinion of theirs always  
‘appeared to be extremely absurd and unreasonable. It  
‘appeared so to me when I was among them: and not to me  
‘only, but to you, and to others also who had any good  
‘degree of understanding. But I am now still more per-  
‘suaded of the egregious folly of such an opinion, since  
‘they cannot make it out by the difference of the copies of  
‘scripture.’

(3) In another place Augustine says, ‘the<sup>m</sup> books of  
‘scripture could not be corrupted. If such an attempt had  
‘been made by any one, his design would have been pre-  
‘vented and defeated. His alterations would have been  
‘immediately detected by many and more ancient copies.  
‘The difficulty of succeeding in such an attempt is apparent  
‘hence, that the scriptures were early translated into divers  
‘languages, and copies of them were numerous. The  
‘alterations, which any one attempted to make, would have  
‘been soon perceived: just even as now,’ says he, ‘in fact

<sup>1</sup> Volunt enim nescio quos corruptores divinatorum librorum ante ipsius Manichæi tempora fuisse: corrupisse autem illos, qui Judæorum legem evangelio miscere cupiebant. De Ut. Cred. c. 3. n. 7. sub f. Quæ vox mihi semper quidem, etiam cum eos audirem, invalidissima visa est; nec mihi soli, sed etiam tibi, (nam bene memini,) et nobis omnibus, qui paulo majorem diligentiam in judicando habere conabamur, quam turba credentium. Nunc vero—nihil mihi videtur ab eis impudentius dici, vel, ut mitius loquar, incuriosius et imbecillius, quam scripturas divinas esse corruptas; cum id nullis in tam recenti memoriâ exstantibus exemplaribus possint convincere. ib. n. 7. in.

<sup>m</sup> ———quid faceretis, dicite mihi, nisi clamaretis, nullo modo vos potuisse falsare codices, qui jam in manibus essent omnium christianorum? quia mox, ut facere cœpissetis, vetustiorum exemplarium veritate convinceremini. Quâ igitur causâ a vobis corrumpi non possent, hac causâ a nemine potuerunt. Quisquis enim hoc primitus ausus esset, multorum codicum vetustiorum collatione confutaretur; maxime, quia non unâ linguâ sed multis eadem scriptura contineretur. Nam etiamnum nonnullæ codicum mendositates vel de antiquioribus, vel de linguâ præcedente, emendantur. Contr. Faust. l. 32. c. 16. f.

‘ lesser faults in some copies are amended by comparing  
‘ ancient copies, or those of the original language.’

(4) And soon afterwards he says: ‘ According<sup>n</sup> to your  
‘ way of proceeding, the authority of scripture is quite  
‘ destroyed; and every one’s fancy is to determine what in  
‘ the scriptures ought to be received, what not. He does not  
‘ admit it because it is found in writings of so great credit  
‘ and authority; but it is rightly written because it is agree-  
‘ able to his judgment. Into what confusion and uncertainty  
‘ must men be brought by such a principle!’

(5) In a passage, which<sup>o</sup> I place at the bottom of the page, Augustine shows admirably that by their way of reasoning the credit of all sorts of writings, the most authentic, the best attested, the most generally received, is weakened, and even reduced to nothing.

(6) Again: ‘ If,’ says<sup>p</sup> he, ‘ you receive abundance of  
‘ fabulous things upon the authority of Mani, because found  
‘ in his writings, though there is no demonstration of the  
‘ truth, and his authority is very obscure; is it not much  
‘ more reasonable to believe the things contained in the  
‘ scriptures of the New Testament, which are so well known,  
‘ and have been transmitted down from the time of the apos-  
‘ tles with an universal, uninterrupted tradition? And if  
‘ the things therein delivered are contrary to your sentiments;

<sup>n</sup> Videtis ergo id vos agere, ut omnis de medio Scripturarum auferatur auctoritas, et suus cuique animus auctorisit, quid in quâque Scripturâ probet, quid improbet, id est, ut non auctoritati Scripturarum subjiciatur ad fidem, sed sibi Scripturas ipse subjiciat; non ut ideo illi placeat aliquid, quia hoc in sublimi auctoritate scriptum legitur; sed ideo recte scriptum videatur, quia hoc illi placuit. Quo te committis, anima misera—? Contr. Faust. l. 32. c. 19.

<sup>o</sup> Quid hoc loco potest dicere impudentissima pertinacia? Non hoc Christum dixisse? At in evangelio verba ejus ista conscripta sunt. Falsum esse scriptum? Quod hoc sacrilegio magis impium reperiri potest? quid istâ voce impudentius? quid audacius? quid sceleratius? Simulacrorum cultores, qui Christi etiam nomen oderunt, nunquam hoc adversus Scripturas illas ausi sunt dicere. Consequetur namque omnium literarum summa perversio, et omnium, qui memoriæ mandati sunt, librorum abolitio; si quod tantâ populorum religione roboratum est, tantâ hominum et temporum consensione firmatum, in hanc dubitationem inducitur, ut ne historia quidem vulgaris fidem possit gravitatemque obtinere. De Mor. Ecc. Cath. c. 29. n. 60.

<sup>p</sup> Plane, inquis, Manichæus me docuit. Sed infelix, credidisti, neque enim vidisti. Si ergo ad millia fabulosorum phantasmatum, quibus turpiter gravidatus es, te auctoritati ignotissimæ—subdidisti, ut ideo hæc omnia crederes, quia in illis conscripta sunt libris, quibus miserabili errore credendum esse consuisti, cum tibi nulla demonstrantur; cur non potius evangelicæ auctoritati, tam fundatæ, tam stabilitæ, tantâ gloriâ diffamata, atque ab apostolorum temporibus usque ad nostra tempora per successiones certissimas commendatæ, non te subdis, ut credas, ut videas, ut discas etiam omnia quæ te offendunt, ex vanâ et perversâ opinione te offendere. Contr. Faust. l. 32. c. 19.

‘ you should conclude your sentiments to be wrong, and  
 ‘ should correct them by the scriptures.’

(7) Augustine argues likewise in this manner; ‘ If<sup>q</sup> you  
 ‘ here ask us, how we know these to be the writings of the  
 ‘ apostles; in brief we answer, In the same way that you know  
 ‘ the epistles, or any other writings of Mani, to be his: for if  
 ‘ any one should be pleased to dispute with you, and offer  
 ‘ to deny the epistles ascribed to Mani to be his, what would  
 ‘ you do? Would you not laugh at the assurance of the man  
 ‘ who denied the genuineness of writings generally allowed?  
 ‘ As therefore it is certain those books are Mani’s, and he  
 ‘ would be ridiculous who should now dispute it; so certain  
 ‘ is it that the Manichees deserve to be laughed at, or rather  
 ‘ ought to be pitied, who dispute the truth and genuineness  
 ‘ of those writings of the apostles, which have been handed  
 ‘ down as theirs from their time to this through an uninter-  
 ‘ rupted succession of well-known witnesses.’

(8) Augustine says farther, that, ‘ following<sup>r</sup> their prin-

<sup>q</sup> Hic jam si quæritis a nobis, nos unde sciamus apostolorum esse istas literas: breviter vobis respondemus, inde nos scire, unde et vos scitis illas literas esse Manichæi, quas miserabiliter huic auctoritati præponitis. Si enim et hinc vobis aliquis moveat quæstionem, et scrupulum contradictionis impingat, dicens, libros quos profertis Manichæi, non esse Manichæi, quid facturi estis? Nonne potius ejus deliramenta ridebitis, qui contra rem tantâ connexionis et successionis serie confirmatam, impudentiam hujus vocis emittat? Sicut ergo certum est, illos libros esse Manichæi, et omnino ridendus est, qui ex transverso veniens tanto post natus litem vobis hujus contradictionis intenderit; ita certum est, Manichæum, vel Manichæos esse ridendos, aut etiam dolendos, qui tan fundatæ auctoritati, a temporibus apostolorum usque ad hæc tempora certis successionibus custoditæ atque perductæ, audeant tale aliquid dicere. Ib. cap. 21.

<sup>r</sup> Infelices inimici animæ vestræ, quæ unquam literæ ullum habebunt pondus auctoritatis, si evangelicæ, si apostolicæ non habebunt? De quo libro certum erit cujus sit, si literæ, quas apostolorum dicit et tenet ecclesia ab ipsis apostolis propagata et per omnes gentes tantâ eminentiâ declarata, utrum apostolorum sint, incertum est——? Quasi vero et in literis sæcularibus non fuerunt certissimi auctores, sub quorum nominibus postea multa prolata sunt, et ideo repudiata, quia vel his, quæ ipsorum esse constaret, minime congruerunt, vel eo tempore quo illi scripserint, nequaquam innotescere, et per ipsos vel familiarissimos eorum in posteros prodi commendarique meruerunt.—Hos autem libros, quibus illi qui de transverso proferuntur comparati respuuntur, unde constat esse Hippocratis?——nisi quia sic eos ab ipso Hippocratis tempore usque ad hoc tempus et deinceps successionis series commendavit, ut hinc dubitare dementis sit? Platonis, Aristotelis, Ciceronis, Varronis, aliorumque ejusmodi auctorum libros, unde noverunt homines, quod ipsorum sint, nisi eâdem temporum sibi succedentium contestatione continuâ? Multi multa de literis ecclesiasticis conscripserunt, non quidem auctoritate canonicâ, sed aliquo adjuvandi studio, sive dicendi. Unde constat quid cujus sit, nisi quia his temporibus quibus ea quisque scripsit, quibus potuit insinuavit atque edidit, et inde in alios atque alios continuatâ notitiâ latiusque firmatâ ad posteros, etiam usque ad nostra tempora pervenerunt, ita ut interrogati cujus quisque liber sit,

‘ ciple, there must be an end to all authority and certainty in  
 ‘ all writings whatever. For no writings ever had a better  
 ‘ testimony afforded them than those of the apostles and  
 ‘ evangelists. Nor does it weaken the credit and authority  
 ‘ of books, received by the church of Christ from the begin-  
 ‘ ning, that some other writings have been without ground,  
 ‘ and falsely ascribed to the apostles. For the like has  
 ‘ happened, for instance, to Hippocrates ; but yet his genuine  
 ‘ works are distinguished from others which have been pub-  
 ‘ lished under his name. We know the writings of the  
 ‘ apostles as we know the words of Plato, Aristotle, Cicero,  
 ‘ Varro, and others, to be theirs, and as we know the  
 ‘ writings of divers ecclesiastical authors ; forasmuch as they  
 ‘ have the testimony of contemporaries, and of those who  
 ‘ have lived in succeeding times. I might moreover, by  
 ‘ way of illustration, produce for examples these now in  
 ‘ hand. Suppose some one in time to come should deny  
 ‘ those to be the works of Faustus, or these to be mine ; how  
 ‘ should he be satisfied but by the testimony of those of this  
 ‘ time who knew both, and have transmitted their accounts  
 ‘ to others? And shall not, then, the testimony of the churches,  
 ‘ and christian brethren, be valid here ; especially when they  
 ‘ are so numerous, and so harmonious, and the tradition is with  
 ‘ so much ease and certainty traced down from the apostles  
 ‘ to our time ? I say, shall any be so foolish and unreason-  
 ‘ able as to deny or dispute the credibility of such a testi-  
 ‘ mony to the scriptures, which would be allowed in behalf  
 ‘ of any writings whatever, whether heathen or ecclesiastical ?’

So writes Augustine with respect both to the genuineness and the integrity of the scriptures of the New Testament, in his thirty-third and last book against Faustus.

(9) I shall only add one short passage concerning this last particular, the integrity of the text, from another book of the same work.

Augustine, arguing for our Lord’s humanity from these words, Rom. i. 3, “ Of the seed of David according to the

non hæsitemus quid respondere debeamus? Sed quid pergam in longe præterita? Ecce istas literas quas habemus in manibus, si post aliquantum tempus vitæ hujus nostræ, vel illas quisquam Fausti esse, vel has neget esse meas, unde vincitur, nisi quia illi qui nunc ista noverunt, notitiam suam ad longe etiam post futuros continuatis posterorum successionibus trajiciunt? Quæ cum ita sint, quis tandem tanto furore cœcatur,——qui dicat hoc mereri non potuisse apostolorum ecclesiam, tam fidem, tam numerosam fratrum concordiam, ut eorum scripta fideliter ad posteros trajicerent, cum eorum cathedras usque ad præsentés episcopos certissimâ successione servaverint ; cum hoc qualiumcumque hominum scriptis, sive extra ecclesiam, sive in ipsâ ecclesiâ, tantâ facilitate proveniat? Contr. Faust. l. 33. cap. 6.

flesh," says, 'the<sup>s</sup> clause is in all copies ancient and 'modern. All churches and languages agree with one 'consent in owning it.'

(10) By all which we perceive how solidly and rationally Augustine defended the authority of the scriptures; and how weak are all the objections which the Manichees brought against the antiquity, genuineness, or purity, of the books of the New Testament.

VIII. Augustine, in the passage of his Summary above cited, said that 'the Manichees made use of apocryphal 'books.' We shall have full proof of it presently.

But let us first of all examine a charge or two brought against these people.

1. There is a passage in<sup>t</sup> Augustine, which might lead some persons to suspect that the Manichees pretended to have some letter of Christ. Mr. Jones,<sup>u</sup> in his table of apocryphal pieces not extant, reckons this as one: 'An 'Epistle of Christ produced by the Manichees.' 'But,' says<sup>v</sup> Beausobre, 'no ancient author having ever accused 'them of forging such a letter, and no man having ever 'seen this pretended letter, it is reasonable to consider what 'Augustine says only as a supposition, which makes a part 'of an argument, otherwise also perplexed enough.' Fabricius<sup>w</sup> speaks to the like purpose. Moreover Faustus acknowledgeth that<sup>x</sup> Christ did not write the New Testament. If the sect had any letter ascribed to our Saviour, Faustus would have mentioned it: and Augustine in his answer would not only have made a supposition of such a thing, but would have taken particular notice of it.

2. The Manichees are sometimes charged with interpolating, or endeavouring to interpolate and alter, the books of the New Testament, in order to render the words of it agreeable to their sentiments.

<sup>s</sup> Hoc autem quod adversus impietatem vestram ex apostoli Pauli epistolâ profertur, Filium Dei ex semine David esse secundum carnem, omnes codices et novi et veteres habent, omnes ecclesiæ legunt, omnes linguæ consentiunt. Contr. Faust. l. xi. c. 3.

<sup>t</sup> Si enim prolatae fuerint aliquæ literæ, quæ nullo alio narrante ipsius proprie Christi esse dicantur; unde fieri poterat, ut, si vere ipsius essent, non legerentur, non acciperentur, non præcipuo culmine auctoritatis eminent in ejus ecclesiâ——? Quis ergo tam demens, qui hodie credat esse epistolam Christi, quam protulerit Manichæus, et non credat facta, vel dicta esse Christi, quæ scripsit Matthæus? Aug. Contr. F. l. 28. c. 4.

<sup>u</sup> Jones's Can. of the N. T. Vol. i. p. 145, 146.

<sup>v</sup> Hist. Manich. T. i. p. 338, 339.

<sup>w</sup> Ex hoc loco non satis firmiter probatur, Manichæos reverà epistolam quandam singularem sub nomine Christi jactasse, &c. Fabr. Cod. Ps. N. T. T. i. p. 306. note <sup>f</sup>.

<sup>x</sup> Præsertim quod nec ab ipso scriptum constat. Faust. l. 32. cap. 2.

The passages of Titus above cited imply as much. Pope Leo<sup>y</sup> seems to say it expressly.

But they may be acquitted here likewise. I have formerly<sup>z</sup> said what is sufficient for answering Titus. And Fabricius<sup>a</sup> has helped us to a good solution for Leo. ‘All that is to be understood by his complaint against the Manichees, is, that they made use of some apocryphal books, in which Christ was brought in speaking what he never said: but they did not make any alterations in the words of the gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, or John, or any other of the canonical books of the New Testament received by them, but only endeavoured to pervert them by false interpretations.’

That they really did not make any such alterations may be well argued from the testimony given by Photius to the Paulicians of his time, whom he always considers as Manichees. He says, ‘they<sup>b</sup> do not make any material alterations in the scriptures, as Marcion and Valentinus did.’ And presently afterwards he says, ‘they do not corrupt the gospel by any insertions or additions.’

Mr. Wolff, in his notes upon that passage of Photius, says he does not see how this can be reconciled with the accounts given by Titus and Archelaus. As for Titus, what was formerly said may suffice. Nor is there, perhaps, any greater difficulty in the words of Archelaus. We have indeed seen that<sup>c</sup> Mani pretended the scriptures of the New Testament had been altered by others. And in the place referred to by Mr. Wolff, Archelaus says that ‘when<sup>d</sup> Mani had our scrip-

<sup>y</sup> Ipsasque evangelicas et apostolicas paginas, quædam auferendo, et quædam inserendo, violaverunt; confingentes sibi, sub apostolorum nominibus, et sub verbis ipsis Salvatoris, multa volumina falsitatis, quibus erroris sui commenta munirent, et decipiendorum mentibus mortiferum virus effunderent. Leo, Serm. 4. in Epiph. cap. 4. <sup>z</sup> See p. 410.

<sup>a</sup> Hæc Leonis verba accipienda sunt de libris apocryphis a nescio quibus sutoribus fabularum sub apostolorum nomine scriptis, quos a Manichæis lectos notat Augustinus, l. 22. c. 79. Contra Faustum, et Timothæus presbyter in loco supra, p. 178, et seq. adducto. In his Salvator subinde loquens inducebatur. Cæterum in evangeliis Matthæi, Marci, Lucæ, et Joannis, atque in epistolis Pauli,—nihil vel inserendo vel auferendo violâsse hæreticos istos, sed tantum pravâ interpretatione scripta illa divina pervertisse, testatur Photius MS. contr. Manichæos, lib. i. Fabr. ib. p. 306, 337.

<sup>b</sup> —τοῖς ῥήμασι μὲν καὶ ὀνομασίαις ἔθεν μέγα παραλλαττων, ἔθεν κατακίβδηλεων τὰ λόγῳ τὸ σχῆμα—καὶ τὰ μὲν ῥήματα—διδῶσι κατεχειν τὰ τε εὐαγγέλιον, μὴτε παρενηθικαὶς μὴτε προσθηκαὶς ἀνεῖδην λυμαινομενος. Ph. contr. Manich. l. i. p. 9. 10.

<sup>c</sup> See before, p. 410, 411.

<sup>d</sup> Et, ut ne multa dicam, comparant universos libros Scripturarum nostrarum,—quibus ille acceptis, homo astutus cœpit in nostris libris occasiones inquirere dualitatis suæ—et in nostris libris, sicut etiam adversus me disputans

‘tures he endeavoured to find in them his doctrine of the  
‘two principles : and that when he disputed with him, he  
‘strove to support his opinions by the same ; censuring some  
‘things, and changing others :’ that is, I think, perverting  
them. In a word, Mani perverted some texts of scripture ;  
and some others, that were too hard for him, he censured, as  
additions, but did not alter the text of the New Testament  
himself.

Augustine may be reckoned a good witness for them here :  
‘For,’ says<sup>e</sup> he, ‘if any one should charge you with having  
‘interpolated some texts alleged by you, as favourable to  
‘your cause, what would you say ? Would you not imme-  
‘diately answer that it is impossible for you to do such a  
‘thing in books read by all christians ? And that if any  
‘such attempt had been made by you, it would have been  
‘presently discerned and defeated by comparing the ancient  
‘copies ? Well then,’ says Augustine, ‘for the same reason  
‘that the scriptures cannot be corrupted by you, neither  
‘could they be corrupted by any other people.’

The scriptures therefore were not corrupted ; for it was  
impossible : nor had the Manichees attempted it.

Nor has Augustine, that I remember, any where charged  
them with such an attempt : though, if there had been reason  
for it, there were many occasions to mention it. He often  
speaks of their charge against the catholics. Certainly  
therefore he would have returned it, if there had been any  
ground for it.

Moreover, it is evident from Augustine that the Manichees  
had no copies of the books of the New Testament, different  
from those used by the catholics : they often said, that the  
catholic copies were corrupted : but<sup>f</sup> when called upon to

fecit, assertionem suam proferre, quædam in his accusans, quædam permutans.  
Arch. cap. 54. p. 99.

<sup>e</sup> Tamen cum ea de iis codicibus proferritis, quos dicitis falsatos, hoc ipsum  
illic immissum esse diceremus, quod illic de Manichæo sic dictum legeretur,  
ut de alio intelligere non possemus : quid faceretis, dicite mihi, nisi clamaretis,  
nullo modo vos potuisse falsare codices, qui jam in manibus essent omnium  
christianorum ? quia mox ut facere cœpissetis, vetustiorum exemplarium veritate  
convinceremini. Quâ igitur causâ a vobis corrumpi non possent, hac causâ  
a nemine potuerunt. Aug. contr. F. l. 32. c. 16. Vid. et supra, p. 373.  
note <sup>b</sup>.

<sup>f</sup> Proferendus est namque tibi alius codex eadem continens, sed tamen  
in corruptus et verior, ubi sola desint ea quæ hic immissa esse criminariis. Ut  
si, verbi causâ, Pauli epistolam, quæ ad Romanos scripta est, corruptam esse  
contendis, aliam proferas incorruptam, vel alium codicem potius, in quo ejus-  
dem apostoli eadem epistola sincera et incorrupta conscripta sit. Non faciam,  
inquis, ne ipse corrupisse credar : hoc enim soletis dicere. De Mor. Ec.  
Cath. cap. 29. n. 61.

produce others, more sincere and uncorrupt, they always declined it.

It is also very remarkable, which Augustine says, that when he was with them, and<sup>s</sup> in their private discourses they insinuated that the scriptures of the New Testament had been corrupted by some men, who were desirous to mix judaism with christianity, they produced not any copies different from those commonly received.

Beausobre has vindicated the Manichees from<sup>h</sup> the charge or suspicion of being the authors of several passages found in some copies of the New Testament. I refer to him: but I do not think it needful for me now to enter into particulars of that kind; I have said what is sufficient to render men easy upon this head.

IX. Augustine, in his Summary, said ‘that the Manichees made use of apocryphal books, which they prefer to ‘the canonical scriptures.’ That they used such books is unquestionable: but what regard they had for them is not easily perceived by us now.

1. As we are now entering upon this inquiry, and are to observe the proofs of the Manichees using apocryphal writings, and what they were, it may not be improper to take notice here of Augustine’s definition of such books. ‘Apocryphal books,’ he<sup>i</sup> says, ‘are not such as are of ‘authority, [or received by the church,] and are kept secret: ‘but they are books whose original is obscure, and which ‘are destitute of proper testimonials; their authors being ‘unknown, and their character either heretical, or suspected.’ That passage is taken out of Augustine’s answer to Faustus. A like description of such books may be seen<sup>k</sup> in his work, entitled, *Of the City of God*.

2. Let us now observe some farther proofs of the Mani-

<sup>s</sup> *Quam [responzionem] quidem non facile palam promebant, sed nobis secretius, cum dicerent scripturas Novi Testamenti falsatas fuisse a nescio quibus, qui Judæorum legem inserere christianæ fidei voluerunt, atque ipsi incorrupta exemplaria nulla proferrent. Confess. l. 5. c. xi. n. 21.*

<sup>h</sup> *Hist. de Manich. T. i. p. 342—344.*

<sup>i</sup> *Aliud est ipsos libros non accipere, et nullo vinculo detineri, quod Pagani de omnibus libris nostris, quod Judæi de Novo Testamento faciunt, quod denique nos ipsi de vestris et aliorum hæreticorum, si quos suos et proprios habent, vel de iis qui appellantur apocryphi: non quod habendi sint in aliquâ auctoritate secretâ, sed quia nullâ testificationis luce declarati, de nescio quo secreto, nescio quorum præsumptione prolati sunt. Contr. Faust. l. xi. c. 2.*

<sup>k</sup> *Omittamus igitur earum scripturarum fabulas, quæ apocryphæ nuncupantur, eo quod earum occulta origo non claruit patribus, a quibus usque ad nos auctoritas veracium Scripturarum certissimâ et notissimâ successione pervenit. In his autem apocryphis etsi invenitur aliqua veritas, tamen, propter multa falsa, nulla est canonica auctoritas. De Civ. Dei. l. 15. c. 23. n. 4.*

chees using apocryphal scriptures: at the same time we shall perceive, in good measure, what they were.

Photius says of Agapius, a celebrated Manichæan writer, that<sup>1</sup> he makes use of the Acts of the twelve apostles, especially those of Andrew.

Philaster says that<sup>m</sup> the Manichees, and divers other heretics, make use of apocryphal scriptures. He says particularly, that they have Acts of Andrew, John, and Peter.

St. Cyril of Jerusalem, having named the three disciples of Mani, Thomas, Buddas, and Hermas, adds: ‘Let<sup>n</sup> no man read the gospel according to Thomas: for it is not a work of one of the twelve apostles of Christ, but of one of the three naughty disciples of Mani.’ And in another place he says, ‘The<sup>o</sup> Manichees have written a gospel, entitled, According to Thomas, by which the minds of the simple are corrupted.’

Faustus<sup>p</sup> speaks as if he had some writings or histories of the apostles Peter, and Andrew, and Thomas, and John, which were not in the catholic canon.

He certainly quotes<sup>q</sup> the Acts of Paul and Thecla with a

<sup>1</sup> Και τας λεγομεναις δε Πραξεις των δωδεκα αποσολων, και μαλιςτΑ Ανδρεω, ε μονον συντιθεται, αλλα κκειθεν χειρι το φρονημα αρμενον. Phot. Cod. 179. p. 405.

<sup>m</sup> ——— e quibus sunt maxime Manichæi, Gnostici, Nicolaitæ, Valentiniani, et alii quam plurimi, qui apocrypha prophetarum et apostolorum, id est Actus separatos habentes, canonicas legere scripturas contemnunt.—Nam Manichæi apocrypha beati Andreæ apostoli, id est, Actus, quos fecit veniens de Ponto in Græciam, quos conscripserunt tunc discipuli sequentes apostolum. Unde et habent Manichæi et alii tales Andreæ beati, et Joannis Actus evangelistæ beati, et Petri similiter apostoli; in quibus quia signa fecerunt magna et prodigia, ut pecudes et canes et bestiæ loquerentur, &c. Philast. Hær. 88.

<sup>n</sup> Μηδεις αναγνωσκειτω το κατα Θωμαν ευαγγελιον’ ε γαρ εσιν ενος των δωδεκα αποσολων, αλλ’ ενος των κακων τριων τε Μανη μαθητων. Cyr. Cat. 6. n. 31. <sup>o</sup> Εγραψαν και Μανιχαιοι κατα Θωμαν ευαγγελιον, οπερ ευωδια της ευαγγελικης παρωνυμιας επικεχρωσμενον, διαφθειρει τις ψυχας των απλυσερων. Id. Cat. 4. n. 36.

<sup>p</sup> Mitto enim cæteros ejusdem Domini nostri apostolos, Petrum et Andream, Thomam, et illum inexpertem Veneris inter cæteros beatum Joannem, qui per diversa professionem [al. possessionem] boni istius inter virgines ac pueros divino præconio cecinerunt, formam nobis atque adeo vobis ipsis faciendarum virginum relinquentes. Sed hos quidem, ut dixi, prætereo: quia eos exclusisti de canone: &c. Faust. l. 30. c. 4.

<sup>q</sup> Si vero favere huic quoque proposito et non reluctari volenti, id quoque doctrinam putatis esse dæmoniorum, taceo nunc vestrum periculum, ipsi jam timeo apostolo, ne dæmoniorum doctrinam intulisse Iconium videatur, cum Theclam oppigneratam jam thalamo, in amorem sermone suo perpetuæ virginitatis incendit.—Num igitur et de Christo eadem dicere poteritis, aut de apostolo Paulo, quem similiter ubique constat, et verbo semper prætulisse nuptis innuptas, et id opere quoque ostendisse erga sanctissimam Theclam. Quod si hæc dæmoniorum doctrina non fuit, quam et Theclæ Paulus, et, cæteri cæteris annuntiaverunt apostoli. Faust. l. 30. c. 4

good deal of respect, as if he thought it a true history. Of this book I have said something<sup>r</sup> already.

Faustus says, 'The<sup>s</sup> Virgin Mary was not of the tribe of Judah, but of Levi: forasmuch as her father was a priest, named Joachim.' Augustine,<sup>t</sup> in his answer, calls the book, whence that particular was taken, an apocryphal piece of no authority. Beausobre makes no doubt but<sup>u</sup> that it was some book of Leucius.

Augustine often speaks of the Manichees using apocryphal scriptures. In his book against Adimantus he quotes one of those books, containing<sup>v</sup> a history of the apostle Thomas. In the same work he relates<sup>w</sup> another history of the apostle Peter, taken from their apocryphal scriptures, and probably from the same work where was the fore-cited history concerning Thomas: and in the twenty-second book of his work against Faustus he relates the<sup>x</sup> same account of Thomas

<sup>r</sup> See Vol. ii. p. 305, and p. 331—333; and Beaus. Hist. de Manich. T. i. p. 423.

<sup>s</sup> ————sed ex tribu Levi, unde sacerdotes: quod ipsum palam est, quia eadem patrem habuit sacerdotem quandam nomine Joachim, cujus tamen in hac generatione nulla usquam habita mentio est. Faust. l. 23. c. 4.

<sup>t</sup> Ac per hoc illud quod de generatione Mariæ Faustus posuit,—quia canonicum non est, me non constringit.—Hoc ergo potius, vel tale aliquid crederem, si illius apocryphæ scripturæ, ubi Joachim pater Mariæ legitur, auctoritate detinerer. Aug. contr. Faust. l. 23. n. 9.

<sup>u</sup> Cela se trouve, sans doute, avec d'autres erreurs, dans le livre de Seleucus, qui avoit écrit l'histoire de la Vierge. Beaus. T. i. p. 354.

<sup>v</sup> Ipsi autem legunt scripturas apocryphas, quas etiam incorruptissimas dicunt, ubi scriptum est, apostolum Thomam maledixisse homini, a quo per imprudentiam palmâ percussus est, ignorante quis esset, maledictumque illud continuo venisse ad effectum. Nam cum ille homo, quoniam minister conviviæ erat, ut apportaret aquam, exisset ad fontem, a leone occisus et dilaniatus est.—Sic etenim in illâ scripturâ legitur, quod deprecatus fuerit apostolus pro illo in quem temporaliter vindicatum est, ut ei parceretur in futuro iudicio. Aug. contr. Adim. c. 17. n. 2. T. 8.

<sup>w</sup> In illo ergo libro,—legimus ad sententiam Petri cecidisse homines, et mortuos esse virum et uxorem.—Quod isti magnâ cœcitate vituperant, cum in apocryphis pro magno legant, et illud quod de apostolo Thomâ commemoravi, et ipsius Petri filiam paralyticam factam precibus patris, et hortulani filiam ad precem ipsius Petri esse mortuam. ib. c. 17. n. 5.

<sup>x</sup> Legunt scripturas apocryphas Manichæi, a nescio quibus sutoribus fabularum sub apostolorum nominibus scriptas.—Ibi tamen legunt apostolum Thomam, cum esset in quodam nuptiarum convivio peregrinus et prorsus incognitus, a quodam ministro palmâ percussus, imprecatum fuisse homini continuam sævamque vindictam. Nam cum egressus esset ad fontem, unde aquam convivantibus ministraret, eum leo irruens interemit, manumque ejus, quâ caput apostoli levi ictu percusserat, a corpore avulsam, secundum verbum ejusdem apostoli id optantis atque imprecantis, canis intulit mensis, in quibus ipse discumbebat apostolus.—Utrum illa vera sit aut conficta narratio, nihil mea nunc interest. Certe enim Manichæi, a quibus illæ scripturæ, quas canon ecclesiasticus respuit, tanquam veræ ac sinceræ acceptantur, saltem hinc coguntur fateri, &c. Contr. Faust. l. 22. c. 79.

from the apocryphal scriptures used by the Manichees, which, he there says, were composed by some unknown fabulous authors under the names of apostles.

In his answer to an anonymous author, whom he styles an adversary of the law and the prophets, he observes, that<sup>y</sup> author alleged passages out of apocryphal writings under the names of the apostles Andrew and John: which, he says, if they were really theirs, would have been received by the church, which has subsisted with an uninterrupted succession of bishops, from the times of the apostles to our own.

In the disputes with Felix the Manichee, Augustine puts him in mind<sup>z</sup> of a passage of the Acts of Leucius, called Acts of the Apostles, one of the apocryphal scriptures, not received by the catholic church, but much esteemed by the Manichees, as he says.

The same passage is also quoted, as from Leutius or Leucius, by<sup>a</sup> the author *De Fide* against the Manichees: who also afterwards quotes the<sup>b</sup> same books of Leucius, entitled Acts of the Apostles, and relates thence a story concerning the apostle Andrew.

3. As we have now had sufficient proofs of the Manichees using apocryphal scriptures, and Leucius has been named, I shall next give some account of this man, who is usually esteemed a great forger of such books.

In the first place I shall take notice of his works, and the ancient authors who have mentioned him; secondly, his opinions; thirdly, his time; after which I intend to add some remarks upon the apocryphal scriptures made use of by the Manichees.

(1) I would give some account of the books ascribed to Leucius, and show the places of ancient authors who have

<sup>y</sup> Sane de apocryphis iste posuit testimonia, quæ sub nominibus apostolorum Andreæ Joannisque conscripta sunt. Quæ si illorum essent, recepta essent ab ecclesiâ, quæ ab illorum temporibus per episcoporum successiones certissimas, usque ad nostra et deinceps tempora perseverat. *Contr. Adv. L. et P. l. i. c. 20. in.*

<sup>z</sup> Habetis etiam hoc in scripturis apocryphis, quas canon quidem catholicus non admittit; vobis autem tanto graviore sunt, quanto a catholico canone secluduntur. Aliquid etiam inde commemorem, cujus ego auctoritate non teneor, sed tu convinceris. In Actibus scriptis a Leucio, quos tanquam Actus Apostolorum scribit, habes ita positum: Etenim speciosa figmenta, &c. *Act. cum Fel. l. 2. c. 6.*

<sup>a</sup> In Actibus etiam conscriptis a Leucio, quos ipsi accipiunt, sic scriptum est; Etenim speciosa figmenta, &c. *De Fid. c. 5. ap. Aug. T. 8. in App.*

<sup>b</sup> Attendite in Actibus Leucii, quos sub nomine apostolorum scribit, qualia sint quæ accipitis de Maximillâ uxore Egetis:—Ibi etiam scriptum est, quod cum eadem Maximilla et Iphidamia simul essent ad audiendum apostolum Andream, puerulus quidam speciosus, quem vult Leucius vel Deum vel certe angelum intelligi, commendaverit eos Andreæ apostolo. *De Fid. cap. 38.*

mentioned him : but I must be allowed to be brief. They who are desirous of fuller satisfaction may look into <sup>c</sup> Fabricius, <sup>d</sup> Jones, <sup>e</sup> Beausobre, and others : and possibly I may some time have another opportunity to take farther notice of him.

Leucius is expressly named in <sup>f</sup> two or three passages just cited from Augustine, and the author De Fide ; and possibly he is the author of all the other apocryphal pieces before taken notice of from Faustus and Augustine, though he is not there named.

Photius<sup>g</sup> gives an account of the book entitled, ‘ The Travels of the Apostles : in which are contained Acts of Peter, John, Andrew, Thomas, Paul. The author is Leucius Charinus, as the book itself shows.’

He is mentioned by name in the Decree of <sup>h</sup> Gelasius. All his books are declared to be apocryphal.

He is mentioned in like manner by <sup>i</sup> pope Innocent the first in one of his epistles.

A large fragment of his Travels of the Apostles is cited <sup>k</sup> in the second council of Nice.

He is mentioned <sup>l</sup> in the supposititious letter of Jerom to Chromatius and Heliodorus, and called Seleucus.

(2) In the next place I shall speak a word or two of the opinions of Leucius. The account which Photius gives of them, who had read his work above mentioned, is this : ‘ He <sup>m</sup>

<sup>c</sup> Cod. Apocr. N. T.

<sup>d</sup> Of the Canon of Scripture, Vol. i.

<sup>e</sup> Hist. de Manich. T. i. p. 348, &c.

<sup>f</sup> Act. cum Fel. l. 2. c. 6. De Fide, c. 5, et 38.

<sup>g</sup> *Ανεγνωσθη βιβλιον, αι λεγομεναι των Αποσολων Περιοδοι εν αις περιεχοντο πραξεις Πετρου, Ιωαννης, Ανδρεου, Θωμα, Παυλου. Γραφει δε αυτας, ως δηλοι το αυτο βιβλιον, Λευκιου Χαρινου.* Phot. Cod. 114. p. 292.

<sup>h</sup> *Libri omnes, quos fecit Leucius discipulus diaboli, apocryphi.* Gelas. ap. Labb. Conc. T. 4. p. 1264.

<sup>i</sup> *Cætera autem, quæ vel sub nomine Matthiæ, sive Jacobi minoris, vel sub nomine Petri et Joannis, quæ a quodam Leucio scripta sunt, vel sub nomine Andreæ, quæ a Henocharide et Leonidâ philosophis ; vel sub nomine Thomæ, et si qua sunt alia, non solum repudianda, verum etiam noveris esse damnanda.* Inn. ad Exup. Ep. 3. ap. Conc. ib. T. 2. p. 1256.

<sup>k</sup> *Εκ των ψευδεπιγραφων Περιοδων των αγιων αποσολων.* ap. Labb. Conc. T. 7. p. 357, &c. and see Beaus. Hist. de Man. T. i. p. 388, 389, &c.

<sup>l</sup> *Sed factum est, ut a Manichæi discipulo nomine Seleuco, qui etiam Apostolorum Gesta falso sermone conscripsit, hic liber editus, &c.* Ap. Hieron. T. v. p. 445.

<sup>m</sup> *Φησι γαρ αλλον ειναι τον των Ιουδαιων Θεον και κακον—αλλον δε τον Χριστον, ον φησιν αγαθον—και καλει αυτον και πατερα και υιον· λεγει δε μηδ' ενανθρωπησαι αληθως, αλλα δοξαι και πολλα πολλακις φανηναι τοις μαθηταις, νεον και πρεσβυτην παλιν, και παλιν παιδα, και μειζονα, και ελαττονα, και μειγτον, ωσε την κορυφην διηκειν εσθ' οτε μεχρις βραχων—και τον Χριστον μη στυρωθηναι, αλλ' ετερον αντ' αυτου.—Γαρμυς δε νομιμυς αθετει, και πασαν γενεσιν πουνηραν τε και τω πουνηρα και πλασην των δαιμονων αλλον εκκληροι*

' teaches that the God of the Jews is evil; that the God  
' preached by Jesus Christ is good. He speaks of God by  
' the names of Father and Son: he says that Christ was  
' not really man, though he appeared to be so; that he ap-  
' peared to the disciples differently, sometimes young, some-  
' times old, and less at one time than another, and sometimes  
' so high as to touch the heavens with his head: he says that  
' Christ was not crucified, but another in his room; that  
' marriage is evil in itself, and of the evil one; that God is  
' not the creator of dæmons. In the Acts of John he seems  
' to argue against images.'

From this account, though possibly Photius is not exact, and may have misrepresented some things, it may be concluded that<sup>n</sup> Leucius agreed in divers respects with the Manichees, or rather they with him. For we may hence argue that, as he said the God of the Jews was evil, he did not receive the books of the Old Testament. We likewise perceive that he was one of them who are called Docetæ, and that he did not believe Christ to be man really, but in appearance only: he likewise had a disadvantageous opinion of marriage, and highly extolled perpetual virginity: he denied that dæmons were made by God, and condemned the use of pictures and images. Beausobre<sup>o</sup> has carefully examined the fore-cited extract of Photius, and made just remarks upon it, for discovering the real sentiments of Leucius.

(3) I am to consider the time of Leucius. Mr. Jones was positive that<sup>p</sup> Leucius was a Manichee, and that he did not live before the latter part of the third, or the beginning of the fourth century after Christ: and many others undoubtedly are of the same opinion. But<sup>q</sup> Grabe placeth him in the second century, as does<sup>r</sup> Mill, who supposeth that he flourished about the year of Christ, 140, and has a great many just observations upon this man and his works, to whom I refer the reader; not judging it needful to transcribe a modern author who is, or ought to be, in every body's hands. Beausobre is exactly of the same mind with the two last-mentioned writers: and says that,<sup>s</sup> unless by a Mani-

—δοκει δε κατ' εικονων τοις εικονομαχοις εν ταις Ιωαννα πραξεισι δογμα-  
τιζειν. Phot. Cod. 114. p. 292.

<sup>n</sup> Concerning the opinions of Leucius, see Beaus. T. i. p. 384—390.

<sup>o</sup> Ib. p. 384—390.

<sup>p</sup> Ib. Vol. i. p. 303, &c.

<sup>q</sup> —figmentum Leucii hæretici, seculo secundo plura ejusmodi cuden-  
tis. Grabe, Spic. T. i. p. 58.—Leucius, sive Lucius, Marcionis successor.  
Sec. ii. ib. p. 78.—quæ Lucium seculi ii. hæreticum auctorem habere videntur.  
ib. p. 324.

<sup>r</sup> Proleg. n. 333—340.

<sup>s</sup> Hist. de Man. T. i. p. 349, 350.

chee be meant one who held the same or like opinions with them, it is certain that Leucius was not a Manichee, he having lived more than a hundred years before Mani was born. He then proceeds to mention<sup>t</sup> divers arguments for that supposition, which appears to me very considerable: but I may not now stay to transcribe or abridge them.

(4.) Lastly, I am to mention some observations upon the works of Leucius, and the apocryphal writings made use of by the Manichees.

(1) It seems to me not improbable that all the preceding quotations of apocryphal books in Augustine are taken out of one and the same book, called Acts or Travels of the Apostles, and composed by Leucius.

(2) So much I said formerly. I now add: It seems to me that the Apocryphal Acts of Andrew, Thomas, Peter, John, and even Paul, were not distinct books, but parts of one and the same work called Acts of the Apostles. Photius, as before quoted, calls the work of Leucius, Travels of the Apostles. That very title might lead us to suppose there was somewhat in that piece concerning all, or most of the apostles. In his article of Agapius he says, ‘that Manicheean author makes use of the Acts of the twelve Apostles, especially those of Andrew.’ It does not follow that the Acts of Andrew or Thomas, or the like, were distinct works, because they are sometimes quoted severally and alone. We have a proof of this in the article of Leucius, just now transcribed from Photius, where at the end he mentions the Acts of John distinctly: whilst yet, unquestionably, they were a part only of the work before described by the general title of the Travels of the Apostles: which also he expressly said contained the Acts of Peter, John, Andrew, Thomas, Paul. Mill likewise<sup>u</sup> allows it to be one work which contained Acts of several apostles.

(3) Another observation to be mentioned here is, that there is no good reason to think, as some have done, that the apocryphal scriptures, made use of by the Manichees, were forged by them. No, they had no occasion to forge books of that sort: for they found most of their sentiments encouraged by apocryphal books, composed by authors of earlier antiquity. Those<sup>v</sup> books favoured their sentiments concerning the seeming humanity of Jesus, the merit of virginity or

<sup>t</sup> Ib. p. 350, 351.

<sup>u</sup> Consarcinati quoque erant ab eodem Charino, teste, qui librum ipsum diligenter perlustrarat, Photio, *Περιοδοι* Apostolorum.——Complectebatur autem istud volumen 1. Acta Petri.——2. Acta Joannis.——3. Acta Andreae.——4. Acta Thomae.——

Mill, Proleg. n. 337, 338.

<sup>v</sup> Beaus. T. i. p. 424.

celibacy, and the imperfection of the marriage-state. They therefore took the advantage of those writings, and sometimes quoted or appealed to them.

Cyril, above quoted, says the gospel of Thomas was written by a disciple of Mani, so called. But<sup>x</sup> Beausobre well argues that this gospel was not forged by the Manichees; forasmuch as it was in being before the rise of Manichæism; and is mentioned among spurious writings, not only by<sup>x</sup> Eusebius, but also by<sup>y</sup> Origen, in the preface to his Commentary upon St. Luke's Gospel. He adds, that the gospel of Thomas is placed among apocryphal books in the Synopsis, which is in<sup>z</sup> the works of Athanasius, without imputing it to the Manichees. Gelasius likewise contents himself with saying of this gospel, that it was used by the Manichees, without adding that<sup>a</sup> it was forged by them.

The same may be shown to be probable with regard to other books made use of by the Manichees.

Eusebius among spurious books written by heretics, reckons<sup>b</sup> Acts of Andrew, John, and other apostles. Epiphanius says that<sup>c</sup> the Acts of Andrew, John, and Thomas, were used by the Encratites: the<sup>d</sup> Acts of Andrew and Thomas by the apostolics: The<sup>e</sup> Acts of Andrew and other apostles by the Origenists: all three sects, which are supposed to be older than the<sup>f</sup> Manichees.

Augustine particularly observes of<sup>g</sup> a hymn used by the Priscillianists, that it was among the apocryphal scriptures: and then adds, 'Not that these apocryphal scriptures are peculiarly theirs; for there are several sects of very different opinions from each other, who delight in those books, as fetching thence some support for some of their notions.'

(4) I add but one observation more, which is, that these apocryphal books confirm the history of the genuine and authentic scriptures of the New Testament. They do not directly contradict them; they indirectly confirm and

<sup>w</sup> Ib. p. 345.

<sup>x</sup> Hist. Ec. l. 3. c. 25. p. 97. D.

<sup>y</sup> The passage of Origen, with remarks upon it, may be seen in Vol. ii. ch. xxxviii. num. xxiv. 1.

<sup>z</sup> Athan. T. 2. p. 202.

<sup>a</sup> Evangelium nomine Thomæ, utuntur Manichæi, apocryphum. Gelas. ap. Labb. Conc. T. 4. p. 1264.

<sup>b</sup> H. E. l. 3. c. 25. p. 97. D.

<sup>c</sup> Epiph. H. 47. n. 2.

<sup>d</sup> H. 61. n. 1.

<sup>e</sup> H. 63. n. 2.

<sup>f</sup> See before, ch. xli.

<sup>g</sup> Hymnus sane, quem dicunt esse Domini nostri Jesu Christi,—in scripturis solet apocryphis inveniri. Quæ non proprie Priscillianistarum sunt, sed alii quoque hæretici eis nonnullarum sectarum impietate vanitatis utuntur, inter se quidem diversa sentientes, unde suas quisque varias hæreses sunt secuti. Sed scripturas istas habent in suâ diversitate communes, easque illi præcipue frequentare assolent, qui legem veterem et prophetas canonicos non accipiunt. Ep. 237. [al. 253.] n. 2.

establish them. For they are composed and written in the names of such as our authentic scriptures say were apostles, or companions of apostles. They all suppose the dignity of our Lord's person, and the power of working miracles, together with a high degree of authority, to have been conveyed by him to his apostles.

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## SECT. VII.

### *Various readings, and select passages, in Faustus the Manichee.*

I SHALL here take some notice of various readings in the New Testament, or the texts of scripture made use of by the Manichees, and likewise some select passages, or observations, in Faustus the Manichee.

1. The catholics, as<sup>a</sup> Faustus observes, asserted the integrity of the books of the New Testament, and could not endure the supposition that they had been corrupted and interpolated.

2. Faustus says that<sup>b</sup> the gospel of Jesus Christ is nothing but the preaching, or the doctrine and commandments of Christ. Beausobre assents<sup>c</sup> to this explication as right, and prefers it to Augustine's: though that great writer did not forget to allege<sup>d</sup> 2 Tim. ii. 8.

<sup>a</sup> Sed quia vobis ita placet, qui nunquam sine stomacho auditis aliquid esse in apostolo cauponatum, ne hoc quidem nobis sciatis esse contrarium. Faust. l. xi. c. 1.

<sup>b</sup> ———et interrogas, utrum accipiam evangelium? nisi adhuc nescis, quid sit quod evangelium nuncupatur. Est enim nihil aliud, quam prædicatio et mandatum Christi. Faust. l. 5. c. 1. Vides in me Christi beatudines illas, quæ evangelium faciunt, et interrogas, utrum accipiam? Ibid.—Quia evangelium quidem a prædicatione Christi et esse cœpit et nominari. Id. l. 2. c. 1. Scias me, ut dixi, accipere evangelium, id est, prædicationem Christi. ib.

<sup>c</sup> Cependant je dois rendre justice à Fauste. Il n'explique pas mal, et si je l'ose dire, il explique mieux que S. Augustin, ce que veut dire le mot d'Évangile. Il entend par là, non l'histoire de la naissance, et des actions de J. Christ, mais la doctrine que Jésus Christ a prêchée.—Et quoique S. Augustin eût raison dans le fond, il n'en avoit pas néanmoins de soutenir, comme il faisoit, que l'histoire de la naissance de J. Christ est comprise dans l'idée de ces mots, Évangile de J. Christ, qui ne signifioit autre chose, que la doctrine prêchée par Jésus Christ. Beaus. Hist. de Manich. T. i. p. 298, 299.

<sup>d</sup> ———hanc scilicet causam subjiciens, quia generatio Christi non pertinet ad evangelium. Quid ergo respondebis apostolo dicenti, Memor

3. We evidently perceive, from the work of Faustus, that<sup>e</sup> both the catholic and the Manichæan copies of the New Testament had the two genealogies in St. Matthew and St. Luke.

4. It looks as if<sup>f</sup> Faustus understood the beatitude, Matt. v. 3, of worldly poverty, and the mourning in ver. 4, of afflictions in this life; and ver. 6, of bodily hunger and thirst for the sake of righteousness: though, as it seems, this last-mentioned text, which we render "hunger and thirst after righteousness," we read<sup>g</sup> as it is now in our present copies.

5. Faustus had Matt. xxviii. 19, in his<sup>h</sup> copies.

6. He likewise quotes<sup>i</sup> the beginning of St. Mark's and St. John's gospels.

7. There is some reason to think that Faustus read Luke xxiii. 43, as<sup>k</sup> Origen did: 'This<sup>l</sup> day shalt thou be with me in the paradise of God,' or 'of my Father.'

8. Faustus<sup>m</sup> has the history of a woman taken in adultery, which is at the beginning of the eighth chapter of St. John's gospel.

9. Mani, in the Dispute with Archelaus, understands our Lord to say<sup>n</sup> in John viii. 44, that 'the devil is a liar, as is

esto Christum Jesum resurrexisse a mortuis, ex semine David secundum evangelium meum? Aug. contr. Faust. l. 2. c. 2.

<sup>e</sup> Quid enim scripsit? Liber generationis Jesu Christi filii David, &c. Faust. l. 2. c. 1. Sed offensus duorum maxime evangelistarum dissensione, qui genealogiam ejus scribunt, Lucæ et Matthæi, hæsi, &c. l. 3. c. 1. Vid. et l. 7. c. 1. et l. 23. c. 1, 2.

<sup>f</sup> Vides pauperem, vides mitem,—lugentem, esurientem, sitientem, persecutiones et odia sustinentem propter justitiam. l. 5. c. 1.—beati qui lugent, beati qui esuriunt, beati qui persecutionem patiuntur propter justitiam. ib. c. 3.

<sup>g</sup> —quomodo esurientem et sitientem justitiam, quam Faustus in scriptis suis non addidit. Aug. Contr. Faust. l. 5. c. 7.

<sup>h</sup> Et alibi ad discipulos: Ite, docete omnes gentes, baptizantes eos in nomine Patris, Filii, et Spiritûs Sancti,—F. l. 5. c. 3.

<sup>i</sup> At denique Marcus,—vide quam sit competenter exorsus: Evangelium, inquit, Jesu Christi Filii Dei. Faust. l. 2. c. i. Sed Joannes quidem in principio fuisse Verbum dicit, et Verbum fuisse apud Deum, et Deum fuisse Verbum. Marcus vero, Evangelium, inquit, Jesu Christi, Filii Dei. l. 3. c. 1. Cur ergo credunt Joanni dicenti, In principio erat Verbum? Aug. C. Faust. l. 7. c. 2.

<sup>k</sup> See before, Vol. ii. ch. xxxviii. num. xxvii.

<sup>l</sup> —Cum latronem Christus de ligno secum introduxerit in paradysum Patris sui. Faust. l. 14. c. 1.—et ipso eodem die secum futurum dixit eum in paradiso patris sui. Id. l. 33. c. 1.

<sup>m</sup> In injustitiâ namque et in adulterio deprehensam mulierem quandam Judæis accusantibus absolvit, ipse præcipiens ei ut jam peccare desineret. Faust. l. 33. c. 1.

<sup>n</sup> —cum loquitur mendacium, de suis propriis loquitur; quoniam mendax est, sicut et pater ejus. ap. Arch. c. 29. p. 48. Conf. c. 33. p. 56, et c. 13. p. 24. f.

also his father.' Upon this text the curious may consult<sup>o</sup> Mill, and<sup>p</sup> Beausobre.

10. Augustine in his work against Faustus, says, that, in some Latin<sup>q</sup> copies, they had, Rom. i. 3, 'Which was born of the seed of David;' instead of *made*, which is in the Greek.

11. Faustus<sup>r</sup> and <sup>s</sup>Secundinus quote St. Paul's epistle to the Ephesians by that title.

12. I put in the margin the definitions which<sup>t</sup> Faustus gives of schism and heresy.

## SECT. VIII.

### THE CONCLUSION OF THE HISTORY OF THE MANICHEES.

IN composing this chapter I have made much use of Beausobre's History of Manichee and Manichæism; and I have often quoted him as I have gone along. Nevertheless it was fit to make this renewed and final acknowledgment of my obligations. Sometimes, however, I have differed from him; whether with reason or not, others have a right to judge. That work of Beausobre contains not only a laboured history of the Manichees, but likewise several entertaining and useful digressions concerning the opinions of the heathen philosophers, and the most early christian sects. I wish some learned man might have sufficient leisure and encouragement to give us a handsome edition of it<sup>a</sup> in English.

<sup>o</sup> Ad. Joh. viii. 44, et Proleg. 793.

<sup>p</sup> Hist. de Manich. T. i. p. 105, 388. T. p. 263.

<sup>q</sup> Etsi enim in quibusdam Latinis exemplaribus non legitur *factus*, sed, *natus ex semine David*, cum Græca *factus* habeant, &c. Contr. Faust. l. xi. c. 4.

<sup>r</sup> Dicit ad Ephesios. Faust. l. 24. c. 1.

<sup>s</sup> Contra quos se apostolus in Ephesiorum epistolâ certamen subiisse fatetur. Secundin. ad Aug. c. 1.

<sup>t</sup> Schisma, nisi fallor, est eodem opinantem atque eodem ritu colentem quo cæteri, solo congregationis delectari discidio. Secta vero est longe alia opinantem quam cæteri, alio etiam sibi ac longe dissimili ritu divinitatis instituisse culturam. Faust. l. 20. c. 3. Porro autem sectas si quæras, non plus erunt quam duæ, id est, Gentium et nostra, qui eis longe diversa sentimus. ib. c. 4. in fin.

<sup>a</sup> What is to be expected of Beausobre, may be concluded from what he says of himself, when he enters upon the examination of the scandalous story

It may be thought by some that, in writing the history of this people, I have taken a great deal of liberty with the ancient writers of the christian church. Nevertheless, I know that I have not designed to disparage them: and I humbly hope that I have not lessened their just credit and authority. No men are infallible. In controversial writings, especially where the difference of opinion is very great, it is difficult for the best of men to keep themselves entirely free from the influence of prejudice and passion. Moreover, Manichæism is in itself an abstruse and intricate subject; and had its rise in Persia, a country remote from most of those ecclesiastical writers who have come down to us; which makes a good apology for them, though they should be supposed to have made some mistakes, and to have been guilty of some misrepresentations. It is acknowledged by such as have looked into this matter,<sup>b</sup> that the history of Mani and his followers has long lain in great obscurity and uncertainty. This may be allowed to be a good reason why I should take some more than ordinary pains about it, and endeavour to avoid and correct the errors which others seem to have fallen into.

It may be easily supposed that for several reasons I could wish this history had been shorter. However I presume it will be found upon trial that the length of it is not altogether unprofitable. And I persuade myself it will afford my readers divers useful and agreeable reflections. I propose to mention some, not doubting but that others of taste and judgment will think of more.

1. The rise of Manichæism in Persia is a proof of the early planting the gospel in that country. If christianity had not been there before, Mani could not have formed a new sect of christians. ‘Heresies and schisms,’ as<sup>c</sup> Augustine says,

of the Manichæan eucharist: ‘As for me, says he, ‘whom heaven has preserved from the spirit of the church, who know no greater good than freedom of thought, nor any more delightful employment than the search of truth, nor greater pleasure than that of finding and speaking it, I have studied ecclesiastical history with as little prejudice as possible.’ Pour moi, que le ciel a préservé de l’esprit de l’église, qui ne connois point de plus grand bien que la liberté de penser, de plus douce occupation que la recherche de la vérité, ni de plus grand plaisir que la celui de trouver et de la dire, &c. Hist. de Manichée et du Manichéisme. T. 2. p. 730.

<sup>b</sup> Hæc nos compendio, et pro more nostro, de Manete, ejusque scriptis. Cum vero Manetis historiam mire turbaverint tum veterum, tum recentiorum plures, neque ea adhuc satis dilucide exposita sit, non abs re erit illam paullo accuratius et explicatius enarrare. Cav. H. L. in Manete. T. i. p. 140. Oxon.

<sup>c</sup> Disruptis retibus, hæreses et schismata facta sunt. Retia quidem omnes concludunt. Sed impatientes pisces,—ubi possunt, impingunt se, et rumpunt,

‘break the gospel-nets. Some in one place, some in another: the Donatists in Africa, the Arians in Egypt,—the Manichees in Persia.’ According to Abulpharagius, Mani<sup>d</sup> was at first a christian priest, and he preached and explained the scriptures, and disputed against the Jews, the Magi, and the heathens. Beausobre<sup>e</sup> has an article on purpose concerning the planting the gospel in Persia.

2. We cannot avoid recollecting, in the next place, the just observation of Socrates, taken notice of by us at our entrance into this field: ‘It is no unusual thing for cockle to grow up amongst good grain.’ It is no other than what our Lord foresaw and likewise forewarned the disciples of, that they might not be too much surprised at the event. “The kingdom of heaven,” he said, “is likened unto a man which sowed good seed in his field: but while men slept his enemy came, and sowed tares among the wheat, and went his way.”—Matt. xiii. 24—30. Again: “The kingdom of heaven is like unto a net that was cast into the sea, and gathered of every kind:” ver. 47. “Then said he unto the disciples, It is impossible but offences will come; but woe unto him by whom they come:” Luke xvii. 1. And St. Paul says to the Corinthians: “There must be also heresies among you, that they which are approved may be made manifest among you:” 1 Cor. xi. 19. Indeed before the apostles left this world they saw divers corruptions getting into the churches, or actually brought into them.

3. There were early two very different opinions concerning Christ. ‘Some,’ as<sup>f</sup> Augustine observes, ‘believed Christ to be God, and denied him to be man. Others believed he was a man, and denied him to be God.’ Of this opinion<sup>g</sup> was Augustine for a while, at his first getting

et exeunt.—Et retia quidem illa per totum expanduntur. Qui rumpunt autem, per loca rumpunt. Donatistæ ruperunt in Africâ, Ariani ruperunt in Ægypto, Photiniani ruperunt in Pannoniâ, Cataphryges ruperunt in Phrygiâ, Manichæi ruperunt in Perside. Aug. Serm. 252. n. 4. T. v. al. in Dieb. Pasch. Serm. 23.

<sup>d</sup> Hic primo christianismum præ se tulit, et sacerdos factus est Ehwazi, docuitque et interpretatus est libros [sacros], et cum Judæis, Magis, et ethnicis disputavit. Gregor. Abulph. Dynast. p. 82. <sup>e</sup> T. i. p. 180—196.

<sup>f</sup> Sic enim quidam Deum credendo Christum, et hominem negando erraverunt. Et rursus quidam hominem putando, et Deum negando, aut contemserunt, aut in homine spem suam ponentes, in illud maledictum inciderunt. Contr. Faust. l. 13. c. 8. Ait enim, Christus Deus est tantum, omnino hominis nihil habens. Hoc Manichæi dicunt. Photiniani, homo tantum; Manichæi, Deus tantum. Illi nihil divinum in Domino confitentur; isti quasi totum divinum. Serm. 37. c. 12.

<sup>g</sup> Ego vero aliud putabam, tantumque sentiebam de Domino Christo meo, quantum de excellentis sapientiæ viro, cui nullus posset æquari: præsertim quia mirabiliter natus ex virgine, ad exemplum contemnendorum temporalium

out of Manichæism, as he says, till<sup>h</sup> he became acquainted with some Platonic writers. And it has been thought by some that this last was likewise the notion which<sup>i</sup> the Jews of old had of their expected Messiah. Therefore Athanasius says that the<sup>k</sup> ‘apostles of Christ, well knowing the Jewish prejudices upon this head, with great wisdom first ‘instructed them in our Saviour’s humanity.’ The former was the opinion of the Manichees, and of many others before them. Jerom says, that ‘whilst<sup>l</sup> the apostles were still ‘living, and when the blood of Christ was scarce cold in ‘Judea, there were men who taught that his body was no ‘more than a phantom.’ This opinion is more than once censured by<sup>m</sup> Ignatius in his epistles, written soon after the

pro adipiscendâ immortalitate, divinâ pro nobis curâ tantam auctoritatem magisterii meruisse videbatur. Quid autem sacramenti haberet, Verbum caro factum est, ne suspicari quidem poteram. Confess. l. 7. c. 19. n. 25.

<sup>h</sup> Et primo volens ostendere mihi,—quod Verbum tuum caro factum est, et habitavit inter homines, procurâsti mihi per quendam hominem—Platonicorum libros ex Græcâ linguâ in Latinam versos. Et ibi legi, non quidem his verbis, sed hoc idem omnino multis et multiplicibus suaderi rationibus, quod in principio erat Verbum, &c. Confess. l. 7. c. 9. n. 13, et 14. Vid. ib. l. 8. c. 2. n. 3.

<sup>i</sup> Beausobre’s account of that matter is to this purpose: ‘At the beginning of christianity, there arose two opposite errors concerning the person of our Saviour. The first obtained among the christians that came out of judaism. Many persuaded themselves that the Christ was but a mere man, distinguished from others by the abundance of divine gifts conferred upon him, and by his incomparable virtues. “In the time of the apostles,” says Athanasius, “the Jews were in this error, and drew the Gentiles into it: that the Christ is only a mere man, that he is not God, and that the Word was not made flesh.” De Sent. Dionys. p. m. 432. These Jews were not the unbelieving Jews, but such as made profession of christianity. But though they agreed so far, they were not all of the same mind concerning the nativity of our Saviour. Some believed that he was the Son of Joseph and Mary.—Others acknowledged that he was born of a virgin, and conceived by the sole operation of the Holy Spirit. Neither the one nor the other refused him the title of the Son of God; but they imagined that it was given him on account of the eminence of his office, the excellence of his gifts, his glorious resurrection, the sovereign authority and dominion to which he was advanced by the Father: to all which, these last added his miraculous nativity. These kept the name of Nazarenes which had been given to the first believers. The others were called Ebionites. These two are the most ancient heresies of christianity. Antiquissima hæresis ista fuit, et ab ipso religionis christianæ exordio grassari cœpit. Petav. Dogm. Th. T. v. De Incarn. l. 1, 2. sect. 3. In a short time arose another quite opposite but not less pernicious than the former.’ Hist. Manich. T. 2. p. 517.

<sup>k</sup> Επειδὴ γὰρ οἱ τότε Ἰουδαῖοι—ενομίζον τον Χριστον ψιλον ανθρωπον μονον, εκ σπερματος Δαβιδ ερχεσθαι—τῆτε ἐνεκα μετα πολλης της συνσεως οἱ μακαριοι αποσολοι τα ανθρωπινα τῆ Σωτηρος πρωτον ἐξηγενο τοις Ἰουδαίοις. Athan. de Sent. Dion. T. i. p. 248. C. <sup>l</sup> Apostolis adhuc in seculo superstîtibus, adhuc apud Judæam Christi sanguine recenti, phantasma Domini corpus asserebatur. Hier. adv. Lucif. T. 4. p. 304. in.

<sup>m</sup> Εἰ δὲ ὡσπερ τινες αθειοι οντες, τῆτεσιν απιστοι, λεγῶσιν, το δοκειν πεπονθενα αυτον, κ. λ. Ign. ad Trall. c. x. et passim.

beginning of the second century; which, as<sup>n</sup> Cotelerius observes, plainly shows the early rise of this false doctrine.

4. We may now discern the true character of the Manichees. I formerly said they were rather a sect of reasoners and philosophers than enthusiasts. But they were very indifferent critics; otherwise they would not have treated the New Testament as they did; nor have pretended that those books were falsely inscribed, and greatly interpolated, which had such evidences of genuineness and integrity. Faustus, so celebrated a teacher among them, does not appear to have been a man of much reading. He had a plausible way of speaking, and an agreeable manner of setting off his opinions; and that is all. Though the Manichees made high pretensions to<sup>o</sup> truth, reason, science, they did not escape superstition. With all their boastings of that kind, and the contempt they expressed for the credulity of the catholics and their numerous rites, there was not a sect that rendered themselves more miserable by affected austerities than the Manichees. The restraints laid on all the higher order, the elect, with regard to marriage, diet, and secular business, must, I think, have more than equalled all the superstitious usages of the catholics at that time. And when it is considered what<sup>p</sup> difficulty the Manichæan auditors must have had to maintain their elect, and with how little hopes of getting to heaven at last; I mean directly, without the fatigue of I know not how many transmigrations, as it might happen; this people must appear ridiculous and contemptible.

5. The subsistence of the christian religion to our time, notwithstanding the many dangers it has been exposed to, affords us reason to hope it shall maintain itself, and be upheld to the end of time, whatever oppositions may be yet made against it. It cannot encounter worse enemies than it has already experienced and withstood: nor can there arise more absurd, or more different opinions in the church, and among christians, than there were in former times. Some there have been who have handed down to us, in the main,

<sup>n</sup> Solem negaret meridie lucere, qui Docetas seu phantasiastas hæreticos temporibus apostolorum inficiaretur erupisse. Cotel. ad. Ign. Ep. ad. Trall. c. x.

<sup>o</sup> Incidi in homines superbe delirantes.—Et dicebant. Veritas, et veritas. Et multum eam dicebant mihi. Aug. Conf. l. 3. cap. 6. sub in.—ut a vobis, magnis omnino pollicitoribus rationis atque veritatis, quæram.—De M. Manich. c. 17. n. 55.

<sup>p</sup> Quid autem fallitis auditores vestros, qui cum suis uxoribus, et filiis, et familiis, et domibus, et agris vobis serviunt,——eis non resurrectionem, sed revolutionem ad istam mortalitatem promittitis, ut rursus nascantur,——Contr. Faust. l. 5. cap. x. Vid. supra, p. 370. not. <sup>z</sup>.

the genuine principles of the christian religion. And by the events of past ages we are encouraged to trust in Providence, and do our best to serve the cause and interests of truth and liberty.

6. It is not unlikely that differences of opinion, and the disputes they occasion, are some way of use for advancing the interest of truth. The great Augustine was plainly of this opinion. He says that<sup>a</sup> objections against scripture, and false interpretations, excite our zeal and industry, and induce to study, until we have learned the right sense. Augustine has upon several occasions spoken<sup>r</sup> of the advantage which the catholic interest receives from heresies.

7. The Manichees have not weakened but confirmed the evidence of the christian religion. They agree with other christians in acknowledging the dignity of Christ's person, his high authority, and the authority of his apostles, and other things which were formerly insisted on by us, and need not to be repeated here. And they received all, or well nigh all, the same books of the New Testament which were received by other christians. They said, indeed, that those scriptures had been interpolated in some time past: but they never corrupted or interpolated them, nor attempted it. Nor could they or any others corrupt them, if they would, as<sup>s</sup> Augustine observes. And the controversy with them has occasioned the writing of many books, containing

<sup>a</sup> Sed ideo divina providentia multos diversi erroris hæreticos esse permittit, ut, cum insultant nobis, et interrogant nos ea quæ nescimus, vel sic excutiamus pigritiam, et divinas scripturas nôsse cupiamus. Propterea et apostolus dicit: Oportet hæreses esse, ut probati manifesti fiant inter vos. Illi enim Deo probati sunt, qui bene possunt docere. Sed manifesti hominibus esse non possunt, nisi eum docent: docere autem nolunt, nisi eos qui doceri quærunt. Sed multi ad quærendum pigri sunt, nisi per molestias et insultationes hæreticorum quasi de somno excitentur, et de illâ imperitiâ suâ periclitari se sentiant. Qui omnes, si bonæ sint fidei, non cedunt hæreticis, sed, quid eis respondeant, diligentius inquirunt. Nec eos deserit Deus, ut petentes accipiant, et quærentes inveniant, et pulsantibus aperiatur. Aug. de Genesi contr. Manich. l. i. c. i. n. 2. Didicimus enim, singulas quasque hæreses intulisse ecclesiæ proprias quæstiones, contra quas diligentius defenderetur scriptura divina, quam si nulla necessitas cogeret. Id. de Dono Persever. c. 20. n. 23. Tom. 10.

<sup>r</sup> Utitur enim [ecclesia catholica] gentibus ad materiam operationis suæ, hæreticis ad probationem doctrinæ suæ. De Verâ Relig. cap. 6. n. 10. Tom. i. Sed quoniam verissime dictum est, oportet multas hæreses esse,—utamur etiam isto divinæ providentiæ beneficio. Ex his enim hominibus hæretici fiunt, qui, etiamsi essent in ecclesiâ, nihilominus errarent. Cum autem foris sunt, plurimum prosunt, non verum docendo, quod nesciunt, sed ad verum quærendum carnales, et ad verum aperiendum spirituales catholicos excitando. —Quapropter multi, ut diem Dei videant et gaudeant, per hæreticos de somno excitantur. Ib. cap. 8. n. 18.

<sup>s</sup> Quâ igitur causâ a vobis corrumpi non possent, hac de causâ a nemine potuerunt. Contr. Faust. l. 32. c. 16.

numerous quotations of the scriptures, and excellent vindications of their genuineness and integrity.

8. We are very much indebted to Augustine, and many other learned christians of former times, who asserted and maintained the authority of the Old, and the genuineness and integrity of the New Testament; and gave a better account of the creation of the world, of<sup>t</sup> human liberty, and<sup>u</sup> the nature and origin of evil, than was taught by these people.

9. We may hence learn to exercise moderation toward men of different sentiments, and to keep our temper in disputing with them. In all probability we shall never meet with any men, christians at least, who differ more from us than the Manichees did from the catholics. Those unreasonable men rejected all the scriptures of the Old Testament in the lump. They asserted that the books of the New Testament had been long ago interpolated, and that they were not all written by those whose names they bear. They held two eternal principles, and denied the humanity of Christ and the resurrection of the body. And yet Augustine professeth much mildness and moderation toward them. And, entering into an argument with them, he offers to God a fervent prayer that<sup>v</sup> he may be enabled to govern his passions, and seek their conversion, not their destruction. Possibly he did not always fully observe the rules, which in the time of sedate judgment he prescribed to himself as just and reasonable. But the passage, which I chiefly refer to, is so

<sup>t</sup> Ἐπι μὲν ἐν ἡ κακία ἀνθρώπος, καὶ ἀνυπόστατος\* πράξις μάλλον ἢ ἔσθια ἔσθια, καὶ πράξις ἐκ προαιρέσεως συμβαίνουσα. κ. λ. Serap. contr. Manich. p. 44. fin.

<sup>u</sup> Peccatorum originem non libero arbitrio voluntatis, sed substantiæ tribuunt gentis adversæ; quam dogmatizantes esse hominibus mixtam, omnem carnem non Dei, sed malæ mentis perhibent esse opificium, quæ a contrario principio Deo coæterna est. De Hær. cap. 46. sub fin.

Quam concupiscentiam, quod sæpe inculcandum est, non vitium substantiæ bonæ, sed malam vult esse substantiam. Op. Imp. l. 3. c. 106.

Vos autem asseritis quandam naturam atque substantiam malum esse. De M. Manich. cap. 2. n. 2.

Veritas autem dicit, omnia ista quæ videmus, et quæ non videmus, quæ naturaliter subsistunt, a Deo facta esse; in quibus rationalem creaturam, etiam ipsam factam, sive in angelis, sive in hominibus, accipisse liberum arbitrium; quo libero arbitrio si Deo servire vellet secundum voluntatem ac legem Dei, haberet apud eum æternam felicitatem.—Ecce autem liberum arbitrium, atque inde peccare quemque si velit, non peccare si nolit, &c. Aug. ap. Act. cum Felic. l. 2. c. 3.

<sup>v</sup> Unum verum Deum omnipotentem—et rogavi, et rogo, ut in refellendâ et revincendâ hæresi vestrâ, Manichæi, cui et vos fortasse imprudentius quam malitiosius adhæsistis, det mihi mentem pacatam atque tranquillam, et magis de vestrâ correctione, quam de subversione cogitantem. Contr. Ep. Fund. cap. i. in.

beautiful and emphatical, that I have transcribed it largely at the bottom of the<sup>w</sup> page. And I would translate it too, but that I am not able to reach the energy of his expressions. In the general he says: ‘ Let them be severe against you, who know not with what labour truth is discovered, and how difficultly error is avoided. Let them be severe against you, who know not how hardly the diseases of the mind are cured, and the eye of the understanding strengthened to bear the light. Let them be severe against you, who are insensible how little we can know of God after our best endeavours to understand his perfections. Let them treat you with rigour, who never were entangled in a like error. As for me, I can by no means treat you in that manner; but must exercise toward you that patience and long-suffering which I once wanted, and which my friends showed me, when with a blind and furious zeal I not only maintained, but propagated to the utmost of my power, the principle in which you are still engaged.’

It will be one good use of all this long history, if we learn to form charitable sentiments of other men, and to practise moderation toward them; no longer debating with those who differ from us, as if we were infallible, but as inquirers after truth, even as we desire they should do: which<sup>x</sup> also is particularly recommended by the same renowned writer.

<sup>w</sup> Illi in vos sæviant, qui nesciunt cum quo labore verum inveniatur, et quam difficile caveantur errores. Illi in vos sæviant, qui nesciunt quam rarum et arduum sit carnalia phantasmata piæ mentis serenitate superare. Illi in vos sæviant, qui nesciunt cum quantâ difficultate sanetur oculus interioris hominis. — Illi in vos sæviant, qui nesciunt quibus suspiriis et gemitibus fiat, ut ex quantulâcumque parte possit intelligi Deus. Postremo in vos sæviant, qui nunquam tali errore decepti sunt, quali vos deceptos vident. Ego autem, qui, diu multumque jactatus, tandem respicere potui, — qui denique illa figmenta, quæ vos diuturnâ consuetudine implicatos et constrictos tenent, et quæsivi curiose, et attente audivi, et temere credidi, et instanter, quibus potui, persuasi, — sævire in vos non possum, quos, sicut me ipsum illo tempore, ita nunc debeo sustinere, et tantâ patientiâ vobiscum agere, quantâ mecum egere proximi mei, cum in vestro dogmate rabiosus et cæcus errarem. *ibid.* cap. 2. n. 2, 3.

<sup>x</sup> — illud quovis judice impetrare me a vobis oportet, ut in utrâque parte omnis arrogantia deponatur. Nemo nostrum dicat, se jam invenisse veritatem. Sic eam quæramus, quasi ab utrisque nesciatur. Ita enim diligenter et concorditer quæri poterit, si nullâ temerariâ præsumptione inventa et cognita esse credatur. *Id. ib. n. 4.*

## SECT. IX.

## THE PAULICIANS.

I. *Their history.* II. *Their testimony to the scriptures.*

I. I TAKE this opportunity to give a brief account of the Paulicians, who were mentioned<sup>a</sup> before, and are usually reckoned a branch of the Manichees. But Beausobre says that<sup>b</sup> though they are sometimes confounded with the Manichees, they agreed but little with them. And indeed Peter of Sicily intimates that<sup>c</sup> they did not own themselves to be Manichees.

They are generally supposed to have first appeared in the seventh century, in the country of Armenia, and to have been so called from<sup>d</sup> Paul, son of Callinice, a Manichæan woman, who had another son named John, who also was a zealous preacher of this doctrine, called revived Manichæism.

Photius says they<sup>e</sup> hold two principles, as the Manichees do; he<sup>f</sup> calls Mani their master: he continually considers their sect<sup>g</sup> as a branch of Manichæism.

I formerly<sup>h</sup> mentioned a particularity of theirs. Photius likewise says that<sup>i</sup> they did not choose to have their ministers called priests, but scribes or secretaries, or “companions in travel,” the word used in Acts xix. 29; and 2 Cor. viii. 19.

II. I now proceed to observe their testimony to the scriptures.

<sup>a</sup> See p. 294.

<sup>b</sup> B. T. 2. p. 765.

<sup>c</sup> Qui tametsi se a Manichæorum impuritatibus alienos dictitant, sunt tamen dogmatum ipsorum vigilantissimi custodes et propugnatores. Pet. Sic. ap. Bib. P. P. Max. T. 16. p. 754. B.

<sup>d</sup> Εν ταυτη γυνη τις, ονοματι Καλλινικη—δυο τικτει παιδας,—Εκ πατερς τοιων των ειρημενων, οψ Παυλος ην ονομα—Παυλικιανων κλησιν οι της αποσασιας ερασαι μετελλαξαντο. Ph. contr. Manich. l. i. c. 2. p. 4, 5. Vid. et Petr. Sic. ib. p. 759. A.

<sup>e</sup> δυο μεν αρχας ομολογησιν, ως οι Μανιχαιοι. Phot. ib. l. i. c. 6. m.

<sup>f</sup> Και τοιγε τε διδασκαλε αυτων Μανεντος, κ. λ. ib. c. 8. p. 24.

<sup>g</sup> Αι τε Μανεντος παραφναδες. ib. l. 4. c. 1. in. et passim.

<sup>h</sup> See p. 294.

<sup>i</sup> Τες μεντοι παρ' αυτοις ιερεων ταξιν επεχοντας εκ ερεις, αλλα συνεκδημυς και νοταριες επονομαζεσι. l. i. c. 9. p. 31. Conf. c. 25. p. 134. et Wolf. not. in. loc.

1. Photius says they<sup>k</sup> reject the holy prophets and all the Old Testament, and the ancient saints in general, calling them thieves and robbers.

2. ‘As for the scriptures of the New Testament,’ Photius says, ‘they<sup>l</sup> receive the gospel, and the apostle, [meaning ‘the gospels, and the epistles of the apostle Paul at least,] which the christian church receives and honours, and has delivered to them. These they receive without altering or corrupting them in any material things, as Valentinus and some others have done. But they pervert them from their true meaning to support their apostasy.’

3. Afterwards, having quoted 2 Pet. iii. 15, 16, and having applied to them what St. Peter says of some who wrested the scriptures to their own destruction, he says: ‘As<sup>m</sup> for the oracles of the Lord and the apostles and the other scriptures, (by which last I mean the Acts of the Apostles, and the epistles called catholic,) excepting those of the chief apostle, they receive them: for those ascribed to him they do not receive at all. And concerning the Acts of the Apostles, and the catholic epistles, they are not all of the same opinion: for some reject them, whilst others join them with the other scriptures received by all.’

4. Photius does also elsewhere expressly say they<sup>n</sup> rejected Peter, because he denied his Lord and Master. Mr. Wolff therefore says, that<sup>o</sup> perhaps these are the only christians that ever rejected both of St. Peter’s epistles.

5. In another place, ‘they<sup>p</sup> admit, as the rule of their

<sup>k</sup> Ἄλλα γὰρ καὶ τῆς ἱερῆς προφητῆας, καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν παλαιὰν γραφὴν, καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἀποσπρεφονται ἀγίως, ληστῆς καὶ κλεπτῆς ἀποκαλεντες. *ib.* l. i. c. 8. p. 23.

<sup>l</sup> Το μὲντοι εὐαγγέλιον, καὶ τὸν ἀποσόλον, ἅ καὶ τὸ θεῖον τῶν χριστιανῶν περιπτυσσεται καὶ τιμὰ συνταγμα, εγγραφῶς τῆτοις παρεθετο, τοῖς ῥήμασι μὲν καὶ ὀνομασιν εἶδεν μέγα παραλλαττων τὲ λογὲ τὸ σχῆμα, κ. λ. l. 1. c. 3. p. 9. *Vid.* et p. 10, 11.

<sup>m</sup> Οἱ αὐτὰ τὲ τὰ κυριακά λογία, καὶ τὰ ἀποσολικά, καὶ τὰς ἄλλας γραφὰς, φημι δὴ τὰς τε Πραξίς τῶν Ἀποσολῶν, καὶ τὰς καθολικὰς λεγομένας, πλην τῶν ἀναφερομένων εἰς τὸν κορυφαῖον, ἐκεῖνας γὰρ εἶδε τοῖς ῥήμασιν παραδεχονται.— Καὶ τὰς Πραξίς δὲ τῶν Ἀποσολῶν, καὶ τὰς καθολικὰς ἔ παντὲς αὐτῶν συναρμολοῶσι τοῖς ἄλλοις, εἰσι δὲ οἱ καὶ συνταττῶσι. *Id.* l. i. c. 8. p. 27.

<sup>n</sup> ———— μάλιστα δὲ τὸν κορυφαῖον τῶν ἀποσολῶν Πέτρον δυσφήμισιν, ὅτι γεγονεν ἐξαρνος, φασί, τῆς εἰς τὸν διδασκαλὸν καὶ Χριστὸν πίστεως. *ib.* c. 8. p. 24.

<sup>o</sup> Hi igitur forte soli ex omni christianorum antiquitate utramque Petri epistolam adversati sunt, cum Eusebius, lib. iii. c. 3. H. E. testetur priorem ab omnibus, posteriorem ab antiquioribus non receptam fuisse. At hi quidem id fecerunt, obortâ, an Petri ea sit, dubitatione; illi vero, ex temerario quodam in Petrum odio. *Wolff.* *ib.* p. 27.

<sup>p</sup> Ἐν οἷς τατὲ κυριακά ἀναγεγραπταί λογία, καὶ τὴν μεγάλῃ ἀποσόλῃ Παυλὸς αἱ ἐπιστολαί, καὶ παρ’ ἐνίοις τῶν Ἀποσολῶν αἱ Πραξίς, καὶ τῶν καθολικῶν ὄσαι παρὰ τὰς τὴν κορυφαῖον τυγχανῶσιν. *ib.* l. i. c. 13. p. 56, 57.

‘ faith, the oracles of the Lord, and the epistles of the great apostle Paul, and some of them the Acts of the Apostles, and the catholic epistles, except those of the chief apostle.’

6. Again, ‘ they<sup>q</sup> endeavoured to confirm their doctrines by the scriptures of the gospel, and the divine apostle Paul.’

7. He quotes to them<sup>r</sup> the divine Luke in the Acts, though, as he adds, many of the sect do not receive that book.

8. He quotes to them expressly<sup>s</sup> Paul’s epistle to the Hebrews, or Jews, as his word is.

9. What regard the Paulicians had for the book of the Revelation I cannot particularly say; Photius not quoting it in his argument with them.

10. I add one thing more. These<sup>t</sup> people greatly respected the scriptures of the New Testament, and approved that all people, the laity, and even women, should read, study, and understand them. This appears from a story told by Photius, of a conversation between a Manichæan woman and Sergius, who afterwards became a zealous promoter of the sect.

11. I have almost entirely confined myself to Photius, not thinking it needful to be more particular at present, or to copy much from Peter, or any other author, concerning so late a sect. However, I shall briefly observe, that Peter of Sicily in the main agrees with Photius, often saying that the Paulicians rejected the Old Testament, and used only the gospels and the apostle. In particular he says: ‘ They<sup>u</sup> receive the four gospels, and the fourteen epistles of Paul, and the catholic epistle of James, and the three epistles of John, and the catholic epistle of Jude, and the Acts of the Apostles, without making any alterations in them. But they admit not the two epistles of the chief of the apostles.’

<sup>q</sup> Οἷς τε τὰς εὐαγγελικὰς γραφὰς τιμὰν ἰσχυρίζονται, καὶ οἷς τὸν ἀποστόλον καὶ θεοφόρον Πάυλον τῶ οὐκ εἰς φρονήματος δογματιστὴν καὶ διδάσκαλον καταψευδόνται. l. 4. c. 6. p. 133.

<sup>r</sup> Ταῖς ἰσὰ δὲ κὰν ταῖς Ἰραξέσιν ὁ θεῖος Λεκάς, εἰ καὶ το πλεῖστον τῆς ἀποστασίας αὐτῶν τὰς εἰκὲν φωνὰς ἔπροσειεταί. l. 2. c. 6. p. 187.

<sup>s</sup> Τῷ Σωτηρὶ γὰρ ἡμῶν ὁ Παῦλος πρὸς Ἰεδαίαις γραφῶν, τὴν πατρικὴν ἀρμοζει φωνήν, κ. λ. l. 2. c. x. p. 185.

<sup>t</sup> Ἡ προειρημένη Μανιχαία γυνή, ἥνικα τὸ πρῶτον εἰς οὐμίαν αὐτῷ κατέστη, ἵνα τι, φῆσιν, εἶπε μοι, τὰ θεῖα ἐκ ἀναγινωσκῆς εὐαγγέλια; Ὅ δὲ—μη ἐξῆναι φησας τὴν τῶν λαϊκῶν πληθρῆντι ταξίν ἀνεδὴν ἔως τὴν τῶν φρικτῶν λογίων ποιῆσθαι ἀναγνώσιν, ἀνείσθαι γὰρ τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν τὸ ἐργον. l. i. c. 20. p. 100.

<sup>u</sup> Quod veteris instrumenti tabulas non admittant, prophetasque planos et latrones appellent,—aut sola duntaxat sacra quatuor evangelia, et S. Pauli apostoli denas quaternas epistolas recipiant, Jacobi item catholicam, ternas Joannis, catholicam Judæ, cum Actis Apostolorum, iisdem quibus apud nos sunt verbis.—Binas catholicas magni et immobilis ecclesiæ fundamenti,—principis apostolorum, non admittunt: Petr. ubi supr. p. 756. E.

12. Upon the whole, the Paulicians, according to these accounts, received the books of the New Testament as they were received by other christians, excepting the two epistles of Peter, which they entirely rejected, if these authors say right. But what was their sentiment concerning the Revelation we cannot say.

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## REMARKS

UPON

MR. BOWER'S ACCOUNT OF THE MANICHEES,

IN THE SECOND VOLUME OF HIS HISTORY OF THE POPES.

NONE of my learned friends, who have read Mr. Bower's History of the Popes, (and I suppose they have all read it,) could forbear observing the difference between his account of the Manichees, and that given in the sixth volume of the first edition of this work. And some of them have intimated that I could not decline taking public notice of it, unless I would be understood to allow that the account given by me of the same people was wrong; for which I see no reason. Indeed I cannot but wish that Mr. Bower had read that volume, or the late Mr. Beausobre's History of the Manichees, from which I received a great deal of light; I think he would then have expressed himself very differently from what he has done: as it is, I think myself obliged to make a few remarks.

In the history of Manes, or Mani, (as the Persians his countrymen call him,) which is at the beginning of note (D) p. 19, 20, of Mr. Bower's second volume, there are, in my opinion, several mistakes: as may appear from the account given of Mani, and his works, and predecessors, in the fore mentioned volume: to which they are referred who are pleased to look into it.

In the latter part of the same note, p. 21, 22, Mr. Bower proceeds to the tenets of this sect, which I considered for-

merly, so far as I judged needful. I therefore take notice of a very few things only in Mr. Bower upon this article.

In that note, p. 21, says Mr. Bower: 'Thus was gluttony with them a cardinal virtue, and eating to excess highly meritorious.' I do not conceive how that can be truly said of the Manichees, when their elect, the most distinguished part of them, comprehending their ecclesiastics, and some others, were obliged to abstain from meat, and wine, and eggs, and fish. And Mr. Bower says, p. 23, that 'their auditors, as well as their elect, kept two fasts in the week, the one on Sunday, the other on Monday.' That the Manichees were great fasters was shown, p. 298: that they were by principle, and frequent practice, a temperate, abstemious sort of people, appears, I think, from a passage which I have not yet alleged at all. It is near the conclusion of a work generally ascribed to Marius Victorinus Afer, in the fourth century; which is a letter to Justin, a Manichee, a learned man, and the author's friend. 'In<sup>a</sup> vain,' says he, 'do you now macerate your body, and mortify it with continual fasting and watching; if, after all, it has no other lot than to return to the devil, who, you say, is its creator.'

But, undoubtedly, Mr. Bower has some reason for saying what he does, which therefore ought to be considered. 'The particles of the good nature were, according to them, in all beings of this universe, mixed with, and chained to the particles of the evil nature. Such, however, as happened to be in the food which they used, were, in being used by them, delivered for ever from so painful a bondage. Thus was gluttony with them a cardinal virtue, and eating to excess highly meritorious:' p. 21, note (D). This therefore is only a consequence deduced from the just mentioned supposed principle of theirs. But it does not appear that they discerned this consequence; for, so far as we can find, they did not, by principle, eat to excess, but were, and upon principle, great fasters and very abstemious. Augustine imputed to them the same principle, whether justly or not I do not now inquire. Nevertheless he does not upon that account charge them with excess in eating; because I suppose he knew they were not guilty of it. But he ridicules their fasting: 'Your<sup>b</sup> fasting,' says he, 'is cruel; you ought to

<sup>a</sup> Et cassum nunc usque jugi inediã, inimicæ, ut ais, carnis membra tenuãsti, censens ipse animæ officere meritis, ac naturæ passi corporis succos, ac pinguedinis distentæ grassamina atque ipsorum abdomenum mole prægravari: si post hunc jejuniorum laborem ad creatorem tuum, quem ais, aut diabolum, aut exteriores tenebras reverteris. T. M. Victorin. adv. Manich. Ap. B. PP. Lugd. T. 4. p. 292. D. E.

<sup>b</sup> Nec ipsa jejunia vobis competunt. Non enim oportet vacare fornacem,

‘ be always eating ; whilst you cease to eat, you forbear to deliver the particles of the good nature from their chains.’

Farther, p. 21 : ‘ They rejected the Old Testament, and some parts of the New, especially the Acts of the Apostles.’ That the Manichees rejected the Old Testament is undoubted ; whether they rejected any books of the New Testament, and particularly the Acts of the Apostles, has been carefully examined, p. 397—405.

In the latter part of that note, p. 23, Mr. Bower gives a shocking account of their eucharist, taken from ancient ecclesiastical writers. And afterwards, at p. 25, he tells the same, or like story, from pope Leo, commonly called the great : this was also examined. See particularly my reference to Beausobre, with his arguments and observations, p. 295 ; in which, if I am not mistaken, there is a sufficient vindication of the Manichees from the charge of lewd and abominable rites and mysteries.

Nevertheless, as I did not then distinctly speak of pope Leo, upon whom Mr. Bower chiefly insists, I shall now consider what is alleged from him. ‘ He spared no pains,’ says Mr. B. p. 25, ‘ to find them out ; and being informed by some, whom they had attempted to seduce, where they assembled, he caused great numbers of them to be seized, in virtue of the imperial edicts, and among the rest their bishop, and some of their teachers. Having them thus in his power, his first care was to learn of them their true tenets, and the secret practices of their sect ; which he had no sooner done, than he assembled the neighbouring bishops, and those who happened to be then at Rome, with a great number of presbyters ; inviting to the assembly even the laymen of any rank, the great officers of the empire, and the senate.—Being all met and in great expectation, Leo ordered the elect of the Manichees, that is, their teachers and chief men among them, to be brought forth. Great was their confusion when they appeared before so grand an assembly ; but being encouraged by Leo, they first owned their impious tenets, and their superstitious practices, and discovered a crime, which modesty,’ says pope Leo, ‘ would not allow him to name : but it was so fully proved,’ adds he, ‘ that the most incredulous were thoroughly satisfied it was true, for all those who were con-

in quâ spiritalè aurum de stercoris commixtione purgatur, et a miserandis nexibus divina membra solvuntur. Quapropter ille est misericordior inter vos, qui se potuerit ita exercere, ut nihil ejus valetudini obsit, sæpe crudos cibos sumere, et multa consumere. Vos autem—a membrorum divinorum purgatione cessando crudeliter jejunatis. Contr. Faust. l. 6. c. 4. T. 8.

cerned in that abominable act were present: viz. a girl of twelve years old, the two women who had brought her up, and prepared her for the crime, the youth who had debauched her, and the bishop who presided at that detestable ceremony, and had directed it.—It appeared from the confession which their bishop made openly, and gave in writing, that they committed these abominations chiefly on their festivals.' I think it may be worth our while to see pope Leo's own words; which therefore I transcribe<sup>c</sup> below.

With regard then to pope Leo I would observe, first, that we have not remaining any copy of the proceedings against these people to which Leo refers. Secondly, though the confessions mentioned by Leo seem a specious argument for the truth of these charges, yet I apprehend that, when duly weighed, they are of little value. By menaces, and promises, and good management, an artful and powerful ecclesiastic, like Leo, is able to obtain such confessions as he wants, whenever there are any people, who have fallen under his displeasure, and he has determined to harass them with fines, or imprisonment, or banishment. Says Athenagoras, in his Apology for the christians of his time, 'that<sup>d</sup> our enemies may seem not to hate us without reason, they accuse us of abominable feasts, and incestuous mixtures in our assemblies.' It has been the way of all persecutors in general. They will make those appear criminal whom they intend to destroy, and will do their utmost to expose them to general scorn and aversion. Thirdly, after all these examinations and confessions, Leo did not know when this abominable rite, with which he charged them, was performed. First he says, 'in their worship: de sacris tamen eorum,' &c. then

<sup>c</sup> De sacris tamen eorum, quæ apud illos tam obscœna sunt, quam nefanda, quod inquisitioni nostræ Dominus manifestare voluit, non tacemus, ne quisquam putet nos de hac re dubiæ famæ et incertis opinionibus credidisse. Residentibus itaque mecum episcopis et presbyteris, ac in eundem confessum christianis viris ac nobiles congregatis, electos et electas eorum jussimus præsentari. Qui cum et perversitate dogmatis sui, et de festivitatum suarum consuetudine multa reserarent, illud quoque scelus, quod eloqui verecundum est, prodiderunt; quod tantâ diligentia investigatum est, ut nihil minus credulis, nihil obtrectatoribus, relinqueretur ambiguum. Aderant enim omnes personæ, per quos infandum facinus fuerat perpetratum, puerula scilicet ut multum decennis, et duæ mulieres quæ ipsam nutrierant, et huic sceleri præparaverant. Præsto erat etiam adolescentulus vitiator puellæ, et episcopus ipsorum detestandi criminis ordinator. Omnium par fuit horum et una confessio, et patefactum est execratum, quod aures nostræ vix ferre potuerunt. De quo ne apertius loquentes, castos offendamus auditus, gestorum documenta sufficiunt.—Leon. Serm. 15. c. 4. p. 64. edit. Lugd. 1700. Conf. Ep. 15. [al. 93.] c. 16. p. 230, 231. et Ep. 8. al. 2.

<sup>d</sup> Ἐτι δὲ καὶ τροφᾶς καὶ μιξεῖς λογοποιεῖσιν ἀθεῶς καθ' ἡμῶν, ἵνα τε μισεῖν νομιζοῖεν μετὰ λόγῳ. κ. λ. Legat. pro. Chr. p. 34. D.

‘in their festivals: de festivitatum eorum consuetudine.’ In another place<sup>e</sup> it is ‘in their mysteries.’ Once more, ‘in<sup>f</sup> the principal feast of their sect.’ If good evidence of this fact had been produced, he would have expressed himself more clearly and uniformly. As pope Leo says that this was done ‘in the principal feast of their sect,’ Beausobre<sup>g</sup> understood him to mean their Bema, an annual festival, celebrated in honour of Mani with great<sup>h</sup> solemnity. ‘Which,’ he says, ‘affords a manifest proof of the falsehood of the deposition of the witnesses before Leo: for that feast was not profaned with any sacrifices of unchastity. Augustine, who, when a Manichee, was present at it, has described it, and discerned nothing impure in it.’ Fourthly, it appears from pope Leo, that the Manichees celebrated the eucharist in the like manner with other christians: for he has informed us that ‘the<sup>i</sup> better to conceal themselves, and avoid the sufferings which by law they were exposed to, they would come to church and communicate with the catholics; when they partook of the bread, but refused the cup.’ The reason is manifest: according to the Manichæan rule, the elect, who alone had a right to communicate at the Lord’s table, were forbidden wine, which was used by the catholics. If, instead of wine, water had been proposed to them, or some other liquor not prohibited, they would have received it. I think that what Leo says teaches us two things. The first of which is, that the Manichees observed the eucharist in the same manner with the catholics, except that they used some other liquor instead of wine. And certainly the testimony of Leo in this point is very remarkable. The other thing which we learn from hence is, that the Manichees were scrupulous and conscientious men. Who can believe that they who refused to taste wine, though it were to secure themselves from heavy sufferings, admitted into their religious rites abominable filthiness, which no reasonable creature can bear to think of? Fifthly, the Manichees at Rome, in the time of pope Leo, were a sober and modest peo-

<sup>e</sup> In execrabilibus autem mysteriis eorum. Ep. 15. [al. 23.] c. 16. p. 230.

<sup>f</sup> ——— in ipso præcipuo observantiæ suæ festo, sicut proximâ confessione patefactum est, ut animi, ita et corporis pollutione lætantur. Serm. 23. c. 4. p. 76. al. Serm. 4. De Nativitate Domini.

<sup>g</sup> Hist. de Manich. T. 2. p. 754.

<sup>h</sup> A brief account of that festival may be seen, p. 246, and 388.

<sup>i</sup> Cumque ad legendam infidelitatem suam nostris audeant interesse mysteriis, ita in sacramentorum communione se temperant, ut interdum, ne penitus latere non possint, ore indigno Christi corpus accipiant, sanguinem autem redemptionis nostræ haurire omnino declinent. Serm. 41. c. 5. p. 106. al. de Quadragesima. iv.

ple. For he found himself obliged frequently to caution his own people and hearers against being<sup>k</sup> seduced 'by their fastings, abstinence from certain meats, mean dress, pale countenances,' and other marks of a sober and abstemious course of life. Which is agreeable to Augustine, who says, that 'by<sup>l</sup> an appearance of chastity and temperance they ensnared many people.' Sixthly, pope Leo's abusive manner of speaking of the Manichees invalidates all his accusations against them. For he says, 'they<sup>m</sup> were the worst of all heretics, who had nothing in them that was tolerable: whose law is a lie, whose religion is the devil, and whose sacrifice is filthiness and the like.' Is any regard to be had to a man who talks at that rate? He who should take his notion of the Manichæan worship from pope Leo, I believe, would suffer himself to be grossly imposed upon. It might be better to take it from Faustus, one of their own bishops, as cited in<sup>n</sup> Augustine, and also in this volume, at p. 385.

I must now return to the note before cited at p. 23. 'The great and chief mystery of their sect was the eucharist. And it was in celebrating the eucharist that they committed the abominations with which the fathers have reproached them. We might indeed suspect the testimony of the fathers, it being well known that in declaiming against heretics they are apt to exaggerate, and did not always scrupulously adhere to truth. But that the Manichees abandoned themselves, in the celebration of their eucharist, to the most impure and infamous practices, is not only attested by them, but has been often proved by unexceptionable witnesses, nay, and owned by themselves, before the civil magistrates, in Italy, in Gaul, in Paphlagonia, and Africa.'

<sup>k</sup> Neminem fallant discretionibus ciborum, sordibus vestium, vultuumque palloribus. Non sunt casta jejunia, quæ non de ratione veniunt continentiæ, sed de arte fallaciæ. Sermon. 33. c. v. p. 93.

Non vos seducant deceptoris artibus ficta et simulata jejunia, quæ non ad purificationem proficiunt animarum. Speciem quidem sibi pietatis et castitatis assumunt, sed hoc dolo actuum suorum obscœna circumtegent, &c. Sermon. 23. c. 6. p. 76.

<sup>l</sup> Duæ maxime sunt illecebræ Manichæorum, quibus decipiuntur incauti——altera, cum vitæ castæ, et memorabilis continentiæ, imaginem præferunt. De Mor. Cath. Ec. l. 1. c. 1. T. 1.

<sup>m</sup>——quibus plenissime docetur, nullam in hac sectâ pudicitiam, nullam honestatem, nullam penitus reperiri castitatem: in quâ lex est mendacium, diabolus religio, sacrificium turpitudine. Sermon. 15. c. 4. p. 64.

Aliæ hæreses, dilectissimi, licet merito omnes in suâ perversitate damnandæ sint, habent tamen singulæ in aliquâ sui parte quod verum est,——In Manichæorum autem scelestissimo dogmate prorsus nihil est, quod ex ullâ parte possit tolerabile judicari. Sermon. 23. c. 5. p. 76. al. de Nativitate Domini. iv.

<sup>n</sup> Contr. Faust. l. 20. c. 3. T. 8.

But is not that a new charge? Is not this different from what we have been considering? 'The Manichees abandoned themselves, in the celebration of the eucharist, to the most impure and infamous practices.' Those expressions seem to me to imply promiscuous lewdness, or the general practice of impurity at their eucharist. But pope Leo, as we have seen, speaks only of 'one girl debauched by a youth,' for a certain purpose. And in a like manner August. de Hær. cap. 46. T. 8.

But Mr. Bower has some other evidence beside that of the fathers, and says, 'it has been proved by unexceptionable witnesses, and has been owned by themselves.' I suppose Mr. B. may have an eye to a passage in Augustine, which is to this purpose: 'It<sup>o</sup> is said that some of them have confessed it before magistrates, not only in Paphlagonia, but likewise in Gaul. This I heard at Rome from a catholic christian.' Upon which I would observe, first, that Augustine does not there speak of 'the Manichees abandoning themselves to impure practices,' but of a particular fact, like to that mentioned by Leo. Secondly, Mr. B——'s expressions are too strong and positive. Augustine only says that he had heard such a thing from a catholic at Rome. Thirdly, this fact, or these facts, are laid at remote places. If Augustine had had proofs of them at home, or near at hand, he needed not to have gone so far as Paphlagonia and Gaul in quest of them. Fourthly, Mr. B. speaks of its being 'proved and owned by themselves before civil magistrates in Italy and Africa.' Which I do not see in Augustine, but only Gaul and Paphlagonia; unless some other passage be also referred to.

Mr. B. concludes the note upon which I have made these animadversions, saying: 'The Waldenses, who sprung up in the twelfth century, were stigmatized by their enemies with the odious name of Manichees, but that their doctrine was different from that of the Manichees, nay, that it was altogether orthodox, I will show in a more proper place.'

When Mr. B. comes to that part of his work, I suppose he will have the task of showing, not only that the Waldenses were unjustly stigmatized with the Manichæan doctrine, but likewise, that they were not guilty of the impure and infamous practices generally imputed to the Manichees. And perhaps he may also discern at length, that those crimes were unjustly charged upon the real Manichees, or such as

<sup>o</sup> Hoc se facere quidam confessi esse in publico judicio perhibentur, non tantum in Paphlagoniâ, sed etiam in Galliâ, sicut a quodam Romæ christiano catholico audivi. De Naturâ Boni. c. 47. T. 8.

owned themselves disciples of Mani. But however that may be, I have taken the liberty to make these remarks for supporting what I had said formerly, and which I still think to be right: not with a design to detract from the merit of Mr. Bower's laborious and useful work, which I heartily wish he may carry on with continued and increasing acceptance and esteem.

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## CHAP. LXIV.

ARNOBIUS.

- I. *His history, and work, and time.* II. *His character.*  
 III. *Select passages: 1. The sum and design of the christian religion. 2. Arguments for the truth of the christian religion. 3. Objections against it. 4. His notion concerning the divinity of Christ, and the Spirit. 5. Whether he was a Manichee? 6. Miracles in his time. 7. Ends of Christ's death. 8. Of Free-will. 9. Heathens offended at Cicero's works. 10. An argument for free inquiry.* IV. *His testimony to the scriptures.*  
 V. *Extracts out of another Arnobius's Commentary upon the Psalms.*

SAYS Jerom in his Catalogue: ' Arnobius in<sup>a</sup> the time of the emperor Dioclesian, taught rhetoric at Sicca in Africa, with great reputation, and wrote those volumes against the Gentiles, which are well known.'

In his letter to Magnus, showing the merit of christian writers, and particularly their Latin authors, he says: ' Arnobius<sup>b</sup> published seven volumes against the Gentiles, and his scholar Lactantius as many: who also wrote two other volumes, Of the Wrath, and the Workmanship of God:

<sup>a</sup> Arnobius sub Diocletiano principe Siccæ apud Africam florentissime rhetoricam docuit, scripsitque adversus Gentes quæ vulgo extant volumina. De V. I. c. 79.

<sup>b</sup> Septem libros adversus Gentes Arnobius edidit, totidemque discipulus ejus Lactantius, qui de Irâ quoque et Opificio Dei duo volumina condidit; quos si legere volueris, dialogorum Ciceronis in eis *επιτομην* reperies. Ep. 83.

‘ which if you read, you will find in them an epitome of what is valuable in the Dialogues of Cicero.’

In another place Jerom passeth a severe and ill-natured censure upon Arnobius’s performance, saying, that<sup>c</sup> he is unequal and prolix, and for want of divisions of his work,<sup>d</sup> confused.

Arnobius is likewise mentioned by Jerom<sup>e</sup> with some other learned ecclesiastical writers, who, he says, ought to be read with discretion, taking what is good in them, and rejecting what is bad.

In Jerom’s Chronicle at the twentieth year of Constantine, or the year of Christ 326, are these words: ‘ Arnobius<sup>f</sup> a rhetorician is famous in Africa, who while he taught the youth rhetoric at Sicca, and was yet a heathen, was admonished in his dreams to embrace christianity. But when he applied to the bishop of the place for baptism, he rejected him, because he had been wont to oppose the christian doctrine. Whereupon he composed an excellent work against his old religion; and thus at length, as by hostages of his piety, he obtained the seal of the covenant.’

According to this account, Arnobius’s work against the Gentiles was composed by him whilst a catechumen only, and before he was a complete christian. Nay, Tillemont from this passage argues, that<sup>g</sup> Arnobius was not baptized, nor so much as a catechumen. And Cave too, without hesitation says, that<sup>h</sup> ‘ he was not then so much as a catechumen, instructed in the first rudiments of the faith.’

<sup>c</sup> Arnobius inæqualis et nimius, et absque operis sui partitione confusus. Ad Paulin. Ep. 49. [al. 13.] T. 4. p. 567.

<sup>d</sup> Cave, in his English life of Arnobius, at the end of his second volume of The Lives of the Fathers, says: ‘ His style, though censured by Jerom, is yet sufficiently elegant.—Nor is his work so confused and immethodical, as that father seems to insinuate; as is evident to any that will be at the pains attentively to read it, and observe how his design is laid, his argument prosecuted, and how the several parts of it do naturally enough one depend upon another.’ So Cave.

<sup>e</sup> Ego Origenem propter eruditionem sic interdum legendum arbitror, quomodo Tertullianum, Novatum, Arnobium, et nonnullos ecclesiasticos scriptores Græcos pariter et Latinos: ut bona eorum eligamus, vitemusque contraria. Hier. Ep. 56. [al. 76.] T. 4. p. 589.

<sup>f</sup> Arnobius rhetor clarus in Africâ habetur; qui quum in civitate Siccæ ad declamandum juvenes erudiret, et huc ethnicus ad credulitatem somniis compelleretur, neque ab episcopo obtineret fidem, quam semper oppugnaverat, elucubravit adversus pristinam religionem luculentissimos libros, et tandem, velut quibusdam obsidibus pietatis, fœdus impetravit. Chr. l. ii. p. 181.

<sup>g</sup> ————puisque c’est la production d’un homme qui n’étoit baptisé, ou qui même n’étoit pas encore catécumène. Tillem. Arnobe, Mem. Ec. T. 4. P. 2. p. 1209.

<sup>h</sup> See Cave’s life of Arnobius in English, as above, note <sup>d</sup>.

But each of those suppositions appears to me inconsistent with Arnobius's ordinary style, who continually speaks of himself as a christian, and reckons himself one of them. Many such passages might be alleged; and I put<sup>i</sup> a few in the margin: but it is the whole strain of the work.

It may be argued likewise, that he was not barely a catechumen at that time, from<sup>k</sup> the description he gives of the christian worship in their assemblies: not only discourses, but prayers likewise; at which last, as is generally said, catechumens were not allowed to be present.

Indeed I do not see how Arnobius could so confidently assert the innocence and usefulness of every part of christian worship, as he does, if he was not fully acquainted with it. Not to add, that it would seem a very extraordinary step, for a man to undertake the public defence of a religion, who did not understand the rudiments of it.

I must there take the liberty to say, that I cannot but question the genuineness of that passage.

That Arnobius was once a blind and zealous idolater, is fully owned and confessed by<sup>l</sup> himself. And he professeth to have been taught by Christ, or that Christ was his master. But I do not perceive him any where to ascribe his conversion to dreams by which he had been admonished whilst a heathen. Nor does Jerom elsewhere mention, or hint at that matter. It is also observable, that in Jerom's Catalogue, Arnobius is said to have flourished in the time of Dioclesian; whereas in the passage in the Chronicle, he is placed at the twentieth year of Constantine. And if Arnobius had been in the circumstances intimated in that passage, he must have

<sup>i</sup> Nihil sumus aliud christiani, l. i. p. 41. f. Nationibus enim sumus in cunctis, p. 10. m. Audetis nos ridere——! l. ii. p. 51. Non ergo, quod sequimur, novum est, sed nos sero addidimus, ib. p. 95, et passim.

<sup>k</sup> Nam nostra quidem scripta cur ignibus meruerunt dari? cur immaniter conventicula dirui? in quibus summus oratur Deus, pax cunctis et venia postulatur magistratibus, exercitibus, regibus, familiaribus, inimicis, adhuc vitam degentibus, et resolutis corporum vincione; in quibus aliud auditur nihil, nisi quod humanos faciat, nisi quod mites, verecundos, pudicos, castos, familiaris communicatores rei, et cum omnibus consolidæ germanitatis necessitudine copulatos. Arnob. l. iv. p. 152. Lugdun. Bat. 1651. Vid. et lib. 1. p. 14. f. 15. in.

<sup>l</sup> Venerabar, o cæcitas! nuper simulacra modo ex fornacibus prompta, in incudibus deos, et malleis fabricatos: elephantorum ossa, picturatas veterosis in arboribus tænias si quando conspexeram, lubricatum lapidem et ex olivi unguine sordidatum, tanquam inesset vis præsens, adulabar, affabar, et beneficia posebam nihil sentiente de trunco.——Nunc doctore tanto in vias veritatis inductus, omnia ista, quæ sint, scio: digna de dignis sentio, contumeliam nomini nullam facio divino; et quid cuique debeatur, vel personæ, vel capiti, inconfusis gradibus atque auctoritatibus, tribuo. Id. l. i. p. 22, 23.

been intent upon despatch. But it is manifest from the work itself, that it is no hasty performance, but a laboured composition, fit to see the light; and many authors, both Greek and Latin, are here<sup>m</sup> quoted. Nor has Arnobius any where hinted, that he was under any sort of compulsion or necessity to engage in this work. But at the beginning he speaks of his undertaking as perfectly free and voluntary; and says, that<sup>n</sup> some injurious reproaches cast upon the christians induced him to write in their defence.

Add these considerations to that before mentioned, that Arnobius writes as a christian; and it must, I think, appear somewhat probable, that Jerom was not the author of that article in the Chronicle; and that it was inserted after his time by some credulous person, not thoroughly acquainted with Arnobius's history or work.

According to Cave, Arnobius flourished about the year 303. However, it is not easy to settle exactly the time of the work he has left us.

Tillemont is inclined to the year<sup>o</sup> 297, or sooner: whom<sup>p</sup> Beausobre follows, supposing Arnobius to have written in 295. Basnage<sup>q</sup> thinks the year 303, or 304, more likely.

The article in Jerom's Chronicle, whether his or not, seems to deserve but little regard. Arnobius must be there wrong placed, at the year of Christ 325 or 326; for in his Catalogue Jerom says, that Arnobius flourished under Dioclesian, and that Lactantius, Arnobius's scholar, was appointed professor of rhetoric at Nicomedia under the same emperor: which must be understood to have been done before the persecution which began in 302 or 303. For after that it cannot be supposed, that Dioclesian would invite a christian to come and settle in the city, where his palace was.

There are some notes of time in the work itself. For Arnobius says, that<sup>r</sup> it was then three hundred years, more or less, since the rise of christianity. And heathens are brought in objecting, that<sup>s</sup> the christian religion had not a being four hundred years ago. And soon after it is said

<sup>m</sup> Catalogues of authors quoted by Arnobius may be seen in Fabr. Bib. Lat. Vol. iii. p. 391, &c. Nourry Apparat. Tom. ii. n. 537, &c.

<sup>n</sup> Quoniam, comperi nonnullos—statui pro captu et mediocritate sermonis contraire invidiæ, et calumniosas dissolvere criminationes. l. i. in.

<sup>o</sup> Mem. Ec. T. iv. P. 3. p. 1210, et 1374.

<sup>p</sup> Hist. de Manich. T. ii. p. 412. Note (7.)

<sup>q</sup> Annal. 303. n. 24.

<sup>r</sup> Trecenti sunt anni, minus vel plus aliquid, ex quo cœpimus esse christiani, et terrarum in orbe censi, l. i. p. 9. in.

<sup>s</sup> Ante quadringentos annos religio, inquit, vestra non fuit, l. ii. p. 94. in.

to be<sup>t</sup> a thousand and fifty years since the foundation of Rome, or thereabout.

Following the ordinary computation of that epoch, Arnobius must have written in the year of our Lord 297, or 298. And<sup>u</sup> Pagi was once of opinion, that Arnobius's books were published in the year of Christ 298, or 299, at the latest. But afterwards observing, that Arnobius useth words denoting such sufferings as followed Dioclesian's edict for a general persecution, he was induced to alter his mind, and to conclude, that he did not write till after the year 302. And from hence he was led to infer, that Arnobius followed another, and very uncommon computation of the Roman æra, which placeth the foundation of the city thirteen years later than the Varronian account. Consequently Arnobius wrote in the year of Christ 310, which, according to the last-mentioned computation, is in the 1050th year of Rome.

I think, that if the demolition of the churches, and the burning of the christian scriptures, and other afflictions of christians for the sake of their principles, which<sup>v</sup> Arnobius speaks of, relate to the persecution under Dioclesian; Arnobius could not write till the year 303, or after. Nevertheless, as he speaks in a loose and general manner, both of the time of the rise of christianity, and of the foundation of the city, I see no reason to conclude that he made use of a different computation from the common. For though it were then 1056 or 1057 years from the foundation of Rome, (according to the common computation, and that too followed by him,) he might express himself as he has done, or say, it was about 1050 years.

It may be reckoned somewhat strange, that Lactantius, when<sup>w</sup> he mentions the Latin christian apologists, Minucius, Tertullian, and Cyprian, should take no notice of Arnobius; if he was his master, as Jerom says in his Catalogue, and if he wrote before him.

With regard to this difficulty, I would say, Lactantius appears to be so honest and generous a man, that I cannot impute his silence to envy, or any other bad principle. Indeed, according to the whole strain of Arnobius's work, he wrote when christianity was under discouragements, and therefore before the sunshine of Constantine's reign: whereas it is a common opinion, that the Institutions of Lactantius, written against the Gentiles, were not published, as we now

<sup>t</sup> *Ætatis urbs Roma cujus esse in annalibus indicitur? Annos ducit quinquaginta et mille, aut non multum ab his minus. l. ii. p. 94. infr. m.*

<sup>u</sup> Pagi in Baron. Ann. 302. n. 14, 15, 16.

<sup>v</sup> See before, note <sup>k</sup> p. 458.

<sup>w</sup> Inst. l. v. c. 1. p. 459.

have them, before the year 319, or 320, or 321. But however that may be, I think it probable, that the main part of the Institutions was written during the time of Dioclesian's persecution, when Lactantius might be entirely ignorant of what Arnobius had done or was doing in Africa, at a great distance from him. For they might be both writing at one and the same time, without any communication of their several designs to each other, and without a possibility of it. Arnobius was a heathen a good while. His work is the work of a man of vast reading, and of a mature age at least. Nor have we any account of any thing done by him afterwards: possibly he was then far advanced in life, and died soon after. And if his books were not composed before the year of our Lord 305, or 306, Lactantius probably would be entirely unacquainted with them, when he wrote his Institutions. Moreover, supposing the persecution to have been begun before Arnobius's work was composed, there might be no fair opportunity to make it public, till that affliction ceased.

Cave<sup>x</sup> and some others say, that Arnobius did not write till after the beginning of Dioclesian's persecution. And it is certain, that he not only often speaks of the afflictions endured by christians, but as if they suffered at the very time: for he prays to God<sup>y</sup> to forgive those that persecuted his servants; and he sometimes speaks of their sufferings in the present<sup>z</sup> tense. If the persecution was begun before he was converted, and set about his work, it must have raged for some good while, before his Apology was finished. Consequently, it could not be written, much less published, quite so soon as some have thought.

Upon the whole I am inclined to think, without being positive, that Arnobius did not write till some time after the beginning of the persecution ordered by Dioclesian, possibly about the year 305, or 306.

Were we inquiring at what time Arnobius flourished as a rhetorician, I should make no scruple to say, that he flourished about the year 290, or sooner. But as our inquiry is, when he wrote for the christians, we place him somewhat lower.

Though Arnobius has quoted a large number of Greek and Roman authors, he has not mentioned any christian writers. Some think that<sup>a</sup> he made great use of Clement of Alexandria: but he has not named him.

<sup>x</sup> Scripti enim sunt hi libri anno 303, vel non diu post, exortâ jam persecutione. Cav. H. L. in Arnobio.

<sup>y</sup> Da veniam, Rex summe, tuos persequentibus servos, &c. l. i. p. 18. in.

<sup>z</sup> Vid. l. ii. p. 44, 45. <sup>a</sup> Vid. Nourry, Diss. in Arnob. in App. T. ii. p. 430. C. 481, 482, 487. C. D. 491. D. E. et 492.

It is supposed that<sup>b</sup> this work is not come down to us complete; but that somewhat is wanting at the end, if not also at the beginning.

Arnobius's books against the Gentiles have never yet been divided into chapters or smaller sections: though, as<sup>c</sup> Nourry says, it might be easily done, and would remove the seeming confusion which there is in the method, and render the reading of this author more agreeable. However, as yet we have only the original division of this work into seven books.

There is another of this name, author of Brief Commentaries upon the 150 Psalms, formerly supposed the same with our Arnobius, but now universally allowed by learned men to be a different person, and to have lived in the fifth century, about<sup>d</sup> the year 461.

I design at the end of this chapter to insert a brief account of his testimony to the scriptures.

II. Having given a general account of Arnobius, and his work, I shall add some things to illustrate his character.

It has been often said of Arnobius and Lactantius, that<sup>e</sup> they undertook the defence of christianity before they understood it. In answer to which, it is observed by a learned and judicious writer, 'That<sup>f</sup> this must be understood of the christian system, as to doctrines and precepts: which it is not to be wondered if he was not perfectly acquainted with, since he wrote his books before he was admitted by baptism into the church, and fully instructed in those points. But as to the general evidence of christianity, that he understood very well, and by his knowledge and serious consideration of it, embraced the faith in that discouraging season the reign of Dioclesian.'

I wish that vindication of our christian apologist had been more complete. For in order to judge of the evidence of a religion, it seems requisite, that a man understand its doctrines; or what it teaches, and consists of. Nor do I perceive how Arnobius could be acquainted with our Lord's works or miracles, and not also know his<sup>g</sup> words, or the doctrines and precepts of the christian religion.

<sup>b</sup> Id. ib. p. 287. D. E.

<sup>c</sup> Quapropter si quis in novâ aliquâ horum librorum editione, eos, quod non ita difficile est, in capita aut sectiones distribuat; is sane et huic confusioni medebitur, et tædium laboremque lectoris plurimum sublevabit. Id. ib. p. 287. C.

<sup>d</sup> Cav. Hist. L. in Arnobio Juniore.

<sup>e</sup> See Mr. Warburton's *Divine Legation*, Vol. i. p. 3.

<sup>f</sup> See Dr. Chapman's *Eusebius*, Vol. i. p. 272.

<sup>g</sup> Neque enim qualitas et deformitas mortis dicta ejus immutat aut facta, l. i. p. 23. m. Vid. et p. 6. in.

I observe then, that Arnobius knew and believed the several following things: 1. He<sup>h</sup> believed in one God Almighty, the creator of all things. 2. He believed, that<sup>i</sup> Jesus Christ came from God, and that he proved his divine commission. 3. He was acquainted with<sup>k</sup> the sublime morality taught by our Saviour on the mount and elsewhere. 4. He believed, that<sup>l</sup> Jesus Christ came to save lost sinners: 5. And that<sup>m</sup> he promised eternal life, and gave full assurance of his being able to perform what he promised. 6. He likewise<sup>n</sup> believed and expected the resurrection of the dead. 7. He knew that<sup>o</sup> the gospel of Christ, or the christian religion, did not make promises of temporal, earthly blessings; but taught men to bear afflictions, and even death itself, with meekness, patience, and fortitude. 8. And finally, he was so fully persuaded of the real excellence and manifest certainty of the christian religion, as to say, that<sup>p</sup> it needed not any apology, but stood firm upon the foundation of its own truth and reasonableness, though all the world should gainsay it. He had therefore considered the internal, as well as the external, evidence of christianity.

A man who knew all these things, and was acquainted

<sup>h</sup> Audetis ridere nos, quod Patrem rerum et Deum veneramus et colimus, quodque illi dedamus et permittamus spes nostras? l. ii. p. 51. m. et alibi passim.

<sup>i</sup> ———rei maximæ causâ a summo Rege ad nos missus. l. i. p. 24, et passim.

<sup>k</sup> Ib. p. 5, et 6.

<sup>l</sup> Sed si, inquit, Christus in hoc missus a Deo est, ut infelices animas ab interitionis exitio liberaret. l. ii. p. 87.

<sup>m</sup> Ut enim dii certi certas apud vos habent tutelâs, licentias, potestates,—ita unius pontificium Christi est, dare animis salutem, et spiritum perpetuitatis apponere. l. ii. p. 89.

Si nobis hæc gaudia, hoc est, viam fugiendæ mortis, Plato in Phædo promisisset, aliusvè ex hoc choro, possetque eam præstare, atque ad finem pollicitationis adducere; consentaneum fuerat ejus suscipere nos cultus, a quo tantum doni expectaremus et muneris. Nunc cum eam Christus non tantum promiserit, verum etiam virtutibus tantis manifestaverit posse compleri; quid alienum facimus, aut stultitiæ crimen quibus rationibus sustinemus, si ejus nomini, majestatique substernimur, a quo speramus utrumque, et mortem cruciabilem fugere, et vitæ æternitate donari? l. ii. p. 66. 67.

<sup>n</sup> Audetis ridere nos, quod mortuorum dicamus resurrectionem futuram? l. ii. p. 51.

<sup>o</sup> Nihil enim est nobis promissum ad hanc vitam, nec in carunculæ hujus folliculo constitutis opis aliquid sponsum est auxiliique decretum. Quinimo edocti sumus minas omnes, quæcumque sunt, parvi ducere atque æstimare fortunæ. Ac si quando ingruerit vis quæpiam gravior, quâ finem necesse sit consequi vitæ, eam nec timere, nec fugere.—l. ii. p. 98.

<sup>p</sup> Neque enim res stare sine assertoribus non potest et religio christiana: aut eo esse comprobabitur vera, si adstipulatores habuerit plurimos, et auctoritatem ab hominibus sumserit. Suis illa contenta est viribus, et veritatis propriæ fundaminibus nititur. Nec spoliatur vi suâ, etiamsi nullum habeat vindicem: immo si linguæ omnes contra faciant, contraque nitantur, et ad fidem illius abrogandam consensionis unitæ animositate conspirent, l. iii. in. p. 100.

with the history of our Lord's life, death, and resurrection, and his apostles' miracles, I think may be esteemed sufficiently qualified to write a defence of the christian religion. Indeed, the faith of the ancient apologists, and other primitive christians, was in some respects more plain and simple than ours: but it was a faith, that<sup>a</sup> produced good works, that taught them self-denial, and made martyrs. Nor was it, possibly, because of its plainness and simplicity, the less conformable to the christian doctrine contained in the New Testament, which is summarily set forth by St. Paul in these words: "For the grace of God that bringeth salvation," or the salutary, saving grace of God, "has appeared unto all men, teaching us, that denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously and godly in this present world: looking for the blessed hope, and the appearance of the glory of the great God, and of our Saviour Jesus Christ: who gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto himself a peculiar people zealous of good works." Tit. ii. 11—14. But to proceed:

Another learned modern speaks of Arnobius after this manner: 'He<sup>r</sup> was very shy of determining abstruse and difficult points of a speculative nature. He supposed the christian religion to consist in the clear and certain doctrine of our Saviour, omitting whatever is not plainly taught by him. Far from being curious and dogmatical, he was timorous and reserved: which, perhaps, is no great fault; for it is the deciding, positive temper, that produceth sects and schisms.'

Arnobius was learned and pious; as every one must perceive, who looks into him. And though his style is gene-

<sup>a</sup> Ου γαρ εν λογοις, αλλ' εν εργασις τα της ημετερας θεοσεβειας πραγματα. Just. M. ad Gr. Coh. p. 33. B. Ου γαρ εν μελετη λογων, αλλ' επιδειξει και διδασκαλια εργαων, τα ημετερα. Athenag. leg. p. 37. B. vid. ib. p. 12. A. Nos non habitu sapientiam, sed mente, præferimus. Non eloquimur magna, sed vivimus. Min. Fel. cap. 38. Nos autem,—qui philosophi non verbis sed factis sumus, nec vestitu sapientiam, sed veritate, præferimus,—qui non loquimur magna, sed vivimus. Cypr. de Bono Sap. sub init. Nostro autem populo, quid horum potest objici, cujus omnis religio est, sine scelere, et sine maculâ vivere? Lact. Inst. l. 5. cap. 9. sub fin.

<sup>r</sup> Tout cela, selon lui, sont des questions vaines et curieuses, qu'il est impossible de déterminer, parceque la raison humaine manque de lumières suffisantes pour cela, et que le Fils de Dieu ne s'est point expliqué là-dessus. Arnobe faisoit consister la religion chrétienne dans la doctrine claire et certaine du Sauveur, et en retranchoit tout ce qu'il n'a pas enseigné avec évidence. On peut bien croire que je n'approuve pas les hypothèses d'Arnobe. Mais pourquoi faut il, que les anciens ayent été animé d'un esprit aussi curieux et aussi décisif que celui du savant Arnobe étoit timide et réservé? C'est cet esprit décisif, qui a fait naître tant de sectes et schismes. Beaus. Hist. de Manich. T. ii. p. 415.

rally reckoned rough and unpolished, and hath in it some uncouth and obsolete words : it is strong and nervous, and there are in him shining and beautiful passages, which must highly please attentive readers of good taste. It is very much to the honour of this rhetorician, learned in all<sup>t</sup> the learning of Greece and Rome, that he embraced the christian religion when under persecution : and that, like Moses, “ he chose rather to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season : esteeming the reproach of Christ greater riches than the treasures ” of all the world. Heb. xi. 25, 26. And see Acts vii. 22.

III. I shall now make some extracts out of Arnobius. 1. He represents the sum of the christian religion in this manner : ‘ We<sup>u</sup> christians are men that worship the great Lord and governor of the world, according to the direction of Jesus Christ. If you examine it, you will find nothing else in this religion : this is the sum of the whole affair : this is the scope and design of all our religious offices : to this supreme Lord we all bow down : him we worship with united prayers : to him we present holy, and innocent, and honourable requests, fit to be heard by him.’

I place<sup>v</sup> another like passage at the bottom of the page, without translating it, but referring it to the consideration of my readers.

2. It is worth while to observe, what arguments Arnobius makes use of to prove the truth and divine original of the christian religion.

(1.) One argument insisted on by him is its excellence. For this I would refer to what was before said<sup>w</sup> concerning

<sup>s</sup> Negari tamen non potest, plurima passim occurrere apte, polite, eleganter, et rhetorice dicta, ac gravissimis ornata illustrataque verbis et sententiis. Nourry Diss. in Arnob. cap. ii. p. 287. A. B.

<sup>t</sup> Quem quidem locum plene jamdudum homines pectoris vivi tam Romanis literis explicavere quam Græcis. l. iii. p. 103.

<sup>u</sup> Nihil sumus aliud christiani, nisi, magistro Christo, summi regis et principis veneratorum. Nihil, si consideres, aliud invenies in istâ religione versari. Hæc totius summa est actionis. Hic propositus terminus divinorum officiorum, hic finis. Huic omnes ex more prosternimur ; hunc collatis precibus adoramus. Ab hoc justa, et honesta, et auditu ejus condigna deprecemur. l. i. p. 14, et 15.

<sup>v</sup> Qui [Christus] si dignus non esset, cui auscultare deberetis, aut credere ; vel hoc ipso fuerat non aspernandus a vobis, ostenderet quod vias vobis ad cælum et vota immortalitatis optaret, — qui hominibus cæcis, et reverâ in impietate degentibus, pietatis aperuit januas, et cui se submitterent indicavit. An ulla est religio verior, officiosior, potentior, justior, quam Deum principem nôsse, scire Deo principi supplicare, qui bonorum omnium solus caput et fons est, perpetuarum pariter fundator et conditor rerum, a quo omnia terrena, cunctaque cœlestia animantur, — et qui si non esset, nulla profecto res esset, quæ aliquod nomen, substantiamque portaret ? l. ii. p. 42, 43. Vid. et p. 13. f.

<sup>w</sup> See p. 463, 464.

Arnobius's knowledge of the christian religion and its evidences, and to his passages just alleged, containing his summary accounts of the great design of it. I might also refer to other passages, where<sup>x</sup> he insists upon those laws of Christ, which teach men to bear injuries, and not to return evil for evil: as likewise to some other places where<sup>y</sup> he puts the heathens in mind of the innocence of Christ himself, and of his whole undertaking: which, as he tells them, is alone sufficient to show how unreasonable their fierce opposition against him was. And there are in him many other passages to the same purpose, which will offer themselves to an attentive reader.

(2.) He insists<sup>z</sup> upon the virtues of our Lord's life, and the perfection and amiableness of his conduct upon all occasions.

(3.) Another argument is taken from our Lord's miracles. Several of the passages where Arnobius speaks of them, will be produced hereafter, in the article of his testimony to the scriptures. He observes particularly, that<sup>a</sup> our Lord's great works were very numerous, and were performed without the use of any external means, and were healing and beneficial: that<sup>b</sup> they were performed without show and ostentation, in order to convince, if possible, a hard-hearted and unbelieving race of men, of the truth of the doctrine taught by him. He likewise observes, that<sup>c</sup> Christ discovered a knowledge of

<sup>x</sup> Nam cum hominum vis tanta magisteriis ejus acceperimus ac legibus, malum malo rependi non oportere; injuriam perpeti quam irrogare præstantius. l. i. p. 6. in.

<sup>y</sup> —quid causæ est, quod tam gravibus insectamini Christum bellis? Numquid regiam sibi vindicans potestatem, terrarum orbem cunctum legionibus infestissimis occupavit? Numquid ardoribus avaritiæ flagrans universas opes illas, quibus se genus humanum studiose contendit impleri, possessionis suæ mancipio vindicavit? Numquid—l. ii. p. 42.

<sup>z</sup> Ipse denique non lenis, non placidus, non accessu facilis, non familiaris affatu, non humanas miseras indolens, omnes omnino crucibus et corporalibus affectos malis unicâ illâ benignitate miseratus reddidit et restituit sanitati? Quid ergo vos subigit, quid hortatur, maledicere——quem redarguere, quem tenere, nemo hominum possit ullius facinoris in reatu? l. i. p. 39.

<sup>a</sup> Potestis aliquem nobis designare, monstrare ex omnibus illis magis, qui unquam fuere per sæcula, consimile aliquid Christo millesimâ ex parte qui fecerit? qui sine ullâ vi carminum, sine herbarum et graminum succis——? Atqui constitit Christum sine ullis adminiculis rerum, sine ullius ritûs observatione vel lege, omnia illa quæ fecit, nominis sui possibilitate fecisse: et quod proprium, consentaneum, dignum Deo fuerat vero, nihil nocens, aut noxium, sed opiferum, sed salutare, sed auxiliariis plenum bonis, potestatis munificæ liberalitate donasse. l. i. p. 25.

<sup>b</sup> Quæ quidem ab eo gesta sunt, et factitata, non ut se vanâ ostentatione jactaret, sed ut homines duri atque increduli scirent, non esse quod spondebatur falsum. l. i. p. 27.

<sup>c</sup> Unus fuit e nobis, qui quia singuli volverent, quid sub obscuris cogitationibus continerant, tacitorum in cordibus pervidebat? p. 27. in.

men's inward thoughts : that<sup>d</sup> after he had been put to death, he rose again, and showed himself to many. He farther<sup>e</sup> insists largely upon our Saviour's conferring a like power of doing miracles, equal to all those which had been done by himself, upon his disciples, who were poor fishermen, or of other low occupations, ignorant, illiterate, and unskilful : a full proof, he says, that those works were not the effect of magic, or any human art ; but of the power of God. And whereas some might be apt to insinuate, that the writers of our Lord's history had magnified his works beyond the reality ; he answers, that<sup>f</sup> they had related but a small part of them. And he wisheth they had recorded them all, if it had been possible, and likewise all the miracles of his disciples, the more to increase the astonishment and wonder of such incredulous men. He particularly asserts, that<sup>g</sup> the miracles done by Christ himself, and by his apostles, whom he sent forth to preach in his name, are a just foundation of faith in him, as a divine messenger. And he says, that<sup>h</sup> those great works had excited the attention of all mankind, and induced distant nations, and people of very different manners and customs. to unite in respect for his high character.

<sup>d</sup> Unus fuit e nobis, qui, deposito corpore, innumeris se hominum promptâ in luce detexit ? p. 27.

<sup>e</sup> Quid quod istas virtutes, quæ sunt a nobis summatim, non ut rei poscebat magnitudo, depromptæ, non tantum ipse perfecit vi suâ, verum, quod erat sublimius, multos alios experiri, et facere sui nominis cum affectione permisit. Nam cum videret futuros vos esse gestarum ab se rerum, divinique operis abrogatores, ne qua subesset suspicio, magicis se artibus munera illa beneficiaque largitum, ex immensâ illâ populi multitudine, quæ suam gratiam sectabatur admirans, piscatores, opifices, rusticanos, atque id genus elegit imperitorum, qui per varias gentes missi cuncta illa miracula sine ullis fucis atque adminiculis perpetrarent.—Neque quicquam est ab illo gestum per admirationem stupentibus cunctis, quod non omne donaverit parvulis illis et rusticis, et eorum subjecerit potestati. p. 30. Vid. et p. 32.

<sup>f</sup> Sed conscriptores nostri mendaciter ista promserunt, extulere in immensum exigua gesta, et angustas res satis ambitioso dilatavere præconio. Atqui utinam cuncta referri in scripta potuissent, vel quæ ab ipso gesta sunt, vel quæ ab ejus præconibus pari jure et potentiâ terminata. Magis vos incredulos faceret vis tanta virtutum. l. i. p. 33.

<sup>g</sup> Atque si causas causas, partes partibus voluerimus æquare, magis nos valemus ostendere, quid in Christo fuerimus secuti, quam in philosophis quid vos. Ac nos quidem in illo secuti hæc sumus : opera illa magnifica, potentissimasque virtutes, quas variis edidit exhibuitque miraculis, quibus quivis posset ad necessitatem credulitatis adduci, et judicare fideliter, non esse quæ fierent hominis, sed divinæ alicujus atque incognitæ virtutis. Vos in philosophis virtutes secuti quas estis—— ? l. ii. p. 49.

<sup>h</sup> Virtutes sub oculis positæ, et inaudita illa vis rerum, vel quæ ab ipso fiebat palam, vel ab ejus præconibus, celebratur in orbe toto : ea subdidit appetitionum flammæ, et ad unius credulitatis assensum mente unâ concurrere gentes et populos fecit, et moribus dissimillimas nationes. ib. p. 50.

I presume it will be allowed, that Arnobius has done justice to this argument, and treated it in a handsome manner.

(4.) He argues<sup>i</sup> from the great effect of the christian religion upon men in softening their tempers, amending their manners, sowing the seeds and principles of benevolence, peace, and friendship, among men. Which advantages, he says, would have been greater, and more general, provided all, who made an appearance of being men, would have exercised their rational powers and faculties, and would have laid aside their prejudices, and their pride, and would have candidly attended to the doctrine of Christ. Then wars and disturbances might have ceased in the earth.

He observes particularly, and with much thankfulness, that<sup>k</sup> Christ had delivered men from great errors: he had brought them from idolatry to the knowledge of the true God, and taught them how to worship, and pray to him.

(5.) Another argument insisted on by him is<sup>l</sup> the great progress of the christian doctrine, and the vast numbers of people that had embraced it in many and remote kingdoms of the earth, in a very short time. He says, that there were then christians in all countries: he particularly mentions Syria, Persia, Scythia, Africa, Spain, Gaul, and divers other

<sup>i</sup> Habet a Christo beneficium jamdudum orbis ingratus, per quem feritatis mollita est rabies, atque hostiles manus cohibere a sanguine cognati animantis accepit. Quod si omnes omnino, qui homines se esse non specie corporum, sed rationis intelligunt potestate, salutaribus ejus pacificisque decretis aurem vellent commodare paulisper, et non fastu et supercilio luminis——universus jamdudum orbis mitiora in opera conversis usibus ferri, tranquillitate in mollissimâ degeret, et in concordiam salutarem incorruptis fœderum sanctionibus conveniret. l. i. p. 6.

<sup>k</sup> ——honoribus quantis afficiendus est nobis, qui ab erroribus nos magnis insinuatâ veritate traduxit? qui velut cæcos passim, ac sine ullo rectore gradientes, ab eruptis, ab deviis, locis planioribus reddidit! qui, quod frugiferum primo atque humano generi salutare, Deus monstravit quid sit, quis, quantus, qualis;—qui, quod omnia superavit, et transgressum est munera, ab religionibus nos falsis religionem traduxit ad verum; qui ab signis inertibus, atque ex vilissimo formatis luto, ad sidera sublevarit et cœlum, et cum Domino rerum Deo supplicationum fecit verba atque orationem colloquia miscere. l. i. p. 21, 22.

<sup>l</sup> Si Alamannos, Persas, Scythas, idcirco voluerunt devinci, quod habitarent in eorum gentibus christiani; quemadmodum Romanis tribuere victoriam, cum habitarent et degerent in eorum quoque gentibus christiani? Si in Asiâ, Syriâ,—quod ratione consimili habitarent in eorum gentibus christiani? in Hispaniâ, Galliâ, cur eodem tempore horum nihil natum est, cum innumeri viverent in his quoque provinciis christiani? Si apud Gætulos, Tinguitano, hujus rei causâ siccitatem satis ariditatemque miserunt; eo anno cur messes amplissimas Mauris, Nomadibusque tribuerunt, cum religio similis his quoque in regionibus verteretur?——nationibus enim sumus in cunctis. l. i. p. 9, 10.

people and countries ; some under the Roman government, others out of it.

The dignity of our Lord's person, he<sup>m</sup> says, and the divine original of his religion, must be hence manifest, that in so short a time he filled the whole world with that doctrine.

(6.) This argument is confirmed, forasmuch<sup>n</sup> as this religion had been embraced under the greatest difficulties and discouragements by men of all ranks ; by orators, grammarians, rhetoricians, lawyers, physicians, philosophers, and the greatest wits, as well as by men of low condition, and smaller attainments. Nor could the heaviest sufferings induce men to renounce it. Yea, this doctrine continued to spread, and make converts, at the very time that the professors of it endured a cruel persecution.

(7.) He argues, that<sup>o</sup> it would be altogether absurd to suppose, that so many people should on a sudden, without any good ground and reason, change their former opinions and customs, and forsake the religion of their ancestors. They had therefore good proof and evidence of the great works said to be done by Christ.

It is still the more unreasonable, as he argues, to suppose, that<sup>p</sup> men should act here without good evidence ; when it

<sup>m</sup> Unus fuit e nobis, qui cum officia religionis certæ suis sectatoribus traderet, mundum totum repente complebat, quantusque, et qui esset, revelatâ nominis immensitate monstrabat ? l. i. p. 27. in.

<sup>n</sup> Nonne vel hæc saltem fidem vobis faciunt argumenta credendi, quod jam per omnes terras, in tam brevi temporis spatio, immensi nominis hujus sacramenta diffusa sunt ? quod nulla jam natio est tam barbari moris, et mansuetudinem nesciens, quæ non ejus amore versa mollioret asperitatem, et in placidos sensus assumptâ tranquillitate migravit ? quod tam magnis ingeniis præditi oratores, grammatici, rhetores, consulti juris, ac medici, philosophiæ etiam secreta rimantes, magisteria hæc expetant, spretis quibus paulo ante sidebant ? quod ab dominis se servi cruciatibus affici, quibus statuerint, malunt, solvi conjuges matrimoniis, exhæridari a parentibus liberi, quam fidem rumpere christianam, et salutaris militiæ sacramenta deponere ? quod cum genera pœnarum tanta sint a vobis proposita religionis hujus sequentibus leges, augetur res magis, et contra omnes minas atque interdicta formidinum animosius populos obnitatur, et ad credendi studium prohibitionis ipsius stimulis excitetur ? Numquid hæc fieri passim et inaniter creditis ? fortuitis cursibus adsumi has mentes ? Itane istud non divinum et sacrum est, aut sine Deo, eorum tantas animorum fieri conversiones, ut, cum carnifices unci, alique innumeri cruciatus, quemadmodum diximus, impendeant credituris, veluti quâdam dulcedine atque omnium virtutum amore correpti, cognitatas accipiant rationes, atque mundi omnibus rebus præponant amicitias Christi ? l. ii. p. 44, 45.

<sup>o</sup> Nulla major est comprobatio, quam gestarum ab eo fides rerum, quam virtutum novitas, quam omnia victa decreta, dissolutaque fatalia, quæ populi gentesque suo geri sub lumine nullo dissentiente videre : quæ nec ipsi audent falsitatis arguere, quorum antiquas seu patrias leges vanitatis esse plenissimas atque inanissimæ superstitionis ostendit. l. i. p. 24, 25.

<sup>p</sup> Quod si falsa, ut dicitis, historia illa rerum est, unde tam brevi tempore

is considered, that by change of sentiment, and embracing this doctrine, they exposed themselves to the greatest dangers, and the heaviest sufferings.

(8.) Finally, he argues, that<sup>9</sup> the things said of Christ must be true; forasmuch as they who first reported or recorded them, had no interest to induce them to falsify, and by only not bearing testimony to him, they might have avoided many sufferings, and have lived quietly and comfortably among their neighbours. Would men in such a circumstance, pretend to have seen what they never saw? and assert facts they had no knowledge of? Would men bring upon themselves enmity and hatred, and expose themselves to universal infamy, for no reason at all? They were therefore fully persuaded of the things they related, and knew them to be true.

I have allowed myself to enlarge in these extracts; for I think no one can be displeased to see, how solidly this christian rhetorician and apologist argued above a thousand, almost fifteen hundred years ago, in behalf of the religion of Jesus, whose disciples we profess ourselves to be.

3. Let us now attend to the objections, or at least some of the objections against the christian religion, which we find to be taken notice of and considered by this writer.

(1.) I have not observed any notice taken by Arnobius of those scandalous imputations upon the christians, of sacrificing young children, and practising promiscuous lewdness in their religious assemblies. It is likely, therefore, that the christians had so fully confuted those stories, and all men were so fully satisfied of their falsehood, that they were no longer mentioned by the enemies of the christian religion. Our author indeed speaks<sup>r</sup> of their being called impious,

*totus mundus istâ religione completus est? aut in unam coire qui potuerunt mentem gentes religionibus dissitæ, ventis, coeli convexionibus dimotæ? Asseverationibus illectæ sunt nudis, inductæ in spes cassas, et in pericula capitis immittere se sponte temerariâ desperatione voluerunt, cum nihil tale vidissent, quod eas in hos cultus novitatis suæ possit excitare miraculo? Imo quia hæc omnia et ab ipso cernebant geri et ab ejus præconibus, qui per orbem missi beneficia patris et munera sanandis animis hominibusque portabant, veritatis ipsius vi victæ, et dederunt se Deo, nec in magnis posuere dispendiis membra vobis projicere, et viscera sua lanianda præbere. l. i. p. 33.*

<sup>9</sup> An numquid dicemus, illius temporis homines usque adeo fuisse vanos, mendaces, stolidos, brutos, ut, quæ nunquam viderant, vidisse se fingerent? et quæ facta omnino non erant falsis proderent testimoniis, aut puerili assertione firmarent? cumque possent vobiscum et unanimiter vivere, ut inoffensas ducere conjunctiones, gratuita susciperent odia, et execrabili haberentur in nomine? p. 33. sub in.

<sup>r</sup> *Quantumlibet nos impios, irreligiosos vocetis, aut atheos, nunquam fidem facietis esse amorum deos, &c. l. iii. p. 116. f. Trophonius nos impios, Dodonæus aut Jupiter nominat,—l. i. p. 14.—ut concivicio utamur vestro, infausti et athei nuncupamur. ib. p. 16.*

irreligious, atheistical. But that is another thing, and relates only to their disowning the heathen deities, and abandoning their worship, together with all their rites and ceremonies.

(2.) But his book begins with that popular heathen complaint and calumny against the christians, that<sup>s</sup> they were the occasion of all the calamities that befell mankind. This complaint, taken up<sup>t</sup> long before, was continued a good while after this, and is finely answered by<sup>u</sup> our Arnobius, as well as by later<sup>v</sup> christian writers. That absurd and ridiculous charge seems to have been the immediate occasion of Arnobius's resolving to write an apology for the christians.

(3.) Another objection against the christians was, that<sup>w</sup> their religion was new. To which good answers may be seen in Arnobius, to<sup>x</sup> whom I refer.

(4.) Another was, that<sup>y</sup> Christ came no sooner. To which Arnobius makes several<sup>z</sup> answers, and among the rest this: that there<sup>a</sup> may be good reasons, well known to God, though men be unacquainted with them; and that this is a sufficient answer.

(5.) They objected: 'If<sup>b</sup> Christ came to save men, why are not all saved?'

<sup>s</sup> Quoniam comperi nonnullos, qui se plurimum sapere suis persuasionibus credunt, insanire, bacchari, et velut quiddam promptum ex oraculo dicere: postquam esse in mundo christiana gens cœpit, terrarum orbem periisse multiformibus malis affectum esse genus humanum: ipsos etiam cœlites derelictis curis solennibus, quibus quondam solebant invisere res nostras, terrarum ab regionibus exterminatos: statui pro captu ac mediocritate sermonis contraire invidiæ, et calumniosas dissolvere criminationes; ne aut illi sibi videantur, popularia dum verba depromunt, magnum aliquid dicere; aut nos, &c. l. i. p. 1.

<sup>t</sup> Vid. Tertul. Ap. c. 40.

<sup>u</sup> P. 258, &c.

<sup>v</sup> Vid. P. Oros. Hist. et August. Retr. l. ii. c. 43.

<sup>w</sup> Religiones, inquit, impias, atque inauditos cultus terrarum in orbem trahitis. l. i. p. 13. Neque quod nobis objectare consuêstis, novellam esse religionem nostram, et ante dies natam propemodum paucos, neque vos potuisse antiquam et patriam relinquere, et in barbaros ritus peregrinosque reduci, ratione istud intenditur nullâ. l. ii. p. 90, et passim.

<sup>x</sup> Non ergo, quod sequimur, novum est; sed nos sero didicimus, &c. l. ii. p. 95, &c.

<sup>y</sup> Et quid, inquit, est visum Deo regi atque principi, ut ante horas, quemadmodum dicitur, pauculas, sospitator ad vos Christus cœli ex arcibus mitteretur? l. ii. p. 96.

<sup>z</sup> Vid. p. 87, 90, 96, 97.

<sup>a</sup> Quenam igitur ratio est? Non imus inficias, nescire nos. Neque enim promptum est cuiquam Dei mentem videre, aut quibus modis ordinaverit res suas. Homo, animal cæcum, et ipsum se nesciens, nullis potest rationibus consequi, quid oporteat fieri, quando, vel quo genere. Ipse rerum cunctarum pater, moderator, et dominus scit id solus, &c. p. 96, 97.

<sup>b</sup> Sed si generis Christus humani, ut inquitis, conservator advenit, quare omnino non omnes æquali munificentia liberat? l. ii. p. 88.

(6.) They excepted<sup>c</sup> against Christ's birth as a man.

(7.) And we may be assured, they<sup>d</sup> did not fail to make exceptions to his death : the death too of criminals, and mean persons. Arnobius answers, that<sup>e</sup> neither his death, nor the maner of it, makes any alteration in his words, or his works, or any way weakens his authority. Besides, he<sup>f</sup> rose again from the dead in a short time. Nor<sup>g</sup> did his divinity die and suffer, but only his humanity.

4. Bull supposeth, that<sup>h</sup> Arnobius asserts the true divinity of the Son. But it seems to me, that this is far from being clear. Arnobius indeed calls Christ God, and true God: but I think he means no more, than that he is a God, and truly God. For he so distinguisheth Christ from God, the Lord and Sovereign of all, that I do not see how he could think him one God with the Father. For proof of this, I place at the bottom of the page<sup>i</sup> two of those passages, which Bull allegeth as most to his purpose. And I shall add<sup>k</sup> several others, where also Arnobius, in like maner as

<sup>c</sup> Sed non, inquit, idcirco dii vobis infesti sunt, quod omnipotentem colatis Deum; sed quod hominem natum, et, quod personis infame est vilibus, crucis supplicio interentum, et Deum fuisse contenditis, et superesse adhuc creditis, &c. l. i. p. 19, 20. Natum hominem colitis. p. 24. m. et passim.

<sup>d</sup> Vid. not. <sup>c</sup>. <sup>e</sup> Sed patibulo affixus interiit. Quid illud ad causam? Neque enim qualitas et deformitas mortis dicta ejus immutat aut facta, aut eo minus videbitur disciplinarum ejus auctoritas, quia vinculis corporis non naturali dissolutione digressus est, sed vi illatâ discessit. l. i. p. 23. m.

<sup>f</sup> Unus fuit e nobis, qui, deposito corpore, innumeris se hominum promtâ in luce detexit? l. i. p. 27. in.

<sup>g</sup> Sed more est hominis interentus. Non ipse. Neque enim cadere divinas in res potest mortis occasus: nec interitionis dissolutione dilabi id, quod est unum ac simplex, nec ullarum partium congregatione compactum. Quis est ergo visus in patibulo pendere? quis mortuus est? Homo, quem induerat, et secum ipse portabat. l. i. p. 37, et 38.

<sup>h</sup> In eo opere veram ille Filii divinitatem sæpius atque apertissimis verbis confitetur. Def. Fid. Nic. p. 151. al. 168.

<sup>i</sup> Ergone, inquiet aliquis furens, iratus, et percitus, Deus ille est Christus? Deus, respondebimus, et interiorum potentiarum Deus; et, quod magis infidos acerbissimis doloribus torqueat, rei maximæ causâ a summo Rege ad nos missus. Arnob. l. i. p. 24. Deus ille sublimis fuit, Deus radice ab intimâ, Deus ab incognitis regnis, et ab omnium Principe Deus sospitator est missus. ib. p. 32. <sup>k</sup> ——— Omnipotens et primus Deus—Nonne solus ingenitus, immortalis, et perpetuus solus est? l. ii. p. 95.

Potest ergo fieri, ut tam demum emiserit Christum Deus Omnipotens, Deus solus.—p. 97.

———propter quas in mundum venerat faciendas, summi Regis imperio et dispositione servatis. l. i. p. 37. m.

———cum animas renuamus Dei esse Principis prolem. l. ii. p. 76.

———visum est Deo regi atque principi. p. 96. m.

———unum solum posuisse contenti, nihil a Deo principe quod sit nocens —proficisci. p. 81.

———Deus, inquam, Christus—Dei principis jussione loquens sub hominis formâ—p. 85. f.

in those alleged by Bull, remarkably distinguishes Christ from the one God Almighty, from the Supreme King, the first and chief God. By true God he seems to mean no more than truly<sup>1</sup> so, in some sense, in opposition to such as are esteemed and called gods, but are not so at all, and have no right to that title.

Nor does Bull say, whether this author thought rightly of the Spirit. Indeed I am not certain, that Arnobius has once mentioned the Holy Ghost. However, I shall<sup>m</sup> put in the margin a passage, to be considered by my readers.

I shall add here a few more select passages.

5. Beausobre once had suspicions, that<sup>n</sup> Arnobius held the Manichæan principle concerning the origin of the human soul; but upon farther consideration he acquitted him. I cannot believe, that Arnobius was at all acquainted with the Manichees. And Beausobre's opinion, that Manichæism had spread in Africa before the end of the third century, appears to me without good foundation.

6. Arnobius seems to speak of some<sup>o</sup> extraordinary works done in the name of Christ in his own time.

7. He supposeth Christ to have died, that<sup>p</sup> thereby, and by his resurrection afterwards, he might confirm the truth of his doctrine, and give his followers full assurance of immortality.

8. In his answer to the fore-mentioned objection, If Christ came to save men, why are not all saved? he strongly asserts human power and freedom. For he says, that<sup>q</sup> the kind

——— in Deo rerum capite,—Dei principis notioni.—p. 86.

——— Nonne dignus a nobis est tantorum ob munerum gratiam Deus dici, Deusque sentiri? l. i. p. 21.

<sup>1</sup> Cum enim Dii omnes, vel quicumque sunt veri, vel qui esse rumore atque opinione dicuntur, immortales et perpetui voluntate ejus sint. l. ii. p. 87.

<sup>m</sup> Ita unius pontificium Christi est, dare animis salutem, et spiritum perpetuitatis apponere. l. ii. p. 89. sub fin. And compare Beaus. Hist. de Manich. T. ii. p. 413.

<sup>n</sup> See Beaus. Hist. de Manich. T. ii. p. 413, &c. See him likewise, p. 145, 146, and p. 330, 331, and 398, 399.

<sup>o</sup> ——— qui justissimis viris etiam nunc impollutis, ac diligentibus sese, non per vana insomnia, sed per puræ speciem simplicitatis apparet? cujus nomen auditum fugat noxios spiritus, imponit silentium vatibus, haruspices inconsultos reddit, arrogantium magorum frustrari efficit actiones, non horrore, ut dicitis, nominis, sed majoris licentiâ potestatis. l. i. p. 27.

<sup>p</sup> Cumque novitas rerum, et inaudita premissio audientium turbaret mentes, et credulitatem faceret hæsitare, virtutum omnium dominus, atque ipsius mortis extincor, hominem suum permiserit interfici, ut ex rebus consequentibus scirent in tuto esse spes suas, quas jamdudum acceperant de animarum salute, nec periculum mortis aliâ se posse ratione vitare. l. i. p. 41.

<sup>q</sup> Non æqualiter liberat, qui æqualiter omnes vocat?—Si tibi fastidium tantum est, ut oblatis respuas beneficium muneris—quid invitans in te peccat, cujus solæ sunt hæ partes, ut sub tui juris arbitrio fructum suæ benignitatis

proposal of gospel is made to all ; if any refuse it, it is their own fault. It is not to be expected, that God should force their consent : it is not the method of his dealings with men.

9. Arnobius informs us, that<sup>r</sup> not a few heathens of his time were much offended at Cicero, for the freedom he had taken in exposing some of their absurd sentiments concerning their deities ; and that his writings were so serviceable to the christian cause, that some people were for having his works, or some of them at least, destroyed or prohibited by order of the senate.

10. Upon occasion of which, Arnobius declares it to be his opinion, that<sup>s</sup> reading and inquiry ought not to be discouraged, and that so doing is a sign of a bad cause.

Mr. Bayle observed this passage of our author : I choose to place his words at the bottom of the<sup>t</sup> page.

IV. I come now to observe this writer's testimony to the scriptures of the Old and New Testament.

1. Arnobius has not expressly quoted any books either of the Old or the New Testament. It is likely, that he did not judge it proper to allege the scriptures, as books of authority, in an argument with heathens, and was of the same opinion upon this head with Lactantius, who<sup>u</sup> did not scruple to censure St. Cyprian for so doing.

exponat ?—Vis sumere quod offertur, atque in tuos usus convertere ? Consuleris tu tibi—Nulli Deus infert necessitatem—Immo, inquit, si Deus est potens, misericors, conservator, convertat nobis mentes, et invitos faciat suis pollicitationibus credere. Vis ergo est ista, non gratia : nec Dei liberalitas principis, sed ad vincendi studium, puerilis atque animi contentio. l. ii. p. 88, et 89.

<sup>r</sup> Adduci enim primum hoc ut credamus, non possumus, immortalem illam—naturam divinam esse per sexus—Quem quidem locum plene jamdudum homines pectoris vivi,—explicavere—et ante omnes Tullius Romani disertissimus generis—Sed quid aucupia verborum, splendoremque sermonis peti ab hoc edicam, cum sciam esse non paucos, qui aversentur, refugiant, libros de hoc ejus, nec in aurem velint admittere lectionem opinionum suarum præsumpta vincentem : cumque alios audiam mussitare indignanter, et dicere : Oportere statui per senatum, aboleantur ut hæc scripta, quibus religio christiana comprobetur, et vetustatis opprimatur auctoritas. Quinimo, si fiditis exploratum vos dicere quidquam de diis vestris, erroris convincite Ciceronem : temeraria et impia dictitantem refellitote, redarguite, comprobate. Nam interciperere scripta, et publicatam velle submovere lectionem, non est deos defendere, sed veritatis testificationem timere. l. iii. p. 103, 104. <sup>s</sup> Vid. not. <sup>r</sup>

<sup>t</sup> ———il auroit pu se moquer de ces sectaires, s'ils fussent venus lui alléguer les reflexions que faisoit Arnobe, sur ce que les idolâtres demandoient que le sénat abolit par ses arrêts quelques livres de Cicéron, où la vanité des faux dieux est démontrée. Refutez les, leur disoit Arnobe, s'ils contiennent des impiétés. Car d'en interdire la lecture, ce n'est pas soutenir la cause des dieux ; c'est craindre le temoignage de la verité. Bayle, Dict. V. iv. p. 2840. b. edit. 3. Volkelius, Note (A).

<sup>u</sup> ———quâ materiâ non est usus, ut debuit. Non enim scripturæ testimoniis,

2. We can perceive, however, that Arnobius was acquainted with the Jewish scriptures. For whereas<sup>v</sup> some heathens objected, that those scriptures spake of God, as having bodily parts, and human passions; he recommends it to them, to study the style of those books with greater care, and then, he says, they will better know their true meaning.

Nevertheless it must be owned, that at the end of his sixth book, and in the seventh book almost throughout, Arnobius<sup>w</sup> so argues against all manner of sacrifices, and particularly bloody sacrifices of animals: that we may be apt to suspect, he was not well acquainted with the Mosaic institution, or else had but little regard for it. And it is not unlikely, that about this time Gentile people became first acquainted with christians and their scriptures: and they might be converted some while, before they were well acquainted with the Jewish scriptures, and the ancient constitution of that people.

3. Arnobius, for certain, was well acquainted with the books of the New Testament, though he did not think fit to quote them expressly in his books against the Gentiles.

4. He says,<sup>x</sup> the world has this benefit from Christ, that there is already a vast multitude of men, who have been taught by his laws, precepts, and institutions, “not to return evil for evil,” and rather to suffer wrong than do any.

5. Herein he may be thought to refer to the whole tenor of the christian doctrine, as contained in the New Testament. However, it must be also reckoned probable, that he has some particular regard to that part of our Lord’s doctrine,

quam ille [Demetrianus] utique vanam, fictam, commentitiamque putabat; sed argumentis et ratione, fuerat refellendus. Nam, cum ageret contra hominem veritatis ignarum, dilatis paulisper divinis lectionibus, formare hunc a principio tanquam rudem debuit, atque paulatim lucis principia monstrare. Lact. Inst. l. v. c. 4.

<sup>v</sup> Nunc ad speciem veniamus et formas, quibus esse descriptos deos superiores creditis—Neque quisquam judaicas in hoc loco nobis opponat, et sadducaei generis fabulas, tanquam formas tribuant atque os Deo. Hoc enim putatur in eorum literis dici, et ut vel re certâ, atque auctoritate firmari: quæ aut nihil ad nos attinent—aut, si sunt, ut creditur, sociæ, quærendi sunt nobis altioris intelligentiæ doctores, per quos possitis addiscere quibus modis conveniat illarum illarum nubes atque involucra relaxare. l. iii. p. 106, 107.

<sup>w</sup> Ergone, o Jupiter, aut quis alius Deus es, humanum est istud et rectum,—ut, cum alius peccaverit, ego occidar, et de meo sanguine fieri tibi patiaris satis, qui nunquam te læserim? &c. l. vii. p. 216.—quod est istud honoris genus, vervecum, arietem, taurum, dei sub ore connectare, conspectuque in ejus occidere? Quod est honorum genus deum invitare ad sanguinem, quem cum canibus videas eum sumere, atque habere communem? ib. p. 222.

<sup>x</sup> Nam cum hominum vis tanta magisteriis ejus acceperimus ac legibus, malum malo rependi non oportere; injuriam perpeti, quam irrogare, esse præstantius,—habet a Christo beneficium jamdudum orbis ingratus. l. i. p. 5, 6

which is recorded in the fifth chapter of St. Matthew's gospel, especially from ver. 38, to the end; and perhaps to some other texts, where "recompensing," or "rendering evil for evil," is forbidden, in terms much resembling those of Arnobius. See Rom. xii. 17; 1 Thess. v. 15; 1 Pet. iii. 9.

6. He has enumerated the miracles of our Saviour in such a manner as shows him to have been well acquainted with our gospels; and that he gave full credit to them, and paid them great deference. 'He<sup>y</sup> speaks of our Lord's healing ' fevers, dropsies, lunacies, leprosies, and all manner of dis- ' eases and torments, to which the human frame is subject; ' and relieving great numbers of those deplorable cases on ' the sudden, by his word and command only, without any ' external means, and without charms and incantations: and ' some obtained relief by only a slight touch of his garment. ' He strengthened the lame to walk, and to carry their beds, ' who before were carried themselves upon men's shoulders: ' he enabled the deaf to hear, and the dumb to speak: he ' gave sight to the blind, to some that were blind from their ' birth: he calmed the boisterous winds, and the stormy seas, ' and himself walked safely upon them: he fed five thousand ' people at once with five loaves, of which also there re- ' mained, after all were satisfied, such an abundance, that ' twelve baskets were filled with the fragments: a sure ' proof,' he says, ' that there was no deceit: he raised the ' dead, and some that had been buried.'

<sup>y</sup> Ergo ille mortalis, aut unus fuit e nobis, cujus imperium, cujus vocem, popularibus et quotidianis verbis missam, valetudines, morbi, febres, atque alia corporum cruciamenta fugiebant? Unus fuit e nobis, cujus presentium, cujus visum gens illa nequibat ferre mersorum in visceribus dæmonum, conterritaque vi novâ, membrorum possessione cedebat? Unus fuit e nobis, cujus fœdæ vitiliginis jussioni obtemperabant pulsæ statim, et concordiam colorum commaculatis visceribus relinquebant? Unus fuit e nobis, cujus ex levi tactu stabant profluvia sanguinis, et immoderatos cohibebant fluores? Unus fuit e nobis, cujus manus intercutes et veterinosæ fugiebant undæ——? Unus fuit e nobis, qui claudos currere præcipiebat? Etiam operis res erat porrigere mancos manus, et articuli immobilitates jam ingenitas explicabant: captos membris assurgere. Etiam suos referabant lectos alienis paulo ante cervicibus lati: viduatos videre luminibus, etiam cælum diemque nullis cum oculis procreatis. Unus, inquam, fuit e nobis, qui debilitatibus variis, morbisque vexatos centum, aut hoc amplius, semel unâ intercessione sanabat? cujus vocem ad simplicem furibunda et insana explicabant se maria, procellarum turbines tempestatesque sidebant? qui per altissimos gurgites pedem ferebat inlutum? calcabat ponti terga undis ipsis stupentibus, in famulatum subeunte naturâ? qui sequentium se millia quinque saturavit e panibus; ac, ne esse præstigiæ incredulis illis viderentur et duris, his senarum sportarum fragminibus aggerebat? Unus fuit e nobis, qui redire in corpora jamdudum animas præcipiebat afflatas, prodire ab aggeribus conditos? et post diem funeris tertium pollinctorum voluminibus expediti? l. i. p. 26.

7. He observes also, agreeably to our gospels, that<sup>z</sup> sometimes Christ by touching the afflicted with his hands, at other times by his sole command, opened the ears of the deaf, and the eyes of the blind, and unloosed the tongues of the dumb, or gave feet to the lame, and performed other like works.

8. He takes notice<sup>a</sup> of the uncommon darkness, and other surprising events, at the time of our Lord's passion and death; which he describes in a very rhetorical manner.

9. Arnobius, as before said, does not expressly quote any books of scripture: but it is likely that he, in the places just cited, refers to our evangelists, and their histories. It is plain, he does not take his accounts of our Lord's miracles from oral tradition only. For, as he goes along in his argument, he refers to<sup>b</sup> writers, and<sup>c</sup> writings, which also he calls ours.

10. We may be confirmed in the supposition, that he means our evangelists, and their gospels, from the character he gives the historians of our Lord's miracles, which he speaks of. For<sup>d</sup> he insists, that they are credible witnesses of the things they relate, because they had seen them, and were present at the doing them; and they write with evident marks of truth and credibility. He likewise owns, that<sup>e</sup> they were unlearned and mean men, and that their style is destitute of ornaments. But then he says, that their accounts are not for those reasons the less credible.

11. He seems to refer<sup>f</sup> to John xiv. 6, and perhaps to some other texts in that gospel.

<sup>z</sup> Christus enim scitur, aut admotâ partibus debilitatis manu, aut vocis simplicis jussione, aures aperuisse surdorum, exturbâsse ab oculis cœcitates, orationem dedisse mutis, articulorum vincula relaxâsse, ambulatum dedisse contractis, &c. ib. p. 28.

<sup>a</sup> Exutus at corpore, quod in exiguâ sui circumferebat parte, postquam, videri se passus est, cujus esset aut magnitudinis sciri, novitate rerum exterrita universa mundi sunt elementa turbata; tellus mota contremuit; mare funditus refusum est: aër globis involutus est tenebrarum; igneus orbis solis tepefacto ardor dirigit. p. 32. <sup>b</sup> Conscriptores nostri. l. i. p. 33. Quicquid dicere de nostris conscriptoribus intenderitis. p. 34.

<sup>c</sup> Non creditis scriptis nostris? p. 34. — quæ in nostris consignata sunt literis, confiteamini necesse est esse vera. ib.

<sup>d</sup> Sed non creditis gesta hæc. Sed qui ea conspicati sunt fieri, et sub oculis suis viderunt agi, testes optimi, certissimique auctores, et crediderunt hæc ipsi, et credenda posteris nobis, haud exilibus cum approbationibus, tradiderunt. p. 32. f. Vid. et p. 33.

<sup>e</sup> Sed ab indoctis hominibus, et rudibus, scripta sunt; et idcirco non sunt facili auditione credenda. Vide ne magis hæc fortior causa sit, cur illa nullis coinquinata mendaciis, mente simplici tradita, et ignarâ lenociniis ampliare. Trivialis et sordidus sermo est. Nunquam enim veritas sectata est fucum; nec quod exploratum et certum est, circumduci se patitur per ambitum longiorem. l. i. p. 34, 35. <sup>f</sup> Et hoc necesse a nobis est ut debeatis accipere,

12. He seems likewise to refer to the book of the Acts of the Apostles, when he says, that<sup>e</sup> Christ gave to those little ones, fishermen, and other mean persons, his disciples, the power of performing the same great works that he did : and<sup>h</sup> when he speaks of their exerting that power all over the world, in obedience to the commission they had received. And he may be thought to refer to the great miracle of speaking with divers tongues, recorded, Acts ii. when he expresseth himself after this manner : ‘ Was<sup>i</sup> he one of us, who, when he spake one language, was thought by divers people, using different languages, to speak words they were well acquainted with, and in their own language ?’ He may be thought likewise to allude to<sup>k</sup> Acts xvii. 25, and 28.

13. In the accounts he gives<sup>l</sup> of our Lord’s resurrection, and the many proofs and incontestable evidences which were afforded of it, it is somewhat doubtful, whether he refers only to the histories of that important event at the end of the gospels, or whether he intends likewise the beginning of the book of the Acts.

14. He has the words of<sup>m</sup> 1 Cor. iii. 19, but without any intimation of his borrowing from any particular book.

15. St. Paul says, 1 Cor. xv. 6, that our Lord, after he was risen, “ was seen of above five hundred brethren at once.” It is not easy to say, whether Arnobius has any particular reference to that text, when he observes, that<sup>n</sup> Christ, in a short time after he had died, showed himself to innumerable people.

a nullo animas posse vim vitæ atque incolumitatis, accipere, nisi ab eo, quem Rex summus huic muneri officioque præfecit. Hanc Omnipotens Imperator esse voluit salutis viam, hanc vitæ, ut ita dixerim, januam. Per hunc solum est ingressus ad lucem, &c. l. i. p. 89, 90.

<sup>e</sup> Neque quicquam est ab illo gestum per admirationem stupentibus cunctis, quod non omne donaverit faciendum parvulis istis et rusticis, et eorum subjecerit potestati. l. i. p. 30. f.

<sup>h</sup> Imo quia hæc omnia et ab ipso cernebant geri, et ab ejus præconibus, qui per orbem totum missi beneficia patris et munera sanandis animis hominibusque portabant, &c. l. i. p. 33. m.

<sup>i</sup> Unus fuit e nobis, qui, cum unam emitteret vocem, ab diversis populis, et dissonâ oratione loquentibus, familiaribus verborum sonis, et suo cuique utens existimabatur eloquio ? p. 27.

<sup>k</sup> Nonne huic omnes debemus hoc ipsum primum, quod sumus ? ——— Non, quod incedimus, quod spiramus et vivimus, ab eo ad nos venit, vique ipsâ vivendi efficit nos esse, ut animali agitatione motari ? l. i. p. 16.

<sup>l</sup> Unus fuit e nobis, qui deposito corpore innumeris se hominum promptâ in luce detexit ? qui sermonem dedit, atque accepit, docuit, castigavit, admonuit ? qui, ne illi se falsos vanis imaginibus existimarent, semel, iterum, sæpius, familiari colloquutione monstravit. l. i. p. 37.

<sup>m</sup> Nunquam illud vulgatum perstrinxit aures vestras, sapientiam hominis stultitiam esse apud Deum ? l. ii. p. 46. in.

<sup>n</sup> See before, note <sup>l</sup>.

16. The author of the epistle to the Hebrews speaks much of Christ's priesthood: Arnobius also has the expression of Christ's high-priesthood. In Heb. ix. 6, are the words "eternal spirit:" Arnobius has a like expression. I refer to a passage, which<sup>o</sup> may be consulted for both these particulars. But I somewhat question, whether any will think our author had an eye to the epistle to the Hebrews.

17. It may be proper to observe here, that<sup>p</sup> in one place Arnobius speaks of the burning of the christian scriptures, and complains of it as a most unreasonable thing.

18. This is all which we have to produce from this writer upon this head. We have seen good evidence of his being well acquainted with the gospels. And it is likely that he had read, and highly respected, the other books of the New Testament, generally received by christians. But he did not judge it proper to quote expressly, and as of authority, any books of scripture, in an argument with heathens.

V. I shall now, as formerly proposed, make some extracts out of the other Arnobius's Commentaries upon the Psalms. But a few particulars will suffice out of so late a writer, who flourished not till about the year 460. I shall take it for granted, that he received the Old Testament, and those books of the New, which were always received by all christians in general. I shall only observe some passages, relating to such books, or parts of books, of the New Testament, which have been denied, or disputed by some, together with a few other remarkable things.

1. There are in these Commentaries some indications, that<sup>p</sup> there still were heathens, who practised their idolatrous rites and ceremonies.

2. He magnifies the speedy progress of the gospel in this manner: 'For<sup>r</sup> many ages God was known in Judea only. But upon the coming of Christ, the word of the Lord ran swiftly from the east to the west, from the Indies to Britain.'

<sup>o</sup> That passage is quoted already, p. 473. note <sup>m</sup>.

<sup>p</sup> Nam nostra quidem scripta cur ignibus meruerunt dari? cur immaniter conventicula dirui? l. iv. p. 152. f.

<sup>q</sup> Usque hodie gentes fremunt adversus Christum, qui idolis finem imposuit. Arnob. in Ps. ii. p. 3. Basil. 1560. In Libano sacrificantes usque hodie turpissimæ Veneri, vitulorum virilia amputant, et in ejus sacrificio hujusmodi incensa supponunt: mercedem quam oportuit erroris sui, deæ suæ exhibent meretrici. In Ps. xxviii. p. 64. Vid. et in Ps. ix. p. 17.

<sup>r</sup> Et tam velociter currit sermo ejus, ut, cum per tot millia annorum in solâ Judæâ notus fuerit Deus, nunc, intra paucos annos, nec ipsos Indos lateat a parte Orientis, nec ipsos Britones a parte occidentis: ubique cucurrit velociter sermo ejus. In Ps. cxlvii. p. 443. Sicut enim ecclesiæ in toto mundo positæ civitates sanctorum sunt. In Ps. ix. p. 17.

3. This writer mentions divers of those christians, which are called heretics, as<sup>s</sup> the Novatians, the <sup>t</sup>Manichees, and <sup>u</sup>Photinus, and <sup>v</sup>some others.

4. This author cites<sup>w</sup> our Lord's genealogy in the first chapter of St. Matthew's gospel.

5. He takes notice of several things in the second chapter of the same gospel, as<sup>x</sup> the coming of the wise men to Jerusalem, the star that conducted them, and the slaughter of the infants at Bethlehem.

6. He also mentions several things, which are in<sup>y</sup> the first and second chapters of St. Luke's gospel.

7. He has several things out of the book of<sup>z</sup> the Acts.

8. He has twice quoted Philip. ii. 6, and in one of those places seems to understand<sup>a</sup> the words rendered by us, "thought it not robbery to be equal with God," as expressing our Lord's free and voluntary humiliation.

9. He received<sup>b</sup> the epistle to the Hebrews, as St. Paul's.

10. He quotes<sup>c</sup> the epistle of James, as written by James the apostle.

11. He quotes<sup>d</sup> the book of the Revelation, and ascribes it to John the apostle.

12. He recommends<sup>e</sup> the frequent reading of the scriptures.

<sup>s</sup> In Ps. cv. p. 195. in Ps. cxxxviii. p. 406, et 407.

<sup>t</sup> In Ps. cx. p. 319. in Ps. cxxxviii. p. 409.

<sup>u</sup> Non ergo, sicut damnabilis Photinus credit, ex Mariæ partu sumsit exordium, sed ante luciferum est ex patris ore progenitus. In Ps. cix. p. 317.

<sup>w</sup> Hunc enim eundemque Deum Marcion negat, similiter Apelles et Valentinus et Manichæus, infideles et miseri. In Ps. cxliii. p. 430.

<sup>y</sup> Sic enim legis evangelii caput: liber generationis Jesu Christi, filii David, filii Abraham. In Ps. ciii. p. 277.

<sup>x</sup> Sic autem proprium locum relinquentes magis stellæ indicio, &c. in Ps. xviii. [al. xix.] p. 40. Herodes turbatur, pastores terrentur, magi fugiunt, infantes occiduntur, angeli psallunt dicentes: Gloria Deo in excelsis, &c. In Ps. xli. p. 118. Vid. et in Ps. xlvii. p. 120.

<sup>y</sup> In Ps. xviii. [al. xix.] p. 41. in Ps. lxxi. p. 185. Vid. et supr. not. <sup>x</sup>.

<sup>z</sup> Hi autem, qui cum apostolis tertiâ diei horâ ebrii sunt Spiritu Sancto, lætentur, &c. In Prologo. p. 1.—ita ut universarum gentium loquaces dicerent de eis: Nonne hi viri Galilæi sunt, &c. in Ps. xviii. [al. xix.] p. 41. Unde et Petrus mendicanti infirmo: Argentum et aurum non habeo, &c. In Ps. lxxviii. p. 178.

<sup>a</sup> Ille, cum dominus cœli et terræ esset, non rapinam arbitratus est esse se æqualem Deo, sed semetipsum exinanivit, &c. In Ps. cxxx. p. 383. Cum in formâ Dei esset, essetque æqualis Deo patri, exinanivit seipsum, &c. In Ps. cxliii. p. 429.

<sup>b</sup> Sine fide autem, ut ait apostolus, impossibile est placere Deo. In Ps. lxxvii. p. 207. Ad hæc Paulus clamat, Hebræus ex Hebræis, impossibile est mentiri Deum, [Hebr. vi. 18.] In Ps. civ. p. 287.

<sup>c</sup> Unde et Jacobus apostolus: Omne, inquit, gaudium existimate, fratres, cum in tentationibus variis incideritis. [Cap. i. 2.] In Ps. xxxii. p. 73, et 74.

<sup>d</sup> Sicut Ezechielis prophetia, et Joannis Apocalypsis loquitur. In Ps. xx. p. 45. Si vis videre divitem et mendicum, sancti apostoli Joannis lege Apocalypsin. In Ps. cii. p. 274.

<sup>e</sup> Deus enim sciri vult omnia

## CHAP. LXV.

## LACTANTIUS.

1. *His history.* II. *His works.* III. *Select passages* : 1. *The design of the christian religion.* 2. *Its effects.* 3. *His interpolation of Gen. vi. 3.* 4. *Free-will.* 5. *Christian writers mentioned by him.* 6, 7. *Writers against the christian religion.* 8. *Unsteady christians in his time.* 9. *Calumnies against the christians.* 10. *The innocence of christian people.* 11. *Miracles in his time.* 12. *A future state proveable by reason.* 13. *He did not deny the eternity of hell-torments.* 14. *The value of repentance.* 15. *The ends of Christ's coming and death.* 16. *The great progress of the christian religion.* 17. *Christian fortitude.* 18. *The right of private judgment.* 19. *Arguments against persecution.* 20. *Christians did not persecute.* IV. *Errors ascribed to him* : 1. *Manichæism.* 2. *He denied antipodes.* 3. *Of the fall of angels.* 4. *Held a millennium.* 5. *Denied the personality of the Spirit.* 6. *Of the origin of the soul.* 7. *Of Christ's priestly office.* V. *His character.* VI. *His testimony to the scriptures* : 1. *Of the Old Testament.* 2. *Of the New Testament, particularly the gospels.* 3. *The Acts of the Apostles.* 4. *St. Paul's epistles.* 5. *The catholic epistles.* 6. *The Revelation.* 7. *Respect for the scriptures.* VII. *Whether he quotes any other writings as of authority.* VIII. *The sum of his testimony to the scriptures.* IX. *Extracts from the book of the deaths of persecutors.*

ST. JEROM'S history of Lactantius, in his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers, is to this purpose: ' Firmianus,<sup>a</sup>

suarum mysteria literarum——Beatus enim perfectus esse non poteris, nisi scrutatus fueris testimonia ejus.——Tu quid facis, christiane? Si militas homini, scrutatis legem ejus; quia si quid, licet jam ignarus, incurreris, morieris. Nescire enim legem nemini licet.——Servus Christi es? Scrutare testimonia ejus. In Ps. cxviii. [al. cxix.] p. 338, 339.

<sup>a</sup> Firmianus, qui et Lactantius, Arnobii discipulus, sub Diocletiano principe accitus cum Flavio Grammatico, cujus de Medicinalibus versu compositi extant libri, Nicomediæ rhetoricam docuit; et penuriâ discipulorum, ob Græcam vide licet civitatem, ad scribendum se contulit. Habemus ejus Symposium, quod adolescentulus scripsit; *Οδοιπορικόν* de Africâ usque ad Nicomediam, hexa-

‘ called also Lactantius, scholar of Arnobius, being sent for  
 ‘ in the time of the emperor Dioclesian, together with Flavius  
 ‘ Grammaticus, whose books of medicines, written in verse,  
 ‘ are still extant, taught rhetoric at Nicomedia: but not  
 ‘ having many scholars there, it being a Greek city, he be-  
 ‘ took himself to writing. We have his Banquet, which he  
 ‘ wrote when very young: an Itinerary from Africa to  
 ‘ Nicomedia, in<sup>b</sup> hexameter verses: and another book, en-  
 ‘ titled Grammaticus: and an excellent book of the Wrath  
 ‘ of God; and seven books of Divine Institutions against the  
 ‘ Gentiles: and an Epitome of the same work in one book,  
 ‘ the beginning of which is wanting; and two books to  
 ‘ Asclepiades: Of the Persecution, one book: four books of  
 ‘ Epistles to Probus: two books of Epistles to Severus:  
 ‘ two books of Epistles to Demetrian, his scholar: and to  
 ‘ the same, one book of the Workmanship of God, or the  
 ‘ Formation of Man. In his old age he was preceptor to  
 ‘ Crispus Cæsar, son of Constantine, in Gaul, who was after-  
 ‘ wards put to death by his father.’

Eusebius in his Chronicle, or rather Jerom, (who<sup>c</sup> in his translation of that work of Eusebius inserted divers things of his own, especially relating to the Roman history and Latin authors,) says, ‘ that<sup>d</sup> Crispus was instructed in Latin  
 ‘ by Lactantius, the most learned man of his time, but so poor  
 ‘ in this world, that for the most part he wanted necessaries.’

Cave says, that<sup>e</sup> Lactantius flourished chiefly in the year 303, and onwards; which is not much amiss: for though Lactantius lived partly in the third, and partly in the fourth

metris scriptum versibus; et alium librum, qui inscribitur Grammaticus; et pulcherrimum De Irâ Dei; et Institutionum Divinarum adversum Gentes libros septem; et *Ἐπιτομήν* ejusdem operis in libro uno acephalo; et ad Asclepiadem libros duos; de Persecutione librum unum; ad Probum Epistolarum libros quatuor; ad Severum Epistolarum libros duos; ad Demetrianum, auditorem suum, Epistolarum libros duos; ad eundem de Opificio Dei, vel Formatione hominis, librum unum. Hic extremâ senectute magister Cæsar Crispi, filii Constantini, in Galliâ fuit, qui postea a patre interfectus. De Vir. Ill. cap. 80.

<sup>b</sup> I shall here place an ingenious conjecture of Dr. Heumann: Scilicet apud Hieronymum pro *hexametris scriptum versibus* conjiciebam scriptum fuisse *hexametris utrumque versibus: Utrumque*, id est, tum Symposium, tum Odæporicum Lactantii. Vid. Sympos. Lact. in Præf. n. xix.

<sup>c</sup> Sciendum etenim, me esse et interpretis et scriptoris ex parte officio usum, quia et Græca fidelissime expressi, et nonnulla, quæ intermissa videbantur, adjeci, in Romanâ maxime historiâ, quam Eusebius, hujus conditor libri, non tam ignorasse, utpote eruditissimus, quam Græce scribens parum suis necessariam perstrinxisse, mihi videtur. Hier. Præf. in Chr. p. 4. f.

<sup>d</sup> Quorum Crispum Lactantius Latinis literis erudit, vir omnium suo tempore eruditissimus, sed adeo in hac vitâ pauper, ut plerumque etiam necessariis indiguerit. Chron. p. 180. f.

<sup>e</sup> ———claruit præcipue ann. 303, et deinceps. H. L. T. i. p. 161.

century of the christian æra, and must have been a man of note for polite literature before the year 300; yet it is likely, that most of his remaining pieces, particularly the Divine Institutions, his principal work, were not written till after the year 303.

This author's name is now generally written Lucius Cœlius, or Cæcilius Firmianus Lactantius. But whether the names Lucius and Cœlius, or Cæcilius, belong to him, may be questioned; they not being given him by any of the ancient writers who lived near his time: and they are generally wanting in the manuscript copies of his works, and<sup>f</sup> in the most early printed editions. In this manner divers learned men<sup>g</sup> argue upon this point: whilst some others contend, that<sup>h</sup> his name is rightly written as above.

The native country of Lactantius is not certainly known. Some have conjectured, that<sup>i</sup> he was born at Firmum, now Fermo, in Italy, and that from thence he was called Firmianus. But it is more generally reckoned, that<sup>k</sup> he was an African: his education under Arnobius, who taught rhetoric at Sicca in Africa, is an argument of some weight: and it is confirmed by the Itinerary of Lactantius from Africa to Nicomedia, which, probably, contained a description of his own journey from Africa to Nicomedia, when he was sent for by Dioclesian.

The original of the names<sup>l</sup> Firmianus and<sup>m</sup> Lactantius,

<sup>f</sup> Vid. Montf. Diar. Ital. p. 256.

<sup>g</sup> Vid. Chr. M. Pfaff. Diss. Prælim. ad Epit. Inst. Div. Sect. 12, et 13.

<sup>h</sup> Vid. Heuman. Pr. ad Lact. Symp. sect. 16. p. xxviii. et sect. 22. p. xxxv.

<sup>i</sup> Patriam habuit Italiam, forsan Firmio, quod agri Piceni oppidum est ad oram maris Hadriatici, oriundus. Cav. ubi supra, p. 161. Firmianus cognominatur a Firmo, agri Piceni oppido. Cellar. Excerpt. de Vit. Lact.

<sup>k</sup> Vid. Baluz. Annot. ad Lact. de M. P. Tillem. Mem. Eb. Lactance, T. 6. P. i. p. 340. et note 1. Vid. et Heuman. Pr. ad Symp. sect. 18, et 19. p. xxix. — xxxi.

<sup>l</sup> Cæterum vulgata est opinio, Lactantium cognomen Firmiani accepisse a patriâ Firmo, agri Piceni oppido. Sed hic quidem error facile confutatur. Primum enim ostendemus inferius, Firmianum fuisse proprium Lactantii nomen, neque adeo a patriâ inditum. Heum. ib. sect. 18. p. xxx.—Unde igitur, inquit, Firmiani nomen? Fuisse hoc proprium virorum nomen illo ævo non infrequens, facile sibi persuadebit, qui consideravit, plura veteribus nomina fuisse propria a *fir*mo deducta. Non enim solum ipsum nomen Firmus factum est nomen proprium, sed etiam Firmius, Firmicus, Firminus, Firmilianus, Firmianus, &c. Id. ib. sect. 20. p. xxxii.

<sup>m</sup> Superest Lactantii nomen, quod communiter creditur ei inditum fuisse a lacteo flumine eloquentiæ. Sed et hæc sententia, et simul altera illa de patriâ ejus Firmo, satis refellitur silentio Hieronymi. Is enim, cum in catalogo suo, tum alibi, ubi Lactantii mentionem facit, perspicue ostendit, utrumque nomen et Lactantii et Firmiani, ipsius fuisse proprium; ut multum errent, qui ea pro cognominibus habent a patriâ et eloquentiâ impositis—Quomodo enim a *lactans* derivatum est nomen Lactantii, sic a *prudens, vincens, constans*,—

has been largely considered by Dr. Heumann, to whom I refer.

A good part of the history of our author, before taken from Jerom, may be confirmed from himself. For he speaks of<sup>n</sup> his being invited to Nicomedia, and of his teaching rhetoric there, when the church of the christians in that city was destroyed, at the beginning of the persecution, He also intimates<sup>o</sup> his having been long employed as a professor of rhetoric, and his great diligence in the pursuit of eloquence: which he did not repent of, because he hoped it might be of use in the defence of true religion.

In his later works he refers to the more early. In his Divine Institutions he refers to<sup>p</sup> the Workmanship of God, inscribed to his scholar Demetrian, and written not long before. In his book of the Wrath of God, he several times makes mention of<sup>q</sup> the Divine Institutions. I need not add, that these last are also taken notice of in the Epitome, or abridgment of them. And whereas Jerom, among the works of Lactantius, reckons two books to Asclepiades, we find<sup>r</sup> Asclepiades mentioned by Lactantius in his Institutions. And we perceive, that Asclepiades had dedicated to him a book, which he commends. In his Institutions Lactantius also declares his intention<sup>s</sup> to write a distinct treatise upon the subject, Of the Wrath of God: which he afterwards did, as has been seen.

He also seems<sup>t</sup> to intimate his poverty, unless the words are capable of another sense, and mean only his many employments, by which he was fully engaged; or rather the difficulties of the time in which he lived, by reason of the persecution of cruel tyrants, as<sup>u</sup> Nourry understands the expression.

habemus nomina vulgo nota Prudentii, Vincentii, Constantii, Fulgentii, Innocentii, Vigilantii. Id. ib. sect. 21. p. xxxiii.

<sup>n</sup> Ego cum in Bithyniâ oratorias literas accitus docerem, contigissetque, ut eodem tempore Dei templum everteretur.—Inst. l. v. c. 2. sub in.

<sup>o</sup> Multum tamen exercitatio illa fictarum litium contulit, ut nunc majori copiâ et facultate dicendi causam veritatis peroremus. Ib. l. i. c. 1. p. 5.

<sup>p</sup> ———quam [materiam] ego nunc idcirco prætereo, quia nuper proprium de eâ librum ad Demetriadem auditorem meum scripsi. Inst. l. ii. c. 10. p. 199.

<sup>q</sup> Sed imperitiam horum jam coargulmus in secundo Divinarum Institutionum libro. De Irâ Dei, cap. 2. p. 766. Vid. ib. p. 767. et cap. 11. p. 793. et cap. 17. p. 809.

<sup>r</sup> Optime igitur Asclepiades noster de Providentiâ summi Dei disserens in eo libro, quem scripsit ad me. Inst. l. vii. c. 4. p. 660.

<sup>s</sup> Seponatur interim locus hic nobis De Irâ Dei disserendi; quod et uberior est materia, et opere proprio latius exsequenda. Inst. l. ii. c. 17. sub fin.

<sup>t</sup> Quam minime sim quietus, etiam in summis necessitatibus, ex hoc libello poteris existimare. De Irâ Dei, cap. 1. in.

<sup>u</sup> Summarum autem difficultatum nomine designare videtur horrendam

That extreme poverty of our author, which St. Jerom mentions, if Lactantius does not, may be thought to be a reflection upon Constantine, that he should have made no better provision for his eldest son's preceptor. But Du Pin and Tillemont are of opinion, that it<sup>v</sup> was a voluntary poverty. What Jerom therefore writes of that matter is to be esteemed a grand and magnificent commendation. 'A<sup>w</sup> man must be virtuous in a high degree, to live miserably at court, want necessaries in the midst of abundance, and taste no pleasures in the company of such as wallow in them.'

But I see no proof, that Lactantius was destitute of necessaries, whilst he was employed in teaching Crispus; though it happens, that Jerom has mentioned those two things together. And what he says is, that for the most part Lactantius was poor. Therefore he was not always so; there was a time, when he had enough, and perhaps abundance: and he might enjoy it too with moderation. That time, we may suppose to have been, when he was in the service of Constantine; the rest of his life he lived in mean circumstances.

Jerom has informed us, that Lactantius had not many scholars, whilst he taught rhetoric at Nicomedia; for which cause he betook himself to writing, which, likewise, is no very profitable employment.

When we observe from his works, that Lactantius was a great reader; and consider, that books in manuscript must have been very costly; we can easily conceive, how the furniture of his library might keep him low for the most part.

Lactantius then may be reckoned to have been poor, and sometimes almost destitute, until he was invited to Constantine's court. And since his pupil Crispus was put to death by his father, it is likely, he was not much taken notice of afterwards. This, if I mistake not, is agreeable to St. Jerom's account, that Lactantius plerumque, for the most part, the greatest part of his life, was so poor, as to want even necessaries. But those expressions, in my opinion, give no countenance at all to the supposition of a chosen and voluntary poverty. Trithemius seems to have understood<sup>x</sup> the case as I have represented it. And Nourry is clearly of opinion, that<sup>y</sup> what

tyrannorum crudelitatem, quâ in christianos incredibilem plane in modum sæviebant. Nourr. App. T. 2. p. 582. B.

<sup>v</sup> Du Pin. Bibl. T. i. p. 205. Tillem. Mem. T. 6. P. i. p. 345, 346.

<sup>w</sup> Du Pin, as before.

<sup>x</sup> Rhetoricam primum Nicomediæ, deinde Romæ, sub Diocletiano, ab eo vocatus, gloriose docuit; ubi cum penuriâ discipulorum ad paupertatem devenisset, ad extremum Cæsaris Crispi filii Constantini præceptor, jam senex, in Galliâ factus est. Trithem. de Scr. Ec. cap. 56.

<sup>y</sup> Sed hanc

is said by Jerom of our author's poverty, does not relate to the time when he had Crispus under his care.

We are not acquainted with the circumstances of this writer's family. The Epitome is inscribed to his brother<sup>z</sup> Pentadius: but in what sense Pentadius was his brother, does not clearly<sup>a</sup> appear. Nor do we know any thing more of the life of Lactantius, than the particulars already mentioned; his education under Arnobius, his teaching rhetoric at Nicomedia, (where he certainly was at the beginning of the persecution under Dioclesian: where likewise, or in its neighbourhood, he<sup>b</sup> seems to have stayed some while after that persecution was begun,) his writing the books above mentioned, his instructing Crispus in the Latin tongue in Gaul, his being generally poor, and living to a great age, and<sup>c</sup> that he never pleaded as an advocate at the bar. But we are not informed, how he passed through that long and dreadful persecution. Nor can the time of his leaving Nicomedia, or of his coming into Gaul, or of his death, be exactly determined at present. If indeed the book of the Deaths of Persecutors be his, it may be thought, as<sup>d</sup> is argued by Baluze, that Lactantius became acquainted with Constantine, and left Nicomedia about the year 314, and soon after came into Gaul by order of that emperor.

It has been supposed by some, that Lactantius was at first a heathen. Gallæus<sup>e</sup> speaks of this as a point not to be disputed: Tillemont<sup>f</sup> in a manner takes it for granted: and it was the opinion likewise of<sup>g</sup> Du Pin, that Lactantius was converted in his youth. But Cellarius<sup>h</sup> was in suspense about it. Du Pin refers to two passages<sup>i</sup> of our author's works;

paupertatem aliis haud dubie temporibus passus est, quam cum Crispum, Constantini M. filium, discipulum habuit. Nourr. ib. p. 382. B.

<sup>z</sup> ———tamen horum tibi epitomen fieri, Pentadi frater, desideras. Lact. Ep. cap. 1.

<sup>a</sup> Vid. ib. Pfaff. Annot.

<sup>b</sup> Vidi ergo in Bithyniâ præsidem gaudio mirabiliter elatum,—quod unus, qui per biennium magnâ virtute restiterat, postremo cedere visus esset. l. v. c. 11. p. 491.

<sup>c</sup> Equidem tametsi operam dederim, ut quantulamcumque dicendi assequerem facultatem propter studium docendi; tamen eloquens nunquam fui, quippe qui forum ne attigerim quidem. Inst. l. iii. c. 13. p. 275.

<sup>d</sup> Vid. Baluz. Annot. ad libr. de M. P. p. 5. edit. Ultraj.

<sup>e</sup> Gall. de Vit. Lact.

<sup>f</sup> Tillem. as before, p. 34.

<sup>g</sup> Du Pin, as before, p. 205.

<sup>h</sup> Primum ingenii monimentum, Symposium, in Africâ adolescens edidit; utrum tum christianus, non omnino certum est. Cellar. Excerpt. de Vit. Lact.

<sup>i</sup> Superest, ut exhortemur omnes,—ut, contemtis terrestribus et abjectis erroribus, quibus antea tenebamur—ad cœlestis thesauri præmia dirigamur—Div. Inst. l. vii. cap. ult. p. 730. In hoc statu cum essent humanæ res, misertus est nostri Deus—revelavit se nobis,—ut errore prioris vitæ abjecto,—legem divinam, tradente ipso Domino, sumeremus; quâ lege universi, quibus

where, as he says, Lactantius seems to reckon himself with those, who, having seen their error, embraced the true religion. But those expressions appear to me ambiguous: and as I apprehend, they rather relate to the state of mankind in general, than to that of Lactantius himself, or of any other particular person; he is there speaking of the great design of the christian religion in general, to deliver men from the errors and superstitions in which they had been long involved. So Arnobius says: ‘It<sup>k</sup> is now about three hundred years since we began to be christians.’

Beside these two passages, Gallæus refers to<sup>l</sup> a third. But the same answer will suffice for that likewise.

His being sent for by Dioclesian, to teach rhetoric at Nicomedia, is no proof that he was then a heathen. Dioclesian, who<sup>m</sup> was intent upon adorning that city, would be glad of any man of fine parts, who would come and take up his residence, and display them there. It is well known, that before the persecution there<sup>n</sup> were many christians in the imperial court and armies: and it is past doubt, that Lactantius was a christian, when the persecution began at Nicomedia. Nor does his great and long diligence in the pursuit of eloquence, and the study of polite literature, afford any argument for his heathenism at that time. It can hardly be suspected, that Lactantius was not a christian when he wrote the epistles, mentioned by St. Jerom. Yet pope Damasus writes to him, that<sup>o</sup> he did not read them with pleasure, because, though many of them were very long, they had little about the christian doctrine, but chiefly related to measures, and the situation of countries, and philosophical questions. Nay, that observation of Damasus does at once afford a proof of our author’s christianity at that time, and of his extensive learning. Nor does the Symposium, supposing it to be a genuine work of Lactantius, demonstrate

*irretiti fuimus errores, cum vanis et impiis superstitionibus, tollerentur.* Epit. cap. iii. p. 739. Leyd. cap. lx. p. 129. ed. Pfaff.

<sup>k</sup> Trecenti sunt anni, minus vel plus aliquid, ex quo cœpimus esse christiani, et terrarum in orbe censi. Arnob. l. i. p. 9. in.

<sup>l</sup> ——— cognoscere ministrum ejus, ac nuntium quem legavit in terram; quo dicente liberati ab errore, quo implicati tenebamur, formatique ad veri Dei cultum, justitiam disceremus. De Irâ Dei, cap. 2. p. 766.

<sup>m</sup> Ita semper dementabat, Nicomediam studens urbi Romæ cœquare. De M. Pers. cap. 7. <sup>n</sup> Vid. Eus. H. E. l. viii. cap. 6. et libr. de M. P. cap. 15.

<sup>o</sup> Fateor quippe tibi, eos, quos mihi jam pridem Lactantii dederas libros, ideo non libenter lego, quia et plurimæ epistolæ ejus usque ad mille spatia versuum tenduntur, et raro de nostro dogmate disputant; quo fit, ut et legenti fastidium generet longitudo: et si qua breviora sunt, scholasticis magis sint apta, quum nobis, de metris et regionum situ, et philosophis disputantibus, [aliter disputantia]. Damas. Pap. ad Hier. T. ii. p. 561. Ed. Bened.

his heathenism. It was composed indeed during<sup>p</sup> the holidays of Saturn. But yet there is no heathenism in any part of the work, as is<sup>q</sup> well observed by the learned editor. Finally therefore, since<sup>r</sup> there are no clear intimations of his heathenism, or of his conversion to christianity, in his own works, nor in any ancient writers who have mentioned him; I rather think, (though without being positive,) that he was from the beginning educated in the christian religion. Nourry<sup>s</sup> was of the same opinion: and herein I thought I had the honour to agree likewise with Dr. Heumann, who has<sup>t</sup> lately given us a very valuable edition of Lactantius, and had been<sup>u</sup> long before acquainted with his works. But in his preface<sup>v</sup> to that edition, he has let fall some expressions on the other side; as if he had altered his opinion, or forgot what he had well and largely argued<sup>w</sup> formerly.

II. We have seen in Jerom a catalogue of the works of Lactantius: the catalogues in Honorius of Autun and Trithemius are very little different.

1. The last-mentioned writer adds, that<sup>x</sup> beside the books enumerated by him, it was said, that Lactantius had written not a few more, but he had not seen them.

2. Lactantius himself in his<sup>y</sup> Institutions, and in<sup>z</sup> his book, Of the Wrath of God, mentions a design to write against all

<sup>p</sup> Hoc quoque Symposium lusi de carmine inepto.  
Sic me Sicca docet, Siccâ deliro magistrâ.  
Annua Saturni dum tempora festa redirent.  
Symp. Prol.

<sup>q</sup> ———Nec enim quidquam in ejus ænigmatibus inest, quod sapiat ethnicismum: tantum abest, ut probet ethnicismum. Heuman. Præf. ad Lact. Symp. Sect. 14. p. xxv.

<sup>r</sup> Nam si Lactantius ex ethnicis tenebris ad lucem christianæ sapientiæ emerisset, videtur summum hoc Numinis beneficium alicubi librorum suorum commemoraturus fuisse prædicaturusque—pristinæ religionis, si diversam a christianis prius habuisset, memoriam, tot invitantibus occasionibus, nec debuit suppressere, nec, quæ pietas ejus fuit, voluit. Heuman. ib. p. xxiv. et xxv.

<sup>s</sup> Nourr. Diss. in Lact. cap. i. p. 578.

<sup>t</sup> Gottingæ. MDCCXXXVI.

<sup>u</sup> The Symposium of Lactantius, with a long preface, was published by Dr. Heumann, at HANOVER, in the year 1722.

<sup>v</sup> Cum enim nec philosophus esset, nec diu sacris versatus in literis, (a puero enim sacra coluerat illa cum suis parentibus, quæ postea execrabatur, illatâ menti suæ luce divinæ sapientiæ:) ne satis quidem perceperat ecclesiæ doctrinas, &c. Heuman. Præf. ad opp. Lactant. p. ante f. quart.

<sup>w</sup> Several of his passages are alleged above at note <sup>q</sup> and <sup>r</sup>.

<sup>x</sup> Alia insuper non pauca scripsisse dicitur. Sed in manus nostras non venerunt. Trithem. cap. 56.

<sup>y</sup> Postea plenius et uberius contra omnes mendaciorum sectas proprio separatoque opere pugnabimus. Inst. l. iv. c. ult. in fin.

<sup>z</sup> ———et refutabimus postea diligentius, cum respondere ad omnes sectas cœperimus, quæ veritatem, dum disputant, perdidērunt. De Irâ Dei, c. 2. p. 767.

heresies ; which we do not know that he ever did, being perhaps prevented by death. I thought it proper, however, to take notice of it in this place, as a proof of our author's zeal for truth, with which he was greatly enamoured, (as some other expressions also of his elsewhere<sup>a</sup> show,) and his readiness to employ his time in the defence of it.

3. And at the beginning of the seventh book of his Institutions, he promises<sup>b</sup> somewhat against the Jews, which we have not, unless it be in the latter part of that very book.

4. Two of the three books first mentioned by Jerom, the Itinerary and Grammaticus, seem to be irrecoverably lost. And it has been generally thought, that the third, the Symposium, or Banquet, was lost likewise. But Dr. Heumann, who not very long since published an edition of a work with that title, asserts its genuineness. It is a collection of a hundred tristich epigrams, with a prologue. I do not dispute the favourable judgment which the learned editor forms of this work. But I shall have no occasion to quote it at present.

5. All our author's books of epistles are entirely lost. Pope Damasus, as<sup>c</sup> before shown, did not read them with pleasure, and seems to have set but little value upon them ; nevertheless some learned moderns<sup>d</sup> regret the loss of them.

According to the passage before cited from Jerom's Catalogue, there were only two books of epistles to Demetrian. Nevertheless, in<sup>e</sup> another place Jerom quotes the eighth book of Lactantius's epistles to Demetrian. I fancy the reason is this ; there were in all eight books of epistles, and those to Demetrian were placed last in the collection. Quoting therefore the second book to Demetrian, he calls it the eighth to him : meaning, however, no more than the eighth book of this writer's epistles, which book was to Demetrian.

6. We still have the treatise, Of the Workmanship of God, addressed to Demetrian, whom<sup>f</sup> he had taught rhetoric. Demetrian<sup>g</sup> seems to have been a man of fortune, and to

<sup>a</sup> Nullus enim suavior animo cibus est, quam cognitio veritatis, cujus asserenda atque illustranda, septem volumina destinavimus. l. i. c. 1. p. 9.

<sup>b</sup> Sed erit nobis contra Judæos separata materia, in qua illos erroris et sceleris revincemus. Inst. l. vii. c. 1. ad fin. <sup>c</sup> See p. 487.

<sup>d</sup> Utinam eas epistolas tempus rerum edax nobis non invidisset. Nos libenter legeremus. Basn. Ann. 320. n. iv.

<sup>e</sup> ———quod et Firmianus in octavo ad Demetrianum epistolarum libro facit. In Galat. c. iv. p. 268.

<sup>f</sup> Nam, si te in literis nihil aliud quam linguam instruentibus auditorem satis strenuam præbuidisti ; quanto magis in his veris, et ad vitam pertinentibus, docilior esse debebis ? De Op. Dei, c. i. p. 829.

<sup>g</sup> Nam, licet te publicæ rei necessitas a veris et justis operibus avertat ;

have had then some public employment. Lactantius commends him: but he likewise admonisheth him to<sup>h</sup> be upon his guard against the snares of his prosperous condition. And yet it must have been a time of persecution. For with regard to himself, he speaks of the difficulty both of his own<sup>i</sup> circumstances, and of the times: and he says, that<sup>k</sup> the devil then acted as a roaring lion. Tillemont thinks, that<sup>l</sup> this was the first of our author's public labours in the service of religion, because he here expresseth a resolution to employ his time for the future in the defence of truth. But that argument is but barely probable, since Lactantius expresseth himself much after the same manner again in the introduction to his *Divine Institutions*.

7. As those *Institutions* against the Gentiles, in seven books, are the principal work of Lactantius, we should be glad to settle the time of writing and publishing them. As we now have them, they are inscribed to Constantine. And it is thought that he refers to the Licinian persecution, which began in the year 319. They were not therefore published before the year 320. So say<sup>m</sup> Basnage and<sup>n</sup> Pagi, whose arguments I have briefly placed in the margin, for the sake of such readers as may not have their works at hand. Du Pin says, that<sup>o</sup> Lactantius wrote his *Institutions* in the time of Licinius's persecution, which began in 320, and that<sup>p</sup> he undertook that work about the year of Christ, 320, if his numbers are rightly printed, which I think cannot be properly said. For it is not a work which could be com-

tamen fieri non potest, quin subinde in cœlum aspiciat mens sibi conscia recti. *ibid.*

<sup>h</sup> Ego quidem lætor, omnia tibi, quæ pro bonis habentur, prospere fluere: vereor enim—Ideoque te moneo, repetens iterumque monebo, ne oblectamenta ista terræ pro magnis aut veris bonis habere te credas. *ibid.*

<sup>i</sup> Apud quem nunc profiteor, nullâ me necessitate vel rei vel temporis impediri, quo minus aliquid excudam. *De Op. Dei, cap. i. p. 829.*

<sup>k</sup> Nam et ille colluctator et adversarius noster, scis, quam sit astutus, et idem ipse violentus, sicuti nunc videmus. *ib. p. 830.*

<sup>l</sup> See Tillem. as before, p. 349, and *Lact. de Op. Dei, cap. ult.*

<sup>m</sup> —quem hoc anno [320.] *Divinarum Institutionum libros* Constantino nuncupâsse existimamus. Ardente quidem Licinianâ persecutione editos esse, verbis monemur auctoris: [*Inst. l. i. cap. 1.*] Nam malis qui adversus justos in aliis terrarum partibus sæviunt, quanto serius, tanto vehementius idem Omnipotens mercedem sceleris exsolvet, &c. *Basn. Ann. 320. n. iv.*

<sup>n</sup> Sæviebat itaque tunc Licinii persecutio, quando Lactantius opus illud Constantino dicavit, ideoque non anno 316, ut credidit Baronius, sed post annum 319, in lucem emissum. *Pag. in Bar. Ann. 315. n. vii. vid. et 316. n. vi.*

<sup>o</sup> —il a donc écrit du temps de la persécution de l'empereur Licinius, qui a commencé en 320. *Du Pin. Bib. T. i. p. 202.*

<sup>p</sup> Il entreprit ensuite les sept livres des *Institutions* vers l'an 320 de Jésus Christ. *Id. ib. p. 205.*

posed in a short time; and we have proofs of his designing it<sup>a</sup> at the very beginning of Dioclesian's persecution. Tillemont says, that<sup>r</sup> in the condition we now have it, it seems not to have been published before the year 321; and therefore it might be the fruit of the time that Lactantius spent with Crispus in Gaul. Nourry's<sup>s</sup> opinion concerning the time of this work is very little different from theirs: (though in one place he says, that<sup>t</sup> the Institutions were composed a little after the year 311.) He observes, that<sup>u</sup> Lactantius seems not to have been in Bithynia, when he composed this work; therefore he might be in Gaul with Crispus, who was not placed under his tuition, before the year 318. He too supposeth, that<sup>v</sup> Lactantius in this work speaks of the Licinian persecution. He does not insist upon the passage in the inscription of the Institutions to Constantine, which is wanting in some manuscripts, but upon some other passages in other parts of that work: where, however, I must own, I cannot yet discern a reference to any persecution, different from that of Dioclesian.

Cave was rather of opinion that<sup>w</sup> Lactantius composed the Institutions in the time of this last-mentioned persecution. And I beg leave to enlarge in support of his opinion. This work was occasioned<sup>x</sup> by the writings of two heathens of

<sup>a</sup> Vid. Inst. l. v. cap. 2. p. 460. et c. 4. p. 470.

<sup>r</sup> Tillem. T. 6. P. i. p. 349.

<sup>s</sup> Lactantius igitur non ante hunc annum 319, Divinarum Institutionum libros edidit. Nonne autem roboris ac firmamenti aliquid huic posteriori opinioni inde accedit, quod Lactantius significare videtur se ex Bithyniâ—prius secessisse, quam—hos libros emisisset in lucem? Non enim prorsus inepte colligi inde potest eos ab illo compositos, postquam se contulisset in Gallias, atque ibi Crispus in ejus traditus fuisset disciplinam. At id anno 318, aut paulo post contigit. Nourry, App. T. ii. p. 632. A. B.

<sup>t</sup> Si verior sit secunda opinio, certe Lactantius, qui paulo post annum 311, Divinas Institutiones composuit. ib. p. 628. B.

<sup>u</sup> Inst. l. v. c. xi. p. 490. The words will be cited below at note <sup>v</sup>.

<sup>v</sup> Et certe Lactantius Diocletiani in christianos sævientis immanem crudelitatem—depinxit. Lib. v. Inst. cap. xi. p. 490. et seqq. Ast alia his plane similia aut prorsus eadem, adhuc cum hos libros exararet, inflictæ sic alibi memorat: Cultores Dei summi, hoc est, justos homines, torquent, interficiunt, &c. ib. cap. i. p. 456. Vid. et cap. 12. p. 493. l. vi. c. 17. p. 603. Nourry, ubi supr. p. 631.

<sup>w</sup> Scripti sunt hi libri sub Diocletiani persecutione, quod ipse Lactantius, l. v. c. 2, 4, satis aperte testatur: non, quod multi volunt, sub Licinianâ. Inscriptiones enim ad Constantinum M. quæ in librorum 1, 2, 4, et 5, fronte comparent, nec antiquiores editiones, nec melioris notæ codices MSS. agnoscunt; ideoque ab alienâ manu fluxisse censendæ sunt. Aliter a stylo Lactantiano non multum abhorrent. Cav. H. L. T. i. p. 162.

<sup>x</sup> Ego cum in Bithyniâ oratorias literas accitus docerem, contigissetque, ut eodem tempore Dei templum everteretur, duo exstiterunt ibidem, qui jacenti atque abjectæ veritati, nescio utrum superbius an importunius, insultarent.

note, who published their pieces against the christians at the very beginning of the persecution under Dioclesian, as Lactantius expressly assures us. It seems not reasonable to think, that a design, formed by him in 302, or 303, should not be executed before 320. And in several passages of his Institutions, he speaks as<sup>y</sup> if the christians then suffered under a general persecution, all over the world; whereas the Licinian persecution was in the east only.

Lactantius does indeed speak of some sufferings in the persecution of Dioclesian as<sup>z</sup> past. Which, however, I think is not strange: for though he formed the design of this work at the beginning of that persecution, and carried it on as he had opportunity in those difficult times; the persecution might be coming to an end, or be quite concluded before his work was finished and published. By which means he certainly would be able to reflect upon, and take notice of divers events in several parts of the world, during that long scene of affliction and distress.

And when I read the Institutions, I am disposed to consider them as a work composed, for the most part at least, under<sup>a</sup> the persecution of Dioclesian; though perhaps they were not published till after it was over. It is likely, that others, in reading this work, experience the like sentiments. For some have supposed, that<sup>b</sup> there were two editions of this

Inst. l. v. c. 2. p. 460. *Ii ergo, de quibus dixi, cum, præsentem me ac dolentem, sacrilegas suas literas explicassent; et illorum superbam impietatem stimulatus, — suscepi hoc munus.*—ib. c. 4. p. 470.

<sup>y</sup> *Hæc enim populus noster patitur omnia, errantium pravitate. Ecce in eo est errore civitas, vel potius orbis ipse totus, ut bonos et justos viros, tanquam malos et impios, persequatur, excruciet, damnet, occidat.* ib. l. v. c. 12. p. 493. *Spectare sunt enim, spectanturque adhuc per orbem, pœnæ cultorum Dei, in quibus excruciantis nova et inusitata tormenta excogitata sunt.* l. vi. c. 17. p. 603.

<sup>z</sup> *Quæ autem per totum orbem singuli gesserint, enarrare impossibile est. Quis enim voluminum numerus capiet tam infinita, tam varia genera crudelitatis? Acceptam enim potestatem, pro suis viribus quisque sævit.* ib. l. v. c. 11. p. 490.

<sup>a</sup> *Si vobis sapientes videmur, imitamini: si stulti, contemnite, aut etiam ridete, si libet.—Quid laceratis? quid affligitis?* l. v. c. 12. sub in. *Cur enim tam crudeliter sæviant, nisi quia metuunt, ne, in dies invalescente justitiâ, cum diis suis araneosis relinquantur?* eod. cap. sub fin.

<sup>b</sup> *Dici etiam potest, Lactantium his hoc opus edidisse, (quod idem Tertulliani Apologetico factum esse constat,) prius ante regnum Constantini, iterum eo rerum potito.* Heuman. ad Inst. l. i. c. 1. p. 6.

Sane Lactantius libros Divinarum Institutionum scripsit furente persecutione, in ipsis ejus initiis, ut ex capite secundo et quarto libri quinti colligitur: sed non emisit, impeditus videlicet et rei et temporis necessitate.—At, quum data esset pax——Itaque tum Lactantius Divinarum Institutionum libros, in quibus loca quædam sparsim reperiuntur, quæ manifesto constat scripta esse post bellum sedatum atque extinctum, recensuit, pleraque addidit, in primis vero ea quæ in initiis librorum et in epilogo dicuntur ad Constantinum, quæ

work ; that is, one before that which we now have, with the inscriptions to Constantine : and others, supported by the authority of a good number of manuscript copies, think those<sup>c</sup> inscriptions not genuine.

Before I proceed, I would observe one thing more ; that it is not likely the long argument against persecution, in the fifth book of the Institutions, should be written after Dioclesian's persecution was over. And the last chapter of that book seems to show, that<sup>d</sup> as yet there was no christian emperor : that the persecuting princes were still living, and that their persecutions were not yet come to an end. And in the Epitome of the same work there are expressions, intimating, that<sup>e</sup> some of those persecuting princes, or chief instruments in Dioclesian's persecution, had died miserably, whilst one or more of them still survived : which might lead us to think, that the Epitome itself was composed not later than the year 311, 312, or 313.

As for the mention which is made of the Arians in one<sup>f</sup> place, it was an easy addition. But it is difficult to defend the genuineness of that cause upon<sup>g</sup> any supposition concerning the date of the Institutions.

perperam nonnulli judicant notha esse et supposititia.——Sed haud dubie duæ antiquitus fuere Divinarum Institutionum editiones.—Qui vero priore editione usi sunt, ea profecto non habuerunt quæ postea de Constantino addita sunt. Baluz. annot. ad lib. de M. P. sub in. Et conf. Tillem. ubi supr. p. 349, et 466, &c. Vid. et Thomas. not. ad Inst. l. i. c. 1. p. 6. edit. Heumanni.

<sup>c</sup> Inclusa de Constantino ad num. 17, absunt a pluribus MSS. quinque Vaticanis, et duobus Bononiensibus, Mich. Thomasio teste : ab Anglicanis aliquot, et primo Lipsiensi. Habent Gothanus, reliqui Lipsienses, alii codices. Damnat Josephus Isæus non unâ ratione, quasi non congruentia temporibus. Tuetur Stephanus Baluzius—et tristibus temporibus scriptas Institutiones putat, lætioribus autem emendatas, auctas, et Constantino dedicatas. Cellar. ad eund. loc. ap. Heuman. ed. p. 6.

<sup>d</sup> Quicquid vero adversum nos mali principes moliuntur, fieri ipse permittit. Et tamen injustissimi persecutores, quibus Dei nomen contumeliæ ac ludibrio fuit, non se putent impune laturos, quia indignationis adversus nos ejus quasi ministri fuerunt. Punientur enim judicio Dei, qui acceptâ potestate supra humanum modum fuerint abusi.—Quapropter non sperent sacrilegæ animæ, contemptos et inultos fore, quos sic obterunt. Inst. l. v. c. 23.

<sup>e</sup> ——nec re nec verbo pugnamus ; sed mites et taciti, et patientes perferimus omnia——Habemus enim fiduciam in Deo, a quo expectamus securitatem protinus ultionem. Nec est inanis ista fiducia ; siquidem eorum omnium, qui hoc facinus ausi sunt, miserabiles exitus partim cognovimus, partim videmus. Epit. c. 53. p. 150. ed. Davids.

<sup>f</sup> Cum enim Phryges, aut—Marcionitæ aut Anthropiani, aut Ariani, seu quilibet alii nominantur. Inst. l. iv. c. 30. p. 449.

<sup>g</sup> Mais en quelque temps qu'on dise qu' a écrit Lactance, il est bien difficile de croire qu'il ait pû parler des Ariens comme d'hérétiques déclarés ; ce qu'on ne peut presque pas dire avoir été avant le concile de Nicée, et après toutes les persécutions. Il seroit même assez aisè de montrer par la lettre de Constantin

After all, how much soever I have desired it, I do not imagine that I have clearly fixed the time of writing and publishing this work; but yet I was willing to set before my readers a state of the question. And I persuade myself, that in the year 306, Lactantius had begun the work, the design of which was formed in 303. I therefore choose to consider him as flourishing in the quality of a christian writer about the year 306.

This work Lactantius intended not only as an answer to the two authors before taken notice of, but<sup>h</sup> as a general answer, and full confutation of all others, who already had, or hereafter might oppose the christian doctrine.

It is a noble work, and has received just praises from<sup>i</sup> Jerom. I put in the margin a passage of<sup>k</sup> Lactantius, which that author refers to. Nevertheless, perhaps this work would have been more curious and entertaining to us now, if he had inserted more particularly the objections of those two writers, that were the first occasion of it. But Lactantius despised them too much to do them that honour. And, as before observed, he intended his work should contain a general confutation of all objectors and adversaries whatever.

8. We have also the Epitome of the Divine Institutions, inscribed by Lactantius to his brother Pentadius; which was imperfect at the beginning in St. Jerom's copy, and was so likewise in ours, until it was found in the library of the king of Sardinia, at Turin, by Dr. Christopher Matthew

à S. Alexandre et à Arius, que jusqu' à la fin de l'ann. 223. l' hérésie d'Arius n' avoit encore fait que peu ou point de bruit dans l'Occident. De sorte que pour soutenir que le mot d' *Ariani* est véritablement de Lactance,—il faudoit rapporter ce qu'il dit de la persécution qui duroit encore alors en quelques endroits, non à celle de Licinius, mais à celle de Sapor, &c. Tillem. note iv. sur Lactance. Mem. T. 6. P. i. p. 469. So Tillemont. However they who are desirous of seeing somewhat on the other side may consult Dr. Heumann's note upon the passage of Lactantius, where the Arians are mentioned.

<sup>h</sup> —suscepi hoc opus, ut omnibus ingenii mei viribus accusatores justitiæ vindicarem: non ut contra hos scriberem, qui paucis verbis obteri poterant; sed ut omnes, qui ubique idem operis efficiunt aut effecerunt, uno simul impetu profigarem. Inst. l. v. c. 4. p. 470.

<sup>i</sup> Firmianus quoque noster, in præclaro Institutionum suarum opere, Y literæ meminit; et de dextris ac sinistris, hoc est, de virtutibus et vitiis plenissime disputat. Hieron. Comm. in Ecc. cap. x. T. 2. p. 770. Quis mihi interdicere potest, ne legam Institutionum ejus libros, quibus contra gentes scripsit fortissime? Id. ad Pamm. et Oc. Ep. 41. [al. 65.] T. 4. p. 345.

<sup>k</sup> Omnis hæc de duabus viis disputatio ad frugalitatem ac luxuriam spectat. Dicunt enim humanæ vitæ cursum Y literæ esse similem, quod unusquisque hominum, cum primum adolescentiæ limen attigerit, et in eum locum venerit, "partes ubi se via findit in ambas;" hæreat nutabundus, ac nesciat in quam se partem inclinet. Si ducem nactus fuerit, qui dirigat ad meliora titubantem, &c. Inst. l. vi. c. 3. p. 550, 551.

Pfaff, and published by him entire, or nearly so, at Paris, in 1712, to the great joy of the learned world. A curious account of the manuscript, and the fortunate discovery of it, may be read in Dr. Pfaff's Preliminary Dissertation, and in Mr. La Roche's<sup>1</sup> Memoirs of Literature. This abridgment is an useful book, containing in it some things not to be found in the Institutions themselves.

9. The book of the Wrath or Anger of God, is likewise still extant. It is particularly commended by<sup>m</sup> Jerom, as a learned and elegant piece, and a complete treatise upon the subject.

10. Beside these there is a well known book of the Deaths of Persecutors, which was first published by Stephen Baluze in the second volume of his Miscellanea, in the year 1679. But this has not been so universally reckoned genuine, as the beginning of the Epitome published by Dr. Pfaff.

It is however a very valuable work, containing a short account of the sufferings of christians under several of the Roman emperors, from the death and resurrection of Christ to Dioclesian: and then a particular history of the persecution raised by that emperor, and the causes and springs of it; as likewise the miserable deaths of the chief instruments therein. Here we learn divers remarkable facts, recorded no where else.

It would be tedious to observe particularly all that might be said relating to the dispute concerning the author of this work. I therefore refer to <sup>n</sup> Baluze, <sup>o</sup> Fabricius, <sup>p</sup> Heumann, and <sup>q</sup> some others, for the arguments, that it is a work of Lactantius, and to <sup>r</sup> Nourry on the other side.

Fabricius, in particular, thinks Nourry's reasons for robbing Lactantius of this piece to be of little weight; far from being sufficient ground for introducing a new author, named Lucius Cecilius, unknown to all antiquity. However, as I am obliged to deliver my opinion, I shall support it with a few observations, referring to Nourry for the rest.

<sup>1</sup> Vol. v. p. 184, and 395, &c, in the second edition.

<sup>m</sup> Firmianus noster librum De Irâ Dei docto pariter et eloquenti sermone conscripsit, quem qui legerit, puto ei ad irâ intellectum satis abundeque posse sufficere. Hieron. Comm. in Ephes. cap. iv. ver. 26. p. 373.

<sup>n</sup> Baluz. Miscell. l. ii. p. 351, 352, et in not. ad libr. de M. P. p. 7, 8, &c. edit. Ultraj. 1693.

<sup>o</sup> Fabric. not. <sup>b</sup> et <sup>g</sup> ad Hieron. de V. I. cap. 80. in Biblioth. Ecc. p. 165, 166. Vid. et ejusd. Bibl. Lact. Vol. iii. p. 403, 404.

<sup>p</sup> Vid. Heumann. App. i. ad Symp. Lact. et ejus. Præf. ad Lactant. Opp.

<sup>q</sup> Dan Maichelli Introduct. ad Hist. Lit. p. 187, &c. Cantabr. 1721, et Journal Litteraire. Tom. 7. P. i. p. 1—29, à la Haye, 1715.

<sup>r</sup> Diss. in L. Cecil. de M. P. Paris, 1710, et in App. ad Bib. P. P. p. 1642, &c.

The book, published by Baluze, is ascribed<sup>s</sup> in the Colbertine manuscript, the only one of it in being, to Lucius Cecilius. It is not easy to conceive, why the transcriber of this book should not have added Firmianus Lactantius, if it is his. And the forenames, Lucius Cœlius, or Cæcilius, are very rarely given to Lactantius. Fabricius<sup>t</sup> mentions only one author, Barnardinus de Bustis, of the fifteenth century, and two manuscripts; one of the books commonly ascribed to Lactantius, the other of his book, *Of the Workmanship of God*; in which Lactantius is called at length Lucius Cœlius, or Cæcilius Firmianus Lactantius. Methinks, this<sup>u</sup> is not sufficient ground for giving those two names to this learned ancient; when he is called only Firmianus Lactantius, or Firmianus, or Lactantius singly, by Jerom, Eucherius,<sup>v</sup> Augustine,<sup>w</sup> Apollinaris Sidonius, Honorius of Autun, Trithemius. Not to say any thing of Freculph's and Ado's Chronicles, though they also use the same way of writing. And moreover, in almost all the manuscript copies of his works, or of some part of them, (as is owned,) he is called only Firmianus Lactantius.

Then the title of the book, published by Baluze, is different from that of Lactantius in Jerom. It is entitled, *Of the Deaths of Persecutors*: but that mentioned by Jerom is, *Of the Persecution*: so likewise in Honorius and Trithemius, without any variation. This appears to me considerable. If Lactantius's book had been entitled, *Of the Deaths of Persecutors*, it would have been so described by Jerom. If it had obtained that title, and had been ever so called in a few ages after, either in manuscripts, or in learned writers who quoted it; it is reasonable to suppose that so late writers as Honorius and Trithemius, one of the twelfth, the other of

<sup>s</sup> Lucij Cæcilii. Incipit liber ad Donatum Confessorem de Mortibus Persecutorum.

<sup>t</sup> ——— licet in Sermonibus Barnardini de Bustis nominatus Lucius Cæcilius Firmianus, teste Bernardo Moneto. T. 4. Menagiorum, p. 85. Fabr. ubi supr. in Bib. Ecc. p. 165. Cum denique Lactantium et in Sermonibus Barnardini de Bustis, quos paulo ante memorabam, et in Codice Colbertino 507, et Codice Taurinensi libri de Opificio Dei, quem inspexit Pfaffius, Lucium Cœlium Lactantium appellari, non possit negari. Id. ib. p. 166. Conf. Baluz. Misc. T. ii. p. 352.

<sup>u</sup> Ausim et hoc dicere, Firmianum Lactantium Lucii Cæcilii nomine nunquam appellatum fuisse, quod nullâ quidem probatione indigere videtur, utpote nullâ antiquioris MS. codicis auctoritate nixum. Pfaff. Diss. Præl. sect. 12. p. 16. Quid si dixerim, nec Lucium Cœlium nomen esse ad F. Lactantium pertinens; sed a recentioribus solum librariis, nimis sæpius, ut par est, sapientibus, additum? Id. ib. sect. 13. p. 17.

<sup>v</sup> De Civ. Dei. l. xviii. c. 23.

<sup>w</sup> ——— instruit ut Hieronymus, destruit ut Lactantius Sidon. lib. iv. Ep. 3. p. 92.

the fifteenth century, would have mentioned it by that title alone; or else would have mentioned the two titles together.

This book, *Of the Deaths of Persecutors*, is inscribed to<sup>x</sup> Donatus, a confessor, who had suffered six years' imprisonment, and other hardships, for the sake of christianity, in Dioclesian's persecution. And the book of Lactantius concerning the *Wrath of God*, is dedicated to one Donatus, a friend of his. This therefore has been reckoned an argument, that Lactantius must be the author of the book, of which we are speaking. But I should rather think it an argument on the other side: for as<sup>y</sup> Tillemont observes, (though he makes no doubt of its being a genuine work of Lactantius,) the book, *Of the Wrath of God*, was written after the Institutions, and consequently after the persecution. But yet Lactantius does not there call Donatus an illustrious confessor. He<sup>z</sup> even speaks to him, as to a novice, 'who needed to be instructed and fortified, lest he should be misled by the authority of the wise men of the world.'

Finally, not to mention other things, the style of this book appears to me far from equalling that of Lactantius. Nevertheless<sup>a</sup> Baluze and others are of a different opinion. Every one must judge for himself: but for my own part, I cannot here discern the style of Lactantius; nor does<sup>b</sup> Pfaff, nor<sup>c</sup> yet Dr. Heumann, though he maintains the genuineness of the book.

As for the words and phrases found both in this book, and in the undisputed writings of Lactantius, which have been observed by Columbus in his notes upon this book, and

<sup>x</sup> Novies enim tormentis cruciatibusque variis subjectus, novies adversarium gloriosâ confessione vicisti, &c. de M. P. c. 16. Tunc apertis carceribus, Donate carissime, cum cæteris confessoribus e custodiâ liberatus es, cum tibi carcer sex annis pro domicilio fuerit. ib. c. 35. Vid. et cap. i.

<sup>y</sup> Mem. Ec. T. 6. P. i. p. 352.

<sup>z</sup> Quorum error, quia maximus est, et ad evertendum vitæ humanæ statum spectat, coarguendus est a nobis, ne ipse fallaris, impulsus auctoritate hominum, qui se putant esse sapientes. Lact. De Irâ Dei, cap. i. p. 764.

<sup>a</sup> Nam et stylus omnino Lactantianus est, ut facile periti istarum rerum agnoscent. Baluz. Misc. ib. p. 315.

<sup>b</sup> Non hic eam eloquentiæ dicendique vim, non eum orationis florem, verborumque copiam inveneris, quæ passim in Epitome apparet; cum e contrario Lucii Cæciliî stylus sit inæqualis, lentus, et mediocris. Pfaff. ib. sect. xi. p. 15.

<sup>c</sup> Illud ad ultimum celare meos lectores nolo, nondum videri mihi librum hunc satis emendavisse et exasciâsse Lactantium——Ac hanc ipsam esse causam existimo, cur hujus libri stylus non ubique æquet elegantiam cæterorum Lactantii librorum.—Nec ex oratione solum negligentiore apparet, primam quasi delineationem libri, non librum satis perpolitum, nos habere; sed ex ipsâ quoque tractatione, quæ passim multum obscuritatis habet, &c. Heuman. in Præf. ad Lact.

have been since put together, and insisted on by La Croze, the author of a Dissertation, or Letter, printed in the<sup>d</sup> Literary Journal at the Hague, to prove the genuineness of this piece; I think that argument more specious than solid. For it is not at all strange, that the words and phrases should occur in two different authors of the same age, and even contemporaries: especially when one of them was a celebrated master of rhetoric, and the politest writer, and the most learned man of his time, among the Latins. Many might imitate, though they did not equal him. Add to all this, that the subjects of Lactantius and of this author often coincide: they are both zealous christians, and engaged in the defence of their religion; they have both occasion to speak of the death and resurrection and ascension of Jesus, and of the affairs of christians from their first original in the world, and particularly of the persecution that happened in their own time, and the chief agents in it. But though both use some of the same words and phrases, the style of the author of the Deaths of Persecutors is not the style of Lactantius, but much inferior to it, so far as I am able to judge.

Nourry is not the only person who has denied, or doubted, of the genuineness of this book. The famous Christopher Cellarius<sup>e</sup> speaks doubtfully of the matter, in his Brief Account of the Life of Lactantius, prefixed to the edition of his works, published in 1698, and therefore long before Nourry wrote his Dissertation, which was first printed at Paris in the year 1710, and since in his Apparatus, in 1715. I learn also from Dr. Heumann, that<sup>f</sup> Mr. Walch, another learned German editor of Lactantius, does not without hesitation ascribe this work to his author. The editors of cardinal Noris's works think, the<sup>g</sup> author of this book a different writer from Lactantius, though certainly contem-

<sup>d</sup> Journal Litteraire, T. 7. P. i. p. 25, &c. à la Haye. 1715.

<sup>e</sup> De Mortibus Persecutorum liber, nuper repertus, si Lactantii est, ut fere viri doctissimi consentiunt. Cellar. Exc. de Vitâ Lact.

<sup>f</sup> Adjungo, — Cl. Walchium, qui et ipse in suis ad novissimam Lactantii operum editionem Prolegomenis, cap. v. p. 38, dubitavit, an liber ille sit genuinus Lactantii fetus. Heuman. in App. i. ad Lact. Symp. sect. 4. p. 215.

<sup>g</sup> Libri autem inscriptio, de Mortibus Persecutorum, diversum opus indicat ab illo, quod ab Hieronymo Lactantio tribuitur cum titulo De Persecutione. Etenim Lactantius historiam suppliciorum, quæ christiani a persecutoribus passi sunt, concinnasse videtur: Lucius autem Cæcilius contexit historiam suppliciorum, quibus ipsi christianorum persecutores mulcati sunt.—Hæ conjectationes, tametsi non omnino demonstrent, convincunt tamen probabilius alium a Lactantio esse L. Cæcilius hujus libelli auctorem——Sed quicumque sit hujus libri scriptor, dum constet eum fuisse Lactantio supparem, parum interest. Ap. Noris. Opp. T. iv. p. 36, 37.

porary with him. And they have proposed some very good observations in favour of their opinion. Dr. Pfaff, in his Preliminary Dissertation to the Epitome of Lactantius,<sup>h</sup> expresses his approbation of Nourry's arguments. Le Clerc too was fully satisfied with<sup>i</sup> Nourry's reasons. The writer of Miscellaneous Observations upon Authors, ancient and modern, published at London, in 1732, says, that<sup>k</sup> ' he is ' inclined to agree with those who think, that the author of ' this book is not Lactantius.' Signor Maffei, referring to this book, does not quote it as<sup>l</sup> certainly written by Lactantius. The late learned John Davis, who published an edition of our author's Epitome, does<sup>m</sup> not positively assert him to be the writer of the book *Of the Deaths of Persecutors*. The same may be observed of<sup>n</sup> Mr. Turretin. However, such a thing as this is not to be decided by authorities; nor do I think the reasons that have been alleged by me to be conclusive and demonstrative: but they appear to be of some weight; and therefore I choose not to quote this as a work of Lactantius, until I am better satisfied about it.

11. I need not say any thing particularly of the poems *de Phœnice*, *de Pascha*, *de Passione Domini*, which have been thought by some to belong to our author, and are joined with his works in most editions. They are not mentioned by Jerom, and are now generally supposed to have been without good reason ascribed to Lactantius.

12. The editions of Lactantius are very numerous. Du Pin has referred to a good many of them: but a more full and copious catalogue may be seen in <sup>o</sup> Fabricius: Nourry likewise has an article<sup>p</sup> of the editions of Lactantius. And Dr. Heumann has inserted an account of them in the preface to his own edition, formerly mentioned: which appears to me very valuable for the correctness of it, as well as on other accounts. But I wish that learned man had put out our author in a quarto volume: he might then have made use of a larger letter, and might have added some things, which are omitted for want of room.

<sup>h</sup> Vid. Pfaff. Diss. n. xii. p. 16.

<sup>i</sup> —marques certaines, comme il me semble, aussi bien qu' au P. Le Nourry, que cet ouvrage n'est point de Lactance. Bib. A. et M. T. iii. p. 438.

<sup>k</sup> See those Observations, Vol. ii. p. 232.

<sup>l</sup> —e dell' altre buona ragione si può dedurre de Lattanzio, se di lui è il libro *Delle Morte de' Persecutori*. Maff. Veron. Illustrat. P. i. p. 149.

<sup>m</sup> Hanc rem fuse monstravit aut noster, aut quisquis est auctor libri de *Mortibus Persecutorum*, &c. Davis. Annot. in Epit. cap. 53. p. 150.

<sup>n</sup> Lactantius, vel quisquis alius est auctor libri non pridem emissi, de *M. Persecutorum*. Turret. Comp. Hist. Ec. p. 29.

<sup>o</sup> Bib. Lat. V. iii. p. 394, &c. Hamb. 1722.

<sup>p</sup> Vid. Ap. T. ii. p. 651, &c.

13. I somewhat wonder, that no learned editor of Lactantius has published his works according to the order of time, the present order being manifestly preposterous. The Symposium should come first, if its genuineness can be admitted; otherwise it must be placed at the end: then the book, Of the Workmanship of God; next the Institutions, and their Epitome; after that the book, Of the Wrath, or Anger of God. The book, of the Deaths of Persecutors, should by all means stand last, because its genuineness is not universally acknowledged, and because it is a thing of quite a different nature from all the other remaining works of Lactantius. They (excepting the Banquet of Symposium) are all argumentative, this historical.

Nor do I well know, why in all late editions there are no summaries, or brief contents of the several chapters. There are such things in the edition of Sebastian Gryphius, at Lyons, in 1541, and in an edition<sup>r</sup> at Geneva, above an hundred years since. When they began to be omitted, or for what reasons, I cannot tell.

I have mentioned these things, leaving it to the learned to judge of them, as they think fit. But though there have been so many editions of Lactantius, Le Clerc said in 1719, that<sup>r</sup> he did not know of one good edition of this writer, the most elegant of all the Latin fathers.

III. Before I proceed to his testimony to the scriptures, I shall set before my readers some remarkable things, which I have observed in the writings of this author.

1. Lactantius often speaks of the nature and design of the christian revelation, as<sup>s</sup> suited to promote the general good of all, of every age, sex, and condition: so that all may attain to just sentiments of God, and be directed and assisted in the way of holiness, and obtain everlasting happiness. And he asserts it to be in the power of the<sup>t</sup> meanest and poorest of men to attain to righteousness.

2. He sometimes glories<sup>u</sup> in the great and happy effects

<sup>q</sup> Genevæ. ap. Joann. De Fournes, 1630.

<sup>r</sup> —de sorte qu'on peut dire, que jusqu' à present nous n'avons point de bonne édition de plus élégant de tous les Pères Latins. Bib. A. et M. T. xi. p. 201.

<sup>s</sup> Nobis autem, qui sacramentum veræ religionis accepimus, cum sit veritas revelata divinitus; cum doctorem sapientiæ ducemque veritatis Deum sequamur; universos, sine ullo discrimine vel sexûs vel ætatis, ad cœleste pabulum convocamus. Inst. l. i. c. 1. p. 8, et 9. Nos autem omnis sexûs et generis et ætatis in hoc cœleste iter inducimus, quia Deus, qui ejus viæ dux est, immortalitatem nulli homini nato negat. l. vi. c. 3. p. 552.

<sup>t</sup> Quasi vero in judicibus solis atque in potestate aliquâ constitutis justitia esse debeat, et non in omnibus. Atqui nullus est hominum, ne infirmorum quidem ac mendicorum, in quem justitia cadere non possit. Epit. cap. 55.

<sup>u</sup> Dei autem præcepta, quia et simplicia et vera sunt, quantum valeant in

of the christian doctrine upon the minds and lives of men : rendering the proud humble, the hasty and passionate meek and mild, the lewd chaste, the covetous liberal, and converting the unrighteous and cruel to justice and mercy. For which reason he recommends this divine religion, as<sup>v</sup> the medicine of the soul, effectual for healing all its diseases.

3. Lactantius understood the words in Gen. vi. 3 : “ Yet his days shall be an hundred and twenty years,” of the<sup>w</sup> appointed term of human life after the flood.

4. This Latin christian<sup>x</sup> asserts the freedom of man’s will, or his power to do good or evil.

5. Lactantius has not quoted many christian authors. He has however mentioned<sup>y</sup> Minucius Felix, Tertullian, and Cyprian, and<sup>z</sup> Theophilus, bishop of Antioch in the second century.

6. Lactantius has made very particular mention of<sup>a</sup> two

animis hominum, quotidiana experimenta demonstrant. Da mihi virum, qui sit iracundus, maledicus, effrenatus : paucissimis Dei verbis tam placidum quam ovem reddam. Da cupidum, avarum, tenacem : jam tibi eum liberalem dabo, et pecuniam suam plenis manibus largientem—Da libidinosum, adulterum, ganeonem : jam sobrium, castum, continentem videbis. Da crudelem, et sanguinis appetentem : jam in veram clementiam furor iste mutabitur. Da injustum, insipientem, peccatorem : continuo et æquus, et prudens, et innocens erit.—Gratis ista fiunt, facile, cito.—Nemo vereatur. Nos aquam non vendimus, nec solem mercede præstamus. l. iii. c. 26. p. 328, 329.

<sup>v</sup> —quibus [vulneribus] nemo alius mederi potest, nisi solus ille, qui gressum claudis, visum cæcis reddidit,—mortuos excitavit. Ille ardorem cupiditatis extinguet, extirpabit libidines, invidiam distrabet, iram mitigabit. Ille reddet veram et perpetuam sanitatem. Appetenda est hæc omnibus medicina, quoniam majori periculo vexatur anima, quam corpus, &c. l. vi. c. 24. p. 636.

<sup>w</sup> —paulatim per singulas progenies diminuit hominis ætatem, usque in centum et xx. annis metam collocavit, quam transgredi non liceret. Inst. l. ii. c. 13. in. Vid. et cap. 12. ad fin. Nam post diluvium paulatim vita hominum breviata, et ad annos centum viginti redacta est. Epit. cap. 27.

<sup>x</sup> —sed sola est virtus, sola justitia, quæ potest verum bonum—judicari ; quia nec datur cuiquam, nec aufertur. Inst. l. iv. c. 16. p. 401.

Duæ vitæ homini attributæ sunt, una temporalis,—altera sempiterna—Illam primam nescientes accepimus, hanc secundam scientes. Virtuti enim, non naturæ datur,—Idcirco hanc præsentem dedit, ut illam veram et perpetuam aut vitiis amittamus, aut virtute mereamur.—In illâ vero spiritali, quam per nos ipsi acquirimus, summum bonum continetur.—Nam nihil interesset inter justum et injustum, siquidem omnis homo natus immortalis fieret. Ergo immortalitas non sequela naturæ, sed merces præmiumque virtutis est. Inst. l. vii. c. 5. p. 663, 664.

Idcirco nobis Deus virtutem justitiamque proponit, ut æternum illud præmium nostris laboribus assequamur. Epit. cap. 35.

<sup>y</sup> Vid. Inst. l. v. c. 1, et 4. <sup>z</sup> Theophilus in libro de temporibus ad Autolicum scripto ait. l. i. c. 23. sub in.

<sup>a</sup> Ego cum in Bithyniâ oratorias literas accitus docerem, et eodem tempore Dei templum everteretur ; duo extiterunt ibidem,—Quorum alter antistitem se philosophiæ profitebatur.—Alius eandem materiam mordacius scripsit, qui erat tum e numero judicum. l. v. c. 2. vid. et cap. 3. et cap. 4. init.

persons, who in his own time wrote against the christian religion. And he supposeth, there might be others who<sup>b</sup> did the like about the same time, as well as<sup>c</sup> in former times.

7. He also mentions one<sup>d</sup> Domitius, supposed<sup>e</sup> to be the famous lawyer Domitianus Ulpianus, who made a collection of the Imperial Edicts that had been published against the christians.

8. He intimates, that<sup>f</sup> there were in his time many christians, especially such as had a smattering of learning, who wavered in the profession of christianity.

9. We do not observe in Lactantius any notice taken of those scandalous reflections upon the christians, which we can find by our writings were common in the second century. By the continued purity of their lives, and the force of their Apologies, it is likely they had confuted and obliterated those calumnies.

But they were still reckoned a silly<sup>g</sup> and contemptible people, partly for<sup>h</sup> following a crucified master and leader, partly<sup>i</sup> for suffering so many evils which they might have avoided. Moreover, they were still called<sup>k</sup> impious and

<sup>b</sup> ——— non ut contra hos scriberem, qui paucis verbis obtereri poterant; sed ut omnes, qui ubique idem operis efficiunt aut effecerunt, uno semel impetu profligare. Non dubito enim, quin et alii plurimi, et multis in locis, et non modo Græcis, sed etiam Latinis literis, monumentum injustitiæ suæ struxerint. l. v. c. 4. in. <sup>c</sup> Omitto eos, qui prioribus eam temporibus necquicquam lacesserunt. l. v. c. 2. sub in.

<sup>d</sup> Domitius, de Officio Proconsulis libro septimo, Rescripta Principum nefaria collegit, ut doceret quibus pœnis affici oporteret eos, qui se cultores Dei confiterentur. l. v. c. 11. fin. <sup>e</sup> Vid. Heuman. Annot. in loc.

<sup>f</sup> Nam si lucrari hos a morte, ad quam concitatissime tendunt, non potuerimus; ——— nostros tamen confirmabimus, quorum non est stabilis ac solidis radicibus fundata et fixa sententia. Nutant enim plurimi, ac maxime, qui literarum aliquid attigerunt. l. v. c. 1. p. 457.

<sup>g</sup> Si vobis sapientes videmur, imitamini; si stulti, contemnite, aut etiam ridete, si libet: nobis enim stultitia nostra prodest. l. v. c. 12. p. 492. Suam—sibi habeant sapientiam prudentes. Relinquant nobis stultitiam nostram. ib. p. 493.

<sup>h</sup> Venio nunc ad ipsam passionem, quæ velut opprobrium nobis objectari solet, quod et hominem, et ab hominibus insigni supplicio affectum et excruciatum, colimus. l. iv. c. 16. in.

<sup>i</sup> Docui, ut opinor, cur populus noster apud stultos habeatur. Nam cruciari atque interfici malle, quam thura tribus digitis comprehensa in focum jactare, tam ineptum videtur, quam, in periculo vitæ, alterius animam magis curare, quam suam. l. v. c. 18. p. 515.

<sup>k</sup> Impios enim vocant, ipsi scilicet pii, et ab humano sanguine abhorrentes. l. v. c. 9. p. 483.—nec maledictis abstinent, sed quantis possunt verborum contumeliis insectantur. Epit. c. 52. Sed soli ex omnibus impii judicantur, qui Deum, qui veritatem sequuntur. Quæ cum sit eadem justitia, eadem sapientia, hanc isti vel impietatis vel stultitiæ crimine infamant, &c. ib. c. 55.

profane for deriding the common deities, and not complying with the established superstition: and desperadoes<sup>l</sup> on account of their uncommon resolution and steadiness in the profession of their own peculiar principles, which they believed to be true.

10. Lactantius openly asserts the innocence of christian<sup>m</sup> people, all whose religion, he says, consists in good works, or a care to live unblamably and inoffensively. And<sup>n</sup> the criminals, who fell under the sentence of the magistrate for robbery and other offences, he observes, were not christians, but of the same religion with their enemies.

11. Lactantius expresseth himself, as if in his time christians<sup>o</sup> performed miracles in dispossessing dæmons. The author Of the Deaths of Persecutors, has somewhat<sup>p</sup> to the like purpose.

12. Our author was of opinion, that another life, or a future state of happiness for good men, may be proved by reason.

(1.) Entering upon this subject at the beginning of the seventh and last book of the Institutions, he says, he<sup>q</sup> intends to prove a future state by testimonies of scripture, and by arguments from reason.

<sup>l</sup> Qui autem magni æstimaverint fidem, cultoresque Dei se non abnegaverint, in eos vero totis carnificinæ suæ viribus veluti sanguinem sitiunt, incumbunt, et desperatos vocant, quia corpori suo minime parcunt. l. v. c. 9. p. 483.—et hanc adversus innocentes carnificinam exercentes, pios utique se et justos et religiosos putant—illos vero impios et desperatos nuncupant. Epit. c. 54.

<sup>m</sup> Nostro autem populo quid horum potest objici? cujus omnis religio est, sine scelere ac sine maculâ vivere. l. v. c. 9. p. 485.

Dicit hic aliquis: Quæ ergo, aut ubi, aut qualis est pietas? Nimirum apud eos, qui bella nesciunt, qui concordiam cum hominibus servant, qui amici sunt etiam inimicis, qui omnes homines pro fratribus diligunt.—l. v. c. 10. p. 487.

Et quoniam communiter cum deorum cultoribus loquimur, liceat per vos benefacere vobiscum. Hæc est enim lex nostra, hoc opus religio. l. v. c. 12. sub in.

<sup>n</sup> Non enim de nostro, sed ex illorum numero semper existunt, qui vias obsideant armati, maria prædentur, &c. l. v. c. 9. p. 483, 484.

<sup>o</sup> Justos autem, id est, cultores Dei, metuunt; cujus nomine adjurati de corporibus excedunt; quorum verbis, tanquam flagris, verberati, non modo dæmonas se esse confitentur, sed etiam nomina sua edunt, illa quæ in templis adorantur.—Itaque maximis sæpe ululatibus editis, verberari se, et ardere, et jam jamque exire, proclamant. Inst. l. ii. c. 15. p. 220. Vid. et l. iv. c. 27. p. 439—441. et l. v. c. 21. in. et c. 22. sub fin. et Epit. c. 51.

<sup>p</sup> Tum quidam ministrorum scientes Dõminum, cum assisterent immolanti, imposuerunt frontibus suis immortale signum. Quo facto, fugatis dæmonibus, sacra turbata sunt. Trepidabant auspices, nec solitas in extis notas videbant, et, quasi non litassent, sæpius immolabant, &c. De M. P. c. 10. in.

<sup>q</sup> Satis et huic parti faciamus, cum testimoniis divinarum literarum, tum etiam probabilibus argumentis. l. vii. c. 1.

(2.) The<sup>r</sup> expectation of a better, and a more durable life, he says, is agreeable to philosophy, or natural reason, as well as revelation.

(3.) Since<sup>s</sup> man is capable of virtue, there must be another and endless life. For<sup>t</sup> in this world virtue often proves to the prejudice and detriment of men. But forasmuch as virtue is excellent, and it is allowed that they act wisely, who now deny themselves sensual gratifications, and endure pain, and even death itself, rather than not perform their duty; there must be a future recompence for such persons, consisting of better things than those they have resigned. But what recompence, excepting immortality, can be given to those, one great part of whose virtue consists in dying well?

(4.) In this manner Lactantius frequently argues. If<sup>u</sup> there is no future state, he acts most discreetly who consults his present interest. But if there is another life after this, he who suffers greatly here may act wisely, because immortality will be a full recompence.

(5.) He observes, that<sup>v</sup> in fact it is seen, that good men are here despised and ill treated for virtue itself, or for righteousness' sake; therefore they must be happy in another state.

(6.) There<sup>w</sup> is not any thing, he says, so reasonable, fit,

<sup>r</sup> Si autem superest homini vita melior et longior, (quod et philosophorum magnorum argumentis, et vatum responsis, et prophetarum divinis vocibus discimus:) l. v. c. 18. sub in.

<sup>s</sup> Virtus quoque soli homini data magno argumento est, immortales esse animas; quæ non erit secundum naturam, si anima exstinguitur. Huic enim præsentis vitæ nocet, &c. l. vii. c. 9. p. 677.

<sup>t</sup> Si autem virtus malum non est, facitque honeste, quod voluptates vitiosas turpesque contemnit, et fortiter, quod nec dolorem nec mortem timet, ut officium servet; ergo majus aliquod bonum assequatur necesse est, quam sunt illa, quæ spernit. At vero, morte susceptâ, quod ulterius bonum sperari potest, nisi æternitatis? l. vii. c. 9. ad fin.

Virtus autem nunquam, nisi morte, finitur: quoniam et in morte suscipiendâ summum ejus officium est. Ergo præmium virtutis post mortem est. l. vii. c. 10. p. 679.

Quod si virtus, quæ bona omnia terrena contemnit, mala universa sapientissime perfert, ipsamque mortem pro officio suscipit, sine præmio esse non potest; quid superest, nisi ut merces ejus immortalitas sola sit? Epit. c. 35. in.

<sup>u</sup> Si enim post mortem nihil sumus, profecto stultissimi est hominis, non huic vitæ consulere, ut sit quam diutina et omnibus bonis plena. Quod qui faciet, a justitiæ regulâ discedat necesse est.—Si autem superest homini vita melior et longior,—hanc præsentem cum suis bonis contemnere sapientis est, cuius omnis jactura immortalitate pensatur. l. v. c. 18. sub in.

<sup>v</sup> Deinde qui justitiam sequentes, in hac vitâ miseri fuerint et contemti et inopes, et ob ipsam justitiam contumeliis et injuriis sæpe vexati, (quia nec aliter virtus tencri potest,) semper beati sunt futuri. l. vii. c. 11. p. 680.

<sup>w</sup> Perdetne suum præmium virtus? aut potius peribit ipsa? Minime. Sed

and excellent in itself as virtue ; but yet, if there is no other life, there is nothing more foolish and insignificant. God therefore, for certain, has appointed for it a great reward in another state.

(7.) He argues likewise, and, as seems to me, excellently, that<sup>x</sup> virtue is in its own nature perpetual, and always progressive. It is not reasonable therefore to suppose, that this principle, once begun and formed in the mind of man, should be cut off, and be for ever destroyed by providence.

(8.) He argues strongly, that<sup>y</sup> there can be no religion, if God does not reward and punish men according to their actions.

(9.) Truly, he<sup>z</sup> says, an excellent being ought to be honoured : but to what purpose, if he takes no notice of it.

(10.) He more than once argues to this purpose. Take<sup>a</sup> away the hope of eternal happiness ; and the pursuit of truth, and zeal for religion and virtue, are without support and encouragement.

(11.) It is, he thinks, agreeable<sup>b</sup> to the divine beneficence, and other perfections, to reward virtue.

(12.) Again : The<sup>c</sup> sum, says he, of all we have said, is

et mercedem Deo jūdice accipiet, et vivet, et semper vigebit. Quæ si tollas, nihil potest in vitâ hominum tam inutile, tam stultum videri esse, quam virtus : cujus naturalis bonitas et honestas docere nos potest, animam non esse mortalem, divinumque illi a Deo præmium constitutum. l. v. c. 18. p. 515.

<sup>x</sup> Virtus autem sine ullâ intermissione perpetua est, nec discedere ab ea potest, qui eam semel cepit.—Ipsa ergo virtutis perpetuitas indicat, humanum animum, si virtutem ceperit, permanere.—Ergo præmium virtuti post mortem. l. vii. c. 10. Justitia vero et beneficentia tam immortales, quam mens et anima, quæ bonis operibus similitudinem Dei assequitur, &c. De Irâ Dei, cap. ult. sub fin.

<sup>y</sup> In eo enim summa omnis et cardo religionis pietatisque versatur. Neque honor ullus deberi potest Deo, si nihil præstat colenti ; nec ullus metus, si non irascitur non colenti. De Irâ Dei, c. 6. Sive igitur gratiam Deo, sive iram, sive utrumque detraxeris, religionem tolli necesse est, &c. ib. c. 8. p. 780.

<sup>z</sup> Si enim Deus nihil cuiquam boni tribuit ; si colentis obsequio nullam gratiam refert ; quid tam vanum, tam stultum, quam templa ædificare ?—At enim naturam excellentem honorari oportet. Quis honos deberi potest nihil curanti et ingrato ? De Ir. Dei, c. 8. Vid. et cap. 5. et not. <sup>1</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Nam quid prodest, aut falsis religionibus liberari, aut intelligere veram ? quid, aut vanitatem falsæ sapientiæ pervidere, aut quæ sit vera cognoscere ? quid, inquam, prodest cœlestem illam justitiam defendere ? quid, cum magnis difficultatibus cultum Dei tenere, quæ est summa virtus, nisi eum divinum præmium beatitudinis perpetuæ subsequatur ? l. vii. c. 1. in.

<sup>b</sup> Item plurimi, quibus persuasum est Deo placere justitiam,—eum venerantur——Ergo est, propter quod Deus et debeat gratificari. Nam si nihil est tam conveniens Deo, quam beneficentia, nihil autem tam alienum, quam ut sit ingratus, necesse est, ut officii optimorum sancteque viventium præstet aliquid, et vicem reddat, ne subeat ingrati culpam, quæ est etiam homini criminosa. De Irâ Dei, c. 16. p. 805.

<sup>c</sup> Nunc totam orationem brevi circumscriptione signemus. Idcirco mundus

this: the world was therefore made, that we might be born. We therefore are born, that we might serve God our creator, and the creator of the whole world. We therefore know him, that we might worship him. We therefore worship him, that we may obtain immortality, as a recompence for all the labours and fatigues of religion and virtue in this world. And we therefore obtain the reward of immortality, that being made like unto the angels, we may for ever serve the God and Father of all. And if there are no rewards and punishments hereafter, man and the whole world would have been made in vain.

(13.) Finally. ‘Immortality,’ he<sup>d</sup> says, ‘is the chief good. For obtaining this we were originally made. This human nature desires, and reaches after. And virtue advanceth us to it.’

13. Lactantius<sup>e</sup> did not deny the eternity of hell-torments.

14. He often asserts the great value of repentance.

(1.) He maintains, that<sup>f</sup> whenever sinners repent, they are pardoned.

(2.) Sincere<sup>g</sup> piety, repentance, humility, and confession of sins, he says, are propitiatory sacrifices, with which God

factus est, ut nascamur. Ideo nascimur, ut agnoscamus factorem mundi ac nostri. Ideo agnoscimus, ut colamus. Ideo colimus, ut immortalitatem pro laborum mercede capiamus, quoniam maximis laboribus cultus Dei constat. Ideo præmio immortalitatis afficimur, ut similes angelis effecti summo Patri ac Domino in perpetuum serviamus, et simus æternum Dei regnum.—Si nihil post mortem sumus, quid potest esse tam supervacuum, tam inane, tam vanum, quam humana res est, quam mundus ipse? l. vii. c. 6. in.

<sup>d</sup> Unum est igitur summum bonum immortalitas; ad quam capiendam et formati a principio et nati sumus. Et hanc ad tendimus: hanc spectat humana natura: ad hanc nos provehit virtus. l. vii. c. 8. in.

<sup>e</sup> —Si autem corpus vicerit animam, —sit in tenebris sempiternis et in morte. Cujus non ea vis est, ut injustas animas extinguat omnino, sed ut puniat in æternum. Eam pœnam secundam mortem nominamus, quæ est et ipsa perpetua, sicut et immortalitas. Primam sic definimus: —Mors est corporis animæque seductio. Secunda vero sic: Mors est æterni doloris permissio. Vel ita: Mors est animarum pro meritis ad æterna supplicia damnatio. l. ii. c. 12. p. 206, 207. Vid. et l. vii. c. 10. p. 679.

<sup>f</sup> —Nec patitur conditio fragilitatis, esse quemquam sine maculâ. Ultimum ergo remedium illud est, ut confugiamus ad pœnitentiam: quæ non minimum locum inter virtutes habet, quia sui correctio est: ut cum re aut verbo lapsi fuerimus, statim resipiscamus, ac nos deliquisse fateamur, oremusque a Deo veniam, quam pro suâ misericordiâ non negabit nisi permanentibus in errore, &c. Epit. cap. 67. in.

<sup>g</sup> Humilitas enim cara et amabilis Deo est, qui cum magis suscipiat peccatorem confitentem, quam justum superbum, quanto magis justum suscipiet confitentem, eumque in regnis cœlestibus faciet pro humilitate sublimem: Hæc sunt, quæ debet cultor Dei exhibere: hæc sunt victimæ, hoc sacrificium placabile, hic verus est cultus.—Summa illa majestas hoc cultore lætatur: hunc, ut filium, suscipit, eique donum immortalitatis impertit. Ibid.

is well pleased. Such worshippers God receives as his children, and will bestow upon them eternal life.

(3.) He thinks it altogether strange, that<sup>h</sup> God should be disposed to punish, and not to pardon and reward.

(4.) Inferior judges, he<sup>i</sup> says, may not be always able to pardon, when they are inclined to it. But it is the prerogative of the supreme Judge, to pardon, whenever he sees cause.

(5.) If we, as he farther argues, are<sup>k</sup> reconciled to our rebellious children, with whom we had been greatly offended, upon their amendment; why should we make any doubt, whether God our Father may be appeased by repentance?

(6.) The<sup>l</sup> divine displeasure against men, he thinks, ceases immediately upon their repentance and amendment.

(7.) This<sup>m</sup> doctrine, he says, is taught by the holy and inspired prophets of God, though he forbears to allege them particularly. However, in another place, arguing upon this subject, he manifestly refers to Ezek. xxxiii. 12—16, and says, that<sup>n</sup> repentance entirely obliterates the iniquity, or guilt, of him who had sinned.

(8.) All which arguments and reasonings of Lactantius seem to be founded upon the supposition, that, as he says, true<sup>o</sup> virtue alone recommends men to the divine acceptance:

<sup>h</sup> Primum illud nemo de Deo dixit unquam, irasci eum tantummodo, et gratiâ non moveri. De Irâ Dei, c. 3. Vid. et c. 2. sub fin. et Inst. l. 2. c. 17.

<sup>i</sup> Judex peccati veniam dare non potest, quia voluntati servit alienæ: Deus autem potest, quia est legis suæ ipse disceptator et judex; quam cum poneret, non utique ademit sibi omnem potestatem, sed habet ignoscendi licentiam. De Irâ Dei, c. 19. ad fin.

<sup>k</sup> Licet plane. Nam si liberos nostros, cum delictorum suorum cernimus pœnitere, correctos esse arbitramur, et abdicatos rejectosque rursus tamen suscipimus, fovemus, amplectimur; cur desperemus clementiam Dei Patris pœnitendo posse placari? Inst. l. vi. cap. 24. sub in.

<sup>l</sup> ———Nam si prorsus immortalis fuisset ira ejus, non esset satisfactionis aut gratiæ post delictum locus. ———Deus itaque non thure, non hostiâ, non pretiosis muneribus, — sed morum emendatione placatur: et, qui peccare desinit, iram Dei mortalem facit. De Irâ Dei, c. 21. in fin.

<sup>m</sup> Prophetæ universi, Divino Spiritu pleni, nihil aliud, quam de gratiâ Dei erga justos, et de irâ ejus adversus impios, loquuntur. Ib. c. 22.

<sup>n</sup> Sicut enim nihil prodest male viventi ante actæ vitæ probitas, — ita nihil officiant peccata vetera correcto, quia superveniens justitia labem vitæ prioris abolevit. l. vi. c. 24. p. 631.

<sup>o</sup> Nihil enim sancta et singularis illa majestas aliud ab homine desiderat, quam solam innocentiam: quam si quis obtulerit Deo, satis religiose litavit. l. vi. c. 1. p. 539.

Sit humilis, misericors, beneficus, mitis, humanus — Ille homo sanus, ille justus, ille perfectus est. — Hic cultor est veri Dei. ib. c. 24. p. 636.

Nulla igitur alia religio est vera, nisi quæ virtute ac justitiâ constat. ib. c. 25. p. 639.

Quod si Deo Patri ac Domino hac assiduitate, hoc obsequio, hac devotione servierit, consummata et perfecta justitia est; quam qui tenuerit, hic, ut ante

and that God desires nothing of men, but sincere virtue, or true holiness. Indeed, our author was<sup>p</sup> a great admirer of virtue, and has<sup>q</sup> most earnestly recommended the practice of it to christians.

15. I think, we should not omit to take some notice of what Lactantius says of the ends and views of Christ's coming, and particularly of his death.

(1.) God sent his son, he says, to<sup>r</sup> call the Gentiles: however, without excluding the Jews. For he was first sent to them; and they rejecting him, he brought in the Gentiles to the privileges of the church of God. Again, Christ<sup>s</sup> was sent to teach all nations under heaven the knowledge and worship of the one only true God; to<sup>t</sup> convert men from vain and impious superstitions, to the knowledge and worship of the true God, and also from folly to wisdom, from sin to holiness.

(2.) Righteousness<sup>u</sup> being in a manner lost in the earth, God sent this great messenger to instruct mortal men in the rules of righteousness: that he might be as a living law, to raise up a new name and temple, and spread true religion all over the world by his doctrine and example.

(3.) Christ<sup>v</sup> came to be a teacher and a pattern of virtue;

testati sumus, Deo paruit; hic religioni atque suo officio satisfecit. *ib.* c. 25. in fin.

<sup>p</sup> Nec enim potest aliquid in rebus terrenis esse venerabile, cœloque dignum: sed sola est virtus, sola justitia, quæ potest verum bonum, et cœleste, et perpetuum judicari, quia nec datur cuiquam, nec aufertur. *l. iv. c. 16. p. 401.*

Ut appareat, solam esse justitiam, quæ vitam homini pariat æternam; et solum Deum, qui æternæ vitæ præmium largiatur. *l. vii. c. 14. p. 692.*

<sup>q</sup> Nos tantummodo laboremus, ut ab hominibus nihil in nobis, nisi sola justitia puniatur. Demus operam totis viribus, ut mereamur a Deo simul et ultionem passionis et præmium. *l. v. c. 23. fin. Vid. et De Irâ Dei, cap. ult. prop. fin.*

<sup>r</sup> Nec adjecit ulterius prophetas mittere ad populum contumacem, sed filium suum misit, ut gentes universas ad gratiam Dei convocaret. Nec illos tamen ab spe salutis exclusit. *Epit. c. 43. Sed illum filium suum primogenitum delabi jussit e cœlis, ut religionem sanctam Dei transferret ad gentes, docereturque justitiam. Inst. l. iv. c. 11. p. 380.*

<sup>s</sup> Idcirco enim missus est a Deo patre, ut universis gentibus, quæ sub cœlo sunt, singularis et veri Dei sanctum mysterium revelaret. *l. iv. c. 12. p. 385.*

<sup>t</sup> Filium suum legavit ad homines, ut eos converteret ab impiis et vanis cultibus ad cognoscendum et colendum verum Deum; item, ut eorum mentes a stultitiâ ad sapientiam, ab iniquitate ad justitiæ jura, traderet. *l. iv. c. 14. p. 395.*

<sup>u</sup> Nam, cum justitia nulla esset in terrâ, doctorem misit, quasi vivam legem, ut nomen ac templum novum conderet, ut verum ac pium cultum per omnem terram verbis et exemplo seminaret. *l. iv. c. 25. sub in.*

<sup>v</sup> Summus igitur Deus, ac parens omnium, cum religionem transferre voluisset, doctorem justitiæ misit e cœlo, ut novis cultoribus novam legem in eo, vel per eum, daret. *Inst. l. iv. c. 13. in.*

to teach righteousness and patience, not only by words, but also by deeds.

(4.) Christ died and rose again, to<sup>w</sup> assist man in overcoming death, and give them also hopes of rising again, and obtaining the reward of immortality.

(5.) When<sup>x</sup> God determined to save man, he sent his Son, as a master of virtue, to teach the doctrine of righteousness, and to be an example of it, that men following him might obtain eternal life. He was also to deliver men from an excessive fear of death, and enable them to endure it with courage and patience. Christ lived in a mean condition, and underwent the ignominious death of the cross, that he might be a complete example of virtue, and of patience under sufferings: and that he might more easily lead and encourage such as are poor and mean in this<sup>y</sup> world.

(6.) In a word, Christ came, and was made like unto

Jussit igitur eum Summus Pater descendere in terram, et humanum corpus induere; ut, subjectus passionibus carnis, virtutem ac patientiam non solum verbis, sed etiam factis, doceret. Epit. c. 43.

Exemplis igitur opus est, ut ea, quæ præcipiuntur, habeant firmitatem——Christus itaque, cum doctor virtutis ad homines mitteretur, utique ut doctrina ejus perfecta esset, et docere et facere debuere. ib. c. 50.

Ergo, (ut cœperam dicere,) cum statuisset Deus doctorem virtutis mittere ad homines, renasci eum denuo in carne præcepit, et ipsi homini similem fieri, cui dux, et comes, et magister esset futurus. Inst. l. iv. c. 11. p. 382. Vid. ib. cap. 24.

<sup>w</sup> ——ut esset necesse, appropinquante sæculi termino, Dei filium descendere in terram: ——veruntamen non in virtute angeli, ——sed in figurâ hominis, et conditione mortali, ut, cum magisterio functus fuisset, traderetur in manus impiorum, mortemque susciperet, ut ea quoque per virtutem domita resurgeret, et homini, quem induerat, ——et spem vincendæ mortis afferret, et ad præmia immortalitatis admitteret. l. iv. c. 10. sub in.

<sup>x</sup> Deus namque, sicut superius exposui, cum statuisset hominem liberare, magistrum virtutis legavit in terram: qui et præceptis salutaribus formaret homines ad innocentiam, et operibus factisque præsentibus justitia viam [f. viam] panderet, quâ gradiens homo, et doctorem suum sequens, ad vitam æternam perveniret. Is igitur corporatus est, et veste carnis indutus, ut homini, ad quem docendum venerat, virtutis et exempla et incitamenta præberet. Sed, cum in omnibus vitæ officiis justitiæ specimen præbuisset, ut doloris quoque patientiam, mortisque contemptum, quibus perfecta et consummata sit virtus, traderet homini, venit in manus impiæ nationis——sustinuit ergo cruciatus, et verbera, et spinas. Postremo etiam mortem suscipere non recusavit, ut homo illo duce catenatam mortem cum suis terroribus triumpharet——cur potissimum cruce? cur infami genere supplicii, quod etiam homine libero, quamvis nocente, videatur indignum? Primum, quod is, qui humilis advenerat, ut humilibus et infimis opem ferret, et omnibus spem salutis ostenderet, eo genere afficiendus fuit, quo humiles et infimi solent: ne quis esset omnino, qui eum non posset imitari. l. iv. c. 26. p. 435, 436.

<sup>y</sup> Nam, cum ad hoc missus esset, ut humillimis quibusque viam panderet ad salutem, se ipse humilem fecit, ut eos liberaret. Suscepit ergo id genus mortis, quod solet humilibus irrogari, ut omnibus facultas daretur imitandi. Epit. cap. 51.

man, lived, and died, and rose again, that he might clearly teach the precepts of virtue, and afford<sup>z</sup> the best motives to the practice of it, and effectually help frail man<sup>a</sup> to conquer the desires of the flesh, and the fears of present evil, and to overcome all the temptations of this life, and thus obtain a happy immortality.

So Lactantius.

16. As Christ came to spread true religion all over the world, so Lactantius does<sup>b</sup> often bear testimony to the great progress which the christian doctrine had then made.

And he particularly says, that<sup>c</sup> there had been, and then were, many Jews, who believed in Jesus.

17. He has very agreeably represented<sup>d</sup> the fortitude and constancy of christian people, not only of men, but of women and children likewise, under the greatest sufferings for their religion.

18. Lactantius has strenuously asserted the right of<sup>e</sup>

<sup>z</sup> Ut homini virtutis et exempla et incitamenta præberet. Vid. not. x.

<sup>a</sup> Ideo carne se induit, ut, desideriiis carnis edomitis, doceret, non necessitatis esse peccare, sed propositi ac voluntatis. Una enim nobis et magna et præcipua cum carne luctatio est, cujus infinitæ cupiditates premunt animam—quibus [illecebris] ut repugnare possemus, Deus nobis viam superandæ carnis et aperuit et ostendit. Quæ virtus perfecta et omnibus numeris absoluta coronam vincentibus, et mercedem nobis immortalitatis, impertit. l. iv. cap. 25. in fin.

<sup>b</sup> Denique nulla gens tam inhumana est, nulla regio tam remota, cui aut passio ejus aut sublimitas majestatis ignota sit. l. iv. c. 26. p. 437.

——cum omnes gentes et omnes linguæ nomen ejus venerantur, majestatem confitentur, doctrinam sequuntur, virtutem imitantur. l. iv. c. 12. sub fin.

Cum vero ab ortu solis usque ad occasum lex divina suscepta sit, et omnis sexus, omnis ætas, et gens, et regio unis ac paribus animis Deo serviant. l. v. c. 13. p. 494.

Decet eos suscipere defensionem deorum suorum, ne, si nostra invaluerint, (ut quotidie invalescunt) cum delubris ac ludibriis suis deserantur. l. v. c. 19. p. 518, et passim.

<sup>c</sup> Sed tamen——ad eos ipsos eum misit,—ut,—et daret illis liberam facultatem sequendi Deum,—quod plurimi eorum faciunt atque fecerunt. l. iv. c. 11. sub fin.

<sup>d</sup> Latrones et robusti corporis viri ejusmodi lacerationes perferre nequeunt exclamant, et gemitus edunt. Vincuntur enim dolore, quia deest illis inspirata patientia. Nostri autem, ut de viris taceam, pueri et mulierculæ tortores suos taciti vincunt; et exprimere illis gemitum nec ignis potest. Eant Romani, et Mutio gloriantur aut Regulo:—Ecce sexus infirmus, et fragilis ætas, dilacerari se toto corpore utique perpetitur, non necessitate, quia licet vitare, si vellent: sed voluntate, quia confidunt Deo. Hæc est vera virtus. l. v. c. 13. p. 495, 496.

<sup>e</sup> Quare oportet in eâ re maxime, in quâ vitæ ratio versatur, sibi quemque confidere, suoque judicio, ac propriis sensibus niti ad investigandam et perpendendam veritatem, quam credentem alienis erroribus, decipi, tanquam ipsum rationis expertem. Dedit omnibus Deus pro virili portione sapientiam, ut et inaudita investigare possent, et audita perpendere. Nec quia nos illi tempore antecesserunt, sapientiâ quoque antecesserunt: quæ si omnibus

private judgment for every man in things of religion. And he openly calls upon all men to exert their intellectual powers in the search of truth, and to use their own reason about a matter of so great importance as religion, without relying upon the wisdom and understanding of other men, as if they had no reason of their own.

Mr. Mosheim<sup>f</sup> has quoted that passage of our author with approbation, and thereby, as well as on many other accounts, entitled himself to the respect and esteem of all lovers of liberty and good sense. This is very different from the sentiment of another celebrated modern, who<sup>g</sup> forbids men the use of their reason in things of religion, and requires them to acquiesce in the church, and take her interpretations of scripture as divine: and censures Eusebius, of Cæsarea in particular, for explaining scripture according to the best of his own judgment. Such is the precious liberty of a certain church! such her goodness, to rob us of our understandings, or at least to deny us the use of them! For if Eusebius, a bishop within three hundred years after our Lord's ascension, may not judge for himself, how vain must be all our pretensions to such a privilege! But why cannot we understand the scriptures as readily as the decisions of the church? And how came she to engross reason to herself, which, as Lactantius says, is given to every man for his direction and assistance, and is no more to be monopolized than the light of the sun? However, for certain, we have

æqualiter datur, occupari ab antecedentibus non potest. Illibabilis est, tanquam lux et claritas solis: quia, ut sol oculorum, sic sapientia lumen est cordis humani. Quare, cum sapere, id est, veritatem quærere, omnibus sit innatum, sapientiam sibi adimunt, qui sine ullo judicio inventa majorum probant, et ab aliis pecudum more ducuntur. Sed hoc eos fallit, quod majorum nomine posito, non putant fieri posse, aut ut ipsi plus sapiant, quia minores vocantur, aut illi desipient, quia majores nominantur. Inst. l. ii. c. 7. init.

<sup>f</sup> Abjicienda igitur triplex hæc servitus, mensque prorsus in libertatem vindicanda. Cesset hominum studium, quos, licet sanctos, eximiosque, homines tamen fuisse recordemur erroribus obnoxios. Pulchre et prorsus ad hanc rem accommodata Lactantius Divinarum Institutionum, l. ii. c. 7. Dedit omnibus Deus, &c. Jo. Laurent. Mosh. Institut. Hist. Christ. Majores in Præpar. v. 20. p. 23. Helmstad. 1739.

<sup>g</sup> Cum quis eo devenit, ut fidei dogmata ex sui judicii arbitrio definiat,— nihil mirum, si frequenter aberret: omnia quippe sunt incerta, cum semel ab ecclesiæ statutis discessum est. Nam cum arcana Deitatis et religionis, ab humano sensu remotissima, Numen Ipsum tradiderit, nonnisi ejusdem numinis ope et afflatu ea possunt explicari ac recte percipi. Ac cum uni ecclesiæ earundem rerum arbitrium Deus permiserit, ipsi soli eadem explananti se adfuturum pollicitus esset. Nihil itaque insolens est, si Eusebius, qui plerumque scripturam et ecclesiæ dogmata ex sensu et opinione suâ æstimare ausus est, in multis lapsus sit. Montfauc. Prælim. in Euseb. Comm. in Psalm. cap. 7. p. 29.

seen, that this doctrine of the church was unknown to Eusebius and Lactantius, the most learned men of their times, one among the Greeks, the other among the Latins.

19. Lactantius argues excellently against persecution.

(1.) He esteems it the greatest absurdity that can be conceived, for<sup>h</sup> any to impose on others a worship contrary to their conscience, or to deny men the liberty to choose their own religion.

(2.) It is not, he says, zeal<sup>i</sup> for religion, but a love of power, that makes men persecutors. For religion is the freest thing in the world: nor can it be promoted by force and violence. Compulsion may make men hypocrites, but it cannot make them religious.

Tertullian had before spoken in the like<sup>k</sup> manner.

(3.) Such is the nature of religion, that<sup>l</sup> it can be upheld by reason and persuasion only, not by power and authority. If you introduce force and violence, religion is destroyed; for, without the free consent of the mind there can be no religion. By<sup>m</sup> attempting to secure religion by force, you make what should be a school of virtue, a butchery, or place of execution. Truth and compulsion, religion and cruelty, are incompatible, and can have no fellowship with each other. The<sup>n</sup> heathens therefore he argues, as they were mistaken in religion itself, so likewise in the manner of defending it.

(4.) It is, he says, a<sup>o</sup> sign of a bad cause, to defend it by

<sup>h</sup> Quis enim tam insolens, tam elatus est, qui me vetet oculos in cœlum tollere? Quis imponat mihi necessitatem vel colendi—quod nolim, vel quod velim non colendi? Quid jam nobis ulterius relinquatur, si etiam hoc, quod voluntate fieri oportet, libido extorget aliena? Inst. l. v. c. 13. p. 496. f.

<sup>i</sup> Sed quis audiet? cum homines furiosi et impotentes minui dominationem suam putent, si sit, aliquid in rebus humanis liberum. Atqui religio sola est, in quâ libertas domicilium collocavit. Res est enim præter cæteras voluntaria. Nec imponi cuiquam necessitas potest, ut colat quod non vult. Potest aliquis forsam simulare, non potest velle. Epit. cap. 54. Vid. ib. c. 55.

<sup>k</sup> Nemo se ab invito coli volet, ne homo quidem. Apol. c. 24. Sed nec religionis est cogere religionem, quæ sponte suscipi debeat, non vi. Ad Scap. cap. 2.

<sup>l</sup> Non est opus vi et injuriâ, quia religio cogi non potest. Verbis potius, quam verberibus, res agenda est, ut sit voluntas. Inst. l. v. c. 19. p. 518, &c.

<sup>m</sup> Longe diversa sunt carnificina et pietas. Nec potest aut veritas cum vi, aut justitia cum crudelitate, conjungi. l. v. c. 18. p. 519.

<sup>n</sup> Sed, ut in ipsâ religione, sic in defensionis genere, falluntur. Defendenda enim religio est, non occidendo, sed moriendo: non sævitiâ, sed patientiâ: non scelere, sed fide: nam, si sanguine, si tormentis, si malo religionem defendere velis, jam non defendetur illa, sed polluetur, atque violabitur. Nihil est enim tam voluntarium, quam religio: in quâ si animus sacrificantis aversus est, jam sublata, jam nulla est. l. v. cap. 20. p. 520.

<sup>o</sup> Defendenda enim religio est, non occidendo, sed moriendo——non sævitiâ sed patientiâ. Illa enim malorum sunt, hæc bonorum. Et necesse est bonum in religione versari, non malum. Inst. l. v. c. 19. p. 520. Ex quo

violence. If it were good in itself, reason and mildness would be the best means to secure it.

(5.) If the<sup>p</sup> gods are able, let them defend themselves. Methods of cruelty are unreasonable in all respects; they<sup>q</sup> cannot be acceptable to the Deity, if he has any excellence. If<sup>r</sup> such methods are approved by the gods, that alone is a sufficient reason, why they should not be worshipped. And<sup>s</sup> they must be disagreeable and offensive to those, on whom they are practised with pretence of good-will. For how can I esteem it a kindness to be forced out of an opinion, which I took upon reason and choice?

(6.) Lactantius likewise maintains, that<sup>t</sup> it is no just reason, why men should be persecuted, because they desert or oppose ancient and established religions. For there can be no prescription against truth; and every man has an unalienable right to search after truth, and to profess it, when he has acquired the knowledge of it.

(7.) He vindicates christians against the charge of obstinacy, as by other considerations, so<sup>u</sup> likewise by retorting intelligi datur, quam non sit bonum deos colere; quoniam bono potius adducendi homines ad bonum fuerant, non malo: sed quia illud malum est, etiam officium ejus bono caret. Ib. cap. 20. p. 525. Vid. et Epit. cap. 53.

<sup>p</sup> Sed hæc se facere dicunt, ut deos suos defendant. Primum, si dii sunt, et habent aliquid potestatis et numinis, defensione hominis patrociniæque non indigent, sed seipsos utique defendunt. Epit. c. 53. in.

<sup>q</sup> Vellem scire, cum invitos adigunt ad sacrificium, quid secum habeant rationis, aut cui præstant, quod faciunt. Si diis, non est ille cultus, nec acceptabile sacrificium, quod sit ingratis. Ep. c. 53.

<sup>r</sup> Libet igitur ex his quærere, cui potissimam præstare se putent, cogendo invitos ad sacrificium, Ipsisne quos cogunt?—Cur ergo tam crudeliter vexant, cruciant, debilitant, si salvos volunt?—An vero diis præstant? At non est sacrificium, quod exprimitur invito.—Si dii sunt isti, qui sic coluntur, vel propter hoc solum colendi non sunt, quod sic coli volunt: digni scilicet detestatione hominum, quibus lacrymis, cum gemitu, cum sanguine de membris omnibus fluente, libatur. Inst. l. v. cap. 20. p. 524.

<sup>s</sup> Si autem ipsis, quos cogunt: cur malo invitas?—Quæ stultitia est consuere velle nolenti? Cur pro beneficio imputes, quod mihi maleficium est?—Non est [bonum] quod velis errori meo succurrere, quem judicio ac voluntate suscepi. Epit. cap. 53. sub fin. Et vid. supr. not. <sup>r</sup>, in it.

<sup>t</sup> Sed recte ac merito puniri eos aiunt, qui publicas religiones a majoribus traditas exsecratur. Quid, si majores illi stulti fuerunt in suscipiendis religionibus vanis,—præscribetur nobis, quo minus vera et meliora sectemur? Cur nobis auferimus libertatem, et quasi addicti alienis servimus erroribus? Liceat sapere, liceat inquirere veritatem. Epit. cap. 55. in it. At enim puniendi sunt, qui destruunt religiones, &c. Inst. l. v. c. 20. p. 525.

<sup>u</sup> Sed, inhærentes persuasioni vulgari, libenter errant, et stultitiæ suæ favent. A quibus si persuasionis ejus rationem requiras, nullam possunt reddere, sed ad majorum judicia confugiant, quod illi sapientes fuerint, illi probaverint, illi scierint, quid est optimum.—O mira et cæca dementia! In iis putatur mala mens esse, qui fidem servare conantur, in carnificibus autem bona. In iisne mala mens esset, qui contra fas omne lacerantur? an potius in iis, qui ea faciunt in corporibus innocentum, quæ nec sævissimi latrones, nec iratissimi

upon their heathen adversaries and persecutors a charge of credulity and ignorance, cruelty and inhumanity.

(8.) Though I have already transcribed from this author so much relating to this point, I know not how to forbear referring in the margin to a fine passage of his, concerning the universal equality of <sup>v</sup> mankind.

(9.) He imputes the heathen persecutions not only to a love of power, as before seen, but likewise to the <sup>w</sup> apprehensions for the downfall of their own religion, occasioned by the vast and continual increase and progress of christianity.

(10.) But whatever they designed, Lactantius affirms, that<sup>x</sup> the christians never were diminished by persecution; and that<sup>y</sup> the persecutions they endured did many ways contribute to their increase. Many there were who could not but dislike that religion which inspired cruelty: some began to suspect that there must be somewhat wrong in those sacrifices, to which men could not be compelled. And they were induced to inquire into those principles, for which great numbers of persons of all nations, of each sex, of every age and condition, cheerfully underwent such grievous sufferings.

(11.) Thus has Lactantius shown, that compulsion is not acceptable, nor honourable to the Deity: that it is not a

hostes, nec immanissimi barbari, aliquando fecerunt. Inst. l. v. c. 19. p. 517.

<sup>v</sup> Æquitatem dico,—se cum cæteris cœquandi, quam Cicero æquabilitatem vocat. Deus enim, qui homines generat et inspirat, omnes æquos, id est, pares, esse voluit; eandem conditionem vivendi omnibus posuit? omnes ad sapientiam genuit; omnibus immortalitatem spondit.—Nemo apud Deum servus est, nemo dominus. l. v. c. 14. p. 501.

<sup>w</sup> Cur enim tam crudeliter sæviant, nisi quia metuunt, ne, in dies invalescente justitiâ, cum diis suis araneosis [al. cariosis. Vid. Heum. in loc.] relinquuntur? Inst. l. v. c. 12. sub fin.

<sup>x</sup> Cum autem noster numerus semper deorum cultoribus augeatur, nunquam vero ne in ipsâ quidem persecutione minuatur, ib. c. 13. init. Et quoniam vi nihil possunt, (aucter enim religio Dei, quanto magis premitur,) ratione potius et hortamentis agant. l. v. c. 19. p. 518.

<sup>y</sup> Nec, cum videat vulgus dilacerari homines variis tormentorum generibus, et inter fatigatos carnifices invictam tenere patientiam, existimant, id quod res est, nec consensum tam multorum, nec perseverantiam morientium vanam esse, l. v. c. 13. p. 495. Et alia causa est, cur adversum nos persecutiones fieri sinat: ut populus Dei augeatur. Nec est difficile monstrare, cur aut quomodo id fiat. Primum, fugantur a deorum cultibus plurimi, odio crudelitatis. Qui enim talia sacrificia non horreant? Deinde placet quibusdam virtus ac fides ipsa. Nonnulli suspicantur, deorum cultum non sine causâ malum putari a tam multis hominibus, ut emori malint, quam id facere, quod alii faciunt, ut vivant. Aliqui cupiunt scire, quidnam sit illud bonum, quod ad mortem usque defenditur; quod omnibus, quæ in hac vitâ jucunda sunt, et cara, præfertur.—Hæc tot causæ in unum collatæ magnam Deo multitudinem acquirunt. l. v. c. 22. ad fin.

real kindness to those on whom it is exercised: that it is a sign of a bad cause, and contrary to the nature of religion, which is above all things free, and must be a man's own choice: and that it is impossible, that true religion should be served and advanced by force and violence. He likewise maintains, that antiquity and human authority can never amount to prescription against truth and freedom of inquiry.

(12.) Indeed Lactantius has in his remaining works, particularly his Institutions and their Epitome, fully confuted every pretence for persecution. And if his book, Of Persecution, mentioned by Jerom, were still in being, I persuade myself, we should have had some more fine thoughts upon this subject, which we now want.

20. Our author does likewise disclaim all persecution in the name of all christians in general, as unworthy the goodness of their cause.

(1.) We<sup>z</sup> do not desire that men should worship our God, unless they are willing, though he be the Creator of the whole world. We teach, says<sup>a</sup> he, we argue, we demonstrate; but we do not allure by worldly considerations: yet none leave us, being retained by the bands of truth and love. It<sup>b</sup> is not by human authority that things are decided among us, but by the word of God alone.

(2.) This is glorious, when it can be truly said of the professors of any religion: and it ought by all means to be truly said of the professors of the true religion. It is likely it may be said of those who hold religion in its perfection and purity: for it may be argued, that wherever there is persecution, there some things are maintained, which are contrary to reason, and are no parts of true religion. Where therefore persecution is at a great height, there, very probably, religion is in a low estate.

IV. I must take some particular notice of errors ascribed to Lactantius. They are very<sup>c</sup> numerous. Gallæus has placed a large catalogue of them at the end of his edition.

<sup>z</sup> At nos contra non expetimus, ut Deum nostrum, qui est omnium Creator, velit, nolit, colat aliquis invitus: nec si non coluerit, irascimur. l. v. c. 20. p. 524.

<sup>a</sup> Imitentur nos, ut rationem rei totius exponant. Non enim allicimus, ut ipsi objectant, sed docemus, probamus, ostendimus. Itaque nemo a nobis retinetur invitus. Inutilis est enim Deo, qui devotione ac fide caret. Et tamen nemo discedit, ipsâ veritate retinente. l. v. cap. 19. p. 519.

<sup>b</sup> Quæ omnia non asseveratione propriâ, (nec enim valet quicquam mortalis hominis auctoritas,) sed divinis aliquibus testimoniis, confirmant, sicuti nos facimus. ib. p. 518.

<sup>c</sup> Tantus vero est eorum numerus, ut vix unquam alius scriptor tam sæpe in paucis libris errâsse videatur. Aliqui enim centum et septuaginta illius

(1.) Some have charged Lactantius with Manichæism. Several passages in his works are suspected of this error: some learned men are of opinion, that those passages are not genuine. For which reason, in late editions, they are generally placed at the bottom of the pages among the notes. In the edition of Gryphius, before mentioned, those passages stand in the text; but they are marked with a small star before and after them. The learned Dr. Heumann, in his notes upon one of those passages, declares himself in favour of their<sup>d</sup> genuineness. And I readily acquiesce in his judgment upon them: but I do not discern Manichæism in those passages, nor in any other part of Lactantius.

Dr. Heumann, the last editor of Lactantius, has renewed the charge of Manichæism against our author, which I wonder at. But the authority of so learned a writer will oblige me to speak to a point which I once hoped to pass over with little or no notice.

Dr. Heumann says, that<sup>e</sup> Manichæism spread in Africa, the native country of Lactantius, and Augustine was once in that sentiment.

But Lactantius is almost a hundred years older than Augustine. It is likely, that Lactantius left Africa, before Manichæism had got any footing there. It cannot be shown, that Manichæism was at all known in the Roman empire till near the end of the third century: and then, it is probable, for some good while had few followers. Lactantius, I apprehend, must have formed his sentiments, both in philosophy and divinity, before he could possibly be acquainted with that doctrine from Persia, if ever he was at all acquainted with it: which I very much question, for I cannot perceive in all his works any traces of such knowledge.

Moreover Lactantius expresseth himself differently upon

*errata olim numerabant; alii ea postmodum ad quatuor supra nonaginta, alii vero ad minorem numerum redegerunt. Nourr. App. T. 2. p. 643. A.*

<sup>d</sup> Additamentum a Cellario hic subjectum in nullo bonorum codicum reperiri scribit Thomasius. Nec in ullis veterum mearum editionum id offendi. Tamen credo, Lactantium ejus esse auctorem. Nec assentior Thomasio, qui profectum esse id putat a Manichæo quopiam. Nam primo nihil in hoc additamento docetur, quod non idem in superioribus docuerit Lactantius.— Apparet hinc, castrationem, quam vocant, scriptorum ecclesiasticorum non esse rem novam; sed jam olim fuisse, qui, quæ deteriora tenebrisque digna ipsis videbantur, inde rescindisse. Heuman. not. ad Inst. l. vii. c. 5. p. 627. Vid. ejusdem not. ad cap. 19. De Opif. Dei, p. 828.

<sup>e</sup> Quo minus jam abhorreo a credendo, militasse Lactantium aliquando in castris Manetis sive Manichæi, frustra que consumsisse omnem operam Thomasium illum Hispanum in abstergendâ ei hac labe. Vigebat scilicet eo tempore hæc hæresis in Africâ, Lactantii patriâ; et Augustinus quoque ibi aliquid hauserat ex hac disciplinâ. Heum. in Præf. ad Lactant.

all the peculiarities of that sect. He asserts<sup>f</sup> creation out of<sup>g</sup> nothing, and<sup>h</sup> that God made matter itself: which every one knows to be different from the Manichees, who held the eternity of matter. And he says that<sup>i</sup> it is God alone, who is not made, or is eternal. His account likewise of<sup>k</sup> the formation of man, particularly<sup>l</sup> the sexes, is entirely different from that of the Manichees. He scruples not to affirm, that<sup>m</sup> their strong propensities, and ardent affection for each other, are the constitution of Divine Providence. And he says that<sup>n</sup> God made soul and body, and that all we have is from him. Lactantius also says that<sup>o</sup> God made the devil: who was at first good, but fell from perfection. The Manichees always and entirely rejected the Jewish scriptures of the Old Testament. But Lactantius heartily received them, and quotes them frequently, as will be seen hereafter. He calls them<sup>p</sup>

<sup>f</sup> At si concipiat animo, quanta sit divini hujus operis immensitas, cum antea nihil esset, tamen virtute et consilio Dei ex nihilo esse conflata. Inst. l. i. c. 3. p. 14. Nemo quæret, ex quibus ista materiis tam magna, tam mirifica opera Deus fecerit. Omnia enim fecit ex nihilo. Nec audiendi sunt poëtæ, qui aiunt chaos in principio fuisse.——Quibus facile est respondere, potestatem Dei non intelligentibus, quem credunt nihil efficere posse nisi ex materiâ subjacente ac paratâ; in quo errore etiam philosophi fuerunt. l. ii. c. 8. p. 179, 180.

<sup>g</sup> Lactantius is reckoned by Beausobre among those early christian writers, who taught creation out of nothing. See Hist. de Manich. T. 2. p. 165, and 234.

<sup>h</sup> Deus vero facit sibi ipse materiam, quia potest.——Quid vero mirum, si, facturus mundum, Deus, prius materiam, de quâ faceret, præparavit, et præparavit ex eo, quod non erat? l. ii. c. 8. p. 182. Materia vero semper fuisse non potest, quia mutationem caperet, si fuisset, &c. ib. p. 184. in.

<sup>i</sup> Solus igitur Deus est, qui factus non est. l. ii. c. 8. p. 184.

<sup>k</sup> Hominem finxit ex ipsâ terrâ, quam illi a principio in habitaculum præparavit; id est, spiritum suum terreno corpore induit et involvit. l. vii. c. 5. p. 663.

<sup>l</sup> Cum ergo marem ad similitudinem suam primum finxisset, tum etiam feminam configuravit ad ipsius hominis effigiem, ut duo inter se permisti sexus propagare sobolem possent, et omnem terram multitudine opplere. l. ii. c. 12. in. Vid. et cap. 10. ib. et de Opif. Dei, cap. 10.

<sup>m</sup> Cum excogitasset Deus duorum sexuum rationem, attribuit iis, ut se invicem appeterent, et conjunctione gauderent.——Quæ cupiditas et appetentia in homine vehementior et acrior invenitur. l. vi. c. 23. p. 625. Sed divina lex ita duos in matrimonium——pari jure conjungit.——Nec aliam ob causam Deus, cum cæteras animantes suscepto fetu maribus repugnare voluisset, solam omnium mulierem patientem viri fecit; scilicet, ne, feminis repugnantibus, libido cogeret viros aliud appetere. ib. p. 628. Ut libidinem producendæ sobolis gratiâ dedit. De Irâ Dei, cap. 18. p. 813.

<sup>n</sup> Deus ergo veri patris officio functus est. Ipse corpus affinxit, ipse animam, quâ spiramus, infudit. Illius est totum, quicquid sumus. Inst. l. ii. cap. 11. sub fin.

<sup>o</sup> Deinde fecit alterum, in quo indoles divinæ stirpis permansit——suoque arbitrio, quod a Deo illi liberum datum fuerat, contrarium sibi nomen abscivit.——Hunc ergo, ex bono per se malum effectum, Græci *Διαβολον* appellant. Inst. l. ii. c. 8. p. 178.

<sup>p</sup> Salomonem, patremque ejus David, potentissimos reges fuisse——etiam iis fortasse sit notum, qui divinas literas non attigerunt. l. iv. c. 8. p. 372.

sacred and divine: he considers their<sup>a</sup> prophets as men inspired by the one true God. He speaks of idolatry prevailing every where, except<sup>r</sup> with the Hebrews; among whom alone, he says, true religion was upheld for a long time. He calls the Jewish religion<sup>s</sup> divine. The Jews<sup>t</sup> he considers as the ancestors of the christians: and he believes that<sup>u</sup> the Jewish prophets spake of Christ, and foretold many things concerning him. He<sup>v</sup> lays a vast stress upon the predictions of the prophets relating to Jesus. He also believes, that<sup>w</sup> Jesus Christ was clothed in flesh, and that<sup>x</sup> he was born and<sup>y</sup> died: of Christ's humanity, and his<sup>z</sup> having all the sinless infirmities of the human nature, Lactantius speaks in the most expressive terms that can be used. All which things are contrary to the Manichæan doctrine; as is well known to the learned, and may be perceived from the accounts formerly given of it.

Indeed, one can scarce forbear to suspect, that some learned men, who charge Lactantius with Manichæism, have

<sup>a</sup> Prophetæ——unum Deum prædicant, quippe qui unius Dei spiritu pleni. Inst. l. i. c. 4. p. 17. Vid. et l. iv. c. 5. et c. 11. in. et passim.

<sup>r</sup> Nam cum primum scelerati atque impii Deorum cultus—irrepererunt, tum penes solos Hebræos religio Dei mansit. Epit. c. 43. p. 111. edit. Davis.

<sup>s</sup> Ipsius autem——posteri Hebræi dicti, penes quos religio Dei resedit. l. ii. c. 13. p. 214. Cum sæpe Judæi—a divinâ lege desciscerent. l. iv. c. 11. in.

<sup>t</sup> Majores nostri, qui erant principes Hebræorum, &c. l. iv. c. 10. p. 374. Nam, cum posset populo suo et opes et regna largiri, sicut dederat ante Judæis, quorum nos successores ac posteri sumus;—idcirco eum voluit sub alienâ ditione atque imperio degere, ne—in luxuriam laberetur,——sicut illi majores nostri. l. v. c. 22. p. 522.

<sup>u</sup> Hanc ergo dispensationem ne quis ignoret, docebimus, prædicta esse omnia, quæ in Christo videmus completa.—Quæ omnia cum probavero eorum ipsorum literis, qui Deum suum mortali corpore utentem violaverunt. l. iv. c. 10. p. 374.

<sup>v</sup> Fecit miracula. Magum putâsemus, ut et vos nuncupatis, et Judæi tunc putaverunt, si non illa ipsa facturum Christum prophetæ omnes uno spiritu prædicâssent. l. v. c. 3. p. 469. Vid. et Epit. c. 45.

<sup>w</sup> Is igitur corporatus est, et veste carnis indutus. l. iv. c. 26. p. 435. f.

<sup>x</sup> ——renasci eum in carne præcepit, et ipsi homini similem fieri. l. iv. c. 11. p. 382. In primis enim testificamur, illum bis esse natum, primum in spiritu, postea in carne. l. iv. c. 8. in. Descendens itaque de cælo sanctus ille spiritus Dei sanctam virginem, cujus utero se insinuaret, elegit. At illa divino spiritu hausto repleta, concepit, et, sine ullo tactu viri, repente virginalis uterus intumuit. l. iv. c. 12. p. 383. Vid. Epit. c. 43. in. et f. et c. 44.

<sup>y</sup> Veruntamen non in virtute angeli,——sed in figurâ hominis et conditione mortali; ut, cum magisterio functus fuisset, traderetur in manus impiorum, mortemque susciperet. l. iv. c. 10. in. Discant igitur homines et intelligant, quare Deus summus, cum legatum suum mitteret,——mortali voluerit eum carne indui, et cruciatu affici, et morte mulctari. l. iv. c. 25. Vid. et Epit. cap. 50, et passim.

<sup>z</sup> ——Sed, si corpus hominis non induisset, non potuisset facere quæ docebat, id est, non irasci, non cupere divitias, non libidine inflammari, dolorem non timere, mortem contemnere. Epit. cap. 50.

not thoroughly informed themselves about the principles of that sect. For instance, some have in their remarks upon one of the fore-mentioned suspected passages in Lactantius, that<sup>a</sup> the writer teaches Manichæism, because he makes God to be the author both of good and evil. But allowing the writer not to have expressed himself exactly and properly upon that head, I presume, here is no Manichæism: for they held two eternal principles, one good, the other evil. And Lactantius always maintains, that<sup>b</sup> there is one cause and origin of all things, even God: and opposes<sup>c</sup> the doctrine of two eternal principles. I think, that<sup>d</sup> Dr. Pfaff has well answered that objection.

Gallæus acquits Lactantius of this<sup>e</sup> error; partly, because Jerom, and other ancient writers, never say any thing of it; which appears to me a good reason: partly, because he thinks the passages before taken notice of to be spurious.

2. It is well known, that<sup>f</sup> Lactantius did not believe that there are antipodes. We of this time cannot but wonder he should be so positive upon that head, and ridicule an opinion which is now universally received, and was then known and proposed by some. Otherwise there had been no occasion to argue against it.

<sup>a</sup> Neque etiam ullo modo admittenda, quippe quæ multos errores continet. Primo docet Manichæum errorem, nempe Deum creâsse duo principia, unum boni, alterum mali. Vid. Gallæi not. in Lact. Inst. l. ii. c. 8. p. 179. Eadem fuit opinio Isæi, qui in notis suis observat impium illud dogma nunquam alibi clarius adstrui.—In eo autem mortiferum aliquod Manichæorum virus versute et subtiliter insinuari, inde colligi potest, quod illius auctor aperte pronuntiat Deum fecisse bonum et malum. Nourr. App. T. ii. p. 638. E.

<sup>b</sup> Unus igitur est princeps et origo rerum, Deus. De Irâ Dei, c. xi. p. 794.

<sup>c</sup> Dua igitur constituuntur æterna, et quidem inter se contraria: quod fieri sine discordiâ et pernicie non potest.—Ergo fieri non potest, quin æterna natura sit simplex; ut inde omnia, velut ex fonte, descenderint. Inst. l. ii. c. 8. p. 182, 183.

<sup>d</sup> Quæ cum ita sint, non tamen vetustissimis hæreticis Manichæis, qui paulo ante tempora Lactantii nati sunt, annumerandus est Lactantius. Hi enim duo principia coæterna statuere, bonum et malum. Lactantius vero malum ab æterno non fuisse asserit, sed originem sumsisse in tempore confirmat. Pfaff. Diss. Præl. n. 21. p. 27.

<sup>e</sup> Fuere, qui Manichæismi quoque Lactantium accusare non dubitârunt. Sed quia nec Hieronymus, nec quisquam alius veterum, hunc in Lactantio errorem animadvertit: quia item vetusti codices non habent ea, &c. Gall. ap. Lact. p. 901. m.

<sup>f</sup> Quid illi, qui esse contrarios vestigiis nostris antipodas putant? Num aliquid loquuntur? Aut est quisquam tam ineptus, qui credat, esse homines quorum vestigia sint superiora, quam capita? aut ibi, quæ apud nos jacent, inversa pendere? fruges et arbores deorsum versus crescere? pluvias et nives et grandines sursum versus cadere in terram. Inst. l. iii. c. 24. in. De antipodis quoque sine risu nec audiri nec dici potest. Asseritur tamen, quasi aliquid serium, ut credamus esse homines, qui vestigiis nostris habent adversa vestigia. Epit. cap. 39.

3. He went into the common notion of that time, concerning the fall of many of the<sup>g</sup> angels.

4. It is also well known, that<sup>h</sup> Lactantius expected a terrestrial reign of Christ for a thousand years before the general judgment. Jerom has ridiculed<sup>i</sup> his Millenarian notions, which are chiefly enlarged upon in the seventh and last book of the Divine Institutions. Jerom took the same freedom with Irenæus, Tertullian, Victorinus, and other christian writers, who had the like sentiment.

This happy period our author thought to be very near, and that it could not be deferred<sup>k</sup> more than two hundred years.

5. Jerom has more than once remarked upon Lactantius, that<sup>l</sup> in his epistles, especially those to Demetrian, he denies the personality of the Holy Ghost: referring him, as the Jews erroneously do, to the Father or the Son. Jerom says, that<sup>m</sup> in his time this was a common opinion with many, who did not understand the scriptures.

6. In other places Jerom vindicates Lactantius<sup>n</sup> from an

<sup>g</sup> Vid. Inst. l. ii. c. 14. Epit. c. 27.

<sup>h</sup> Non quod ille regnum hoc terrenum fuerit adeptus, cujus capiendi nondum tempus advenit, sed quod cœleste et sempiternum. Inst. l. iv. c. 7. sub fin.

Nam cum ita sit a Deo constitutum, ut idem Christus his adveniat in terram; semel, ut unum Deum gentibus nuntiet, deinde, rursus, ut regnet. l. iv. c. 12. p. 385.

Necesse est, ut in fine sexti millesimi anni malitia omnis aboleatur e terrâ, et regnet per annos mille justitia, sitque tranquillitas, et requies a laboribus, l. vii. c. 14. p. 695. Vid. quæ ibidem sequuntur, et c. 15, 16, &c.

<sup>i</sup> Neque enim juxta judaïcas fabulas—gemmatam et auream de cœlo expectamus Jerusalem——Quod et multi nostrorum, et præcipue Tertulliani liber—de Spe Fidelium,—et Lactantii Institutionum volumen septimum pollicetur, et Victorini Pitabionensis epistoli crebræ expositiones. Hieron. in Ezek. cap. 36. T. iii. p. 952.

<sup>k</sup> Jam superius ostendi, completis annorum sex millibus mutationem istam fieri oportere, et jam propinquare summum illum conclusionis diem.—Quando tamen compleatur hæc summa, docent ii, qui de temporibus scripserunt.—Qui licet variant, et aliquantum numeri eorum summa dissentiat, omnis tamen expectatio non amplius quam ducentorum videtur annorum. l. vii. c. 25. p. 726.

<sup>l</sup> Lactantius in epistolis suis, et maxime in epistolis ad Demetrianum, Spiritus Sancti negat substantiam; et errore judaïco dicit eum vel ad Patrem referri, vel ad Filium, et sanctificationem utriusque personæ sub ejus nomine demonstrari. Hieron. ad Pamm. et Oc. ep. 41. [al. 65.] T. iv. p. 345.

<sup>m</sup> Hoc ideo, quia multi per imperitiam scripturarum (quod et Firmianus in octavo ad Demetrianum epistolarum libro facit) asserunt, Spiritum Sanctum sæpe Patrem sæpe Filium, nominari. Et, cum perspicue in Trinitate credamus, tertiam personam auferentes, non substantiam ejus volunt esse, sed nomen. In Galat. c. iv. v. 6. p. 268.

<sup>n</sup> Quantum memoria suggerit, nisi tamen fallor, nescio me legisse Lactantium *συσπειρομένην* animam dicere, &c. Adv. Ruf. l. ii. T. 4. p. 399. Conf. l. ii. p. 395. et l. iii. p. 465.

opinion concerning the origin of the soul, imputed to him by some.

7. Gallæus observes, that<sup>o</sup> Lactantius says little or nothing of Christ's priestly office. I do not remember, that Jerom has any where taken notice of this: but it is likely enough to be true; and that Lactantius did not consider Christ's death, in the modern way, as a propitiatory sacrifice for sin, or a satisfaction made to divine justice for the sins of the human race. This may be argued from his passages before transcribed, concerning the value of repentance, and the ends of Christ's death.

But then many other ancient christians will come in for their share in this charge. For according to Matthias Flacius Illyricus, in the preface to his *Clavis Scripturæ*, or *Key to the Scriptures*, 'The<sup>p</sup> christian writers, who 'lived soon after Christ and his apostles, discoursed like 'philosophers, of the law and its moral precepts, and of the 'nature of virtue and vice: but they were totally ignorant 'of man's natural corruption, and the mysteries of the gos- 'pel and Christ's benefits.' 'His countryman, St. Jerom,' he says, 'was well<sup>a</sup> skilled in the languages, and endeavoured 'to explain the scriptures by versions and commentaries. 'But after all he was able to do very little, being ignorant 'of the human disease, and of Christ the physician: and 'wanting both the key of scripture, and the lamb of God to 'open to him.'

The same Flacius, or some other learned writer of his time, in the preface to the *Centuriæ Magdeburgenses*, observes of Eusebius bishop of Cæsarea: 'That' it is a very

<sup>o</sup> Quod de præcipuo Christi incarnati officio, sacerdotali nimirum, tacuit: et ideo tantum Christum humanam naturam assumpsisse contendit,——ut universis gentibus, quæ sub cælo sunt, singularis et veri Dei sanctum mysterium revelaret, et unum illis Deum nunciaret——denique ut exempla virtutis homini præbere posset. Quæ omnia quam sint frigida, principe incarnationis Christi fine omisso, nemo non videt. Gall. Synth. Doct. Lact. p. 899.

<sup>p</sup> Olim, mox post apostolos, plerique scriptores ad philosophicas de lege ac præceptis moralibus, et virtutibus vitiisque, disputationes proruerunt; ignari prorsus nativæ corruptionis hominis, et evangelii mysteriorum, et beneficiorum Christi. M. Fl. lll. in Pr. ad Clav. Scr. S. p. 7. f.

<sup>a</sup> Unus popularis meus Hieronymus linguarum egregie peritus fuit; conatusque est sacras literas tum versionibus tum explicationibus illustrare. Sed reverà et morbi humani, et medici Christi ignarus, destitutusque tum clave scripturarum aperiente, nempe discrimine legis et evangelii, tum etiam apertore aut janitore ejus agno Dei, parum præstare potuit. Id. ib. p. 8. in.

<sup>r</sup> Ut enim de aliis nihil dicamus, Eusebius certe christianum hominem, l. i. c. 4. ita definit, ut, si absit cognitio Christi, quam ei tamen, sed obscure, tribuit, prorsus videatur ethnico more virum honestum——describere. Ait enim, christianum esse virum, qui per Christi cognitionem ac doctrinam, animi moderatione, et justitiâ, continentîaque vitæ, et virtutis fortitudine, ac

‘ low and imperfect description which he gives of a christian ; making him only a man, who, by the knowledge of Christ and his doctrine, is brought to the worship of the one true God, and the practice of sobriety, righteousness, patience, and other virtues. But he has not a word about regeneration, or imputed righteousness.’

Poor, ignorant, primitive christians ! I wonder how they could find the way to heaven ! They lived near the times of Christ and his apostles. They highly valued, and diligently read, the holy scriptures, and some wrote commentaries upon them ; but yet, it seems, they knew little or nothing of their religion ; though they embraced and professed it with the manifest hazard of all earthly good things, and many of them laid down their lives rather than renounce it. Truly we of these times are very happy in our orthodoxy ; but I wish that we did more excel in those virtues which they, and the scriptures likewise, I think, recommend, as the distinguishing properties of a christian. And I am not a little apprehensive, that many things, which now make a fair show among us, and in which we mightily pride ourselves, will in the end prove weeds only, on which the owner of the ground sets no value.

The early christians, after the apostles, were not infallible. I do not represent them as such. They had their errors ; but we should be sensible, that we also are liable to err. And possibly, they had in some respects a juster notion of true religion than we have. Grotius, in his notes upon<sup>s</sup> Rom. vii. 19, expresseth himself very differently from Flacius concerning the christians of the first three centuries.

V. We saw in the preceding chapter one of<sup>t</sup> St. Jerom’s commendations of the works of Lactantius. And here, as we have gone along, we have observed his judgment upon several pieces in particular. In another place, that learned ancient speaks of our author in this manner : ‘ Lactantius<sup>u</sup> flows like a river of Tullian eloquence. I wish he had been as able to defend our religion, as to confute others.’

pietatis confessione erga verum ac solum omnium Deum excellit. Ista primum nimis generaliter dicuntur. Deinde nihil de regeneratione.—Neque obscure significat, ad id tali homini notitiam Christi ejusque doctrinam solum prodesse, ut virtutibus possit excellere. Nihil de remissione peccatorum, atque imputatâ justitiâ per fidem in Christum dicit, quæ est quasi ipsissima christiani hominis forma. In Præf. ad Hist. Eccl. Magdeb. p. i.

<sup>s</sup> Deo laus sit, quod optimi, id est, trium primorum sæculorum christiani, hunc locum sic ut oportet intellexerint ; dictante illo spiritu, per quem vita ipsorum dirigebatur. Grot. ad Rom. vii. 19.

<sup>t</sup> See p. 456, 457.

<sup>u</sup> Lactantius, quasi quidam fluvius eloquentiæ Tullianæ, utinam tam nostra affirmare potuisset, quam facile aliena destruxit. Ad Paulin. Ep. 49. al. 13.

Apollinaris Sidonius likewise allows Lactantius<sup>v</sup> to have had an excellent talent at confuting error. For certain, the former is the more difficult of the two: and it is agreeable to a well known saying of Cicero himself, who had so great strength and capacity of mind: ‘I<sup>w</sup> wish,’ says he, ‘I could ‘as easily find out truth, as confute error.’

Trithemius says, that<sup>x</sup> Lactantius was well skilled in secular learning, and not a little conversant in the divine scriptures, and next to Cicero the most eloquent of all men.

It may not be amiss to take some notice likewise of the judgments of moderns upon this writer.

Dr. Heumann, in his preface to his edition of the works of Lactantius, gives his character at large. He<sup>y</sup> was pious, learned, and eloquent. But there are observable in him several faults and defects. He was no critic, nor philosopher, and but a poor divine.

His want of critical skill is supposed to be<sup>z</sup> apparent from his quoting the Sibylline oracles, and works of Hydaspes, and Hermes Trismegistus, as genuine and authentic.

That he was a poor reasoner, and but an indifferent philosopher, is<sup>a</sup> inferred from his arguments against antipodes, and from his reasonings upon some other occasions.

Lastly, he<sup>b</sup> was a miserable divine. For he speaks differently from the sound doctrine of the church concerning the Trinity, and several other points.

Bull says, that<sup>c</sup> sometimes Lactantius speaks orthodoxly of the Son. This matter has been carefully examined by<sup>d</sup> Petavius and <sup>e</sup>Nourry, to whom I refer.

<sup>v</sup> Instruit ut Hieronymus, destruit ut Lactantius, adstruit ut Augustinus. Sidon. Ep. l. iv. ep. 3. p. 9. <sup>w</sup> Nota Ciceronis vox est: Utinam tam facile vera invenire possem, quam falsa convincere. l. ii. c. 3. sub fin.

<sup>x</sup> ———Vir in secularibus literis abundanter doctus, et in divinis scripturis notabiliter institutus, ita ut in arte dicendi post Ciceronem facile obtinuerit principatum. De Scr. Ec. cap. 56.

<sup>y</sup> Virtutes ipsius tres cognovi, pietatem, variam doctrinam, eloquentiam: quarum prima vel sola commendare valet horum librorum lectionem. Apparebit certe cuivis lectori bono vere pium, christianâque virtute non tinctum, sed imbutum, fuisse Lactantium. Heum. Pr. sub fin.

<sup>z</sup> Tria item animadverti ejus vitia. Primum scilicet caruit facultate criticâ, acerrime ob id notatus a Thomâ Reinesio in libro de Sibyllinis Oraculis. id. ib.

<sup>a</sup> Deinde permediocris fuit noster Lactantius philosophus. Ecquis hodie non rideat ejus de antipodibus disputationem—? ibid.

<sup>b</sup> Postremo fatendum ingenuè, fuisse Lactantium perminutum theologum.—Ne satis quidem perceperat ecclesiæ doctrinas; recteque sibi de Christo, de Trinitate, deque aliis rebus docere videbatur, cum multa traderet a sensu veræ ecclesiæ alienissima. ibid.

<sup>c</sup> Nam Filium Dei unius esse cum Patre substantiæ, unumque Deum totum Patris continere et capere, clare affirmat. En loca diserta. Def. Fid. Nic. Sect. ii. c. 14. n. 4. p. 152. al. 170.

<sup>d</sup> Vid. Petav. Dogm. l. i. c. v. n. 6, 7.

<sup>e</sup> App. T. ii. p. 779, &c.

However, Bull says, that<sup>f</sup> Lactantius had very little knowledge of the christian doctrine. And it is very common for learned moderns to speak<sup>g</sup> in that manner of this writer and Arnobius. Mr. Warburton says, ‘that<sup>h</sup> though Lactantius ‘knew little of christianity, yet he was exquisitely well ‘skilled in the strong and weak side of philosophy.’

Lactantius had very different thoughts of himself; and reckoned, that he was able to defend truth, and particularly the<sup>i</sup> true christian religion, in such a manner as to recommend it to learned and unlearned, and remove the difficulties and objections of both: as he intimates at the beginning of his *Divine Institutions*. And he intended that work, as<sup>k</sup> a full and general answer to all, who already had, or ever should, oppose the christian doctrine.

Nor does it appear, that he was conceited of himself: but his<sup>l</sup> confidence was founded in the goodness of his cause, which he thought to have such evidence of truth, that he could not but succeed in the defence of it. And when he wrote his book, *Of the Workmanship of God*, one of his first performances in the service of religion, he supposed himself capable<sup>m</sup> to instruct other christians.

Mr. Warburton thinks, that<sup>n</sup> Lactantius, when he confutes the established heathen religion, spares the priests; but in

<sup>f</sup> Erat scriptor ille pene rudis disciplinæ christianæ, et in rhetoricâ melius quam in theologiâ versatus. *Ib.* p. 152. al. 170. Rhetor ille erat, non theologus; neque inter ecclesiæ doctores locum unquam obtinuit. *ib.* p. 218. al. 247.

<sup>g</sup> See Mr. Warburton's *Divine Legation*, Vol. i. p. 3.

<sup>h</sup> As before, p. 394. Again: ‘Lactantius having set up for a defender of christianity,’ p. 393.

<sup>i</sup> ——eaque [veritas] vel contemptui doctis est, quia idoneis assertoribus eget; vel odio indoctis, ob insitam sibi austeritatem—succurrendum esse his erroribus credidi; ut et docti ad veram sapientiam dirigantur, et indocti ad veram religionem. *l. i. c. 1. p. 4.*

<sup>k</sup> Suscepi hoc opus,—non ut contra hos scriberem, qui paucis verbis obtineri poterant,—sed ut omnes qui ubique idem operis efficiunt, aut effecerunt, uno semel impetu profigerem. *l. v. c. 4. p. 470.* Vid. et *l. vi. c. 1.* et *l. vii. c. 1.*

<sup>l</sup> Verum ego non eloquentiâ, sed veritatis fiduciâ suscepi hoc opus fortasse majus quam ut possit meis viribus sustineri; quod tamen, etiamsi ego defecerim, Deo, cujus est hoc munus, adjuvante, veritas ipsa complebit, &c. *l. iii. c. 1. p. 234.* Quod erat officium suscepti muneris, divino spiritu instruente, ac suffragante ipsâ veritate complevimus. *l. vi. c. 1. in.*

<sup>m</sup> —apud quem [Demetrianum] nunc profiteor, nullâ me necessitate, vel rei vel temporis, impediri, quo minus aliquid excudam, quo philosophi nostræ sectæ, quam tuemur, instructiores, doctioresque in posterum fiant. *De Op. Dei, c. 1. sub in.*

<sup>n</sup> ‘The eloquent Apologist—giving, in his ‘*Divine Institutions*, the last stroke to expiring paganism, where he confutes the national religion, spares, as much as possible, the priests: but in exposing ‘their philosophy, is not so tender of their sophists. For these last having no ‘public character, the state was not concerned to have them managed.’ *Dedication of Div. Leg. V. i. p. 30.*

exposing their philosophy, he is not so tender of the sophists. Nevertheless, I do not perceive, that Lactantius had any regard for heathen priests. And I apprehend he so concludes his second book, as to show that the <sup>o</sup> philosophers of his time were reputed by him the most formidable adversaries; so far as they were respected, and were in the wrong. This seems to be the reason why he argued so much against them. For a like reason Augustine, as he himself assures us, chiefly argued against the <sup>p</sup> Platonists.

Du Pin says, 'that <sup>a</sup> Lactantius is justly esteemed the ' christian Cicero for his style, and greatly surpasseth him ' in his thoughts.' For certain, so it ought to be: this is honourable to the christian religion. And I presume, that those learned moderns, who are pleased to depreciate Lactantius, as if it had little knowledge of the christian religion, will allow as much. I shall here refer to a passage of our author, correcting a moral sentiment of Cicero; where that great heathen moralist and philosopher seems to say, 'We <sup>r</sup> ' should relieve deserving persons. And, says Lactantius, ' undeserving likewise.

Some have said, that Lactantius took delight in opposing Cicero. However, it was not because he had not a high esteem for Cicero, as is manifest; but rather, it is likely, because there was no other person so considerable: and <sup>s</sup> if he was mistaken, it was not to be expected that any other heathen should have better notions.

Certainly Lactantius is to be respected upon many accounts. The time in which he lived secures him a kind of veneration. He saw the quiet and peaceful state of the church, before Dioclesian's persecution; he was also witness of that dreadful scene, and afterwards saw the flourishing condition of christians under Constantine. His eminent abilities recommended him to the esteem of two great emperors of different religions. His uncommon honesty and

<sup>o</sup> Peracta est igitur, ni fallor, magna et difficilis suscepti operis portio.—Nunc vero major nobis ac difficilior cum philosophis proposita luctatio est. l. ii. c. 19.

<sup>p</sup> Ideo quippe hos potissimum elegi, quorum de uno Deo qui fecit cœlum et terram, quanto melius senserunt, tanto cæteris gloriosiores et illustriores habentur. De Civ. Dei, l. viii. c. 12, Elegimus enim Platonicos, omnium philosophorum merito nobilissimos. Ib. l. x. c. 1. n. 1.

<sup>q</sup> Il mérite à bon droit le nom de Cicéron chrétien.—Quoiqu' il en soit, il est certain, que Lactance surpasse de beaucoup Cicéron pour les pensées, parce que les matières de la religion dont il traite sont infiniment au dessus des maximes de la doctrine des philosophes. Bib. T. i. p. 208.

<sup>r</sup> Et sæpe idoneis hominibus egentibus de re familiari impertiendum. Quid est idoneis?—Non enim idoneis hominibus largiendum est, sed, quantum potest, non idoneis, &c. l. vi. c. 11. p. 582.

<sup>s</sup> Eodem ductus errore Seneca. Quis enim veram viam teneret, errante Cicerone? l. iii. c. 15.

simplicity, and earnest zeal for the christian religion, and all truth in general, appear in his works: where also his learning is very conspicuous. But we had seen more proofs of this, if his epistles, and other works now lost, had come down to us. He had, as it seems, a certain vehemence and impetuosity of natural temper, not uncommon in Africans, which upon some occasions hindered his considering and weighing what might be said on both sides of a question. At the same time, possibly, we are indebted to that fire, which supported him in the fatigues of acquiring knowledge, and then communicating it to others.

I have allowed myself to enlarge in the article of Lactantius, who, I think, must have been an honour and ornament to the christian profession in his day; who employed his fine parts and extensive learning in the service of religion, without worldly views of any kind; whose works have had so many readers, and of which there have been so many editions, since the first discovery of the art of printing. It may be supposed, that a part of this writer's reputation is owing to the charms and beauties of his style: but the matter of his works is also a just recommendation. And indeed if authors desire to be read, they should aim at perspicuity at least, if not also at some neatness and elegance of expression; and not rely altogether on the importance of their argument. Cicero himself, with all his fine sentiments, upon things of great consequence, and notwithstanding his high station in the Roman commonwealth, would scarce have been universally read and admired, if his style had been rough, obscure, and perplexed.

VI. Lactantius, as formerly<sup>t</sup> seen, blamed Cyprian for citing scripture in a work addressed to a heathen. But the fault which he imputes to Cyprian, I think, must be supposed to have consisted chiefly in quoting not only the Old, but likewise the New Testament, and that<sup>u</sup> expressly. For Lactantius himself in his Institutions, and elsewhere, openly appeals sometimes to the writings of the ancient prophets; and quotes the books of the Old Testament almost as freely as he does Cicero, or Plato, or Hydaspes, or any other heathen author whatever.

I. We saw before, in part, this writer's regard for the Jewish scriptures, when we vindicated him from the charge of Manichæism. It is fit, that we should now show it more

<sup>t</sup> See p. 474.

<sup>u</sup> ———loquente Domino et dicenté: Ne dederitis sanctum canibus.—Cypr. ad Demetr. p. 185. Ipsum denique audi loquentem, ipsum voce divinâ instrumentem nos pariter et monentem: Dominum Deum tuum adorabis. ib. p. 187.

distinctly, and likewise observe what notice he has taken of the scriptures of the New Testament.

(1.) Lactantius says: 'All<sup>v</sup> scripture is divided into two Testaments; that which preceded the coming and passion of the Lord, called the Old Testament, consisting of the law and the prophets; and that which has been written since the resurrection of Christ, and is called the New Testament. The Jews use the Old, we the New: but they are not different; for the New is the accomplishment of the Old, and in both is the same testator, Christ.'

(2.) Lactantius has expressly quoted many books of the Old Testament, and the Psalms, and some others very often.

(3.) He relates from the books of Moses<sup>w</sup> the history of the creation, the fall of man, the flood, and likewise the history of the Jews, their going down into Egypt, and their return thence: and afterwards from the other books of the Old Testament, their government by judges, and then by kings, till the Babylonish captivity, as also their deliverance thence, and their return to their own land.

(4.) Several books of Moses are expressly quoted<sup>x</sup> by him, and<sup>y</sup> the book of Joshua, and<sup>z</sup> the books of the Kings. He quotes the book of Nehemiah by<sup>a</sup> the title of Esdras: probably, because it was reckoned the second book of Esdras; or because what he quotes was supposed to be spoken by Esdras. See Nehem. ch. ix. particularly ver. 26.

(5.) He often quotes the Psalms of David, and sometimes the Proverbs of Solomon. He likewise considers the book of Wisdom as a writing of Solomon. I put in the margin<sup>b</sup> passages, which show these several particulars.

(6.) Lactantius has quoted several of the prophets by

<sup>v</sup> Verum scriptura omnis in duo Testamenta divisa est. Illud, quod adventum Domini passionemque antecessit, id est, lex et prophetæ, Vetus dicitur. Ea vero, quæ post resurrectionem ejus scripta sunt, Novum Testamentum nominatur. Judæi Veteri utuntur, nos Novo. Sed tamen diversa non sunt, quia Nova Veteris adimpletio est, et in utroque idem testator est Christus. Inst. l. iv. c. 20. p. 420.

<sup>w</sup> Vid. Inst. l. ii. c. 9—13. l. iv. c. 10.

<sup>x</sup> Sed et ipse Moses—in Deuteronomio sic scriptum reliquit. Inst. l. iv. c. 17. p. 404. De quâ tamen apertius ipse Moses in Deuteronomio ita prædicavit.—Idem rursus in Numeris, l. iv. c. 18. p. 413, 414. Item Moses in Numeris: Orietur stella ex Jacob. Epit. c. 44. fin.

<sup>y</sup> Item Jesus Nave successor ejus. l. iv. c. 17. p. 405.

<sup>z</sup> Item Helias in libro βασιλικων tertio, l. iv. c. 11. p. 380. Item in βασιλικων libro secundo, propheta Nathan missus est ad David. ib. c. 13. p. 390.

<sup>a</sup> Hesdras etiam propheta, qui fuit ejusdem Cyri temporibus, a quo Judæi sunt restituti, sic loquitur. l. iv. c. 11. p. 380.

<sup>b</sup> Hunc prophetæ divino spiritu pleni prædicaverunt: quorum præcipue Salomon in libro Sapientiæ, item pater ejus cælestium scriptor hymnorum, ambo clarissimi reges, qui Trojani belli tempora clxxx. annis antecesserunt. Epit. c. 42.

name; as<sup>c</sup> Isaiah, who was sawn asunder by the Jews, and<sup>d</sup> Jeremiah, and<sup>e</sup> Daniel.

(7.) Citing Hosea, he calls him<sup>f</sup> the first of the twelve prophets; which shows, they were all received by him: and indeed divers others of them are quoted by him, as<sup>g</sup> Amos, <sup>h</sup> Micah, <sup>i</sup> Zechariah, whom he calls the last of the prophets, and<sup>k</sup> Malachi.

(8.) What Lactantius says of Zechariah's being the last of the prophets, is an argument, that he did not receive any Jewish books as canonical, which were written, or allowed to be written, after those of the twelve prophets.

(9.) He often speaks very honourably of the Jewish prophets: the fourth chapter of the first book of the Institutions is all in their favour. He argues after this manner: 'That<sup>l</sup> they were not enthusiasts, nor yet impostors or deceivers, but sincere men, and real prophets, is manifest from the consistence of their discourses, from the actual accomplishment of their predictions, from the excellence of their doctrine, and their self-denying course of life. And some of them were kings and princes, who are not apt to be swayed by mean ends and views.'

Nam et David in principio Psalmorum suorum—beatum esse ait.—Et Salomon in libro Sapientiæ,—Inst. l. iv. c. 16. p. 401, 402.

Videlicet ipse est Dei filius, qui per Salomonem sapientissimum regem, divino spiritu plenum, locutus est ea quæ subjecti: Deus condidit me in initio viarum suarum. l. iv. p. 365.

Salomonem, patremque ejus David, potentissimos reges fuisse, et eosdem prophetas, etiam iis fortasse sit notum, qui divinas literas non attigerunt, quorum alter.—Hujus pater divinorum scriptor hymnorum in Psalmo xxxii. sic ait. l. iv. c. 8. p. 372.

<sup>c</sup> Esaias enim, quem ipsi Judæi serrâ consectum crudelissime necaverunt, ita dicit. l. iv. c. 11. p. 381.

<sup>d</sup> Dicit enim propheta Hieremias. ib. p. 379, et passim.

<sup>e</sup> Daniel quoque similia prælocutus est. l. iv. c. 12. p. 385. Vid. ib. c. 21 sub in. et alibi.

<sup>f</sup> Oseas quoque, primus xii. prophetarum. l. iv. c. 19. p. 419.

<sup>g</sup> Quâ de re Amos propheta testatur. l. iv. c. 19. p. 416.

<sup>h</sup> Micheas enim novam legem daturum denuntiat. l. iv. c. 17. sub in.

<sup>i</sup> Quare——etiam singulorum prophetarum tempora colligi possunt: quorum sane ultimus Zacharias fuit, quem constat, sub Dario rege, secundo anno ejus, octavo mense, cecinisse. l. iv. c. 5. p. 361, 362.

<sup>k</sup> Sicut Malachias propheta indicat dicens. l. iv. c. 11. p. 381.

<sup>l</sup> Atqui impleta esse, implerique quotidie, illorum vaticinia videmus. Et in unam sententiam congruens divinatio docet, non fuisse furiosos. Quis enim mentis emotæ, non modo futura præcinere, sed etiam cohærentia loqui possit? Quid ab his tam longe alienum, quam ratio fallendi, cum cæteros ab omni fraude cohiberent?——Præterea voluntas fingendi ac mentiendi eorum est, qui opes appetunt, qui lucra desiderant; quæ res procul ab illis sanctis viris abfuit.—Et hi non modo quæstum nullum habuerunt, sed etiam cruciatus atque mortem.—Quid? quod aliqui eorum principes, aut etiam reges fuerunt, in quos cadere suspicio cupiditatis ac fraudis non potest. l. i. c. 4.

(10.) He says the<sup>m</sup> prophets were inspired, and they taught the worship of one God only. Again, They were sent that<sup>n</sup> they might teach men just sentiments concerning the divine glory and majesty. They<sup>o</sup> were also sent to reprove and reform mankind, and to<sup>p</sup> foretell things to come, particularly concerning the Christ: that when he appeared, men might believe in him.

(11.) He frequently asserts<sup>q</sup> the antiquity of the Jewish prophets.

(12.) He observes, that<sup>r</sup> the prophets often declare in what kings' reigns they lived and prophesied.

(13.) He calls their scriptures<sup>s</sup> sacred and divine.

2. We are not, for the reason before hinted, to expect the like plain citations of the New Testament. Nevertheless, it may be discerned, that he received most of the books in that collection as scripture, or writings of authority. But his reserved manner will oblige to a greater prolixity in making this out, than otherwise would have been necessary.

(1.) In the passage produced not long<sup>t</sup> ago, we saw distinct mention made by him of the New, as well as the Old Testament.

(2.) I would likewise here refer to, and transcribe in the margin, as a general passage concerning the New Testament, what Lactantius says of one of those persons, who at the beginning of Dioclesian's persecution wrote against the christians. Lactantius informs us, that<sup>u</sup> this writer endea-

<sup>m</sup> Prophetæ, qui fuerunt admodum multi, unum Deum prædicant, unum loquuntur; quippe qui unius Dei spiritu pleni. l. i. c. 4. in.

<sup>n</sup> Idcirco enim a Deo mittebantur, ut præcones essent majestatis ejus, et correctores pravitatis humanæ. l. i. c. 4. in.

<sup>o</sup> Propterea Deus prophetas ad eos misit, divino spiritu adimpletos, qui illis peccata exprobrarent, et pœnitentiam indicerent. Epit. c. 43. Vid. et Inst. l. iv. c. 11. in.

<sup>p</sup> Ideo prophetas ante præmisit, qui de adventu ejus prædicarent, ut, cum facta essent in eo quæcunque prædicata sunt, tunc ab hominibus et Dei Filius et Deus crederetur. Epit. cap. 49.

<sup>q</sup> —quorum sane ultimus Zacharias fuit.—Quæ omnia eo profero, ut errorem suum sentiant, qui scripturam sanctam coarguere nituntur, tanquam novam et recens fictam, l. iv. c. 5. sub fin. Salomonem, patremque ejus David, potentissimos reges fuisse, et eosdem prophetas——quorum alter, qui posterius regnavit, Trojanæ urbis excidium centum et quadraginta annis antecessit. l. iv. c. 8. p. 372. Vid. Epit. c. 42.—initium facientes a prophetâ Moysæ, qui Trojanum bellum nongentis fere annis antecessit. l. iv. c. 5. p. 359.

<sup>r</sup> Testati sunt enim, sub quo quisque rege divini spiritûs fuerit passus instinctum. l. iv. c. 5. p. 359. <sup>s</sup> Sicut sacræ literæ docent, l. ii. c. 12. p. 210. quod divinis literis proditum. ib. ut sanctæ literæ docent. ib. p. 212. Vid. l. iv. c. 8. p. 372. <sup>t</sup> See p. 527.

<sup>u</sup> Composuit enim libellos duos, non contra christianos,——sed ad christianos——in quibus ita falsitatem scripturæ sacræ arguere conatus est, tanquam sibi esset tota contraria. Nam quædam capita, quæ repugnare sibi

voured to show the falsehood of the sacred scriptures, collecting out of them passages, which seemed to contradict each other; and that, such a number of them, that it might be suspected he had himself some time been a christian.—But he especially abuses Peter and Paul, and the other disciples, as propagators of falsehood: though, as that writer says, they were ignorant and unlearned, and some of them earned their livelihood by fishing.’

It is plain, that Lactantius here speaks of christian scriptures, or the books of the New Testament. But I say no more of this passage at present, because another opportunity may offer to take more particular notice of it.

(3.) Lactantius relates our Saviour’s conception<sup>v</sup> in the womb of a virgin by the power of the Holy Ghost. And he applies to that event the words of Isa. vii. 14, both in his Institutions, and in his Epitome, as St. Matthew does, ch. i. 23.

(4.) He seems also to refer to Matt. i. 21, in the Epitome, when he says, ‘That<sup>w</sup> our Lord has among men two names, Jesus, which signifies Saviour; and Christ, which is the same as King, or anointed. He is called Saviour, because he is health and salvation to all that through him believe in God.’ He speaks to the like purpose in the<sup>x</sup> Institutions.

(5.) He relates our Lord’s baptism by John in the river Jordan. ‘Then,’ says he<sup>z</sup>, ‘was heard a voice from heaven,

videbantur, exposuit, adeo multa, adeo intima enumerans, ut aliquando ex eâdem disciplinâ fuisse videatur.—Præcipue tamen Paulum, Petrumque laceravit, cæterosque discipulos, tanquam fallaciæ seminatores, quos eosdem tamen rudes et indoctos fuisse testatus est. Nam quosdam eorum piscatorio artificio fecisse quæstum. l. v. c. 2.

<sup>v</sup> Descendens itaque de cælo sanctus ille spiritus Dei sanctum virginem, cujus utero se insinaret, elegit. At illa divino spiritu hausto repleta concepit, et sine ullo tactu viri repente virginalis uterus intumuit.—Item propheta Esaiâs cujus verba sunt hæc: Propter hoc dabit Deus ipse vobis signum, et vocabitis nomen ejus Emmanuel. l. iv. c. 12. p. 383.

Apud Esaiâs sic: Ecce virgo accipiet in uterum, et pariet filium, et vocabitis nomen ejus Emmanuel, quod significat, Nobiscum Deus. Epit. c. 44. p. 115. Ed. Davis.

<sup>w</sup> Ab hominibus tamen duobus vocabulis nuncupatur, Jesus, quod est Salvator; et Christus, quod est Rex: Salvator ideo, quia est sanatio et salus omnium, qui per eum credunt in Deum: Christus vero, &c. Epit. c. 42. in fin. p. 108. Vid. Davis. not.

<sup>x</sup> Jesus quippe inter homines nominatur. Nam Christus non proprium nomen est.—Erat Judæis ante præceptum, ut sacrum conficerent unguentum, quo perungi possent ii, qui vocabantur ad sacerdotium, vel ad regnum, &c. l. iv. c. 7. p. 367.

<sup>y</sup> Cum primum cœpit adolescere, tinctus est a Joanne prophetâ in Jordane flumine.—Tunc vox audita de cælo est: Filius meus es tu, Ego hodie genui te.—Et descendit super eum Spiritus Dei, formatus in speciem columbæ candidæ. Exinde maximas virtutes cœpit operari.—Quæ opera

“Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee.” And the Spirit of God descended upon him in the shape of a white dove. From that time he began to work great miracles, which are so many, that one book is not sufficient to contain them. I shall rehearse them,’ says he, ‘briefly, and in general, without names of persons, or places. In this enumeration of our Lord’s miracles he mentions his healing all sorts of diseases by his word only, and immediately; that they carried their beds, who before were carried by others: that the blind were enabled by him to see, the deaf to hear, the dumb to speak, the lame to walk: that he healed those who were all over leprous, and also raised the dead, as out of a sleep: that the Jews who saw these things, maliciously ascribed them to dæmons. [See Matt. xii. 24.] He particularly relates our Lord’s feeding five thousand in a desert place with five loaves and two fishes; and that when all had been refreshed and satisfied, there were twelve baskets

tam multa sunt ut unus liber ad complectenda omnia satis non sit. Enumerabo igitur illa breviter, et generatim, sine ullâ personarum ac locorum designatione. — Quod quâcumque iter faceret, ægros, ac debiles, et omni morborum genere laborantes, uno verbo, unoque momento reddebat incolumes, adeo ut membris omnibus capti, receptis repente viribus roborati, ipsi lectulos suos portabant, in quibus fuerant paulo ante delati: claudis vero, ac pedum vitio afflictis, non modo gradiendi, sed etiam currendi, dabat facultatem. Tunc quorum cæca lumina in altissimis tenebris erant, eorum oculos in pristinum restituebat aspectum. Mutorum quoque linguas in eloquium, sermonemque solvebat. Item surdorum patefactis auribus insinuabat auditum. Pollutos, ac sparsos maculis, repurgabat. Et hæc omnia non manibus aut aliquâ medelâ, sed verbo, ac jussione faciebat.—Nec satis fuit, quod vires imbecillis redderet, quod debilibus integritatem, quod ægris et languentibus sanitatem, nisi etiam mortuos suscitaret, velut e somno solutos, ad vitamque revocaret. Quæ videntes tunc Judæi dæmoniâ fieri potentiâ arguebant: cum omnia sic futura, ut facta sunt, arcana illorum literæ continerent. — Ob has ejus virtutes et opera divina, cum magnæ illum multitudines sequerentur vel debiliū, vel ægrorum, vel eorum qui curandos suos offerre cupiebant, adscendit in montem quendam desertum, ut ibi adoraret; ubi cum triduo moraretur, ac fame populus laboraret, vocavit discipulos, quærens, quantos secum cibos gestarent. At illi, quinque panes et duos pisces se in perâ habere, dixerunt. Afferri ea jussit, ac multitudinem per quinquagenos distributam discumbere. Quod cum discipuli facerent, frangebatur ipse panem minutatim, carnemque piscium comminuebat: et utraque in manibus augebantur. Et cum apponi illa populo discipulis imperâset, saturata sunt quinque hominum millia, et insuper duodecim cophini de residuis fragminibus impleti. Idem secessurus orandi gratiâ, sicut solebat, in montem, præcepit discipulis, ut naviculam sumerent, seque præcederent. At illi, urgente jam vesperâ profecti, contrario vento laborare cœperunt. Cumque jam medium fretum tenerent, tum pedibus mare ingressus consecutus est eos, tanquam in solido gradiens.—Et rursus, cum obdormisset in navi, et ventus usque ad extremum periculum sævire cœpisset, excitatus e somno, silere ventum protinus jussit, et fluctus, qui maximi ferebantur, conquiescere: statimque sub verbo ejus tranquillitas insecuta est. Inst. l. iv. c. 15. p. 395——399.

filled with the fragments that remained. He then relates our Lord's going up to a mountain, and ordering the disciples to take shipping, and go over to the other side of the sea before him. And says, that when they were in the midst of the sea, tossed with a tempest, Christ came to them, walking upon the sea, as upon dry land. And at another time, when he was asleep in the ship, and the wind was extremely boisterous, being awakened out of sleep he quieted the winds and the waves, and there was a great calm.'

(6.) Here he starts an objection. 'Perhaps<sup>2</sup> our scriptures do not speak truth, when they ascribe to Jesus such power and command over the wind, the seas, and all kinds of diseases.'

This shows, that the gospels, from whence he takes the history of these facts, were esteemed sacred by him, and all christians in general.

(7.) Afterwards<sup>a</sup> he relates largely the history of our Lord's last sufferings: 'How he was betrayed by Judas, prosecuted before Pilate, and condemned: how he was mocked and derided, being struck with the palm of the hands, spit on, arrayed with a scarlet robe, and a crown of thorns, and then crucified between two robbers. And that<sup>b</sup> as he hung on the cross, he cried with a loud voice, and resigned his spirit. And likewise, that at the same time there was an earthquake, and the vail of the temple was rent: the sun was also eclipsed, and there was darkness from the sixth to the ninth hour. Finally<sup>c</sup> he proceeds to

<sup>2</sup> Mentiuntur fortasse literæ sanctæ, docentes, tantam fuisse in eo potestatem, ut imperio suo cogeret ventos obsequi, maria servire, morbos cedere, inferos obedire. ib. p. 399.

<sup>a</sup> Quod cum sciret futurum, et subinde diceret, oportere se pati ac interfici pro salute multorum, secessit tamen cum discipulis suis,——Itaque Judas præmio illectus tradidit eum Judæis. At illi comprehensum, ac Pontio Pilato—oblatum, cruci affigi postulaverunt.—Duxerunt ergo eum flagellis verberatum, et, priusquam cruci affigerent, illuserunt. Indutum enim coloris puniceæ veste, ac spinis coronatum, quasi regem salutaverunt, et dederunt ei cibum fellis, et miscuerunt ei aceti potionem. Post hæc conspuerunt in faciem ejus, et palmis ceciderunt. Cumque ipsi carnifices de vestimentis ejus contenderent, sortiti sunt inter se de tunicâ et pallio.—Tum suspenderunt eum inter duos noxios medium, qui ob latrocinia damnati erant, crucique affixerunt. ib. c. 18. p. 407—410.

<sup>b</sup> Suspensus igitur atque affixus exclamavit ad Dominum voce magnâ, et ultro spiritum posuit. Et eâdem horâ terræ motus factus est, et velum templi, quod separabat duo tabernacula, scissum est in duas partes; et sol repente subductus est, et ab horâ sextâ usque in nonam tenebræ fuerunt. c. 19. p. 415. -

<sup>c</sup> Sed quoniam prædixerat, se tertio die ab inferis resurrecturum, metuentes, ne, a discipulis surrepto et amoto corpore, universi resurrexisse eum crederent, et fieret multo major in plebe confusio; detraxerunt eum cruci, et conclusum in monumento firmiter militari custodiâ circumderunt. Verum tertiâ die ante

relate our Lord's burial, and the military guard at the sepulchre, and his resurrection on the third day, as he had foretold.'

(8.) Of all these things he speaks again summarily in the<sup>d</sup> Epitome. And in another chapter of the<sup>e</sup> Institutions he mentions many of our Lord's miracles.

(9.) That whole history just transcribed, is plainly taken from our gospels. And though, perhaps, it is not so easy to distinguish references to St. Mark's gospel, as to the other three, yet I suppose most will allow, that here is good proof of his receiving our four gospels, as authentic histories of Jesus Christ.

(10.) In the Epitome he seems to allude to the parable of the pharisee and the publican, which we have in Luke xviii. 9—14. 'For<sup>f</sup> humility,' says he, 'is dear and acceptable to God. And if he rather accepts a confessing sinner, than a proud, righteous man; how much more will he approve a righteous man who confesseth his failings, and exalt him in his heavenly kingdom for his humility!'

(11.) He likewise says, 'that<sup>g</sup> God has commanded us, when we make a feast, to invite such as cannot invite us again, and make us a recompence:' referring, I think, to Luke xiv. 12.

(12.) He must be allowed now and then to use expressions allusive to the gospels. He speaks of<sup>h</sup> having the mind, or heart in heaven. Compare Matt. vi. 21. Again: 'That<sup>i</sup> we may be able to do all these things, we must despise riches, and lay up to ourselves heavenly treasures, where no thief may break through, nor rust corrupt, nor tyrant plunder.' See Matt. vi. 19, 20.

(13.) He may be reckoned likewise to refer to<sup>k</sup> what is in Matt. v. 27—32.

lucem, terræ motu facto, repente patefactum est sepulcrum, et custodibus, quos attonitos obstupefecerat pavor, nihil videntibus, integer sepulchro ac vivus egressus,——in sepulchro vero nihil repertum est, nisi exuviæ, quibus involutum corpus incluserant. ib. c. 19. p. 417.

<sup>d</sup> Epit. c. 45—47.

<sup>e</sup> l. iv. c. 26.

<sup>f</sup> Humilitas enim cara et amabilis Deo est, qui cum magis suscipiat peccatorem confitentem, quam justum superbum; quanto magis justum suscipiet confitentem, eumque in regnis cœlestibus faciet pro humilitate sublimem. Epit. c. 17.

<sup>g</sup> Idem Deus præcepit, ut, si quando cœnam paraverimus, eos in convictum adhibeamus, qui recovare non possunt, et vicem reddere, &c. l. vi. c. 12. p. 585.

<sup>h</sup> Quisquîs enim aut Deum colendum esse intelligit, aut immortalitatis spem sibi propositam habet, mens ejus in cœlo est. l. iii. c. 27. p. 333.

<sup>i</sup> Ergo, ut hæc omnia, quæ Deo placent, facere possimus, contemnenda est pecunia, et ad cœlestes transferenda thesauros, ubi nec fur effodiat, nec rubigo consumat, nec tyrannus eripiat. Epit. cap. 65.

<sup>k</sup> ——addantur et illa,——adulterum esse, qui a marito dimissam duxerit,

(14.) I believe few can make any doubt but he has an eye to what is in<sup>l</sup> Luke vi. 35, and<sup>m</sup> Luke xvi. 24, and<sup>n</sup> Matt. vi. 1—4, and<sup>o</sup> Matt. xix. 10, 11, 12.

(15.) St. John's gospel is expressly quoted by him in this manner: 'So also<sup>p</sup> John declares, "In the beginning was the word, and the word was with God, and the word was God. All things were made by him, and without him was not any thing made,"' John i. 1, 2, 3, which<sup>q</sup> last words are also in the Epitome.

(16.) He refers to John ii. 20, where<sup>r</sup> the Jews speak of their temple having been forty and six years in building. Compare Mark xiv. 58.

(17.) He observes that<sup>s</sup> the "Father loveth the Son, and giveth him all things:" referring, it is likely, to John iii. 35, and ch. v. 20. And that the Father and the Son are one, referring, probably, to John x. 30. I have transcribed the passage at the bottom of the page.

(18.) He plainly has an eye to those places in St. John's gospel, where<sup>t</sup> Christ speaks of his having power to lay down his life, and to take it up again. See particularly John x. 18.

(19.) It is not unlikely that he refers to the history of our

et eum, qui præter crimen adulterii uxorem dimiserit, ut alteram ducat.—Præterea non tantum adulterium esse vitandum, sed etiam cogitationem; ne quis adspiciat alienam et animo concupiscat. Adulteram enim fieri mentem, si——l. vi. c. 23. p. 630. Vid. et Epit. c. 66.

<sup>l</sup> Id enim juste, id pie, id humane fit, quod sine spe recipienda feceris. l. vi. c. 11. p. 583.

<sup>m</sup> Quia jam bonis, quæ maluerunt, potiti sunt. l. vii. c. 11. in.

<sup>n</sup> Nec tamen, si quid boni fecerimus, gloriam captemus ex eo. Monet enim Deus operatorem justitiæ non oportere esse jactantem, ne non—habeatque jam pretium gloriæ, quod captavit, nec præmium cœlestis illius ac divinæ mercedis accipiat. l. vi. c. 18. sub fin.

<sup>o</sup> Quod quidem Deus non ita fieri præcepit, tanquam adstringat.—Si quis hoc, inquit, facere potuerit, habebit eximiam incomparabilemque mercedem. l. vi. c. 23. p. 630.

<sup>p</sup> Joannes quoque ita tradidit: In principio erat Verbum, et Verbum erat apud Deum, et Deus erat Verbum. Omnia per ipsum facta sunt, et sine ipso factum est nihil. l. iv. c. 8. F.

<sup>q</sup> ——solus Deus nuncupatus. Omnia enim per ipsum, et sine ipso nihil. Epit. c. 42.

<sup>r</sup> Item, quod dixerat: Si solveritis hoc templum, quod ædificatum est annis 49, ego illud in triduo sine manibus suscitabo. l. iv. c. 18. p. 408.

<sup>s</sup> Qui Filium non agnovit, nec Patrem potuit agnoscere.—Nec tamen sic habendum est, tanquam duo sint Dii.—Pater enim ac Filius unum sunt. Cum enim Pater Filium diligat, omniaque ei tribuat, et Filius fideliter obsequatur, nec velit quidquam, nisi quod Pater, et quæ sequuntur. Epit. c. 49.

<sup>t</sup> Nec hoc cuiquam ignorandum est, quod ipse ante de suâ passione prædicans, etiam id notum fecerit, habere se potestatem, cum vellet, deponendi spiritum, et resumendi. l. iv. c. 26. p. 437.

Lord's raising Lazarus in John xi. when he says, that<sup>u</sup> Christ raised some from death, calling them by name. See ver. 43.

3. I apprehend, there is good reason to think, that Lactantius received and made use of the book of the Acts. But since he has not expressly quoted it, I am obliged to transcribe several passages, that my readers may judge for themselves.

(1.) He says, ' that<sup>v</sup> after his resurrection, Christ having given commandment to his disciples, concerning preaching the gospel, on a sudden a cloud surrounded him, and carried him up to heaven on the fortieth day of his passion.' See Acts i. 3—9.

(2.) The like to which comes over again in the abridgment of the Institutions, and is there expressed in this manner: ' Going<sup>w</sup> therefore into Galilee, after his resurrection, he again gathered together his disciples, whom fear had separated, and having given commandment concerning the things to be observed by them, and appointed, that the gospel should be preached all over the world, he breathed into them the Holy Ghost, [see John xx. 22.] and gave them power to work miracles, that they might promote the salvation of men by their works, as well as by their words. And at length on the fiftieth day he returned to the Father, being taken up in a cloud.'

Here Lactantius says the fiftieth day. Dr. Davies in his notes upon the place says, it should be the fortieth day, and that the number fifty is owing to the fault of the transcriber. There is the more reason, he says, to think so, because in the parallel place in the Institutions, before cited, is forty days, agreeably to Acts i. 3.

(3.) In Acts ii. 27, St. Peter, speaking of our Lord's resurrection, quotes words out of the 16th Psalm, which he applies to that event, as does Lactantius likewise in his<sup>x</sup> Institutions, and<sup>y</sup> Epitome.

(4.) St. Paul says, Acts xiii. 27, " For they that dwell

<sup>u</sup> Jactentia mortuorum corpora erexit, eosque nominibus suis in clamatos a morte revocavit. l. iv. c. 26. p. 434.

<sup>v</sup> Ordinato vero discipulis suis evangelio, ac nominis sui prædicatione, circumfudit se repente nubes, eumque in cælum sustulit, quadragesimo post passionem die. l. iv. c. 21. in.

<sup>w</sup> Profectus igitur in Galilæam post resurrectionem, discipulos suos rursos, quos metus in fugam verterat, congregavit, datisque mandatis, quæ observari vellet, et ordinatâ evangelii prædicatione per totum orbem, inspiravit in eos spiritum sanctum, ac dedit eis potestatem miracula faciendi, ut in salutem hominum tam factis, quam verbis operarent. Ac tum demum quinquagesimo die remeavit ad Patrem, sublatus in nubem. Epit. c. 47.

<sup>x</sup> Illum autem apud inferos non remansurum, sed die tertio resurrecturum, prophetæ cecinerant. David in Psalmo xvi. Non derelinques animam meam apud inferos, nec dabis sanctum tuum videre interitum. l. iv. c. 19. p. 418.

<sup>y</sup> Ipsum vero resurrecturum die tertio jam olim prophætæ fuerant prolocuti.

at Jerusalem, and their rulers, because they knew him not, nor yet the voices of the prophets, which are read every sabbath-day, they have fulfilled them in condemning him." Lactantius several times<sup>z</sup> expresseth himself as if he had an eye to this text.

(5.) He may be supposed to refer to<sup>a</sup> St. Paul's argument at Athens, which is in Acts xvii.

(6.) In Acts xiv. 22, Paul and Barnabas teach the disciples, that "we must through much tribulation enter into the kingdom of God." To this text it might be thought that<sup>b</sup> Lactantius refers, unless he has an eye to 2 Tim. iii. 12. "Yea, and all that will live godly in Christ Jesus shall suffer persecution."

4. There are not in Lactantius many clear allusions, or particular references, to epistles of apostles.

(1.) It may be argued however, that he was acquainted with the Acts, and the epistles of the apostles, from<sup>c</sup> the clear manner in which he speaks of the rejection of the Jews, and the call of the Gentiles under the gospel. But he quotes only the prophets of the Old Testament, when he speaks of this matter.

(2.) Lactantius often speaks of<sup>d</sup> Christ's coming again to

David in Psalmo xvi. Non derelinques animam meam ad inferos, nec dabis sanctum tuum videre corruptionem. Epit. c. 47.

<sup>z</sup> Sicut etiam voces prophetarum, quæ cum——lectæ fuissent a populo Judæorum, nec tamen intellectæ sunt. l. iv. c. 15. fin.

Cum igitur ea, quæ Deus fieri voluit, quæ per prophetas suos multis sæculis ante prædixit, Christus impleret, ob ea incitati, et divinas literas nescientes, coiverunt, ut Deum suum condemnarent. ib. c. 18. in.

Quid amplius jam de facinoribus Judæorum dici potest, quam excæcotos tum fuisse, atque insanabili furore correptos, qui hæc quotidie legentes neque intellexerunt, neque, quin facerent, cavere potuerunt. ib. c. 19. in.

Harum literarum igitur immemores, quas legebant, &c. Epit. c. 45.

<sup>a</sup> Non ergo utitur his omnibus, quæ templis, diisque fictilibus inferuntur.—Illis autem, quæ in usum tribuit homini Deus, ipse non indiget,—non indiget templo, non indiget simulacro. Epit. c. 58.—per illum vivimus, per illum in hospitium hujus mundi intravimus—in hujus domo habitamus, hujus familia sumus.—De Irâ Dei, c. 23. p. 824, 825.

<sup>b</sup> —et postea universos, qui eorum disciplinam secuti essent, acerba et nefanda passuros. l. v. c. 3. p. 464. Quæ omnia tolerare ac perpeti necesse est eos, qui veritatem sequuntur. l. iv. c. 26. p. 435.

<sup>c</sup> Exhæredatos autem esse Judæos, quia Christum reprobaverunt, et nos, qui sumus ex gentibus, in eorum locum adeptatos, scripturis adprobatur. Jeremias ita dicit.—Malachias,—Esaïas quoque. Epit. c. 48. Si ergo Judæi a Deo rejecti sunt, sicut sacrarum scripturarum fides indicat? gentes autem, sicut videmus, adscitæ, ac de tenebris hujus vitæ secularis, deque vinculis dæmonum liberatæ. ib. c. 49. in. Conf. Instit. l. iv. c. 20.

<sup>d</sup> Ultimis enim temporibus statuit de vivis ac mortuis judicare. l. ii. c. 17. sub in. Veniet ergo summi ac maximi Dei filius, ut vivos ac mortuos judicet. l. vii. c. 24. in.

judge the quick and the dead. But that being mentioned in<sup>e</sup> several books of the New Testament, we cannot say to which book, or what text, he particularly refers.

(3.) Speaking of good actions, he says: ‘These<sup>f</sup> are offices of compassion, which if a man performs, he offers a true and acceptable sacrifice to God.’ Perhaps he refers to Rom. xii. 1, 2.

(4.) In another place he may be supposed to have an eye to<sup>g</sup> the prudent and generous conduct, recommended in Rom. xii. 14, and 18—21.

(5.) He says, ‘The divine scriptures<sup>h</sup> assure us, that the thoughts of philosophers are foolish:’ and<sup>i</sup> ‘that philosophy is foolishness with God.’ St. Paul says, 1 Cor. i. 20, “Has not God made foolish the wisdom of this world?” and ch. iii. 19, 20, “For the wisdom of this world is foolishness with God.”—And again, “the Lord knoweth the thoughts of the wise, that they are vain.” Which last words are a quotation from Psal. xciv. 11. And compare Col. ii. 8.

(6.) It is likely, that he refers to 1 Cor. vi. 9, 10, in words which I put in the<sup>k</sup> margin.

(7.) He says, ‘that<sup>l</sup> Christ sits at the right hand of God, and will subdue his enemies under his feet. A like expression is in 1 Cor. xv. 24, 25; and also in Heb. x. 12, 13. “But this man—sat down on the right hand of God: from thenceforth expecting, till his enemies be made his footstool.”

(8.) He seems to refer to<sup>m</sup> the exhortation in Gal. vi. 2, “Bear ye one another’s burdens, and so fulfil the law of Christ.”

(9.) I suppose no one will hesitate to allow that he refers

<sup>e</sup> Acts x. 42. 2 Tim. iv. 1. 1 Pet. iv. 5.

<sup>f</sup> Hæc sunt opera, hæc officia misericordiæ, quæ si quis obierit, verum et acceptum sacrificium Deo immolabit. Hæc litabilior victima est apud Deum, qui non pecudis sanguine, sed hominis pietate, placatur. Epit. c. 65.

<sup>g</sup> ———Maledicenti bene dicto respondeat.———Quin etiam caveat diligenter, ne quando inimicum suâ culpâ faciat. Et si quis extiterit tam protervus, qui bono et justo faciat injuriam; clementer et moderate ferat, et ultionem suam non sibi assumat, sed judicio Dei reservet. l. vi. c. 18. p. 609.

<sup>h</sup> Cum enim sit nobis divinis literis traditum, cogitationes philosophorum stultas esse. l. iii. c. 1. p. 235.

<sup>i</sup> ———terrena, et de terrâ ficta contemnant. Philosophiam, quæ apud Deum stultitia est, pro nihilo computent. Epit. c. 52.

<sup>k</sup> Hujus præmii cœlestis ac sempiterni participes esse non possunt, qui fraudibus, rapinis, circumscriptionibus conscientiam suam polluerunt, &c. De Irâ Dei, c. 23. sub fin. <sup>l</sup> Cum igitur ad dexteram Dei sedeat, calcatuos inimicos, qui eum cruciaverunt. Epit. c. 48. in.

<sup>m</sup> Nos ergo,———quibus solis a Deo veritas revelata, et cœlitus missa sapientia est, faciamus, quæ jubet illuminator noster Deus: sustineamus invicem. l. vi. c. 18. prop. in.

to Eph. iv. 26, when he says: God<sup>n</sup> has enjoined us not to let the sun go down upon our wrath.

(10.) He says, 'that<sup>o</sup> a good man, following the instructions of the gospel, will not be bitter toward his child, or his servant; knowing, that he also has a father and a master.' It is likely, that here is a reference to the admonitions in Eph. vi. 4—9; and Col. iii. 21, 22, 24; and iv. 1.

(11.) Perhaps he refers to Philip. ii. 6—9, when he says, 'that<sup>p</sup> Christ being sent to open the way of salvation to the meanest, he humbled himself, that he might help them. He therefore underwent that kind of death, which is wont to be inflicted on mean people, that all might be able to imitate him. Hence also he was highly exalted.'

(12.) Perhaps, among other plain references to several things in the Revelation, he may refer to<sup>a</sup> 2 Thess. ii. 4, 9.

(13.) Lactantius has some observations and arguments which are also in the epistle to the Hebrews. Whether he borrowed them thence, is not easy to say.

(14.) In one place he argues after this manner: 'From<sup>r</sup> which reasons it appears, that all the prophets declared concerning Christ, that the time would come, when being, as to the body, born of the seed of David, he should erect an eternal temple to God, which is called his church, and that he should gather all nations to the worship of God. This is the faithful house, the immortal temple. Of which great

<sup>n</sup> Præcepit Deus, non occidere solem super iram nostram. l. vi. c. 18. sub fin. Non igitur in totum prohibet irasci:—sed prohibet in irâ permanere.—Deinde rursus, cum irasci quidem, sed tamen non peccare, præcepit, non utique evellit iram radicitus, sed temperavit. Cum ille homines ante solis occasum reconciliari jubeat. De Irâ Dei, c. 21. p. 819.

<sup>o</sup> Non sit asper in filium, neque in servum. Meminerit, quod et ipse patrem habeat et dominum. Epit. c. 64.

<sup>p</sup> Nam cum ad hoc missus esset, ut humillimis quibusque viam panderet, ad salutem, se ipse humilem fecit, ut eos liberaret. Suscepit ergo id genus mortis, quod solet humilibus irrogari, ut omnibus facultas daretur imitandi.——His etiam illud accidit, quod passione ac morte susceptâ sublimum fieri oportebat. Adeo illum crux et re et significatione exaltavit, ut omnibus majestas ejus ac virtus cum ipsâ passione notuerit. Epit. c. 51.

<sup>a</sup> Rex vero ille terribissimus erit quidem, et ipse, sed mendaciorum, propheta. Et seipsum constituet ac vocabit Deum, et se coli jubebit, ut Dei filium. l. vii. c. 17. p. 708.

<sup>r</sup> Quibus ex rebus apparet, prophetas omnes denuntiâsse de Christo, fore aliquando, ut ex genere David corporaliter natus, constitueret æternum templum Deo, quod appellatur ecclesia, et universas gentes ad religionem Dei veram convocaret. Hæc est domus fidelis, hoc immortale templum,——cujus templi et magni et æterni quoniam Christus fabricator fuit, necesse est, habeat in eo sacerdotium sempiternum. Nec potest, nisi per eum qui constituit templum, ad adytum templi, et ad conspectum Dei perveniri. David in Psalmo cx. id ipsum docet, dicens: Ante Luciferum genui te. Juravit Dominus, et non pœnitebit eum: Tu es sacerdos, &c. l. iv. c. 14. in.

and eternal temple, because Christ is the builder, it is of necessity that he have it in everlasting priesthood. Nor is it possible to enter the temple, and obtain the sight of God, but by him who erected the temple. David teacheth the same thing in the 110th Psalm, saying, "Before the morning star I begot thee. The Lord hath sworn, and will not repent, Thou art a priest for ever, after the order of Melchizedec."'

These thoughts of Lactantius may be compared with some texts in the epistle to the Hebrews, as ch. iii. 3—6, and ch. v. 5, 6, and vii. 21. And besides, the author of the epistle to the Hebrews speaks likewise of Christ having an "unchangeable or eternal priesthood," vii. 24, and often of our "coming to God through him." See ch. iv. 16, vii. 25.

(15.) Lactantius has an argument<sup>s</sup> extremely resembling that in Heb. viii. 7—13, and quotes the same text of Jeremiah, which is there quoted, as well as some others.

(16.) He says of Christ in the words of Heb. vii. 3, that<sup>t</sup> he was "without father, and without mother."

(17.) He says, 'that<sup>u</sup> till a testator is dead, a testament can be of no force:' which is also in Heb. ix. 16, 17, but that is an obvious thought.

(18.) He has an argument<sup>v</sup> to patience under afflictions, much resembling that in Heb. xii. 5—10.

(19.) Frederic Spanheim, in his Dissertation concerning the author of the epistle to the Hebrews, alleges not any passages from Lactantius, not<sup>w</sup> expecting in him testimonies to particular books of scripture. Nevertheless he argues it to be probable, that<sup>x</sup> Lactantius received this epistle,

<sup>s</sup> Sicut Hieremias propheta testatur: Ecce dies veniunt, dicit Dominus, et consummabo domui Israel et domui Juda testamentum novum.—Nam quod superius ait, consummaturum se domui Juda testamentum novum; ostendit, vetus illud testamentum, quod per Mosen est datum, non fuisse perfectum: id autem, quod per Christum dari deberet, consummatum fore. l. iv. c. 20. p. 421.

<sup>t</sup> Idcirco etiam Filium nasci oportuit, ut ipse fieret *απατωρ*, atque *αμητωρ*, &c. l. iv. c. 13. p. 387.

<sup>u</sup> ———quia nisi testator mortuus fuerit, nec confirmari testamentum potest, nec sciri, quid in eo scriptum sit; quia clausum et obsignatum est. l. iv. c. 20. p. 420.

<sup>v</sup> Quare nemini mirum debet videri, si pro nostris sæpe delictis castigamur a Deo. Imo vero cum vexamur ac premimur, tum maxime gratias agimus indulgentissimæ patri, quod corruptelam nostram non patitur longius procedere, sed plagis ac verberibus emendat. Ex quo intelligimus, esse nos Deo curæ: quoniam, cum peccemus, irascitur. l. v. c. 22. p. 532.

<sup>w</sup> Paulum epistolæ auctorem nec affirmat, nec negat, totus in gentibus confutandis. Spanh. Opp. T. ii. p. 201. n. vi.

<sup>x</sup> Interim epistolam ad Hebræos adscripsisse Paulo, vel ex omnium fere Latinorum, quotquot etiam ex Afris, post Lactantium, scripsere, consensu colligimus. *ibid.*

because it was, he says, generally received as Paul's by the Latin christians after his time.

5. Doubtless Lactantius admitted the authority of all those catholic epistles which were universally received by christians all along. But it is not easy to perceive in his works references to any of them. However, I shall observe a few particulars.

(1.) 'If<sup>y</sup> any one lack food, let us give it him: if we see any one naked, let us clothe him: if any one is oppressed by the powerful, let us rescue him. Let our dwelling be open to strangers, and such as have no home: let us not fail to defend and relieve the widow and the fatherless. It is a noble act of compassion, to redeem such as have been carried into captivity by enemies, as also to visit and comfort the sick and the poor.' See James i. 27, and ch. ii. 13—15. But it must be owned, that there are also like expressions in other books of the New Testament; as Matt. xxv. 42—44; 1 Tim. v. 10; Heb. xiii. 2.

(2.) St. James says, ch. ii. 19, "The dæmons also believe, and tremble." Lactantius has a like<sup>z</sup> observation.

(3.) St. James, ch. v. 20, speaks of "converting a sinner from the error of his way, and saving a soul from death." Lactantius has like<sup>a</sup> expressions.

(4.) He says, 'that<sup>b</sup> Jesus is health and salvation to all those, who by him do believe in God:' which resembles 1 Pet. i. 21.

(5.) St. Peter says, 1 ep. v. 8, "Be sober, be vigilant, because your adversary, the devil, as a roaring lion, seeketh whom he may devour." Lactantius, in an argument to sobriety, calls<sup>c</sup> Satan 'our adversary,' and insists upon his dangerous temptations to intemperance. There are some other places, where<sup>d</sup> he seems to have an eye to that text of St. Peter.

<sup>y</sup> Si quis victu indigat, impertiamus: si quis nudus occurrerit, vestiamus: si quis a potentiore injuriam sustinet, eruamus. Pateat domicilium nostrum peregrinis, vel indigentibus tecto. Pupillis defensio, viduis tutela nostra non desit. Redimere ab hoste captivos magnum misericordiæ opus est. Item ægros pauperes visitare atque fovere. Epit. c. 65.

<sup>a</sup> Nam et angeli Deum metuunt—et dæmones reformidant Deum, quia torquentur ab eo et puniuntur. l. vii. c. 21. prop. in.

<sup>b</sup> Quid igitur? Operamne perdemus? Minime. Nam si lucrari hos a morte, ad quam concitissime tendunt, non poterimus: si ab illo itinere devio ad vitam lucemque revocare,——nostros tamen confirmabimus. l. v. c. 1. p. 457.

<sup>c</sup> Scit ergo adversarius ille noster, quanta sit vis hujus cupiditatis.—Objicit quippe oculis imitabiles formas, suggerit fomenta, et vitiiis pabulum subministrat. l. vi. c. 22. p. 625.

<sup>d</sup> ——ne quando in laqueos

(6.) St. Peter, 2 ep. i. 14, has these words: "Knowing, that shortly I must put off this my tabernacle, even as our Lord Jesus Christ has showed me:" which thing is also spoken of, John xxi. 18. Lactantius observes, 'that<sup>e</sup> the apostles of Christ did not only suffer death for the gospel, but they likewise knew it beforehand, and foretold it.' Whether he refers to that text of St. Peter, or to some text of St. Paul, where he speaks of expecting death, or to both, we cannot certainly say. See 2 Tim. iv. 6.

(7.) Lactantius says, 'He<sup>f</sup> that does not acknowledge the Son, neither can he acknowledge the Father.' Which is very agreeable to 1 John ii. 23. But there is somewhat resembling that observation in words of our Lord, John viii. 19, and in xiv. 1—7.

(8.) Speaking of christians, he says, 'No<sup>g</sup> evil can so affright us, as to hinder us from keeping the faith that has been delivered to us.' But we cannot be sure that he refers to Jude, ver. 3.

6. That Lactantius received and respected the book of the Revelation, is evident from what he writes about Christ's coming to reign a thousand years upon this earth. I refer in the margin to some places in<sup>h</sup> the Institutions, and<sup>i</sup> the Epitome, where he plainly borrows from the Revelation.

(1.) Moreover he expressly cites it. 'The<sup>k</sup> Son of God,' says he, 'has a name known to none but himself, and the Father, as John teacheth in the Revelation:' undoubtedly intending Rev. xix. 12, "And he had a name, which no man knew but himself."

(2.) He quotes the book very respectfully, saying, 'The<sup>l</sup> divine scriptures call the future everlasting punishment of bad men the second death.' See Rev. ii. 11.

7. We saw before what Lactantius says of all scripture, consisting of the Old and the New Testament. This collection

adversarii nostri——incidamus. l. iv. c. 30. p. 448. Nam et ille collucator et adversarius noster, scis, quam sit astutus, et idem ipse violentus, sicuti nunc videmus. De Opif. c. i. p. 830.

<sup>e</sup> Et qui non tantum pro fide mortem subierint, sed etiam, morituros esse se et scierint et prædixerint. l. v. c. 3. p. 464.

<sup>f</sup> Nec sibi de summo Deo vel Judæi vel philosophi blandiantur. Qur Filium non agnovit, nec Patrem potuit agnoscere. Epit. c. 49. prop. in.

<sup>g</sup> Nullus nos metus, nullus terror inflectat, quo minus traditam nobis fidem custodiamus. Epit. c. 66.

<sup>h</sup> Vid. Inst. l. vii. c. 17.

<sup>i</sup> Epit. c. 73, 74.

<sup>k</sup> Hujus nomen nulli est notum, nisi ipsi et Patri, sicut docet Johannes in Revelatione. Epit. c. 42. sub fin.

<sup>l</sup> Is vero damnatus æternam luit pœnam, quam divinæ literæ secundam mortem nominant. l. vii. c. 10. p. 679. Eam pœnam secundam mortem nominamus. l. ii. c. 12. p. 206.

he calls <sup>m</sup>divine scripture, <sup>n</sup>sacred books, <sup>o</sup>scriptures of truth, archives <sup>p</sup> of sacred scripture, word of God, and the like: sometimes by such expressions particularly intending the Old, at other times the New Testament. ‘Bring me a man,’ says <sup>q</sup> he, ‘who is passionate, abusive, ungovernable; with a few words of God I will make him as meek as a lamb.’ He also frequently calls them <sup>r</sup> heavenly scriptures.

(1.) And though Lactantius, for a reason formerly assigned, scrupled to quote the New Testament, as decisive: he doubtless so esteemed it, in like manner as he did the Old, which he frequently quotes, as of authority. ‘But <sup>s</sup> why do I strive to prove the immortality of the soul by arguments, when we have divine testimonies?’ ‘For the sacred scriptures and the words of the prophets teach it.’ And in another place to the like purpose he says, ‘He <sup>t</sup> will prove the future rewards of virtue by probable arguments of reason, and by testimonies of the divine scriptures.’ And in many of the passages just cited, and transcribed by me in the margin, the epithets, sacred and divine, are given by him to the scriptures of the New Testament. And referring to the sublime moral directions of the christian revelation, which are either in the gospels or the epistles, he not seldom introduces them in this respectful manner: God <sup>u</sup> commands us not to boast of good works done by us, and the like.

(2.) Lactantius more than once intimates, that <sup>v</sup> the celes-

<sup>m</sup> Decent autem divinæ literæ non extingui animas, sed aut pro justitiâ præmio affici, aut pœnâ pro sceleribus sempiternâ. l. iii. c. 19. p. 302.

<sup>n</sup> Sed tamen sanctæ literæ docent; in quibus cautum est, illum Dei filium, Dei esse sermonem. l. iv. c. 8. p. 370. Mentuntur fortasse literæ sanctæ, docentes tantam fuisse in eo potestatem, ut imperio suo cogeret ventos, &c. ib. c. 15. p. 399.

<sup>o</sup> Nullas enim literas veritatis attigerant. l. ii. c. 10. p. 195. Sed videlicet Græci, qui sacras veritatis literas non attigerant. l. iii. c. 16. p. 288.

<sup>p</sup> —ante diem septimam Calendarum Aprilium Judæi Christum cruci affixerunt. Hic rerum textus, hic ordo in arcanis sanctarum literarum continetur. l. iv. c. 10. p. 379.

<sup>q</sup> See before, p. 500, 501. note <sup>u</sup>.

<sup>r</sup> —quos vera cœlestium literarum doctrina non imbuit. l. iv. c. 22. in. Quidam vero non satis cœlestibus literis eruditi. l. iv. c. 30.

<sup>s</sup> Sed quid argumentis colligimus æternas esse animas, quum habeamus testimonia divina? Id enim sacræ literæ et voces prophetarum docent. Epit. c. 71.

<sup>t</sup> Satis et huic parti faciamus, tum testimoniis divinarum literarum, tum etiam probabilibus argumentis. l. vii. c. i. p. 646.

<sup>u</sup> Idem Deus præcepit, ut si quando cœnam paraverimus, l. vi. c. 12. sub in. Monet enim Deus operatorem justitiæ, non oportere esse jactantem, l. vi. c. 18. prop. in. Quod quidem ita Deus præcepit, l. vi. c. 23. p. 630.—faciamus quæ jubet illuminator noster, Deus, l. v. c. 18. prop. in. Præcepit Deus, non occidere solem super iram nostram. ib. sub fin.

<sup>v</sup> Inde est, quod scriptis cœlestibus, quia videntur incompta, non facile credunt, qui aut ipsi sunt disertis, aut disertis legere malunt, nec quærunt vera, sed dulcia.—Ita respuunt veritatem, dum sermonis suavitate capiuntur.

tial scriptures were despised and derided by many heathens, for want of elegance and politeness of style. As for himself, he approves of the style of scripture, as it is : saying, that<sup>w</sup> it is the effect of wise design. Divine things are delivered to us without artificial ornaments, in the language of the people, that all might understand what God spake to all.

(3.) By which it may be perceived, that Lactantius was not for concealing the scriptures from men of any condition. And indeed he says in another place, ‘ If<sup>x</sup> any one desires farther information upon the point, or does not entirely credit me, let him go to the sacred treasury of the celestial scriptures.’

(4.) He has another just observation concerning the concise authority with which things are usually delivered in scripture. ‘ It<sup>y</sup> is such as became God, when speaking to men. Many reasons and arguments are needless, and would have been improper, and unbecoming the divine majesty.’ Seneca has a like<sup>z</sup> observation.

(5.) He has an argument in behalf of the Credibility of the Evangelical History, in answer to one of the heathen authors, who in his time wrote against the christians : ‘ This<sup>a</sup>

Epit. c. 62. Nam hæc in primis causa est, cur apud sapientes et doctos et principes hujus sæculi, scriptura sancta fide careat, quod prophetæ communi ac simplici sermone, ut ad populum, sunt locuti. Contemnuntur itaque ab iis, qui nihil audire vel legere, nisi expoliturum ac disertum, volunt——Non credunt ergo divinis, quia fucō carent : sed ne illis quidem, qui ea interpretantur, quia sunt et ipsi aut omnino rudes, aut certe parum docti. l. v. c. 1. p. 458.

<sup>w</sup> Adsueta enim dulcibus et politis sive orationibus sive carminibus divinarum literarum simplicem communemque sermonem pro sordido aspernantur. Num igitur Deus, et mentis et vocis et linguæ artifex, diserte loqui non potest ? Immo vero summa providentia carere fucō voluit ea, quæ divina sunt, ut omnes intelligerent ea, quæ ipse omnibus loquebatur. l. vi. c. 21.

<sup>x</sup> ——ut testimoniis utamur, immensum est. Si quis illa desiderat, aut nobis minus credit, adeat ad ipsum sacrarium cœlestium literarum. Epit. c. 70. [al. 72.] p. 237. ed. Davis.

<sup>y</sup> Quæ quidem tradita sunt breviter, ac nude. Nec enim decebat aliter : ut, cum Deus ad hominem loqueretur, argumentis assereret suas voces, tanquam fides ei non haberetur : sed, ut oportuit, est locutus, quasi rerum omnium maximus judex, cujus non est argumentari, sed pronuntiare. Verum ipse ut Deus. l. iii. c. 1. p. 235.

<sup>z</sup> In hac re dissentio a Possidonio. Non probo, quod Platonis legibus adjecta principia sunt. Legem enim brevem esse oportet, quo facilius ab imperitis teneatur, velut emissa divinitus vox sit. Jubeat, non disputet. Nihil videtur mihi frigidius, nihil ineptius, quam lex cum prologo. Senec. Ep. 94. T. ii. p. 446, 447. Amst. 1672.

<sup>a</sup> Abfuit ergo ab his fingendi voluntas et astutia, quoniam rudes fuerunt. Aut quis possit indoctus apta inter se et cohærentia fingere, cum philosophorum doctissimi, Plato et Aristoteles, et Epicurus et Zenon, ipsi sibi repugnantia et contraria dixerint ? Hæc est enim mendaciorum natura, ut cohærere non possint. Illorum autem traditio, quia vera est, quadrat undique, ac sibi tota consentit, et ideo persuadet.—Non igitur quæstus et commodi gratia religionem

history, says he, is true. For it is entirely uniform and consistent throughout, though written by illiterate and ignorant men. Nor did they invent, for the sake of gain, or any other worldly advantage; for they taught and practised the strictest rules of self-denial. They not only died in testimony to the doctrine they preached, but they knew before-hand that they must die for it, and foretold their death. And they declared likewise, that all others who received their doctrine must suffer persecution.'

VII. It will be some addition to our trouble, to consider, whether Lactantius quotes any books, which are not a part of the present received canon of christians, with the like regard to what he has shown to those already mentioned.

1. And it must be owned, that he has frequently quoted in his *Divine Institutions* the *Sibylline Verses*, or the *Poems of the Sibyls*, and some writings of *Hydaspes*, and *Hermes Trismegistus*; or however, writings ascribed to them: and once a book, entitled the *Preaching of Peter*.

2. The *Sibylline verses* more especially are quoted by him. He considers them as containing predictions concerning *Christ*, and some of them very plain. He makes use of them as arguments for the truth of the history of things recorded in the sacred scripture, and believed and taught by christians. Nevertheless he did not reckon them a part of those books which were of authority with christians. A few quotations from him may render this evident.

3. 'The *Sibyl*<sup>b</sup> testifies, that man is the work of God. The same is contained in the sacred scriptures.' And soon after: 'As<sup>c</sup> the sacred scriptures teach, and likewise the *Erythræan Sibyl*.' Therefore the *Sibylline poems* were not a part of scripture.

4. Though the *Sibyls*, according to him, foretold many future things, he does not allow them the title and character of prophets, in the most honourable sense of the word. 'That<sup>d</sup> these things,' says he, 'were to come to pass, is declared in the words of the prophets, and in the *Sibylline poems*.' And exactly to the same purpose in the<sup>e</sup> *Epitome*. Again:

*istam commenti sunt; quippe et præceptis et re ipsâ vitam secuti sunt, quæ et voluptatibus caret, et omnia, quæ habentur in bonis, spernit: et qui non tantum pro fide mortem subierint, sed etiam morituros esse se, et scierint et prædixerint, et postea universos, qui eorum disciplinam secuti essent, acerba et nefanda passuros. l. v. c. 3. in.*

<sup>b</sup> *Sibylla hominem Dei opus esse testatur.—Eadem sanctæ literæ continent. l. ii. c. 11. p. 202, 203.*

<sup>c</sup> ———sicut sacræ literæ docent, et *Sibylla Erythræa*.—*ib. c. 12. p. 210.*

<sup>d</sup> *Hæc autem sic futura fuisse, et prophetarum vocibus, et Sibyllinis carminibus denuntiatur. l. iv. c. 18. p. 410.*

<sup>e</sup> *Quæ omnia et in Prophetarum libris, et in carminibus Sibyllinis, prædicta invenimus. Ep. c. 45.*

‘ Epicurus, who<sup>f</sup> denied a future state, is confuted not only by the rest of the philosophers, and the common opinion, but likewise by the answers of oracles, the poems of the Sibyls, and the divine words of the prophets.’ I put in the margin<sup>g</sup> another like place.

5. Moreover, though Lactantius thought fit to fetch arguments from these writings, in support of the christian religion against heathens, it can never be suspected, that he allowed them canonical authority, because he ascribed their predictions to the instinct of dæmons. ‘ The<sup>h</sup> prophets,’ says he, ‘ foretold these things by the Spirit of God : the diviners, as Hydaspes ; Hermes, the Sibyl, by the impulse of dæmons :’ that is, evil spirits. For, Origen assures us, with<sup>i</sup> christians all dæmons were so reputed : they did not call any good beings dæmons.

6. That Lactantius calls all those writers vates, or diviners, we have just seen. In the like manner he speaks of them in other<sup>k</sup> places. That under that title and character the Sibyls are included, is most manifest from a<sup>l</sup> passage, which I place at the bottom of the page.

7. His reasons for frequently quoting these writings, and his views therein, appear, I think, in this passage of the seventh book of the Institutions : ‘ I<sup>m</sup> have proved the immortality of the soul by reason. It remains, that I produce testimonies to the same doctrine ; nevertheless, I shall not now cite the prophets,—but such witnesses rather, as they cannot refuse, who as yet know not the truth.’ After which

<sup>f</sup> Quid quod idem animas extinguibiles facit ? quem refellunt non modo philosophi, et publica persuasio, verum etiam responsa vatum, carmina Sibyllarum, ipsæ denique divinæ voces prophetarum. Epit. c. 36.

<sup>g</sup> Id enim sacræ literæ ac voces prophetarum docent. Quod si cui parum id videtur, legat carmina Sibyllarum. Apollinis quoque Milesii responsa consideret. Epit. c. 70. [al. 71.] p. 235. Davis.

<sup>h</sup> Hæc ita futura esse, cum prophetæ omnes ex Dei spiritu, tum etiam vates ex extinctu dæmonum cecinerunt.—Sed et illud non sine dæmonum fraude subtractum est, missum iri a Patre tunc filium Dei,—quod Hermes tamen non dissimulavit.—Sibyllæ quoque non aliter fore ostendunt. l. vii. c. 18.

<sup>i</sup> Κατα μὲν ἂν ἡμᾶς, τὰς λεγοντας, παντας δαιμονας εἶναι φανῆς. Or. contr. Cels. l. viii. T. 1. p. 770. E. F. Benedict.

<sup>k</sup> Denique, ut taceam de prophetis unius Dei prædicatoribus, poetæque, et philosophi, et vates testimonium singulari Deo perhibent. Epit. c. 3. prop. in.

<sup>l</sup> Superest de vatibus dicere. Varro decem Sibyllas fuisse tradit. Epit. c. 5. in.

<sup>m</sup> Declaravi, ut opinor, animam non esse solubilem. Superest, citare testes, quorum auctoritate argumenta firmentur. Neque nunc prophetas in testimonium vocabo,—sed eos potius, quibus istos, qui respuuntur veritatem, credere sit necesse. Hermes naturam hominis describens —Polites quidem consuluit Apollinem Milesium, utrum maneat anima post mortem, an resolvatur : et respondit his versibus.—Quid Carmina Sibyllina ?—l. vii. c. 13. in. &c.

he proceeds to allege Hermes Trismegistus, an oracle of Apollo, and the Sibylline poems. He speaks to the like purpose in the first book of the <sup>n</sup> Institutions.

8. I have already several times<sup>o</sup> had occasion to take notice of these Sibylline books, and of the use which Lactantius, in particular, has made of them. I would add here, that Lactantius having shown what was the number of Sibyls, according<sup>p</sup> to accounts given by Varro, and several other learned heathen authors, informs us, what Sibylline books he made use of and quoted, or supposed he quoted. He says, that the volumes of the Cumæan Sibyl, containing the fates of the Roman empire, are kept secret; but the books of the rest are open to every body. He speaks to this purpose in the <sup>a</sup> Institutions, the <sup>r</sup> Epitome, and <sup>s</sup> the treatise Of the Wrath of God. He says in<sup>t</sup> the Epitome, that all the Sibylline books, except those of the Cumæan Sibyl, teach one God, Creator, and Governor of the world. In<sup>u</sup> the Institution he seems to say the same thing of all in general, without exception, particularly the Erythræan Sibyl,

<sup>n</sup> Sed cum defendamus causam veritatis apud eos, qui oberrantes a veritate falsis religionibus serviunt; quod genus probationis adversum eos magis adhibere debemus, quam ut eos deorum suorum testimoniis revincamus? l. i. c. 6. fin.

<sup>o</sup> See Sibylline Books in the Index.

<sup>p</sup> M. Varro, quo nemo unquam doctior, ne apud Græcos nedum apud Latinos, in libris rerum divinarum.—Cum de Quindecim Viris loqueretur, Sibyllinos libros ait non fuisse unius Sibyllæ, sed appellari uno nomine Sibyllinos, quod omnes feminæ vates Sibyllæ sunt a veteribus appellatæ.—Cæterum Sibyllas decem numero fuisse, easque omnes enumeravit. l. i. c. 6. p. 31. Superest de vatibus dicere. Varro decem Sibyllas fuisse tradit, primam de Persis,——quartam Cumanam, quintam Erythræam. Epit. c. 5.

<sup>a</sup> Harum omnium Sibyllarum carmina et feruntur et habentur, præterquam Cumææ: cujus libri a Romanis occuluntur. Nec eos ab ullo, nisi a Quindecim Viris, inspectos habent. l. i. c. 6. p. 35, 36.

<sup>r</sup> Ex his omnibus Cumanæ solius tres esse libros, qui Romanorum fata contineant, et habeantur arcani; cæterarum autem fere omnium singulos exstare haberique vulgo, sed eos Sibyllinos velut uno nomine inscribi, nisi quod Erythræa——nomen suum verum posuit in libro, aliarum confusi sunt. Hæ omnes, de quibus dixi, Sibyllæ, præter Cumæam, quam legi nisi a Quindecim Viris non licet, unum Deum esse testantur principem, conditorem. Epit. c. 5.

<sup>s</sup> Verum quia plures, ut ostendi, Sibyllæ a doctissimis auctoribus fuisse traduntur,—Cumææ quidem volumina, quibus Romana fata conscripta sunt, in arcanis habentur: cæterarum tamen fere omnium libelli, quo minus in usu sint omnibus, non vetantur. De Irâ Dei, cap. 28. in.

<sup>t</sup> See before, note <sup>r</sup>.

<sup>u</sup> Omnes igitur hæ Sibyllæ unum Deum prædicant, maxime tamen Erythræa, quæ celebrior inter cæteras ac nobilior habetur. Siquidem Fenestella, diligentissimus scriptor, de quindecimviris, dicens, ait: Restituto Capitolio, retulisse ad senatum C. Curionem Cos. ut legati Erythras mitterentur, qui carmina Sibyllæ conquisita Romam deportarent.——In iis ergo versibus, quos legati Romam attulerunt, de uno Deo hæc sunt testimonia. l. i. c. 6. p. 37.

in verses brought to Rome from Erythræ, by order of the senate.

9. The Preaching of Peter is but once quoted by Lactantius; it is in this manner: 'After<sup>v</sup> his resurrection, Christ opened to his disciples all things which should come to pass, which things Peter and Paul preached at Rome. And for the better remembrance, that preaching has been written, and remains to this time. In which, besides many other wonderful things, they say it would come to pass, that in a short time God would send a king, who would conquer the Jews, overthrow their cities, and bring upon them many dreadful afflictions, and calamities.'

Upon this book I have already had occasion to make divers remarks, in<sup>w</sup> the chapter of Clement of Alexandria, and in the article of<sup>x</sup> the Anonymous Author of the treatise Of Rebaptizing, joined with St. Cyprian's works, to which the reader is referred.

Upon this passage of Lactantius we may now make the following remarks:

(1.) It is probable, that this book contained some account of the preaching both of St. Peter and St. Paul.

(2.) It is likely, that Lactantius did not know who was the author of it.

(3.) There is no reason to conclude from this passage, that the preaching here spoken of, was esteemed by Lactantius, or other christians at that time, a book of authority, or a part of sacred scripture.

VIII. Nothing remains, but that we briefly sum up this writer's testimony to the scriptures.

We have seen in Lactantius references to the gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, and some of the epistles, and to the book of the Revelation, which he expressly quotes as sacred scripture, and written by John. We have likewise observed plain proof of his having a collection of scriptures, consisting of the Old and New Testament; which he esteemed sacred and divine, and of the highest authority. If Lactantius had not purposely restrained himself from quoting christian scriptures in his arguments with heathens, his testimony would have been much more full and particular. For, not-

<sup>v</sup> Sed et futura aperuit illis omnia, quæ Petrus et Paulus Romæ prædicaverunt. Et ea prædicatio in memoriam scripta permansit: in quâ cum multa alia mira, tum etiam hoc futurum esse dixerunt, ut post breve tempus immitteret Deus regem, qui expugnaret Judæos, et civitates eorum solo adæquaret, ipsos autem fame sitique obsideret.—l. iv. c. 21. p. 422, 423.

<sup>w</sup> Vol. ii. p. 252—255.

<sup>x</sup> Vol. iii. p. 70, 71.

withstanding the reservedness which he imposed on himself in that respect, there are in him many allusions and references to them: which seems to show, that the christians of that time were so habituated to the language of scripture, that it was not easy for them to avoid the use of it, whenever they discoursed upon things of a religious nature.

His quotations of Sibylline books, and other writings ascribed to heathen vates or diviners, such as Hydaspes and Hermes Trismegistus, have been just now accounted for. And it has been shown, that he was far from esteeming them of canonical authority. Nor does it appear, that he placed the Preaching of Peter and Paul in the rank of sacred scripture, though he has once quoted it.

IX. We come now to the author of the books of the Deaths of Persecutors: in whom there are no quotations of scripture, and but few references or allusions to it. I shall therefore transcribe but little from him at present.

1. It is manifest that he refers to the Acts of the Apostles, and perhaps to the gospels likewise, in the second chapter of his work: 'Near<sup>y</sup> the end of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar, as we find it written, our Lord Jesus Christ was crucified by the Jews. When he had risen again on the third day, he assembled his disciples, whom the fright of his apprehension had dispersed. And continuing with them forty days, he opened their hearts, and explained to them the scriptures, which to that time were obscure and difficult to them. He also gave them instructions concerning the preaching his doctrine.—When he had so done, he was surrounded by a cloud, which, withdrawing him from human sight, carried him up to heaven. Whereupon his disciples, who were then eleven, taking into the room of Judas the traitor Matthias and Paul, went abroad throughout the world, and preached the gospel, as the Lord had commanded them.'

2. This writer speaks of the early success of the apostles in preaching the gospel, and the swift progress of the chris-

<sup>y</sup> Extremis temporibus Tiberii Cæsaris, ut scriptum legimus, Dominus noster Jesus Christus a Judæis cruciatus est post diem decimum calendarum Aprilis, duobus Geminis Consulibus. Cum resurrexisset die tertio, congregavit discipulos, quos metus comprehensionis ejus in fugam verterat, et diebus quadraginta cum his commoratus, aperuit corda eorum, et scripturas interpretatus est, quæ usque ad id tempus obscuræ et involutæ fuerant. Ordinavitque eos, et instruxit ad prædicationem dogmatis ac doctrinæ suæ.—Quo officio repleto, circumvolvitur eum procella nubis, et subtractum oculis hominum rapuit in cælum. Et inde discipuli, qui tunc erant undecim, assumtis in locum Judæi proditoris Matthiæ et Paulo, dispersi sunt per omnem terram ad evangelium prædicandum, sicut illis magister Dominus imperaverat.—De M. P. c. 2. in.

tian religion in the<sup>z</sup> time of Nero, and afterwards particularly<sup>a</sup> in the times following the reign of Domitian.

3. He speaks<sup>b</sup> of the coming of Antichrist: perhaps he has therein an eye to the book of the Revelation.

4. Finally, he takes notice of the burning<sup>c</sup> of the christian scriptures in Dioclesian's persecution.

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## CHAP. LXVI.

### *Of burning the scriptures, and of traitors, in the time of Dioclesian's persecution.*

1. EUSEBIUS assures us, that in the imperial edict for Dioclesian's persecution in 303, it was expressly ordered, not only that the christian churches should be demolished, but also that<sup>a</sup> their scriptures should be burned. And this was one of the affecting scenes of that persecution, that<sup>b</sup> he had seen the sacred and divine scriptures burned in market-places.

2. This order shows that the heathen people were now sensible of the importance of the scriptures, which the christians made use of as the grounds of their religion, the rule of their conduct, and the support of their steadiness and zeal.

<sup>a</sup> ———et per annos 25, usque ad principium Neroniani imperii per omnes provincias et civitates ecclesiæ fundamenta miserunt.—Quâ re ad Neronem delatâ, cum animadverteret, non modo Romæ, sed ubique quotidie magnam multitudinem deficere a cultu idolorum, et ad religionem novam, damnatâ vetustate, transire—ib. c. 2.

<sup>a</sup> Rescissis igitur actis tyranni, non modo in statum pristinum ecclesia restituta est, sed etiam multo clarius ac floridius enituit: secutisque temporibus, quibus multi ac boni principes Romani imperii clavum regimenque tenuerunt, nullos inimicorum impetus passa, manus suas in orientem occidentemque porrexit: ut jam nullus esset terrarum angulus tam remotus, quo non religio Dei penetrasset, nulla denique natio tam feris moribus vivens, ut non suscepto Dei cultu ad justitiæ opera mitesceret. cap. 3. fin.

<sup>b</sup> ———ut, quia primus persecutus est, idem etiam novissimus persequatur, et antichristi præcedat adventum,—cap. 2.

<sup>c</sup> Qui dies cum illuxisset, ———repente adhuc dubiâ luce ad ecclesiam profectus cum ducibus ac tribunis et rationalibus venit: et revulsis foribus simulacrum Dei quæritur, scripture repertæ incenduntur. cap. 12.

<sup>a</sup> ———τὰς δὲ γράφας ἀφανεῖς πυρὶ γενέσθαι προσάττοντα. H. E. l. viii. c. 2. p. 294.

<sup>b</sup> ———τὰς δὲ ἐνθεὺς καὶ ἱεράς γράφας κατὰ μέσας ἀγοράς πυρὶ παραδιδόμενας αὐτοῖς ἐπιειδόμεν ὀφθαλμοῖς. ib. p. 293. C.

3. The burning<sup>c</sup> of the scriptures is also mentioned by the author *Of the Deaths of Persecutors*, in his account of this persecution; but he does not speak of it so particularly, and so much at large, as might have been expected.

4. Arnobius likewise refers to it, and insists, that<sup>d</sup> there was nothing dishonourable to the Deity in the scriptures of the christians, that should expose them to such usage from the heathen people; though many writings of their own well deserved to perish in the flames.

5. The first council of Arles, which met in 314, soon after the persecution was over, made a canon, that<sup>e</sup> whoever of the clergy should be convicted by the public acts of betraying to the persecutors the scriptures, or any of the holy vessels, or the names of any of their brethren, should be deposed.

6. This was peculiar to Dioclesian's persecution: at least we do not know of any such order before.

7. The persecution was for a while exceeding hot in Africa, both in Numidia, and in the proconsular province: the two governors of which, Anulinus and Florus, acted with great severity toward the christians, as Optatus<sup>f</sup> relates. The inquest after the scriptures, and other sacred things, was very strict in that country: the magistrates in the several cities were very active and diligent in their searches: they seized what they could by any means discover, and gave informations, as they saw fit, to the superior officers of their district. And here seems to have been the greatest number of traitors: some bishops, as well as others, were guilty of that crime, which Optatus<sup>g</sup> laments.

8. How the imperial orders were published and executed,

<sup>c</sup> Scripturæ repertæ incenduntur. De M. P. c. 12.

<sup>d</sup> Quod si haberet vos aliqua pro religionibus indignatio has potius literas, hos exurere debuistis libros. Nam nostra quidem scripta cur ignibus meruerunt dari?—Arnob. l. iv. sub fin.

<sup>e</sup> De his qui scripturas sanctas tradidisse dicuntur, vel vasa dominica, vel nomina fratrum suorum, placuit nobis, ut quicumque eorum ex actis publicis fuerit detectus, non verbis, nudis, ab ordine cleri amoveatur. Concil. Arl. i. c. 13.

<sup>f</sup> Alia persecutio, quæ fuit sub Diocletiano et Maximiano; quo tempore fuerunt et impii iudices, bellum christiano nomini inferentes. Ex quibus in Provinciâ Proconsulari fuerat Anulinus, in Numidiâ Florus. Omnibus notum est, quid eorum operata sit artificiosa crudelitas.—Alii cogebantur templa Dei vivi subvertere: alii Christum negare; alii leges divinas incendere; alii thura ponere. Optat. l. iii. c. 8.

<sup>g</sup> In Africâ duo mala et pessima admissa esse constat, unum in traditione, alterum in schismate.—Nam ferme ante annos sexaginta, et quod excurrit, per totam Africam persecutionis est divagata tempestas.—Ipsi apices et principes omnium, aliqui episcopi, illis temporibus, ut damno æternæ vitæ illius incertæ lucis moras brevissimas compararent, instrumenta divinæ legis tradiderunt. Optat. l. i. c. 13.

may be seen in the<sup>b</sup> Acts of Felix, an African bishop, who suffered martyrdom at the beginning of the persecution, for refusing to deliver up the scriptures. I transcribe those Acts in the margin somewhat largely. They show the great regard which the christians of that time had for the sacred scriptures. And the reader may there observe, that the book of the Acts of the Apostles was well known, and received in Africa.

9. There are extant 'Acts<sup>i</sup> of the martyrs Saturninus presbyter, Felix, Dativus, Ampelius, and others, who on account of the assemblies, and the sacred scriptures, having been examined and made confession before Anulinus the proconsul of Africa at Carthage, at divers times, and in divers places, shed their precious blood.' These Acts<sup>k</sup> are the work of a Donatist writer; nevertheless they are very curious.

10. These persons were apprehended at their worship, and carried to Carthage in the year 304; where they made a glorious confession, and surmounted all the temptations they met with.

11. The author relates<sup>l</sup> the edict of the emperors Dioclesian and Maximian, for burning the scriptures, for demolishing churches, and forbidding the assemblies of divine worship; and bears an honourable testimony to the fidelity and

<sup>b</sup> Diocletiano octies et Maximiano septies Coss.——exivit edictum Imperatorum et Cæsarum super omnem faciem terræ. Et propositum est per colonias et civitates principibus et magistratibus, suo cuique loco, ut libros deificos peteret de manu episcoporum et presbyterorum. Tunc programmatum est in civitate Tiburensi.—Tunc Magnilianus curator jussit ad se perducī per officialem. Cui Magnilianus curator dixit: Da libros, vel membranas quascumque habes. Felix episcopus dixit: Habeo, sed non do. Magnilianus curator dixit: Da libros, ut possint aduri. Felix episcopus dixit: Melius est me igne aduri, quam scripturas deificas; quia bonum est obedire Deo magis quam hominibus. [Act. v. 29.]—Præfectus dixit: Felicem gladio interficite. Et ductus est ad passionis locum.——Felix episcopus, elevans oculos in cælum, clarâ voce dixit: Deus, gratias tibi. Quinquaginta et sex annos habeo in hoc seculo. Virginitatem custodivi: Evangelia servavi: fidem et veritatem prædicavi. Ap. Ruinart. p. 355——357.

<sup>i</sup> Ap. Baluz. Miscell. T. ii. p. 56, &c. et Optat. ex edit. Du Pin, p. 150, &c.

<sup>k</sup> Scripta sane sunt ista, quod negari non potest, ab aliquo Donatistâ, sed docto et erudito. Dignaque mihi visa sunt quæ cum Lactantio [De M. P.] conjungerentur, cum ob similitudinem argumenti, tum ob elegantiam sermonis.——Opus tamen est antiqui scriptoris, et qui non admodum remotus fuit ab ævo Diocletiani. Baluz. Monit. apud Du Pin, ut supra, p. 150.

<sup>l</sup> Temporibus namque Diocletiani et Maximiani bellum diabolus christianis indixit isto modo, ut sacrosancta Domini testamenta scripturasque divinas ad exurendum peteret, basilicas dominicas subverteret, et ritus cœtusque sanctissimos celebrari Domino prohiberet. Sed non tulit exercitus Dei immane præceptum.——Et quamvis, tradendo gentilibus scripturas dominicas atque testamenta divina profanis ignibus comburenda, a fidei cardine cecidere nonnulli, conservando tamen eas, et pro ipsis libenter suum sanguinem effundendo fortiter fecere quamplurimi. Act. Saturnin. &c. n. ii.

fortitude of the christians at that time. And he particularly relates the examinations<sup>m</sup> of the persons above mentioned, and the resolute answers made by them. It will appear likewise, from what I shall transcribe in the margin from this piece, that the christians of Africa were very assiduous in the assemblies of public worship, and constantly had there readings of scripture.

12. If that writer may be credited, there<sup>n</sup> had been a miraculous appearance in that place, when the bishop Fundanus had delivered up some scriptures, a short time before.

13. The inquiries of the heathen persecutors at that time, were not confined to the scriptures, but they searched likewise for sacred vessels, and seized gold and silver cups, and lamps, and suits of apparel ready made for the use of poor people, as occasions might require. This may be collected from the canon of the council of Arles before quoted, and more particularly from an<sup>o</sup> enumeration of such things, taken from the public Acts or Register of the city of Cirthea, where is an account of things taken with the consent, or by the discovery, of Paul, the bishop, and one of the deacons, Silvanus, who therefore are reckoned traitors. Which is also taken notice of by Augustine, in an epistle of his, a part of which I shall transcribe in the<sup>p</sup> margin, for the sake of curious readers.

<sup>m</sup> ———Contra quæ confessores Domini, invicti martyres Christi, tanquam ex uno ore dixerunt, Christiani sumus. Non possumus nisi Domini legem sanctam usque ad effusionem sanguinis custodire. Quâ voce percussus inimicus Felici dicebat: Non quæro, utrum christianus sis; sed an collectam feceris, vel scripturas aliquas habeas.—Respondit: Quasi christianus sine Dominico possit, aut Dominicus sine christiano celebrari.—Collectam, inquit, gloriosissime celebravimus, ad scripturas dominicas legendas in Dominicum convenimus semper. *ibid.* n. x.

<sup>n</sup> In isto namque foro jam pro scripturis dominicis dimicaverat cœlum, cum Fundanus civitatis quondam episcopus scripturas dominicas traderet exurendas: quas cum magistratus sacrilegus igni apponeret, subito imber sereno cœlo diffunditur; ignis scripturis sanctis admotus exstinguitur: grandines adhibentur, omnisque ipsa regio, pro scripturis dominicis, elementis furentibus devastabatur. *ib.* n. iii.

<sup>o</sup> ———Ex actis Munatii Felicis, flaminis perpetui, perpetui curatoris coloniarum Cirtensium. Cum ventum esset ad domum in quâ christiani conveniebant, Felix flamen, perpetuus curator, Paulo episcopo dixit, Proferte scripturas, et si quid aliud hic habetis. Paulus episcopus dixit: Scripturas lectores habent. Sed nos, quod hic habemus, damus. In brevi sic—Calices duo aurei, item calices sex argentei, urceola sex argentea,—lucernæ argenteæ vii. candelæ breves, æneæ cum lucernis suis vii. item lucernæ æneæ xi. cum catenis suis, tunica muliebres lxxii. tunicæ viriles, xvi. caligæ viriles, paria xiii. caligæ muliebres, paria xlvi. &c. Acta Purgationis Cæcil. ap. Optat. Du Pin, p. 168.

<sup>p</sup> —recita illi gesta apud Munatium Felicem, flaminem perpetuum, curatorem tunc civitatis vestræ, Diocletiano octavum, et Maximiano septimum consulibus——quibus liquido constitit Paulum episcopum tradidisse, ut Silva-

## CHAP. LXVII.

## THE DONATISTS.

- I. *Donatus, bishop of Carthage.* II. *A brief history of the Donatists: 1. The ground of the controversy between them and the catholics. 2. The rise and occasion of the controversy. 3. Their numbers. 4. Their persecutions.* III. *Donatist writers: 1. Anonymous author of the Acts of Saturninus and others. 2. Cresconius. 3. Gaudentius. 4. Macrobius. 5. Parmenian. 6. Petilian. 7. Tichonius. 8. Vitellius.* IV. *Their testimony to the scriptures.*

I. SAYS Jerom, ‘Donatus,<sup>a</sup> from whom sprang the Donatists in Africa, in the time of the<sup>b</sup> emperors Constantius and Constantine, asserting, that the scriptures had been betrayed to the heathen by our people in the time of the persecution, by his plausible speeches deceived almost all Africa, especially Numidia. There are extant many small works of his in support of his own heresy, and a book of the Holy Spirit, agreeable to the Arian doctrine.’

I shall now transcribe likewise a part of Augustine’s article in his book of Heresies concerning the Donatists, with whom certainly he was well acquainted. I put it down here, as it has some account of this Donatus, the second bishop of the party at Carthage, and as a foundation of farther remarks hereafter.

nus tunc ejus subdiaconus fuerit, et cum illo tradiderit proferens instrumenta dominica, etiam quæ diligentissime fuerant occultata, capitulatam argenteam, et lucernam argenteam. Ep. 53. n. 4.

<sup>a</sup> Donatus, a quo Donatiani, per Africam sub Constantio Constantinoque principibus asserens a nostris scripturas in persecutione ethnicis traditas, totam pene Africam, et maxime Numidiam, suâ persuasione decepit. Exstant ejus multa ad suam hæresim pertinentia opuscula, et de Spiritu Sancto liber Ariano dogmati congruens. De V. I. cap. 93.

<sup>b</sup> ‘In the times of the emperors Constantius and Constantine.’] Here are various readings. Sophronius the Greek interpreter has only Constantius. In Martianay’s edition is ‘sub Constante Constantinoque.’ But I imagine the right reading to be as above: and that by Constantius Jerom intends Constantine’s father; the Donatian controversy having had its foundation in what happened near the beginning of Dioclesian’s persecution, during the reign of Constantius.

‘ The<sup>c</sup> Donatians, or Donatists, who at first made a schism, because Cæcilian had been ordained bishop of Carthage against their mind, accused him of crimes they could never prove, and objected, likewise, that he had been ordained by the betrayers of the divine scriptures. And by their continued obstinacy turned their schism into heresy. Their notion is, that by means of Cæcilian’s crimes, whether true, or rather false, as appeared to those who were chosen judges of the cause, the church of Christ has perished throughout the world, and subsists only in Africa among themselves. Every where else, according to them, the church is lost by communicating with unworthy persons. They take upon them to rebaptize catholics.—We have understood, that the first author of this heresy was Donatus of Numidia, who came to Carthage, and divided the christian people under Cæcilian, and getting other bishops of a like disposition to join them, ordained Majorinus bishop of that city. Which Majorinus was succeeded by another Donatus, who by his eloquence greatly strengthened this heresy; and many think they are called Donatists from him. There are writings of his still extant, by which it appears, that he did not hold the catholic doctrine of the Trinity. For though he allowed the Son to be of the same substance, he thought him inferior to the Father, and the Holy Spirit inferior to the Son. But in this he is not generally followed by the Donatists: nor are there

<sup>c</sup> Donatiani, vel Donatistæ, sunt, qui primum propter ordinatum contra suam voluntatem Cæcilianum ecclesiæ Carthaginensis episcopum schisma fecerunt: objicientes ei crimina non probata, et maxime quod a traditoribus divinarum scripturarum fuerit ordinatus. Sed, post causam cum eo dictam atque finitam, falsitatis rei deprehensi pertinaci dissensione firmatâ, in hæresim schisma verterunt: tanquam ecclesia Christi propter crimina Cæciliani, seu vera, seu, quod magis iudicibus apparuit, falsa, de toto terrarum orbe perierit, ubi futura promissa est, atque in Africanâ Donati parte remanserit, in aliis terrarum partibus quasi contagione communionis extincta. Audent etiam rebaptizare catholicos.—Hujus hæresis principem accepimus fuisse Donatum, qui de Numidiâ veniens, et contra Cæcilianum christianum dividens plebem, adjunctis sibi ejusdem factionis episcopis, Majorinum apud Carthaginem ordinavit episcopum. Cui Majorino Donatus alius in eâdem divisione successit, qui eloquentiâ suâ sic confirmavit hanc hæresim, ut multi existiment, propter ipsum potius eos Donatistas vocari. Exstant scripta ejus, ubi apparet eum etiam non catholicam de Trinitate habuisse sententiam; sed, quamvis ejusdem substantiæ, minorem tamen Patre Filiam, et minorem Filio putasse Spiritum Sanctum. Verum in hunc, quem de Trinitate habuit, ejus errorem, Donatarum multitudo intenta non fuit. Nec facile in eis quisquam, qui hoc illum sensisse noverit, invenitur. Isti hæretici in urbe Româ Montenses vocantur, quibus hinc ex Africâ solent episcopum mittere; aut hinc illud Afri episcopi eorum pergere, si forte ibi eum ordinare placuisset.—Aug. Hær. 69.

‘ many, who are aware, that this was his sentiment. These heretics are called Mountaineers at Rome, to whom they are wont to send a bishop from Africa, or else some African bishops go thither, if they have a mind he should be ordained there.’

Augustine has in another place<sup>d</sup> taken notice of Donatist’s opinion concerning the doctrine of the Trinity.

II. I do by no means intend to write at large the history of the Donatists; I omit entirely their practice of rebaptizing. I shall only take some notice of the subject-matter, or ground and reason of the difference between the catholics and them; and then observe the rise and occasion of this controversy. For other particulars I refer to divers writers,<sup>e</sup> ancient and<sup>f</sup> modern.

I. At the beginning of his article just transcribed, Augustine mentions two objections of the Donatists against Cæcilian; one taken from crimes which he himself was said to be guilty of, the other is, that he was ordained by traitors. What the crimes were, which they accused Cæcilian himself of, may be seen in a passage of an anonymous Donatist writer, which<sup>g</sup> I put at the bottom of the page. Whence it appears, that they also charged Mensurius, Cæcilian’s predecessor, with betraying the scriptures. The whole story is indeed very unlikely: nevertheless it was not forgot<sup>h</sup> by the Donatists in the conference at Carthage in 411.

<sup>d</sup> Ariani Patris et Filii et Spiritûs Sancti diversas substantias esse dicunt. Donatistæ autem non hoc dicunt, sed unam Trinitatis substantiam confitentur. Et si aliqui ipsorum minorem Filium esse dixerunt quam Pater est, ejusdem tamen substantiæ non negarunt.——Nec ipsa cum illis vertitur quæstio, sed de solâ communione infeliciter litigant. Ep. 85. [al. 50.] cap. 1.

<sup>e</sup> Vid. Euseb. H. E. l. x. c. vi. p. 391, 392. De Vit. Const. l. ii. c. 66. Optat. de Schism. Donatist. Aug. Opp. T. ix. Ed. Bened. et passim. Philast. H. 83. Theodoret. H. F. l. iv. c. 6.

<sup>f</sup> Vid. H. Vales. de Sch. Donatist. ad calc. Annot. ad Euseb. H. E. Ittig. ad calc. Append. De Hæresiarchis. Leydeck. Hist. Ec. African. Witsii Diss. de Sch. Donat. ap. Misc. Sacr. T. i. p. 742, &c. Vitringa de Commun. Christian. Observ. Sacr. T. i. p. 742, &c. Tillem. Mem. Ec. T. vi. H. Norisii Hist. Donatist. ap. Opp. T. iv.

<sup>g</sup> ——Maxime cum etiam Mensurius, Carthaginensis quondam episcopus, recenti scripturarum prodicione pollutus, sceleris sui amentiam pejore cœpisset ferociâ publicare. Quippe qui combustorum veniam librorum a martyribus poscere atque implorare debuerat, ut delicta sua majoribus flagitiis cumlaret, eo animo sæviabat in martyres, quo divinas tradiderat leges. Etenim hic, tyranno sævior, carnifice crudelior, idoneum sceleris sui ministrum diaconum suum elegit Cæcilianum. Idemque lora et flagra cum armatis ante fores carceris ponit, ut ab ingressu atque aditu cunctos, qui victum potumque in carcerem martyribus afferebant, gravi affectos injuriâ propulsaret. Et cædebantur a Cæciliano passim qui ad alendos martyres veniebant.——&c. Acta Martyr. Saturnin. et alior. cap. xvii. ap. Du Pin, Optat. p. 156.

<sup>h</sup> Tunc Donatistæ aliquantum prælocuti sunt, quod Mensurius, qui fuerat

Cæcilian's faulty ordination was always one<sup>i</sup> pretence. And, if Optatus may be relied upon, the only complaint, which the Donatists at first made against Cæcilian, was, that<sup>k</sup> he had been ordained by Felix of Apthronga, who, they said, delivered up the scriptures to persecutors: whilst the catholics<sup>l</sup> always denied the charge, as groundless.

Augustine, as we have seen, farther assures us, their opinion was, that the church of Christ subsisted in Africa only among themselves; and that every where else the church of Christ was lost and ruined, by communicating with unworthy persons, particularly with such as adhered to Cæcilian, who had been ordained by traitors.

With what warmth and bitterness they expressed themselves upon this head, appears from<sup>m</sup> a passage of an author of theirs, whom I have quoted more than once; as also from a place of <sup>n</sup>Petilian, in Augustine.

Augustine himself has mentioned a remarkable instance of their disdain of<sup>o</sup> other men, which I suppose may be relied upon.

But though the Donatists scrupled to communicate with the catholics, because they were traitors of the divine scrip-

ante Cæcilianum ecclesiæ Carthaginis episcopus, tempore persecutionis tradiderit persecutoribus sanctas scripturas, &c. August. Brev. Collat. D. iii. cap. xiii. n. 25.

<sup>i</sup> Dicunt ordinatorem ejus sanctos libros tradidisse. Aug. Psalm. Contr. Donat. D.

<sup>k</sup> Illo tempore a tot inimicis nihil in eum potuit confingi sed de ordinatore suo, quod ab iis falso traditor diceretur, meruit infamari. Optat. l. i. c. 19.

<sup>l</sup> Deinde Gesta Proconsularia, ubi Felix diligentissimo examine probatus est innocens. Aug. Ep. 43. [al. 162.] c. 2. n. 5. Vid. Gesta Purgationis Felicis Aptungitani.

<sup>m</sup> Igitur cum hæc ita sint, quisnam est divini juris peritiâ pollens,—qui judicii Dei memor——separat a stante lapsum, ab integro vulneratum, a justo reum, ab innocente damnatum, a custode legis proditorem, a confessore Christi nominis ejus negatorem——et unum atque idem existimet et ecclesiam martyrum et conventicula traditorum.——Quamobrem fugienda bonis, et vitanda est semper religiosis conspiratio traditorum, hypocritarum domus.—Denique isti falsi sacrorum ritus fictaque mysteria non tamen in salutem quam in perniciem miserorum celebrantur, cum erigit altare sacrilegus, celebrat sacramenta profanus, baptizat reus, curat vulneratus,—legit evangelia traditor, hæreditatem cæli promittit divinatorum testamentorum exustor. Acta Saturnini, &c. cap. 19. ap. Du Pin, Optat. p. 150.

<sup>n</sup> Qui utique spiritus—sanctus in vos venire non potuit, quos non vel pœnitentiæ baptismus abluit: sed pœnitenda, quod verum est, aqua polluit traditoris. Aug. Contr. Lit. Petil. l. ii. c. 36. n. 83.

<sup>o</sup> Usque adeo ex ipso numero sunt, ut nuper in Collatione nostrâ, quod etiam in gestis ipsis legere potestis, cum eis a cognitore esset confessus oblatus, ut sederent nobiscum, respondendum putârunt: Scriptum est nobis, cum talibus non sedere, scilicet ne per contactum subselliorum ad eos velut nostra contagio perveniret. Aug. Serm. 99. cap. 8. Tom. v. p. 524. E.

tures, the catholics<sup>p</sup> retorted the charge, and called the Donatists the children of traitors; and averred, that they who were the first authors of the separation, were themselves traitors.

2. This shall suffice for a brief account of the ground of this difference, which had its rise after this manner:

Mensurius bishop of Carthage being dead, and Maxentius giving liberty to the christians in Africa in 311, Cæcilian was chosen in his room, and ordained by Felix of Apthonga, and others. But some being dissatisfied, Majorinus<sup>q</sup> was chosen and ordained by another party, afterwards called Donatists, from Donatus, bishop of Casæ Nigræ in Numidia, who was exceeding active in the support of that interest. About this time, therefore, we may date the beginning of this difference.

Soon after that Constantine became master of Africa, upon the defeat of Maxentius, the Donatists sent a request to the emperor, by Anulinus proconsul of Africa, desiring that their cause might be<sup>r</sup> heard and examined by some bishops

<sup>p</sup> Ipsi tradiderunt libros, et nos audent accusare.

Aug. Psalm. contr. Donat. B.

Dixerunt majores nostri, et libros fecerunt inde,

Qui tunc causam cognoverunt, quod recens possent probare.

Erant quidem traditores librorum de sanctâ lege, &c. D.

Sed hoc libenter fixerunt, quod se noverunt fecisse. Ib. E.

Quicquid invicem objicimus de traditione codicum divinatorum, de thurificatione. Id. De Unit. Ec. cap. ii.

Deinde non post longum tempus iidem ipsi, tot et tales, ad Carthaginem profecti traditores, thurati,——Majorinum——post ordinationem Cæciliani ordinaverunt, schisma facientes. Et quoniam traditionis reos principes vestros fuisse monstratum est. Optat. l. i. c. 15.

Si traditoribus non licet, vobis licere non debuit, quorum principes probamus fuisse traditores. Id. ib. cap. 5.

Paulo ante docuimus vestros parentes fuisse traditores et schismaticos; et tu ipsorum hæres.——Omnia, igitur, quæ a te in traditores et schismaticos dici potuerunt, vestra sunt. Id. l. i. c. 28.

Nec dicatur ad excusationem, quia traditoribus communicare noluerunt; cum manifestissime probatum sit, eosdem ipsos filios fuisse traditorum. Ib. l. iii. c. 8. p. 65. Vid. et l. ii. c. 1. in. et l. v. c. 1. in.

<sup>q</sup> Hoc apud Carthaginem post ordinationem Cæciliani factum esse, nemo est qui nesciat. Optat. l. i. c. 17. Tempestas persecutionis peracta et definita est. Jubente Deo, indulgentiam mittente Maxentio, christianis libertas est restituta. cap. 18. Et Majorinus, qui lector in diaconio Cæciliani fuerat, domesticus Lucillæ, ipsâ suffragante, episcopus ordinatus est a traditoribus. Ib. cap. 19.

<sup>r</sup> Nam majores vestri—imperatorem, Constantium, harum rerum adhuc ignarum, hic precibus rogârunt—Constantine, optime imperator, quoniam de genere justo es, cujus pater inter cæteros imperatores persecutionem non exercuit, et ab hoc facinore immunis est Gallia. Nam in Africâ inter nos et cæteros episcopos contentiones sunt. Petimus, ut de Galliâ nobis judices dari præcipiat pietas tua. Optat. l. i. c. 22. Vid. et August. Ep. 88. al. 65.

of Gaul, who had lived under his father Constantius : and not having been persecuted, as other christians had been in other parts of the world, were free from the charge of betraying the scriptures, and like faults, which many others had been guilty of.

The emperor received this petition in Gaul, and<sup>s</sup> soon sent back orders to Anulinus. He likewise wrote a letter to Miltiades bishop of Rome. The emperor's appointment was, that <sup>t</sup> Majorinus with ten of his friends, and Cæcilian with ten others, favourers of him, should appear at Rome before Miltiades, and three bishops of Gaul. These were Maternus bishop of Cologne, Reticus of Autun, and Marinus of Arles. There were besides in this council fifteen Italian bishops, whose names may be seen in Optatus, making in all nineteen. This hearing was in the year 313, and Cæcilian<sup>u</sup> was acquitted by the unanimous vote of the council.

The Donatists, not being yet satisfied, entreated the emperor, that their cause might be taken into farther consideration. In compliance with their request, was appointed the council of Arles, which sat in 314, when a like judgment was again passed.

Still the Donatists were uneasy, and made<sup>v</sup> fresh applications to Constantine, to examine the affair himself. Which he consented to, and after all decided as the ecclesiastical judges had done already. This hearing before the emperor

<sup>s</sup> Vid. Euseb. H. E. l. x. c. 6. et Collat. Carth. D. 3. c. 116. et August. Brev. Col. D. 3. cap. vii. et xii.

<sup>t</sup> Et tamen dati sunt iudices, Maternus ex Agrippinâ civitate, Reticus ab Augustoduno civitate, Marinus Arelatensis. Ad urbem Romam ventum est ab his tribus Gallis, et ab aliis quindecim Italis. Optat. l. i. c. 23. His decem et novem considentibus episcopis, causa Donati et Cæciliani in medium missa est. c. 24.

<sup>u</sup> Cæcilianus omnium supra memoratorum sententiis innocens est pronunciatus. Optat. l. i. c. 25.

<sup>v</sup> Deinde diximus, aliquanto post Majorini ordinationem, quem contra Cæcilianum nefario scelere levaverunt——eos petiisse a Constantino tunc imperatore iudices episcopos, qui de suis quæstionibus, quæ in Africâ exortæ——arbitrio medio judicarent. Quod postea, quam factum est præsentem Cæciliano et illis qui adversus eum navigaverant, judicante Melchiade tunc Romanæ urbis episcopo cum collegis suis, quos ad preces Donatistarum miserat imperator, in Cæcilianum nihil potuisse, ac per hoc illo in episcopatu confirmato——Quibus peractis rebus cum illi omnes in pertinaciâ——permanerent, post apud Arelatum memoratum imperatorem eandem causam diligentius examinandam——curâsse. Illos vero ab ecclesiastico iudicio provocâsse, ut causam Constantinus audiret. Quo postea quam ventum est, utrâque parte assistente, innocentem Cæcilianum fuisse judicatum, atque illos recessisse superatos, et in eâdem perversitate mansisse. Aug. Ep. 43. [al. 162.] c. 2. n. 4. Conf. libr. post Collat. cap. 33. Vid. Aug. Ep. 105. [al. 166.] n. 8. Ep. 129. n. 4. et 185. [al. 50.] c. 2. n. 6. Ep. 89. n. 3. Et recitatum est iudicium Constantini, —Aug. Brev. Coll. D. 3. c. 19. in. Vid. et Monumenta Vetera ap. Du Pin, Optat. p. 182.

was at <sup>w</sup> Milain in 316. But <sup>x</sup> the Donatists did not acquiesce any more in the judgment now passed than in the former.

Thus the difference was fixed; there was no reconciling the two parties. There was however a famous conference held at Carthage in 411, between the catholics and Donatists: by which, and by the writings of Augustine about that time, the Donatists seem to have been much weakened. Nevertheless, they subsisted in Africa till the end of the sixth century, or <sup>y</sup> later.

3. The Donatists were very numerous; there must have been many of them in Numidia, and the proconsular province of Africa. Augustine intimates that <sup>z</sup> though there were Donatists in many places, yet in most cities, except those of Numidia, the catholics were much more numerous than they.

At the fore-mentioned conference at Carthage were present 286 catholic bishops: the Donatists counted<sup>a</sup> but 279, and some of them absent. Tychonius<sup>b</sup> speaks of a council of Donatists at Carthage, consisting of 270 bishops, but the time of it is uncertain. Augustine often speaks of a council of theirs, about the year 394, consisting<sup>c</sup> of 310 bishops; and all these 310 were friends of Primianus: if the Maximianists, who were absent, were 100, their number in the whole were 410.

For certain this unhappy difference among the christians of Africa affords an admonition to all men to respect and hearken to Solomon's observation, and the counsel founded upon it; Prov. xvii. 14. "The beginning of strife is as

<sup>w</sup> Vid. Pagi Crit. in Baron. A. 316. n. xiv. xv.

<sup>x</sup> Responderunt, etiam imperatorias aures pravis suggestionibus inflatas. Aug. Brev. Coll. D. 3. cap. 19.

<sup>y</sup> Vid. Vales. de Schism. Donat. cap. ult. fin.

<sup>z</sup> Quod enim propterea se universos adesse dixerunt, et eorum numerus appareat, quoniam eos paucos esse adversarii sui sæpe mentiti sunt. Hoc si aliquando a nostris dictum est, de his locis dici verissime potuit, ubi nostrorum coëpiscoporum et clericorum et laïcorum longe major est numerus, et maxime in Proconsulari Provinciâ. Quanquam, exceptâ Numidiâ Consulari, etiam in cæteris provinciis Africanis, nostrorum numero facillime superantur. Aug. Ep. 129. n. E.

<sup>a</sup> Respondit Officium, nomina Donatistarum episcoporum esse ducenta septuaginta novem, annumeratis etiam illis, pro quibus absentibus alii subscriperant. Catholicorum autem omnium præsentium nomina esse constitit ducenta octoginta sex. Aug. Brev. D. 1. cap. 14.

<sup>b</sup> Dicit enim Tychonius, homo, ut dixi, vestræ communionis, a ducentis et septuaginta vestris episcopis concilium Carthagini celebratum. Aug. Ep. 93. [al. 48.] cap. x. n. 43.

<sup>c</sup> Sed ecce damnaverunt in concilio suo Maximianistas trecenti decem episcopi Donatistæ. Contr. Ep. Petil. l. i. c. 11. n. 18. Sic enim eos describunt trecenti decem plenarii concilii. Contr. Ep. Parmen. l. ii. c. 3. n. 7. Vid. et contr. Crescon. l. iii. c. 52. n. 53. et c. 53—56. et passim.

when one lets out water. Therefore leave off contention before it be meddled with.”

4. I forbear to enter into an account of the persecutions suffered by the Donatists. They were restrained by the imperial laws, which sometimes were very severe; but<sup>d</sup> they were rarely executed in their utmost rigour. And the Donatists, who were not free from differences among themselves, often<sup>e</sup> showed great bitterness toward each other: and in places where they were superior in number, they<sup>f</sup> bore hard upon the catholics.

III. I add a brief account of some Donatist writers.

It ought to be observed, that I have already transcribed Jerom's article of Donatus bishop of Carthage next after Majorinus: from whom, as some supposed, the party had its denomination.

1. Anonymous<sup>g</sup> author of the Acts of Saturninus, Felix, Dativus, Ampelius, and others; which appear to have been written not long after<sup>h</sup> the beginning of the fourth century.

2. Cresconius, a learned<sup>i</sup> grammarian among the Donatists, wrote a book against the first part of Augustine's confutation of Petilian: which Augustine answered in four books, still extant, written in 406.

3. Gaudentius,<sup>k</sup> bishop of Tamugada in Numidia. He

<sup>d</sup> Quæ res coëgit tunc primum adversus vos allegari apud Vicarium Serranum legem illam de decem libris auri, quas nullus vestrum adhuc pendit, et nos crudelitatis arguitis. *Contr. Lit. Petil. l. ii. c. 83. n. 184.*

<sup>e</sup> Ita cæci et insani, ut cum schismaticos suos Maximianistas per potestates a catholicis imperatoribus missas de basilicis excluderint, et vi magnâ jussionem et auxiliorum cedere sibi compulerint, arguant catholicam, si pro eâ catholici principes tale aliquid fieri præceperit. *Contr. Parm. l. i. c. 10. n. 16.*

<sup>f</sup> Nonne apud Hipponem, ubi ego sum, non desunt, qui meminerint, Faustinum vestrum regni sui tempore præcipisse, quoniam catholicorum ibi paucitas erat, ut nullus eis panem coqueret? &c. *Contr. Petil. l. ii. c. 83. n. 184.*

<sup>g</sup> Extant ap. Baluz. *Misc. T. ii. p. 56, &c. et Optat. Milev. ex Edit. Du Pin. p. 150, &c.*

<sup>h</sup> Vid. Baluz. *Monitum.*

<sup>i</sup> Grammaticus etiam quidam Donatista Cresconius, cum invenisset epistolam meam, quâ primas partes, quæ in manus nostras tunc venerant epistolæ Petiliani, redargui, putavit mihi esse respondendum, et hoc ipsum scripsit ad me. Cui operi ejus libris quatuor respondi. *Retract. l. ii. c. 26.*

<sup>k</sup> Per idem tempus Dulcitus tribunus et notarius: hic erat executor imperialium jussionum contra Donatistas datarum. Qui cum dedisset literas ad Gaudentium Thamugadensem Donatistam episcopum, unum illorum septem, quos in nostrâ collatione auctores suæ defensionis elegerant, exhortans eum ad unitatem catholicam, et dissuadens incendium, quo se ac suos cum ipsâ, in quâ erat, ecclesiâ consumere minabatur.—Ille rescripsit epistolas duas, unam brevem—aliam prolixam—Has mihi supra memoratus tribunus existimavit esse mittendas, ut eas potius ipse refellerem: quas ambas uno libro redargui. Qui cum in ejusdem Gaudentii pervenisset manus, rescripsit quod ei visum est, ad me ipsum.—Hinc factum est, ut hi nostri ad illum duo libri essent. *Aug. Retr. l. ii. c. 59. Conf. Opp. T. ix. sub fin.*

was one of the seven Donatist bishops, chosen to defend their cause at the conference at Carthage in 411. Some time after that conference, the tribune Dulcitus, who was the emperor's commissary for executing the imperial laws against the Donatists, sent an admonition to him, to return to the unity of the catholic church; which Gaudentius answered, first by a short, then by a long letter. Dulcitus having sent those letters to Augustine, he answered them in one book. Gaudentius published a defence of his letters; and Augustine replied in another, or second book.

That is the substance of what Augustine himself writes. By which it appears, that Cave's account of this matter is not quite right: who<sup>l</sup> supposeth Augustine to have written three books against Gaudentius.

Gaudentius seems to have been a man of a violent temper: for<sup>m</sup> he had formed a design to set fire to his church, and therein to burn himself and some others. The only apology that can be made is, that the hard usage the Donatists met with made them desperate, and filled them with a rage, which they were not able to govern.

I have placed Gaudentius as flourishing about the year 411, the time of the fore-mentioned conference; but his letters to Dulcitus, and his answer to Augustine's first book, were not written until some good while after: for Augustine's writings in this controversy are supposed to have been published about the year 420.

4. Says Gennadius, in the chapter next following in his Catalogue that of Vitellius, to be hereafter transcribed: 'Macrobius<sup>n</sup> also, a presbyter among the Donatists, and afterwards their secret bishop at Rome, whilst he was yet a presbyter of the church of God, wrote one book addressed to confessors and virgins; a work of the moral kind, but very useful, especially for preserving chastity. He first

<sup>l</sup> Gaudentium, episcopum Tamugadensem, sectæ Donatistæ, qui Dulcitus tribuno, imperatoris apud Africam legato, duas epistolas apologeticas obtulit, ab Augustino totidem libris refutatas: quibus responsonem opposuit Gaudentius, ab Augustino itidem libro tertio eversam. Cav. H. L. De Gaudentio Brixienti.

<sup>m</sup> Gaudentius,——cum seipsum in ecclesiâ quibusdam sibi adjunctis perditis incendere minabatur. Aug. Contr. Gaud. l. i. c. i. Vid. ejusd. Retract. supr. not. <sup>k</sup>.

<sup>n</sup> Macrobius, presbyter et ipse, ut ex scriptis Optati cognovimus, Donatista, et suorum postea in urbe Româ occultus episcopus fuit. Scripsit, cum adhuc in ecclesiâ Dei presbyter fuisset, ad confessores et ad virgines librum unum, moralis quidem, sed valde necessariæ doctrinæ, et præcipue ad custodiendam castitatem aptissimis valde sententiis communitum. Claruit inter nostros primum Africæ, et inter suos, id est Donatianos, sive Montenses, postea Romæ. Gennad. De V. I. cap. v.

‘ flourished among us in Africa, and afterwards among the  
‘ Donatists, or Mountaineers, at Rome.’

Macrobius was the fourth<sup>o</sup> Donatist bishop, who sat at Rome, and was living when Optatus of Milevi wrote, about 370. Optatus may be relied upon for that. But whether Gennadius be in the right in saying, that Macrobius was first a presbyter among the catholics, may be questioned. Nor is it easy to form a clear conception concerning the occasion, which a catholic presbyter should have about that time to write an exhortation to confessors. Insomuch, that it may be doubted, whether Gennadius did not confound two persons of this name. Tillemont<sup>p</sup> has good remarks upon this account of Gennadius.

There is still extant a piece entitled,<sup>a</sup> *The Passion of Maximian and Isaac, Donatists*: which is generally supposed to<sup>r</sup> have been written by the above-named Donatist bishop Macrobius, in the year 348, or 349.

5. Parmenian succeeded<sup>s</sup> Donatus in the see of Carthage about the<sup>t</sup> year 350. Not long before the year 370, he wrote a book or epistle against the catholics, which was soon after answered by Optatus of Milevi, in a work still extant.

Parmenian afterwards wrote another letter against<sup>u</sup> Tichonius, a Donatist, who differed in some things from the rest of his party. This letter was answered by Augustine in three books.

It does not appear with certainty when<sup>v</sup> this letter of Parmenian was published: but Augustine’s answer was written about the year 400, and Parmenian was then dead. He seems however to have lived to the year<sup>w</sup> 390, and the Donatist interest flourished greatly under him.

6. Petilian, bishop of Cirtha, called also Constantina, in

<sup>o</sup> Ergo restat, ut fateatur socius vester Macrobius se ibi sedere, ubi aliquando sedit Encolpius.——Optat. l. ii. c. 4.

<sup>p</sup> Les Donatistes. Note 21.

<sup>a</sup> Apud Du Pin, Optat.

p. 199, &c.

<sup>r</sup> See Tillem. Donatistes, Art. 48.

<sup>s</sup> Non enim Cæcilianus exivit a Majorino avo tuo. Optat. l. i. c. 10.

In tribus libris contra epistolam Parmeniani Donatistarum Carthaginensis episcopi, successoremque Donati. Aug. Retr. l. ii. c. 17.

Dicant, unde natus est Majorinus, aut Donatus, ut per eos nasceretur Parmenianus atque Primianus. Aug. cont. Parm. l. iii. c. 2. n. 11. Vid. et c. 3. n. 18.

<sup>u</sup> Vid. Du Pin, Præf. ad Optat. et Tillem. Les Donatistes, Art. L. fin.

<sup>v</sup> Nunc autem quoniam incidit in manus nostras Parmeniani, quondam episcopi eorum, quædam epistola, quæ scribitur ad Tichonium. Aug. contr. Parmen. l. i. c. 1. Conf. Aug. Ep. 92. n. 44.

<sup>w</sup> See Tillem. Donatistes, Art. 59.

<sup>x</sup> Id. ib. Art. 65.

Numidia : who<sup>x</sup> formerly pleaded at the bar as an advocate, wrote a letter to the Donatist clergy, which Augustine soon after answered<sup>y</sup> in three books. He was one of the seven Donatist bishops, appointed to defend their cause at the famous conference at Carthage.

7. Says Gennadius, who wrote near the end of the fifth century, ‘Tichonius<sup>z</sup> of Africa, well acquainted with the ‘literal sense of scripture, and not ignorant in secular learning, and well versed in ecclesiastical affairs, wrote three ‘books concerning Intestine Divisions, an Exposition of several Matters, [or a Miscellany,] in which works he mentions some ancient synods in defence of his own cause. ‘By all which it appears he was of the Donatist party. He ‘wrote also a book of Seven Rules for attaining the true ‘Meaning of Scripture. He likewise wrote a Commentary ‘upon the Revelation of John, from the beginning to the ‘end.’

That is a part of Gennadius’s article ; for the rest I refer to himself.

Augustine in his answer to Parmenian gives Tichonius<sup>a</sup> the character of a man of good sense, and a great deal of eloquence. He was a moderate Donatist. But then he<sup>b</sup> is reckoned inconsistent : and he fell under the displeasure of his own party. Parmenian, bishop of Carthage, as we have seen, wrote against him. Du Pin says, he<sup>c</sup> flourished about the year 380. Tillemont’s<sup>d</sup> computation is not very different. The book of the Civil War, or Intestine Divisions, may be the book referred to by Augustine, and against which Parmenian wrote. The Seven Rules for finding the true Meaning of Scripture, are<sup>e</sup> still extant.

8. ‘Vitellius of Africa,’ says<sup>f</sup> Gennadius, ‘defending the

<sup>x</sup> Vid. Aug. contr. Petil. l. iii. c. 16.

<sup>y</sup> Opp. T. ix.

<sup>z</sup> Tichonius, natione Afer, in divinis literis eruditus, juxta historiam sufficienter, et in secularibus non ignarus fuit, in ecclesiasticis quoque negotiis studiosus. Scripsit de bello intestino libros tres, et expositiones diversarum causarum, in quibus ob suorum defensionem antiquarum meminit synodorum. E quibus omnibus agnoscitur Donationæ partis fuisse. Composuit et Regulas ad investigandam et inveniendam intelligentiam scripturarum septem, quas in uno volumine conclusit. Exposuit et Apocalypsin Johannis ex integro, nihil in eo carnale, sed totum intelligens spirituale. Gennad. De V. I. c. 18.

<sup>a</sup> ———incidit in manus nostras Parmeniani———epistola, quæ scribitur ad Tichonium, hominem quidem et acri ingenio præditum, et uberi eloquio, sed Donatistam. Aug. contr. Parm. l. i. c. 1.

<sup>b</sup> Tichonius—vidit ecclesiam Dei toto orbe diffusam.—Aug. ibid. Conf. ejusd. Ep. 93. c. x. n. 43.

<sup>c</sup> Hist. Donat. p. 12.

<sup>d</sup> Les Donatistes, Art. 59. et note 31, 32.

<sup>e</sup> App. Bib. PP. Mex. T. vi.

<sup>f</sup> Vitellius Afer, Donatianorum schisma defendens, scripsit de eo quod odio sint mundo servi Dei. In quo si tacuisset de nostro velut persecutorum nomine, egregiam doctrinam ediderat. Scripsit et adversum gentes, et adversum nos

‘ schism of the Donatists, wrote a book, showing, that the  
 ‘ servants of God are hated by the world. In which, if he  
 ‘ had not treated us as persecutors, he delivered an excellent  
 ‘ doctrine. He also wrote against the Gentiles, and against  
 ‘ us, as traitors of the divine scriptures in the persecution.  
 ‘ He likewise wrote several other books, relating to eccle-  
 ‘ siastical discipline. He flourished under Constans, son of  
 ‘ the emperor Constantine ;’ that is, as Cave computes, about  
 the year 344.

As Gennadius’s is the only account we have of this au-  
 thor, and none of his writings remain, nothing farther can  
 be added. We may however conclude from hence, that the  
 Donatists were not concerned for the interests of their own  
 party only : but employed themselves likewise in the defence  
 of the common cause of christianity against its enemies.

IV. The Donatists used the same scriptures that other  
 christians did : as is often owned by their catholic adver-  
 saries, <sup>s</sup> Optatus and <sup>h</sup> Augustine.

1. That they received all the several parts of the Old and  
 New Testament, appears from St.<sup>i</sup> Augustine’s enumeration  
 of them in his arguments with these people.

velut traditores, in persecutione, divinarum scripturarum. Et ad regulam  
 ecclesiasticam pertinentia multa diseruit. Claruit sub Constante, filio Con-  
 stantini principis. Gennad. cap. iv.

<sup>s</sup> Cum constet merito, quia nobis et vobis ecclesiastica una est conversatio—  
 Denique possumus et nos dicere : Pares credimus, et uno sigillo signati sumus,  
 nec aliter baptizati quam vos. Testamentum divinum legimus pariter. Optat.  
 l. iii. c. 9.

Denique et apud vos et apud nos una est ecclesiastica conversatio, communes  
 lectiones, eadem fides.—Id. l. v. c. 1. fin.

<sup>h</sup> Proferte certe aliquam de scripturis canonicis, quarum nobis est communis  
 auctoritas, ab hæreticis venientem denuo baptizatum. Aug. contr. Crescon.  
 l. i. c. 31. n. 37.

In scripturis discimus Christum : in scripturis discimus ecclesiam. Has  
 scripturas communiter habemus. Ep. 105. [al. 166.] c. 4. n. 14.

Isti autem fratres utriusque testamenti auctoritate devincti sunt. Ep. 129.  
 n. 3.

<sup>i</sup> Non invidemus alicui. Legite nobis hoc de lege, de prophetis, de  
 Psalmis, de ipso evangelio, de apostolicis literis. Legimus, et credimus.  
 Aug. de Unit. Ecc. cap. 6. n. 11.

Ut ergo non commemorem gentes, quæ post apostolorum tempora credi-  
 derunt, et accesserunt ecclesiæ : illæ ipsæ solæ, quas in sanctis literis, in  
 Actibus, et epistolis Apostolorum, et Apocalypsi Johannis invenimus ; quas  
 utrique amplectimur, et quibus utrique subdimur, &c. Ib. c. 12. n. 31.

Sed in præscripto legis, in prophetarum prædictis, in Psalmorum cantibus,  
 in ipsius Pastoris vocibus, in evangelistarum prædicationibus et laboribus, hoc  
 est in omnibus sanctorum librorum auctoritatibus. Ib. c. 18. n. 47.

Quas utique scripturas, nisi canonicas legis et prophetarum ? Huc accesse-  
 runt evangelia, apostolicæ epistolæ, Actus Apostolorum, Apocalypsis Joannis.  
 Ib. c. 19. n. 51.

2. There can be no question therefore, but they received all those books in particular, which were generally received.

3. The book of the Acts is largely quoted by<sup>k</sup> Petilian, and<sup>l</sup> Tichonius.

4. I cannot say, whether they received the epistle to the Hebrews. Tichonius has the words<sup>m</sup> of Heb. x. 38, "The just shall live by faith;" but he seems to consider them as the prophet Habakkuk's.

5. They plainly received the Revelation of St. John. Augustine frequently<sup>n</sup> quotes it in his arguments with them. It is also cited by the<sup>o</sup> anonymous author of the Acts of Saturninus and others. Tichonius<sup>p</sup> the Donatist wrote a Commentary upon the whole book, as we before saw in his article from Gennadius.

Augustine bears witness to them, that<sup>q</sup> they had the like respect for the scriptures that the catholics had, and were not unwilling to be determined by them.

Moreover, their respect for the divine scriptures was manifest, in their aversion for all those who had betrayed them, or were supposed to have done so.

Quod non de lege, non de prophetâ, non de Psalmo, non de apostolo, non de evangelio,——recitatis. Ep. 105. [al. 166.] c. 1. n. 2.

<sup>k</sup> Sed ut hæc ab apostolis præluceant, eorum Actibus edocemur. Petilian. ap. Aug. contr. Lit. Pet. l. ii. c. 37. n. 85. Vid. ib. c. 20. n. 44. et c. 21. n. 47.

<sup>l</sup> Tichon. Reg. iii. p. 52. Bib. PP. T. 6.

<sup>m</sup> Quomodo autem ex lege nemo justificatur apud Deum; justus autem ex fide vivit. [Conf. Gal. iii. 11.] Ostendit præterea, dictum esse per prophetam, ex fide vivit. Tich. Reg. iii. ap. Bib. PP. T. vi. p. 52. F.

<sup>n</sup> Nam populos significari aliquando vocabulo aquarum, legant in Apocalypsi.—Sic enim dicitur Joanni.—Aug. contr. Ep. Parmen. l. ii. c. 10. n. 22. Vid. ib. n. 20. Et conf. Aug. contr. Crescon. l. iii. c. 66. n. 75. et c. 67. n. 77.

<sup>o</sup> Et hanc sententiam suam Sancti Spiritûs auctoritate conscriptam tali comparatione firmabant. Scriptum est, inquit, in Apocalypsi.——Acta Saturnin. &c. cap. 18.

<sup>p</sup> Exposuit et Apocalypsin ex integro. Gennad. De V. I. cap. 18.

<sup>q</sup> Sed, ut dicere cœperam, non audiamus: Hæc dicis, hæc dico. Sed audiamus: Hæc dicit Dominus. Sunt certe libri dominici, quorum auctoritatibus utrique cedimus, utrique servimus. De Unit. Ec. c. 3. c. 5.

Sileant humanarum contentionum animosa et perniciosa certamina. Inclinemus aurem verbo Dei. ib. c. 7. n. 15.

## CHAP. LXVIII.

## ALEXANDER, BISHOP OF ALEXANDRIA.

I. *His history and works.* II. *His testimony to the scriptures.*

I. ALEXANDER, bishop of Alexandria, succeeded<sup>a</sup> Achillas in the year 312, or 313. In his time arose the Arian controversy, which made so much noise in the world. He was present at the council of Nice in 325, and died at Alexandria, before the end of that year, or some time in 326, within five months<sup>b</sup> after the breaking up of the council, or<sup>c</sup> after his return home from it.

By Theodoret he is called<sup>d</sup> the great Alexander, and<sup>e</sup> an excellent defender of the evangelical doctrine.

It is not known that Alexander wrote any thing beside epistles, sent to bishops in several parts of the world; which, as<sup>f</sup> Epiphanius says, were in number almost seventy, and were extant in his time in the hands of the curious. Socrates says, that<sup>g</sup> great numbers of epistles having been written by many, sent chiefly to the bishop of Alexandria, collections were made of them; one by Arius, of those favouring him, another by Alexander, on the contrary side. It is probable, that<sup>h</sup> each collection contained the letters written by them-

<sup>a</sup> Vid. Cav. Hist. Lit. et Pagi Crit. in Baron. Ann. 311. n. 25.

<sup>b</sup> Alexander quinto post synodum habitam mense obiit, exeunte anno 325, vel mense primo insequentis anni. Cav. ib. in Alexandro.

<sup>c</sup> Quo pacto Alexander in suam ecclesiam initio hiemis pervenit, et die 16 Aprilis defunctus est. Quæ Athanasii laudati sententia fuisse videtur. Hæc enim ejus verba: Οὐπω δὲ πεντε μηνες παρηλθον, και ὁ μὲν μακαριτης Αλεξανδρος τετελευτηκεν' id est, nondum quinque menses (scilicet ab adventu Alexandri in ecclesiam suam) præterierant, cum Alexander mortem obiit. Pagi ib. An. 326. n. 3. Conf. Ap. d. contr. Arian. n. 59. p. 178. et Thdr. l. i. c. 26. d. Hær. Fab. l. iv. n. 1. p. 232. et n. 7. p. 239.

<sup>e</sup> ——— Αλεξανδρος ὁ γενναιος των ευαγγελικων δογματων γενομενος προμαχος. Id. H. E. l. i. c. 2. p. 7.

<sup>f</sup> ——— ὡς τον αριθμον ἐβδομηκοντα. Eriph. H. 69. n. 4.

<sup>g</sup> Οὕτως εναντιων γραμματων προς τον επισκοπον Αλεξανδρειας πεμπομενων πεποινηται των επισολων τῶτων συναγωγας, Αρειος μὲν των ὑπερ αυτη, Αλεξανδρος δὲ των εναντιων. Socr. l. i. c. 6. f.

<sup>h</sup> Non omnittendum, quod Socrates narrat, Arium collectionem fecisse epistolarum causæ suæ faventium, in quibus non dubium est etiam Arii ipsius epistolas incertas fuisse. Fabric. Bib. Gr. T. 8. p. 309. Vid. et p. 340.

selves, as well as by others in their favour. But, as may be argued from the words of Socrates, and is farther evident from<sup>i</sup> Sozomen, each collection consisted of letters written on one side only.

Of all those epistles of Alexander there now remain two only, one in Socrates, to<sup>k</sup> the bishops of the catholic church throughout the world: the other in<sup>l</sup> Theodoret, to Alexander bishop of Byzantium, with<sup>m</sup> fragments of some others. The time of writing those two letters will be shown more particularly at the beginning of the next chapter.

It must be owned that Alexander expresseth himself with much warmth, if not with bitterness of spirit.

He calls Arius and his followers<sup>n</sup> apostates, and<sup>o</sup> enemies of Christ, and<sup>p</sup> impious. He says<sup>q</sup> they had done their utmost to exceed all past heresies, and approach nearer to Antichrist.

II. All the farther account which I shall give of those two letters will relate to the holy scriptures.

1. It is observable, that several books of the New Testament, particularly St. Paul's epistles, are here frequently quoted.

2. St. John's gospel is largely and expressly quoted. 'John<sup>r</sup> the evangelist: John<sup>s</sup> in his gospel: the<sup>t</sup> most excellent John.'

3. Alexander received the epistle to the Hebrews as Paul's. 'As<sup>u</sup> the apostle says, Jesus Christ, the<sup>v</sup> same yesterday, to-day, and for ever: and what reason have they to say that he was made for us, when Paul writes, "for<sup>w</sup> whom are all things, and by whom are all things." ' Again,

<sup>i</sup> ——— συναγωγήν ἐποίησαντο τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς οἰκειᾶς αἵρεσεως φερομένων ἐπιτολῶν, καὶ τὰς ἐναντίας παρέλαβον. Sozom. l. i. c. 1. p. 402. A.

<sup>k</sup> Τοὺς ἀγαπητοὺς ——— συλλειτουργοὺς τοῖς ἀπανταχοῦ τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας. Socr. l. i. c. 6. p. 10. A. <sup>l</sup> Ap. Thdrt. l. i. c. 4.

<sup>m</sup> Vid. Const. Ap. l. viii. c. 28. in notis: et Fabric. Bib. Gr. T. viii. p. 341. et S. Maxim. Confess. T. ii. p. 152, 155. Conf. Car. H. L. in Alexandro.

<sup>n</sup> Ἐξήλθον νῦν ἄνδρες παρανομοὶ καὶ χριστομαχοὶ, διδασκόντες ἀποσασίαν. Ap. Socr. l. i. c. 6. p. 10. A. B.

——— Ἐνσεβίος ——— προΐσται καὶ τῶν τῶν ἀποσάτων. ib. B.

<sup>o</sup> Ἀπαξ γὰρ προσημειοῦ χριστομαχεῖν. p. 112. B.

<sup>p</sup> ——— φασὶν οἱ ἀλαστορεῖς. ap. Th. p. 10. D. <sup>q</sup> —ἐδικαίωσαν ἐξ ἑαυτῶν ἐκεῖνας, ὡς ἐγγυτεροὶ τῆ ἀντιχριστοῦ γενομένοι. p. 12. D.

<sup>r</sup> —Ἰωαννῆς εὐαγγελιστῆς κ. λ. Ap. Thdret. l. i. c. 4. p. 11.

<sup>s</sup> Τίς ἀκῶν Ἰωαννῆ λέγοντος — ; ἢ τίς ἀκῶν ἐν τῇ εὐαγγελίῳ — ; Ap. Socr. l. i. c. 6. p. 11. C. D.

<sup>t</sup> Ὁ εὐλαβεστάτος Ἰωαννῆς. Ap. Theod. p. 12. A.

<sup>u</sup> Ἀλλ' ὡς ἀποστόλος Ἰησοῦς Χριστοῦ χθες καὶ σημερον αὐτος, καὶ εἰς τὰς αἰῶνας· τί δὲ ἀρα εἶπεν αὐτῶς ἐπεισεν, ὅτι δι' ἡμᾶς γεγόνε, καίτοι τῆ Παύλου γραφόντος, δι' ὃν τὰ πάντα καὶ δι' ἃ τὰ πάντα; ap. Socr. p. 12. B.

<sup>v</sup> Heb. xiii. 8.

<sup>w</sup> Heb. ii. 10.

having cited various texts, he adds, ‘ Agreeably<sup>x</sup> to these speaks the most eloquent Paul, saying, “ Whom<sup>y</sup> he has appointed heir of all things, by whom also he made the worlds.” ’ In another place<sup>z</sup> he has words of Heb. i. 3.

4. He quotes the second epistle of St. John, ver. 10. ‘ For<sup>a</sup> it becometh us as christians, — “ not to say to such : God speed, lest we be partakers of their sins,” as the blessed John directs.’

5. I shall add some things, showing his respect for the scriptures, and the general divisions then in use.

(1.) He calls them<sup>b</sup> divine scriptures. He ever asserts his own opinion upon<sup>c</sup> the ground of their authority, and<sup>d</sup> chargeth his adversaries with opposing and contradicting the same divine scriptures. The doctrines which he maintains to be true, he says, are apostolical, which<sup>e</sup> we teach and preach, and for which we are ready to die.

(2.) Other passages to the like purpose are such as these : ‘ We<sup>f</sup> believe in one only unbegotten Father, giver of the law, and the prophets, and the gospels, Lord of the patriarchs, and apostles, and all holy men.’ Afterwards, ‘ We<sup>g</sup> also confess, as the divine scriptures teach, one Holy Spirit, who renewed both the holy men of the Old Testament, and the divine teachers of that which is called the New.’ He thinks that<sup>h</sup> the hypostasis of the Son, may be above the comprehension of evangelists, and even of angels. Having cited some texts of the Old Testament, and St. Paul’s epistles, he proceeds, ‘ And<sup>i</sup> in the gospel it is written.’

(3.) I have not observed in Alexander quotations of any books, beside those of the Old and the New Testament. But representing in strong terms the perverseness of his adver-

<sup>x</sup> Συμφωνα γεν τριτοις βοα και ο μεγαλοφωνοτατος Παυλος, φασκων περι αυτε’ ον εθηκε κληρονομον παντων. κ. λ. ap. Theod. p. 13. B.

<sup>y</sup> Hebr. i. 2. <sup>z</sup> —απαυγασμα γαρ εσι της δοξης, και χαρακτηρη της πατρικης υποστασεως. ap. Th. p. 17. D. vid. et Socr. p. 12. D.

<sup>a</sup> —και μη δε καν χαιρειν τοις τοις τοις λεγειν, ινα μη ποτε και ταις αμαρτιας αυτων κοινωνοι γενωμεθα, ως παρηγγειλεν ο μακαριος Ιωαννης. ap. Socr. p. 13. C.

<sup>b</sup> Εντολης τε εσης εν ταις θειαις γραφαις. ap. Socr. p. 10. A. et passim. <sup>c</sup> Και ταυτα λεγοντες, και αναπτυσσοντας τας θειας γραφας, πολλakis ανετρεψαμεν αυτες. ap. Socr. p. 12. C.

<sup>d</sup> Ποια δε παρα τας γραφας εφευροντες λαλουν, εσι ταυτα. Ap. Soc. p. 10. D. τας θειας —συναναφροντες γραφας. ap. Ph. p. 10. D. και ταις γραφαις εμπαιρονοντες. ib. p. 11. B.

<sup>e</sup> Ταυτα διδασκομεν, ταυτα κηρυσσομεν, ταυτα της εκκλησιας τα υποσολικα δογματα, υπερ ων και αποθησκομεν. Ap. Th. p. 19. A. B.

<sup>f</sup> Νομς και προφητων και ευαγγελιον δοθηρα, πατριαρχων και αποσολων και απαντων αγιων Κυριον. Ap. Th. p. 17. A. B.

<sup>g</sup> Καθως ημας αι θειαι γραφαι διδασκουν, εν πνευμα αγιον’ ομολογεμεν, το καινισαν τες τε της παλαιας διαθηκης αγιως ανθρωπων, και τες της χρηματιζουσης καινης παιδευτας θειες. Ib. p. 18. C. D.

<sup>h</sup> Ib. p. 12. B. Conf. p. 17. C.

<sup>i</sup> Εν δε τω ευαγγελιω. ib. p. 14. B.

saries, Arius and his adherents, he says: ‘They<sup>k</sup> have no regard to the wisdom and piety of ancient writings, nor to the unanimous consent of our colleagues in the doctrine concerning Christ.’ By ancient writings, I suppose he means those of early christians, near the days of the apostles: for which he seems to have had, and justly, a high respect. Nevertheless they were not esteemed decisive, and of authority in matters of religion. If they had been so, they would have been frequently quoted by him.

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## CHAP. LXIX.

### ARIUS, AND HIS FOLLOWERS.

- I. *His history.* II. *His works.* III. *His character.* IV. *The rise and occasion of the Arian controversy.* V. *The opinions of Arius and his followers.* VI. *Divisions among them, and their numerous councils and creeds.* VII. *Their want of moderation.* VIII. *Their testimony to the scriptures.* IX. *Arian writers: 1. Acacius. 2. Aetius. 3. Anonymous author of a Commentary upon the Book of Job. 4. Another author of a Discourse in Augustine. 5. Asterius. 6. Basil of Anchira. 7. Eunomius. 8. Eusebius of Emesa. 9. Eusebius of Nicomedia. 10. Euzoius. 11. George of Laodicea. 12. Lucius. 13. Maximin. 14. Philostorgius. 15. Sabinus. 16. Theodore, bishop of Heraclea. 17. Ulphilas.*

I. THE history of the Arian controversy may be learned not only from Eusebius, Socrates, and Sozomen, and other ecclesiastical historians, but likewise from Arius himself, Alexander, and Athanasius, principals in the debate.

It began, as some think, in the year<sup>a</sup> 316, others about<sup>b</sup> 319: whereas<sup>c</sup> Baronius placed it as early as 315, agreeably to<sup>d</sup> Orosius, as he thought. But<sup>e</sup> Basnage and others say,

<sup>k</sup> Ου κατηδεσαν αυτες η των αρχαιων γραφων φιλοθεος σαφηνεια: εδε η των συλλειτεργων συμφωνος περι Χριστι ευλαβεια. *ib.* p. 16. C. *Vid.* *ib.* B.

<sup>a</sup> *Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. viii. p. 308.*

<sup>b</sup> *Tillem. T. vi. Les Ariens.*

*Art. 2. et Note i.*

<sup>c</sup> *A. 315. n. 20.*

<sup>d</sup> *L. vii. c. 28.*

<sup>e</sup> *A. 317. n. v. Conf. eund. A. 321.*

*n. ix. et Pagi ann. 315. n. vi. vii.*

that the beginning of Arianism is put by that author in 317. Cave likewise thinks, that Arius was not known<sup>f</sup> as an heresiarch, until after 315, though he speaks of him as flourishing about that year. Barnard de Varenne says, that<sup>g</sup> Arius did not open himself fully, till the year 319, when he knew that he had several bishops and presbyters on his side.

Epiphanius informs us, it was said, that<sup>h</sup> Arius was a native of Libya: he does not speak positively. Constantine seems to mean Alexandria, when he speaks of<sup>i</sup> sending back Arius to his own country. It is now commonly said, that his father's name was Ammonius: and indeed, Arius sent his letter to Eusebius of Nicomedia by one<sup>k</sup> Ammonius, whom he calls father. But in what sense he useth the word, may be questioned, as has been already observed by<sup>l</sup> Basnage.

Sozomen says, that<sup>m</sup> Arius was made deacon by Peter, but was afterwards excommunicated by the same bishop, for not approving of his treatment of Meletius and his adherents. When Peter had suffered martyrdom, Achillas not only forgave Arius, and admitted him deacon again, but ordained him presbyter. After whose death,<sup>n</sup> he was also for a time much esteemed by Alexander.

It is universally agreed, that Arius was presbyter of Alexandria, and<sup>o</sup> officiated in a church of that city. Theodoret says, he<sup>p</sup> was intrusted with the interpretation of the sacred scriptures, whether Theodoret thereby means, as catechist, or only as preacher in the church allotted to him, is not<sup>q</sup> certain. For it seems to me, that there is no good reason to conclude from these expressions of Theodoret, that Arius had the office of catechist at Alexandria.

Arius's particular opinions being known, and spreading considerably, Alexander convened a council at Alexandria: in which Arius and divers others were<sup>r</sup> excommunicated, as

<sup>f</sup> Cœpitque, ut volunt, ab anno 315, tanquam hæresiarcha, innotescere; quod tamen paulo serius mihi contigisse videtur, paucis ante synodum Nicænam annis. Cav. H. L. in Ario.

<sup>g</sup> Histoire de Constantin. l. v. p. 207. a Paris, 1728.

<sup>h</sup> ——— φασιν δε αυτον Λιβυν τῷ γενει. Epiph. H. 6. 9. n. 69.

<sup>i</sup> ——— επι την πατριδα αφικεσθαι δυνηθης. ap. Socr. l. i. c. 25. p. 61. B.

<sup>k</sup> Ap. Epiph. H. 69. n. 6. <sup>l</sup> Sed ambiguum patris nomen, quod episcopis etiam frequentissime debatur, in incerto ponit, naturam an dignitate pater Arii vocetur Ammonius. Basn. A. 318. n. v.

<sup>m</sup> Soz. l. i. c. 15. p. 426. A. B.

<sup>n</sup> ——— μετα δε ταυτα και

Αλεξανδρος εν τιμη ειχεν αυτον. Soz. ib. B.

<sup>o</sup> Vid. Epiph. H. 69. n. i.

<sup>p</sup> Αρειος τῷ μεν καταλογῶ των πρεσβυτερων εντεταγμενος, την δε των χειρων γραφων πεπιτευμενος εξηγησιν. Thdr. l. i. c. 2. p. 7.

<sup>q</sup> Vid. Tillem. Les Ariens, Art. 2. sub in.

<sup>r</sup> Και συνεδριον

Socrates says. To the like purpose Alexander himself,<sup>s</sup> in his epistle to Alexander bishop of Byzantium, afterwards called Constantinople. Sozomen says, that<sup>t</sup> Alexander excommunicated Arius and the clergy that followed him.

This sentence was passed upon Arius, as<sup>u</sup> Tillemont thinks, in 319 or 320, or as other learned<sup>v</sup> men, in 320 or 321. It appears to me very difficult to determine the year with certainty.

It ought to be observed, that about the year 319, or in some short time after, two synods were held at Alexandria. After the former of which Alexander wrote his letter to his namesake at Constantinople; after the latter, at which were present almost<sup>w</sup> a hundred bishops of Egypt and Libya, he wrote the letter to the bishops of the catholic church in all places. There seems not to have been any long space of time between those two synods: and both these letters of Alexander were written a good while before Constantine's letter to the same Alexander and Arius, which was not written before the year 324. So<sup>x</sup> Pagi, and others.

Whenever these things were done, Arius, in his letter to Eusebius of Nicomedia, complains heavily of the hard treatment given him by his bishop. He says, he was<sup>y</sup> unjustly persecuted by Alexander for the truth's sake: and that he<sup>z</sup> and his brethren were expelled the city, as impious, for not assenting to the doctrine taught by him. Epiphanius, too, expressly says, that<sup>a</sup> Arius and they who adhered to him, were expelled both the church and the city.

Arius being expelled from Alexandria, went<sup>b</sup> into Palestine, to strengthen his interest. Indeed, there were many who favoured him and his cause. Epiphanius says, it was reported, that<sup>c</sup> he drew over to his party seven hundred virgins consecrated to God, seven presbyters, twelve deacons, and some bishops. This great increase, or a large part of

πολλων επισκοπων καθισας τον μεν Αρειον, και τες μεν αποδεχομενες την δοξαν αυτου, καθαιρει. Socr. l. i. c. 6. p. 9. D.

<sup>s</sup> —παμφηφει της προσκυνωσης Χριστου την θεοτητα εκκλησιας εξηλασαμεν. Ap. Thdr. l. i. c. 4. p. 10. A. Vid. et p. 19. B.

<sup>t</sup> —απεκηρυξε της εκκλησιας αυτον τε και τες συμπραττοντας αυτω περι δογμα κληρικους. Soz. l. i. c. 15. p. 427. A.

<sup>u</sup> Les Ariens, Art. 3. et note i.

<sup>v</sup> Vid. Pagi Ann. 315. n.

vi. vii. viii. Basnage, 321. n. ix. <sup>w</sup> Ap. Socr. l. i. c. 6. p. 11. C.

<sup>x</sup> A. 315. n. viii. Conf. Vales. Annot. ad Thdr. l. i. c. 4. et Basnag. ann. 324. n. xx.

<sup>y</sup> ο δειωκομενος υπο Αλεξανδρου παπα αδικως δια—

αληθειαν. ap. Epiph. II. 69. n. 6. in. <sup>z</sup> —και παν κακον κινει καθ' ημων—ωστε εκδιωξαι ημας εκ της πολεως, ως ανθρωπους αθεους. ib. p. 731. B.

και εκκηρυκτον ποιει εν τη πολει. H. 69. n. iii. p. 729. D.

<sup>b</sup> Epiph. ib. n. iv. in.

<sup>c</sup> H. 69. n. iii. in.

it, Epiphanius plainly supposes to have been made before Arius was excommunicated. For he says, that Alexander having summoned his presbyters, and some bishops, and strictly examining the matter, when Arius refused to own the truth, he was expelled the church and city: and<sup>d</sup> with him were excommunicated the virgins and the clergy above-mentioned, and a great number of people. Alexander, in his letter to his namesake of Byzantium, which we have in Theodoret, speaks as if there<sup>e</sup> were many women at Alexandria who sided with Arius: and their zeal is represented by him as very great; though afterwards, to diminish their credit, as it seems, he speaks of the women that had been deceived, as<sup>f</sup> few, or inconsiderable. He owns likewise that Arius and his friends boasted of having<sup>g</sup> bishops on their side. Alexander complains also of<sup>h</sup> three bishops of Syria, who countenanced them: meaning Eusebius of Cæsarea, Theodotus of Laodicea, and Paulinus of Tyre. And at the end of that letter, he mentions by name<sup>i</sup> ten presbyters and deacons at Alexandria, who had been anathematized by him as heretics.

In the letter to the bishops of the catholic church, preserved in<sup>k</sup> Socrates, Alexander complains of Eusebius of Nicomedia, for patronizing Arius. And moreover mentions twelve presbyters and deacons at Alexandria, and two bishops of that country, who were of that party. Their names are, Arius, Achillas, Aithales, Carponas, another Arius, Sarmates, Euzoius, Lucius, Julian, Menas, Helladius, Gaius: the bishops are Secundus and Theonas.

Arius, in his letter to<sup>l</sup> Eusebius of Nicomedia, mentions Eusebius of Cæsarea, Theodotus, Paulinus, Athanasius, Gregory, and Aëtius by name: and refers in general to other bishops of the east, who had been anathematized by Alexander, for teaching the same doctrine that he did. And intimates, that none of the bishops of the east had escaped that censure, except Philogonius, Hellanicus, and Macarius. The places where all these were bishops, are afterwards particularly shown by Theodoret.

Socrates observes, that<sup>m</sup> the evil, which began at Alex-

<sup>d</sup> — συν αυτω δε απεσπασθησαν αι προειρημεναι παρθενευσαι, και κληρικοι οι προειρημενοι, και οχλος αλλος πολυς. *ib.* ad fin.

<sup>e</sup> — δι' εντυχιας γυναικαριων ατακτων α ηπατησαν — εκ τς περι τροχαζειν πασαν αγιαν ασεμνωσ τας παρ' αυτοις νεωτερας. *ap.* Thdrt. p. 9. D.

<sup>f</sup> — ηπατημενα ολιγα γυναικαρια. *ib.* p. 19. C.

<sup>g</sup> — ως αν συμψηφες αυτοις και ομοφρανας εχοντες επισκοπους. *ib.* p. 10. B.

<sup>h</sup> *Ib.* p. 15. C.

<sup>i</sup> *Ib.* p. 20.

<sup>k</sup> *Vid.* Socr. i. c. 6. p. 10.

<sup>l</sup> *Ap.* Thdret. l. i. c. v. p. 21. A.

<sup>m</sup> *L.* i. c. 6. in.

andria, soon spread itself all over Egypt and Libya, and the upper Thebais, and at length into other cities and countries.

Arius was at Nice when the council met there: his opinions having been condemned, he<sup>n</sup> was banished by Constantine. By an edict of the same emperor he and his adherents were stigmatized with the opprobrious name of Porphyrians, his books were ordered to be burned, and whoever concealed any of them were to be put to death.

Arius was afterwards recalled; and, as<sup>o</sup> Sozomen says, in a short time: but was not allowed to go to Alexandria; where indeed he never settled after the council of Nice, though<sup>p</sup> he attempted it. Tillemont says, that<sup>q</sup> Arius was not recalled before the year 330. Other learned men think, he<sup>r</sup> returned from his banishment in 327. It is certain, that Arius and Euzoius did<sup>s</sup> some time present a Confession of Faith to Constantine, with which the emperor was satisfied. He was received to the communion of the church<sup>t</sup> by the council of Jerusalem in<sup>u</sup> 335. A like attempt was<sup>v</sup> afterwards made at Constantinople, but in vain. It is generally said, that<sup>w</sup> he died in a sudden and remarkable manner at Constantinople in the year 336.

II. It does not appear that Arius's works were voluminous; though it is probable, that he wrote a good number of letters. We still have an epistle written by him<sup>x</sup> to Eusebius of Nicomedia, and another to<sup>y</sup> Alexander, bishop of Alexandria; and the<sup>z</sup> Confession of Faith, presented by him and Euzoius to Constantine. He also wrote<sup>a</sup> divers little poems, fitted for the use of common people, for promoting his peculiar opinions. A book called Thalia, whether in verse or prose is not absolutely<sup>b</sup> certain; for there are some fragments of it in Athanasius, which do not appear to be in verse. This book is mentioned by several authors, particu-

<sup>n</sup> Vid. Socr. l. i. c. 9. p. 32. Sozom. l. i. c. 21. p. 435, 436.

<sup>o</sup> Soz. l. ii. c. 16. Conf. Socr. l. i. c. 14. p. 44. C.

<sup>p</sup> Vid. Socr. l. i. c. 27, et 37. Soz. l. ii. c. 29.

<sup>q</sup> Les Ariens, Art. xiii. et note ix.

<sup>r</sup> Vid. Pagi ann. 327.

n. iii. iv. Basnag. 327. n. iii. Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. viii. p. 308.

<sup>s</sup> Socr. l. i. p. 25, 26. Soz. l. ii. c. 27.

<sup>t</sup> Ath. contr. Arian.

p. 199, 200. De Synod. p. 734. Soz. l. ii. c. 27. p. 486.

<sup>u</sup> Tillem. Les Ariens, Art. xxi. Pagi A. 390. n. xiii. xvi.

<sup>v</sup> Pagi 340. n. xv. Basnag. ann. 336. n. iv. Tillem. Les Ariens. Art. xxiv. xxv.

<sup>w</sup> Vid. Athanas. Ep. ad Serap. de Mort. Arii, p. 340, 341. Socr. l. ii. c. 38. Soz. l. ii. c. 29. Thdrt. H. E. l. i. c. 14. H. F. l. iv. cap. 1. p. 234. Epiph. H. 69. n. v. Ruf. H. E. l. i. c. 13.

<sup>x</sup> Ap. Epiph. H. 69. n. vi. Thdrt. l. i. c. v.

<sup>y</sup> Ap. eund. ib. c. vii. viii.

<sup>z</sup> Ap. Socr. l. i. c. 26. Soz. l. ii.

c. 27. p. 485.

<sup>a</sup> Philost. H. E. l. ii. c. 2.

<sup>b</sup> Vid. Cav. H. L. in Ario, sub fin.

larly<sup>c</sup> Socrates and<sup>d</sup> Sozomen; who censure the style of it, as soft and effeminate. But Sozomen honestly owns, that he speaks upon hearsay only, and that he had not seen the book. However, they both say it was condemned by the council of Nice. As Athanasius quotes it several times, he must be supposed to have read it. He speaks of<sup>e</sup> the softness and pleasantry, or buffoonery, with which it was written: and perhaps both the fore-mentioned writers, and others likewise, took this character of the book from him. And, possibly, some said as much of Augustine's Psalm or Song upon the Donatists. Beside all these, Tillemont imagines, that<sup>f</sup> Arius also published some work against the heathens in defence of the christian religion.

III. Arius was<sup>g</sup> very tall, grave and serious, yet affable and courteous. With good natural parts, and no considerable share of secular learning of all sorts, he was<sup>h</sup> particularly distinguished by his skill in logic, or the art of disputing. He<sup>i</sup> had at least the outward appearance of piety. In short, he is represented as a man exceedingly well qualified to form a party, and carry on any enterprize he should engage in. So far as I recollect, his conduct was unblamable; excepting what relates to his zeal for maintaining his supposed errors; and that he is charged<sup>k</sup> with dissembling his real sentiments, upon some occasions, in those difficult circumstances to which he was reduced by the prevailing power of his adversaries.

I may add here, that he writes with much spirit, and a full assurance of the truth of his opinions; particularly in his letter to Eusebius of Nicomedia, whom he styles<sup>l</sup> *orthodox*; and he tells that bishop, that<sup>m</sup> he and his friends were unjustly persecuted by Alexander for the truth's sake, which conquers all things: that all the bishops of the east in general had been anathematized by Alexander, except Philogonius, Hellanicus, and Macarius, whom he calls<sup>n</sup> ignorant heretics. As for himself, he was not able to endure their

<sup>c</sup> Socr. l. i. c. ix. p. 30. A.

<sup>d</sup> Soz. l. i. c. xxi. p. 435. C. D.

<sup>e</sup> Εγραψε Θαλειαν εκτεθηλυμενοις και γελοιοις ηθεσι. De Sent. Dionys. n. 6. p. 247.

<sup>f</sup> Outre sa Thalie et ses autres écrits contre l'église, il semble qu'il ait fait quelque ouvrage contre les payens.—Tillem. les Ariens, Art. xxv. m.

<sup>g</sup> Ην δε την ήλικιαν υπερμηκης, κατηφης το ειδος——γλυκυσ ην τη προσηγορια. Epiph. H. 69. n. iii. in.

<sup>h</sup> Διαλεκτικωτατος δε γενομενος. κ. λ. Soz. l. i. c. 15. p. 426. B. Conf. Socr. l. i. c. v.

<sup>i</sup> Vir specie et formâ magis quam virtute religiosus. Rufin. H. E. l. i. c. 1.

<sup>k</sup> Αρειος γαρ, ως προτερον εφην, ετερα κατα διανοιαν φρονων, ετερα δε φωνη αμολογησεν. Socr. l. ii. c. 35. in.

<sup>l</sup> Ορθοδοξω. ap. Epiph. 69. n. vi. p. 731 B.

<sup>m</sup> Ib.

<sup>n</sup> Αιρετικων ακατηχητων. ib. D.

impious<sup>o</sup> doctrine; nor would he ever receive it, though he were to suffer a thousand deaths from these heretics.

IV. Socrates gives this account of the rise and occasion of the Arian controversy. ‘Alexander,’ he<sup>p</sup> says, ‘discouraging one day too curiously concerning the doctrine of the Trinity in Unity, in the presence of his presbyters and the rest of his clergy, Arius, one of the presbyters, supposed his bishop to advance the doctrine of Sabellius, and disliking that, he went into an opinion diametrically opposite.’ Theodoret too says, that<sup>q</sup> Arius took occasion from things said by Alexander to raise a disturbance. And Constantine likewise, in his letter to Alexander and Arius, first blames the former<sup>r</sup> for putting questions to his presbyters, which he ought not; and then the latter, for inconsiderately uttering notions, that ought to have been buried in silence.

Sozomen gives this account: that<sup>s</sup> Arius had for some time published the doctrines ascribed to him, Alexander taking little notice of the matter; but some blaming him for tolerating such novelties, moved by those complaints, and desiring to act equitably, he appointed a time for hearing the point fairly debated by Arius, and those who opposed him. At which time Arius stood to the things he advanced: and they who opposed him, asserted the Son to be consubstantial and coeternal to the Father. And though another assembly was appointed for debating the point, they could by no means come to an agreement. The point still remained doubtful and undecided, and<sup>t</sup> Alexander himself was at first in some suspense; but at length he declared himself in favour of those who asserted the Son to be consubstantial and coeternal to the Father.

If we could rely upon this account, it might afford a great deal of reason to think, that the doctrine of the Trinity, and of the Son’s deity, was not fully defined and determined among christians before the council of Nice; and that there were no small numbers of persons, who held much the same doctrine with Arius. Moreover Arius, in his letter to Alexander, tells him, that<sup>u</sup> his faith was the same he had received

<sup>o</sup> Τετων των ασεβων εδε ακεσαι δυναμεθα, εαν μυρις θανατες υμιν επαπειλωσιν οι αιρετικοι. ib. D.

<sup>p</sup> ——— φιλοτιμοτερον περι της

αγιας τριαδος, εν τριαδι μοναδα ειναι, φιλοσοφων. Socr. l. i. c. v.

<sup>q</sup> Theod. H. F. l. iv. c. i. in.

<sup>r</sup> Ap. Euseb. D. V. C. l. ii.

c. 69. et Socr. l. i. c. 7. p. 15. C. D.

<sup>s</sup> Soz. l. i. c. xv.

Αμφηριτε δε της ζητησεως επι δοκσεως ειναι, πεπονθε τι και Αλεξανδρος τα πρωτα, πη μεν τετες, πη μεν εκεινης επαινων τελευτων δι τοις ομοιοσιον και συναιδιον ειναι τον υιον αποφαινομενοις εθετο. ib. p. 427. A.

<sup>u</sup> ——— ην και απο σε μαθηκαμει. ap. Eriph. p. 732. C. ——— ως και

from himself, and had often heard him preach. And though there is some difference between them, it seems to me, that the first three accounts, above represented, do confirm this supposition, as well as Sozomen's.

V. In the next place I would observe the opinions of Arius and his followers.

Alexander, in his letter to his bishops of the catholic church, represents their opinion in this manner. 'That' they 'said, God was not always Father. But there was a time 'when God was not Father: that the word of God was not 'always, and was made out of nothing: God who was, made 'him who was not, out of nothing. Therefore there was a 'time, when he was not. For the Son is a creature, and 'made: nor is he like the Father in essence.'

But we may take Arius's opinion from himself. And I think it will appear, that in what is above transcribed from Alexander, he is not misrepresented. For in his letter to Eusebius of Nicomedia he says: 'We<sup>v</sup> cannot assent to 'those expressions, always Father, always Son, at the same 'time Father and Son: that the Son always co-exists with 'the Father: that the Father has no pre-existence before 'the Son, not so much as in thought, or a moment. But this 'we think and teach, that the Son is not unbegotten, nor a 'part of the unbegotten by any means. Nor is he made out 'of any pre-existent thing: but by the will and pleasure of 'the Father he existed before time and ages, the only-be- 'gotten God unchangeable: and that before he was begotten, 'or made, or designed, or founded, he was not.—But we are 'persecuted, because we say, that the Son has a beginning, 'and that God has no beginning. For this we are persecuted, 'and because we say, the Son is out of nothing. Which we 'therefore say, because he is not a part of God, nor made 'out of any pre-existent thing.'

In his letter to Alexander himself, beside many other things, he says, 'We<sup>x</sup> believe, that there are three persons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. God the cause

σὺ αὐτός ——— ἐν μέσῃ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ συνέδριῳ ——— πλειστακὶς τῶς ταῦτα εἰσηγησαμένους ἀπηγορεύσας. ib. p. 733. A. ——— ὡς παρὰ σὲ μεμαθηκαμεν, μέσῃ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ κηρυξάντος. ib. C.

<sup>v</sup> Οὐκ αἰεὶ ὁ Θεὸς Πατὴρ ἦν. ——— ἔκ αἰετὸν ὁ τῶ Θεὸς Λόγος, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἔκ οὐτῶν γεγονέν' ὁ γὰρ ὡν Θεὸς τὸν μὴ οὐτῶ ἐκ τῶ μὴ οὐτῶς πεποιήκει. κ. λ. ap. Socr. p. 10. D.

<sup>w</sup> ——— ἐπειδὴ ἡ συμφωνήμεν αὐτῷ δημοσίᾳ λεγόντι, αἰ Θεὸς, αἰ Υἱὸς, ἅμα Πατὴρ, ἅμα Υἱὸς ——— ἔτ' ἀπομνηστικῶς, προαίνει ὁ Θεὸς τῶ Υἱῶ ——— διωκομεθα δὲ, ὅτι εἰπομεν, ἀρχὴν ἔχει ὁ Υἱὸς, ὁ δὲ Θεὸς ἀναρχὸς ἐστίν ——— καὶ οὐτῶ εἰπομεν, ἐξ ἔκ οὐτῶ ἐστίν. κ. λ. ap. Epiph. H. 69. n. vi.

<sup>x</sup> Ap. Epiph. ib. n. viii. in.

of all things, is alone without beginning. The<sup>y</sup> Son, begotten of the Father before time, made before the ages, and founded, was not before he was begotten. Nor is he eternal, or co-eternal, or begotten at the same time with the Father.’

So far from Alexander and Arius himself. It may be proper to take somewhat also out of other authors.

Epiphanius’s Synopsis is to this purpose: ‘The<sup>z</sup> Arians say, that the Son is a creature of God, and the Holy Ghost the creature of a creature: and that our Saviour took flesh of Mary, but not a soul.’

In his large work he says, they<sup>a</sup> argued, that the Spirit was made by the Son, because the scripture says, “All things were made by him, and without him nothing was made.” See John i. 3.

Of their denying our Saviour to have a soul, that is, an human soul, he speaks<sup>b</sup> several times, and argues against it<sup>c</sup> largely. Athanasius, too, expressly says, that<sup>d</sup> the Arians maintained, that Christ had flesh only, as a covering for his Deity: and that the Word in him was the same as the soul in us. He supposeth them likewise to allow, that the Word, or Deity in Christ, was liable to suffering in the body. Theodoret<sup>e</sup> ascribes to them the same opinion. He again ascribes it to<sup>f</sup> Arius and Eunomius. Augustine, too, takes notice of this opinion in his account<sup>g</sup> of this sect, and in other arguments<sup>h</sup> against them.

An anonymous Arian in Augustine says, The<sup>i</sup> Father is

<sup>y</sup> ‘Ο δε Υἱος αχρονως γεννηθεις ὑπο τε Πατρος—εκ ην προ τε γεννηθηναι. *ibid.* <sup>z</sup> T. i. p. 606.

<sup>a</sup> H. 69. n. 18. p. 741. D. Vid. et. n. 56.

<sup>b</sup> Αλλα και αρνενται ψυχην αυτον ανθρωπινην ειληφεναι. H. 69. n. 19. p. 743. A. Conf. n. 48—51. <sup>c</sup> Vid. *ib.* n. 16, et 17.

<sup>d</sup> Αρειος δε σαρκα μονην προς αποκρυψην της θεοτητος ὁμολογει· αντι δε τε εσωθεν εν ἡμιν ανθρωπω, τωτεσι της ψυχης, τον λογον εν τη σαρκι λεγει γεγονεναι· την τε παθος νοησιν, και την εξ ἁδᾶ ανασασιν τη θεοτητι προσαγειν τολμων. *Contr. Apollin.* l. ii. n. 3. p. 942. C.

<sup>e</sup> Και μεντοι και τον της εν ανθρωπησεως ηκρωτηριασε λογον· σωμα γαρ αυτον ανυχον εφη ειληφεναι, ενηργηκεναι δε τα της ψυχης την θεοτητα. H. F. l. iv. c. 1. p. 232. D.

<sup>f</sup> Αρειος δε και Ευνομιος σωμα μεν αυτον εφασαν ειληφεναι, την θεοτητα δε της ψυχης ενηργηκεναι την χρεϊαν. *Ib.* l. v. c. 11. p. 278. D.

<sup>g</sup> In eo autem quod Christum sine animâ solam carnem suscepisse arbitrantur, minus noti sunt: nec adversus eos ab aliquo inveni de hac re aliquando fuisse certatum. Sed hoc verum esse, et Epiphanius non tacuit, et ego ex eorum quibusdam scriptis et colloctionibus certissime inveni. *De Hær.* c. 49.

<sup>h</sup> Ecce in quibus verbis suis omnino manifestant negare se, quod ad unitatem personæ Christi etiam humana anima pertineat: sed in Christo carnem et divinitatem tantummodo confiteri. *Contr. Serm. Arian.* n. 7. T. 8.

<sup>i</sup> Pater major est Filio: Filius incomparabiliter major et melior est Spiritu. *Serm. Arian.* n. 24. ap. Aug. T. 8.

greater than the Son, the Son incomparably greater and better than the Spirit. And<sup>k</sup> the Father begot the Son by his will: the Son by his own power alone made the Spirit.

Maximin, in Augustine, says, the<sup>l</sup> Son is not only God, but a great God: which he argues from Tit. ii. 13. Again, We<sup>m</sup> worship the Father and the Son: but show a text where we are commanded to worship the Spirit.

VI. There were in the fourth century several divisions in this sect. Epiphanius,<sup>n</sup> and Augustine<sup>o</sup> after him, have four distinct articles in speaking of them: Arians or Ariomanites, Semiarrians, Macedonians or Pneumatomachi, Aetians, called also Eunomians and Anomeans.

They were very remarkable for the numerous councils held by them, and for their numerous creeds, especially in the time of Constantius. Socrates computes their creeds<sup>p</sup> or confessions to have been nine in number; and calls them a labyrinth. Some moderns, not attending to the design of Socrates, have multiplied them greatly. He speaks of public creeds, agreed in councils of bishops: they add to them several confessions made by particular persons upon divers occasions. Insomuch, that Fleury<sup>q</sup> makes out a catalogue of sixteen; and Tillemont, not content to stop there, computes<sup>r</sup> eighteen. Athanasius using a round number, says they had had at<sup>s</sup> least ten synods. Learned moderns do sometimes reckon eleven<sup>t</sup> public creeds, the last of which was drawn up in the year<sup>u</sup> 361.

The Arians seem to have pleased themselves with<sup>v</sup> the great number of their synods. But others were of a different opinion: and the confessions of faith published by them were not unanimous. Athanasius<sup>w</sup> often banters them for their

<sup>k</sup> Pater immobiliter et impassibiliter volens Filium genuit: Filius sine labore et fatigatione solâ virtute suâ Spiritum fecit. Ib. n. 26.

<sup>l</sup> Est autem Filius secundum apostolum non pusillus, sed magnus Deus. Sicut ait beatus apostolus; exspectando beatam spem, et adventum gloriæ magni Dei et Salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi. Collat. cum Maxim. n. 13. ap. Aug. T. 8. <sup>m</sup> Ib. n. 14. Vid. n. xi.

<sup>n</sup> H. 69, 73, 74, 76.

<sup>o</sup> De Hær. c. 49, 51, 52, 54.

<sup>p</sup> Ἡμεῖς δὲ τὸν λαβυρινθὸν τῶν ἐκθίσεων ὡς ποτε ἐδιανυσαντες, τὴν ἀπαριθμῆσιν αὐτῶν συναγαγόμεν. Socr. l. i. c. 41. p. 154. D.

<sup>q</sup> Fleury, B. 14. ch. 33. Vol. 2. p. 294.

<sup>r</sup> Les Ariens, Art. 102.

<sup>s</sup> Ἡδὲ γὰρ τοῖσιν δέκα καὶ πλεον πᾶσιν συνόδοις πεποιηκασί. Ad Afros. n. 2. p. 892. B.

<sup>t</sup> Vid. Petav. ad Epiph. H. 73. n. xxvii. p. 327.

<sup>u</sup> Vid. Benedictin. Monit. ad Athan. de Synod. p. 715.

<sup>v</sup> — παρακαλεμένῃ μὴ ἀνεχέσθαι, καθὰ προειπομένῃ, τῶν προβαλλομένων ὁχλῶν συνόδων ποφασί πιστεῶς—κ. λ. Ad Afros. n. 10. p. 899. C.

<sup>w</sup> Πάντα γένεσιν κινῶσι καὶ ταραττῶσι, καὶ εἰς ἕνωσιν τοῖς ἐάντων ἀρχήνται· κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν γὰρ, ὡς οἱ τὰς διαθήκας γράφοντες, συνέρχομενοι καὶ αὐτοὶ προσποιήνται περὶ πιστεῶς γράφειν ἵνα καὶ ἐν τῷ γέλωτι μᾶλλον καὶ αἰσχύνῃ οφλήσωσιν,

numerous creeds, and for making new creeds almost every year; thus showing themselves dissatisfied with their own performances, and rescinding what had been before established by them. He says, it was matter of great grief to himself, and many others, that the whole world was disturbed by them. Nor could they without pain see those<sup>x</sup> who were called clergymen, continually running from one place to another, to learn how they ought to believe in Jesus Christ. It was, moreover, a cause of scandal to catechumens, and of much laughter to the heathen.

These numerous synods, this frequent creed-making, occasioned that remark of Ammianus Marcellinus, a heathen author; that<sup>y</sup> Constantius corrupted the simplicity of the christian religion; and that the bishops of his reign, continually galloping to councils, jaded all the post-horses, and wore out all the public carriages of the empire. The same complaint is found in some<sup>z</sup> of the ecclesiastical writers.

VII. In their creeds they are generally very free in anathematizing such as differed from them. In their council at Antioch in 341, under the direction of Eusebius of Nicomedia, and his friends, they say: ‘We<sup>a</sup> anathematize all heretical pravity. And if any one contrary to the sacred doctrine of the scriptures say, that the Son is a creature as one of the creatures—or if any one shall teach or preach any thing beside what we have received, let him be anathema.’ And in a like manner, more at large in their long creed at Antioch, in 345, which may be seen in<sup>b</sup> Athanasius, and<sup>c</sup> Socrates. Their creed at Sirmium, against Photinus, in 351, concludes with<sup>d</sup> seven and twenty anathemas, three of which are these: ‘If<sup>e</sup> any one say, that Abraham did not

ὄτι μη παρ’ ἑτέρων, ἀλλὰ παρ’ αὐτῶν, τὰ αὐτῶν ἐκβαλλεται. Ad. Ep. Æg. et Lib. n. 6. in. p. 275.

<sup>x</sup> ——— ὥστε τὴν οὐκ ἐπιμενην διαταραχθῆναι, καὶ τῶς λεγομένους ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῶν κληρικῶς διατρέχειν ἀνω καὶ κάτω, καὶ ζητεῖν, πῶς ἀρα μαθῶσι πιστεῦναι εἰς τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν—τῶτο δὲ τοῖς μὲν κατηχημένοις ἐκ ὀλίγου σκανδαλον, τοῖς δὲ Ἑλλήσιν ἔ το τυχον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πλατύν γελῶτα παρεσχεν. De Synod. n. 2. p. 717.

<sup>y</sup> Christianam religionem absolutam et simplicem anili superstitione confundens; in quâ scrutandâ perplexius, quam componendâ gravius, excitavit discidia plurima, quæ progressa fusius aluit concertatione verborum; ut cætervis antistitum jumentis publicis ultro citroque discurrentibus per synodos quas appellant, dum ritum omnem ad suum trahere conantur arbitrium, rei vehiculariæ succideret nervos. Ammian. l. xxi. c. ult.

<sup>z</sup> Cursusque ipse publicus attritus ad nihilum deducitur. Hilar. p. 1320. c.

<sup>a</sup> ——— πᾶσαν αἰρετικὴν ἀναθεματίζομεν κακοδοξίαν’ καὶ εἰ τις—διδασκει, λεγὼν, ἀναθεμα ἐσὼ’ καὶ εἰ τις λέγει τὸν υἱὸν κτίσμα, ὡς ἐν τῶν κτισμάτων—ἢ εἰ τις ἄλλο διδάσκει ἢ εὐαγγελίζεται παρ’ ὁ παρελαβομεν, ἀναθεμα ἐσὼ. Ap. Socr. l. ii. c. x. p. 88. B.

<sup>b</sup> De Synod. n. 26. p. 738, &c.

<sup>c</sup> L. ii. c. 19.

<sup>d</sup> Ap. Athan. de Synod. n. 27. p. 742, 743.

<sup>e</sup> Vid. ib. p. 743. Anathem. xv. xvi. xvii.

‘ see the Son, but the unbegotten God, or a part of him, let  
 ‘ him be anathema. If any one say it was not the Son who  
 ‘ wrestled with Jacob, but the unbegotten God, or a part of  
 ‘ him, let him be anathema. If any one understand those  
 ‘ words in Gen. xix. 24, “ the Lord rained fire from the  
 ‘ Lord,” not of the Father and Son, but that God rained from  
 ‘ himself, let him be anathema. For the Lord the Son rained  
 ‘ from the Lord the Father.’

Indeed I think, that this sect showed little moderation in the fourth century. Whenever<sup>f</sup> they had the emperor on their side, they failed not to make use of his authority. Between the emperors Valentinian and Valens, two brothers, the former the elder, emperor in the West, and favourer of the Nicene doctrine, the latter emperor in the East, Socrates observes this difference; Valentinian<sup>g</sup> encouraged the men of his own principles, without being at all troublesome to the Arians: but Valens, desirous to promote Arianism, grievously entreated those who were not of that opinion, as the sequel of our history will show.

So Socrates, who is the more to be regarded, because he shows a great deal of impartiality, and censures the bishops of his own principles, when they assumed a lordly power and authority; of which some instances were given<sup>h</sup> formerly. Another is this. ‘ Theodosius, bishop of Synada in Phrygia  
 ‘ Pacatiana,’ he says, ‘ cruelly<sup>i</sup> persecuted the heretics in  
 ‘ that city: of which there were many of the Macedonian  
 ‘ sect. He not only expelled them the city, but the country:  
 ‘ in which he did not act agreeably to the custom of the  
 ‘ orthodox church. Nor was he influenced by a zeal for  
 ‘ the right faith, but by love of money, which he endea-  
 ‘ voured to extort from the heretics.’

I know not how to forbear observing Acacius’s bitter manner of writing controversy; who tells Marcellus, that<sup>k</sup> he deserved to have his tongue cut out.

If any desire to see some other instances of their partiality,

<sup>f</sup> ——— ὑποσχεσει τε ἅμα και φοβερismoις, ὅτι τοις βασιλικοις προσαγμασι, και τα βασιλεως Ουαλεντος θυμῳ εναντισθε, τοις μη βελομενοις κατα την αυτων πεισιν φερεσθαι. Epiph. H. 69. n. 34. p. 757. B.

<sup>g</sup> Ουαλεντινιανος μεν γαρ τες μεν οικειως συνεκροτει τοις δε αρειανιζουσιν εδαμως ην οχληρος. Ουαλης δε Αρειανῳ αυξησαι προαιρημενος, δεινα κατα των μη τοιαυτα φρονωντων ειργασατο.—Socr. l. iv. c. 1. p. 211. B.

<sup>h</sup> See p. 232. <sup>i</sup> Ὅς τες εν αυτη αιρετικῳ, πολλοι δε εν αυτη οντες ετηγγαχον της Μακεδονιανων θρησκειας, συντονωσ εδιωκεν’ εξελαντων αυτες μη μονον της πολεως, αλλα δη και των αγρων. Και τῆτω εποιει, εκ ειρωθῳ εδιωκειν τη ορθοδοξῳ εκκλησια. L. vii. c. 3. in.

<sup>k</sup> ——— εκτεμησθαι την ανοσιαν ωφειλες γλωτταν. Ap. Epiph. H. 72. n. viii. in.

and violent zeal, they may consult the authors referred to at the bottom of the<sup>1</sup> page.

VIII. Arius and his followers received the same books of the sacred scripture that other christians did, and showed the like respect for them.

1. It is needless to allege particular proofs of their receiving the several books of the New Testament. It is apparent from the remains of Arius himself, and from the Arian writers, and their councils, and the arguments of catholic writers against them, that they received the four gospels, the Acts, and all other books generally received by other christians.

2. There is indeed one exception: for Theodoret, in his preface to his Commentary upon the epistle to the Hebrews, says, that<sup>m</sup> they did not receive that epistle. And Epiphanius speaks<sup>n</sup> to the like effect.

With regard to this, we may say, that if it be true, it needs not to be reckoned a very great fault: forasmuch as there were about the same time some catholics, who either quite rejected this epistle, or doubted of its genuineness and authority. But secondly, I apprehend, it was generally received by them, and that it could not be rejected by many of them. What Epiphanius says is very pleasant; ‘Let<sup>o</sup> us now,’ says he, ‘observe some other texts, which they perverting allege in favour of their sentiments. And here they in vain allege that text, “Consider<sup>p</sup> the Apostle and High-priest of your profession, who was faithful to him that made him.” For first of all, they reject the epistle to the Hebrews, saying that it is not the apostle’s, though they allege that text, in order to pervert it.’ Now, if they quoted that epistle, I think they could not reject it. And in another place Epiphanius expresseth himself in this manner: ‘And<sup>q</sup> beside this, they allege the saying of the apostle, “Consider the High-priest of your profession, who was faithful to him that made him:” and what is written

<sup>1</sup> Vid. Ath. Hist. Arian. n. 1, 2. p. 345. et n. 30, &c. p. 631, &c. Tillem. Les Ariens, art. 95.

<sup>m</sup> Θαυμασον εδεν δρωσιν οι την Αρειανικην εισδεξαμενοι νοσον κατα των αποτολικων λυττωντες γραμματων, και την προς Εβραιως επιστολην των λοιπων αποκρινοντες, και νοθον ταυτην αποκαλυντες. Theod. opp. T. iii. p. 393. A.

<sup>n</sup> Vid. H. 69. n. 37.

<sup>o</sup> Και γαρ παλιν χυδαως φασι τετο το ρητον παρερμενευοντες το δεξασθε τον αρχιερα υμων πισων οντα τω ποιησαντι αυτον. Και πρωτον μεν την επιστολην ταυτην, την προς Εβραιως φημι, απωθενται, φυσει αυτην αναιρυντες απο τε αποτολων, και λεγοντες μη ειναι τε αυτη. H. 69. n. 37. iu

<sup>p</sup> Heb. iii. 1, 2.

<sup>q</sup> Αλλα λοιπον οσα εσι τετοις ομοια, το εν τω αποτολω γεγραμμενον, το δεξασθε, κ. λ. H. 69. n. xiv.

‘ in the Gospel of John, “ He<sup>r</sup> that cometh after me was before me :” and that which is written in the Acts of the Apostles, “ Therefore<sup>s</sup> let all the house of Israel know assuredly, that God hath made that same Jesus, whom ye have crucified, both Lord and Christ.”’ Since then they quoted the epistle to the Hebrews, together with other books of unquestioned authority, it could not be rejected by them.<sup>1</sup>

Maximin, the Arian bishop, quotes the epistle to the Hebrews as<sup>u</sup> Paul’s. Eunomius<sup>v</sup> likewise seems to refer to it.

3. Having said what is needful relating to this point, I shall allege some evidences of their respect for the sacred scriptures.

In his letter to Alexander, Arius professes to believe in one God, the<sup>w</sup> God of the law, and the prophets, and the New Testament.

A creed of theirs begins in this manner: ‘ We<sup>x</sup> believe agreeably to the evangelical and apostolical tradition, or doctrine.’ Afterwards, in the same creed, ‘ We<sup>y</sup> sincerely believe and maintain all things taught in the divine scriptures, both by prophets and apostles.’ Again, ‘ We<sup>z</sup> declare the ancient faith, which the prophets, and gospels, and apostles, have preached by the authority of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.’

Moreover, the Arians all along argued against the use of the words consubstantial and essence, and like phrases, because they<sup>a</sup> were not in scripture. Athanasius often takes notice of this. But he says, that<sup>b</sup> though they blamed the

<sup>r</sup> John i. 30.

<sup>s</sup> Acts ii. 36.

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Leontius Byz. de Sectis, Act. 3. p. 505. Bibb. P. P. T. xi. Paris. 1644. Where he supposes them to receive the Acts and the ep. to the Hebrews, and to argue as they are represented by Epiphanius.

<sup>u</sup> Sic ad Hebræos ipse scribens ait : Purificatione peccatorum factâ, conseedit ad dexteram magnitudinis in excelsis. Vid. Collat. cum. Maximin. n. 14. (3.) Conf. Heb. i. 3.

<sup>v</sup> Τον επι των προφητων ὀμιλησαντα τοις παλαιοις. Eunom. Exp. Fid. ap. Tabr. Bib. Gr. T. viii. p. 257.

<sup>w</sup> ———νομε και προφητων, και καινης διαθηκης τετον Θεον—κ. λ. Ap. Epiph. H. 69. n. vii.

<sup>x</sup> Πιστευομεν ακολουθως τη εναγγελικη και αποστολικη παραδοσει. Ap. Socr. l. ii. c. x. p. 87. B.

<sup>y</sup> Ἡμεις γαρ πασι τοις εκ των θειων γραφων παραδεδομενοις, ὑπο τε των προφητων και αποστολων, αληθινως τε και εμφανως, και πιστευομεν και ακολουθουμεν. ib. p. 88. C.

<sup>z</sup> ———ήν και οί προφηται, και τα εναγγελια, και οί αποστολοι δια τε Κυριε ἡμων Ιησε Χρισε κηρυξαν. Ap. Ath. de Synod. p. 723. B.

<sup>a</sup> Τετα χαριν, το μεν ὁμοισιον, και το ὁμοισιον εκβαλλομεν, ὡς αλλοτριον γραφων. Ap. Ath. de Synod. n. 29. p. 746. B. Vid. ib. n. 30. p. 747. C. D.

<sup>b</sup> Vid. Or. i. contr. Arian. n. 30. p. 434. D. De Decret. Nic. Synod. n. 18. p. 223, 224. De Synodis. n. 36. p. 752. A. Ad. Afr. Ep. n. 6. p. 896. A.

council of Nice for using unscriptural words, they did the same themselves. So likewise<sup>c</sup> Epiphanius.

Maximin opens the conference with Augustine in this manner. ‘If<sup>d</sup> you say what is reasonable, I must submit. If ‘you allege any thing from the divine scriptures, which are ‘common to both, I must hear : but unscriptural expressions ‘deserve no regard.’ And as he professeth to receive the creed drawn up at Ariminum, so he<sup>e</sup> affirms it to be agreeable to scripture. And he concludes with saying, that<sup>f</sup> it is his wish and aim, to think in all things as the divine scriptures teach.

IX. I shall now give a short account of several Arian authors.

I. Says Jerom, ‘Acacius,<sup>g</sup> called Monophthalmus because ‘he was blind in one eye, bishop of Cæsarea in Palestine, ‘wrote seventeen volumes upon Ecclesiastes, and six ‘volumes of Miscellaneous Questions, and many other treatises. So great was his authority under Constantius, that ‘he got Felix, an Arian, to be made bishop of Rome in the ‘stead of Liberius.’

Acacius succeeded the famous Eusebius, in 340, and died about the year 366. Socrates, speaking of Eusebius’s death, and Acacius’s succeeding him, says, that<sup>h</sup> he was Eusebius’s scholar, and wrote many books, particularly the life of his master : which last to our great grief is lost, as well as the rest. And it is somewhat strange, that Jerom should omit Acacius’s life of his predecessor.

In Epiphanius<sup>i</sup> is a long quotation from a book of Acacius against Marcellus. In one of his letters Jerom quotes<sup>k</sup> a long passage of the fourth book of this writer’s Select Questions. It contains an explication of I Cor. xv. 21. After-

<sup>c</sup> Vid. Epiph. H. 73. n. i. p. 845. C.

<sup>d</sup> Si aliquid rationale dixeris, necesse est ut sequar. Si quid enim de divinis scripturis protuleris, quod commune est cum omnibus, necesse est ut audiamus. Eæ vero voces, quæ extra scripturam sunt, nullo casu a nobis suscipiuntur, &c. Collat. cum Maximin. n. i. ap. August. T. viii.

<sup>e</sup> —sed ut ostendam auctoritatem patrum, qui secundum divinas scripturas fidem nobis tradiderunt illam, quam a divinis scripturis didicerunt. Ib. n. 4.

<sup>f</sup> Oro et opto discipulus esse divinarum scripturarum.——Si affirmaveris de divinis scripturis ; si alicubi scriptam lectionem protuleris, nos divinarum scripturarum optamus inveniri discipuli. Ib. sub fin.

<sup>g</sup> Acacius, quem, quia luscus erat, *μονοφθαλμον* nuncupabant, Cæsariensis ecclesiæ in Palæstinâ episcopus, elaboravit in Ecclesiastem decem et septem volumina, et *συμμικτων ζητηματων* sex, et multos præterea diversosque tractatus. In tantum autem sub Constantio imperatore claruit, ut in Liberii locum Romæ Felicem Arianum episcopum constitueret. De V. I. c. 98.

<sup>h</sup> Socr. l. ii. c. 4. Conf. l. iii. c. 2. p. 499. C.

<sup>i</sup> H. 72. n. vi—ix.

<sup>k</sup> Acacius Cæsareæ—post Eusebium Pamphili episcopus, in quarto *συλλεκτων ζητηματων* libro.—Ep 152. ad Minerv. et Alex. T. 4. P. i. p. 213. m.

wards in the same letter, he mentions Acacius<sup>l</sup> with other commentators whom he had made use of, though for learning they fell much short of Origen and Eusebius.

Tillemont supposes Acacius to be the author of<sup>m</sup> a book against Sabellius: one of the fourteen small pieces published by Sirmond, as written by Eusebius.

Sozomen says of Acacius that<sup>n</sup> he was a diligent imitator of his predecessor, by whom he had been instructed in sacred learning; [or in the knowledge of the sacred scriptures;] that he was a man of good sense, and able to express himself agreeably, and that he left behind him many books worthy of notice. In another place he says, that<sup>o</sup> the dignity of his see, and the reputation of his master, together with his succeeding to the possession of his library, gave Acacius a great deal of authority. He moreover says that he was very dexterous in accomplishing his designs.

Philostorgius says, that<sup>p</sup> Acacius was a bold disputant, very ready at discerning the merits of a cause, and able to express his thoughts to advantage. He likewise chargeth him<sup>q</sup> with dissimulation upon some occasions. And indeed Acacius is generally reckoned a man of unsteady principles.

I hope this may suffice for an account of Acacius, with regard to letters, and his general character. For his behaviour and management at synods, his various fortune, his differences with Cyril of Jerusalem, and others, I beg leave to refer to other<sup>r</sup> writers.

2. Aetius, according to<sup>s</sup> Cave, began to be famous about the year 359, and died in 366, or soon after, in the reign of Valens.

Socrates has a<sup>t</sup> chapter, entitled, Of Aetius the Syrian, Master of Eunomius. He says, that Aetius was born at Antioch, and studied some while at Alexandria; from

<sup>l</sup> Ego et in adolescentiâ et in extremâ ætate profiteor et Originem et Eusebium Cæsariensem viros esse doctissimos, sed errâsse. Quod e contrario de Theodoro, Acacio, Apollinario possumus dicere. Et tamen omnes in explanationibus scripturarum sudoris sui memoriam reliquerunt. Ib. p. 220. m.

<sup>m</sup> See Les Ariens, art. 28. et Eusebe de Césarée, art. 9.

<sup>n</sup> Ὅς, προς αυτον Ευσεβιον τον ζηλον εχων, και υπ' αυτω τες ιερης παιδευθεις λογες, ικανος τε νοειν και φραζειν ασειος εγενετο, ως και πολλα συγγραμματα λογς αζια καταλιπειν. Soz. l. iii. c. 2. p. 499. C.

<sup>o</sup> Και επισημς προεως εκκλησιας, και Ευσεβιον τον Παμφιλς—διδασκαλον αυχων, και τη δοκησει και διαδοχη των αυτε βιβλιων, πλειω των αλλων αξιωμ ειδεναι. Soz. l. iv. c. 23. p. 578. A. B.

<sup>p</sup> Ην δε Ακακιος Φαρσαλεος εν τοις αγωσι, διανοηθηναι τε πραγματος φυσιν οζυς, και λογη δηλωσαι το γνωσθεν ικανος. Phil. l. iv. c. 12. p. 497. A.

<sup>q</sup> Ὅς ἕτερος μὲν ἠν τὴν δοξάν, ἕτερος δὲ τὴν γλωτταν. Ib. p. 498. A.

<sup>r</sup> Vid. Cav. Hist. Lit. Tillem. Hist. des Ariens. Toultée Dissert. de Vit. S. Cyrill.

<sup>s</sup> H. L. T. i. p. 218.

<sup>t</sup> L. ii. c. 35.

whence he returned to Antioch, and was ordained deacon by Leontius, then bishop of that city. Epiphanius says, he<sup>u</sup> was made deacon by George, the Arian bishop of Alexandria.

Aetius's history is told at large by<sup>v</sup> Gregory Nyssen, and<sup>w</sup> Philostorgius. Gregory seems to give wrong turns to several things. The sum however of both accounts is to this purpose: Aetius's father, by some mismanagement of his affairs, was reduced; and when<sup>x</sup> he died Aetius and his mother were left in great straits. For some time Aetius worked at the goldsmith's trade for a livelihood: after his mother's death, as Philostorgius says, Aetius applied himself to learning, and with great success, through the happiness of his genius. He<sup>y</sup> afterwards learned the art of physic, from a skilful physician at Alexandria; which he practised in a very honourable manner, giving his advice free to such as wanted it. And Cave<sup>z</sup> allows his happy disposition for literature. Epiphanius observes, that<sup>a</sup> Aetius was ignorant of secular learning, till he came to man's estate.

Socrates, in the chapter before referred to, says of Aetius, that<sup>b</sup> his chief excellence was a contentious skill: that he had small acquaintance with the scriptures, or the ancients who had written commentaries upon the christian oracles: and that he had but little esteem for Clement, Africanus, and Origen, though they were so distinguished for knowledge and learning.

So Socrates: and what he says may be true for the most part. It is likely enough, that Aetius had not fully acquainted himself with the more ancient christian writers: notwithstanding which he might be a man of good sense. And Philostorgius says, that<sup>c</sup> when one of his masters gave a

<sup>u</sup> H. 76. n. i.

<sup>v</sup> Gr. N. contr. Eunom. l. i. p. 292, &c.

<sup>w</sup> Phil. l. iii. c. 15.

<sup>x</sup> Νεον δε τον Αετιον οντα εις εσχατον

συν τη μητρι πενιας ελασαι, και δια τωτο επι το χρυσοχοειν ορησαι. — δια ρωμην φυνσεως επι τας λογικας επιτραφηναι μαθησεις. κ. λ. ib. p. 488. B.

<sup>y</sup> Αριστων δε εν ιατρικη Αετιος αμισθον παρειχε τοις δεομενοις την θεραπειαν. ib. p. 488. B.

<sup>z</sup> Aurifabrum vero fuisse Aëtium, certius constat: sed, mortuâ demum matre, homo præstanti indole ad philosophicas disciplinas animum applicuit. Cav. in Aëtio.

<sup>a</sup> Ουτος ο Αετιος ο κατα τον κοσµικον λογον απαιδευτος ην, εως της τελειας αυτη ηλικιας, ως λογος. H. 76. n. ii. in.

<sup>b</sup> Ουτω δε ην ολιγομαθης ο Αετιος, και των ιερων γραµµατων αμνητος: το εριστικον δε κατωρθωκει μονον, οπερ και αγροικος τις ποιησειεν ως μητε τως αρχαιως τως τα χριστιανικα λογια ερμηνευσαντας ασκηθηναι, πολλα χαιρειν φρασας τοις περι Κλημεντα, και Αφρικανον, και Ωριγενην, ανδρας πασης σοφιας επισηµονας. Socr. l. ii. c. 35. p. 130. B. Conf. Thdr. l. ii. c. 24, et 27.

<sup>c</sup> 'Ο δε τω διδασκαλω δηµοσια ποτε κατασας εις ελεγχον, οτι μη των θεων λογων ορθην εποιειτο την διηγησιν — εκειθεν δε ελαθεις, Αθανασιυ συγγινεται, παρ' η τως επαγγελισας αναγνας, και τοις καθ' εκασον αυτον επισησας, επι την Ταρσον παρα Αντωνιον αφικνεται — υφ' η τας τω υποσολε αναδιδαχθεις επισολας. — κ. λ. ubi supr. p. 487. B. C

wrong interpretation of the divine oracles, Aetius corrected him: and that he read and studied the gospels with great care under Athanasius, a disciple of Lucian, and bishop of Anazarbus: and that he read the epistles of Paul with Antony, then presbyter of Tarsus; and afterwards the prophets, particularly Ezekiel, with Leontius, at that time presbyter of Antioch.

And Theodoret observes, that<sup>d</sup> Eunomius greatly extolled Aetius in his writings, and called him a man of God, and bestowed on him many commendations.

Theodoret in an account of Aetius and Eunomius says, that<sup>e</sup> Aetius improved upon the blasphemies of Arius: for which cause Constantius banished him into a remote part of Phrygia. For after his father's death, being influenced by some of his courtiers, he made a law, that no man should say the Son of God was of the same substance with God, nor of a different substance: for he said, it was not lawful to talk of the nature of God. But he directed men to say, that he is in all things like to him that begat him. Aetius therefore being the first who said the Son was altogether unlike to the Father, was banished into the fore-mentioned place.

The emperor Julian not only restored Aetius, as he did others who were banished in the reign of Constantius; but likewise did him the honour to write him<sup>f</sup> a letter, and invite him to court. He also<sup>g</sup> gave him an estate near Melitene in Lesbos, where Aetius resided sometime. Nevertheless, it is generally concluded from<sup>h</sup> Philostorgius's account, that Aetius died at Constantinople. He plainly says, that<sup>i</sup> Aetius was buried by Eunomius and other friends, in a very handsome manner.

The displeasure of the catholics against Aetius was so great, that, as<sup>k</sup> Socrates says, he had the surname of Atheist. Athanasius<sup>l</sup> mentions him with the same odious appellation. And Cave says, he<sup>m</sup> was justly so called.

<sup>d</sup> Theod. H. E. l. ii. c. 29. in.

<sup>e</sup> ———νομον τεθεικεν απαγορευοντα μητε ομοθειον, μητε μην ετεροθειον τολμαν τινα λεγειν τον 'Υιον τε Θεω'· ο γαρ οσιον ελεγε τω Θεω την οσιαν ερευναν· ομοιον δε κατα παντα τω γεγοτοσι λεγειν εκειλευσε· Δια τοι τωτο και τον Αειτιον φαναι πρωτον τολμησαντα ανομοιον ειναι τον 'Υιον κατα παντα τω γεγενηκοτι Θεω. κ. λ. H. F. l. iv. c. 3. sub in. Conf. ejusd. H. E. l. ii. c. 27. p. 112. et Epiph. H. 76. n. iii.

<sup>f</sup> Julian. Ep. 31.

<sup>g</sup> Phil. l. ix. c. 4.

<sup>h</sup> Ib. cap. 6.

<sup>i</sup> Και την αλλην κηδειαν μετα των ομοφρονων τελεσαμενς προς το λαμπροτατον. ib.

<sup>k</sup> Διο και επεκαλειτο ο αθεος. Socr. l. ii. c. 35 p. 130. D. Vid. eund. l. iv. c. 7. p. 215. B.

<sup>l</sup> 'Ο θρυλλημενος Αειτιος, ο επικληθεις αθεος. De Synod. n. 6. p. 720. A.

<sup>m</sup> Unde Athei cognomen ei merito adhæsit. Cav. ubi supr.

Socrates says, that<sup>n</sup> Aetius wrote letters to the emperor Constantius, and others, filled with a contentious sophistry.

Epiphanius has preserved<sup>o</sup> a small book of Aetius, concerning the faith, consisting of seven and forty propositions, or short chapters, which he distinctly answers. And Epiphanius says, it was reported, that he<sup>p</sup> had drawn up three hundred such chapters.

3. Anonymous author of a Commentary<sup>q</sup> upon the book of Job, in three books, ascribed to Origen, but plainly not his, and written after the rise of the Arian controversy. Some have thought it to be the work of a Latin author, particularly Maximin the Arian, to be mentioned by and by. But Huet, to whom<sup>r</sup> I refer, has well observed, that this work in Latin, as we now have it, is a translation from the Greek. I know not the exact time of it; but probably it was written before the end of the fourth century. The three books of this work contain a comment only upon the first and second, and part of the third chapter of the book of Job. It is, in my opinion, a dull and tedious performance.

I shall make no extracts out of it any farther than to observe, that many books of the Old and New Testament are here quoted, particularly<sup>s</sup> the Acts of the Apostles; and that the author appears to have received<sup>t</sup> the epistle to the Hebrews.

4. Anonymous author of a Discourse<sup>u</sup> or Sermon, answered at length by Augustine: which confutation was written<sup>v</sup> about the year 418. That sermon is a short performance, in which many texts of the gospels and epistles of the apostles are quoted.

5. ‘Asterius,’ says<sup>w</sup> Jerom, ‘a philosopher of the Arian faction, in the reign of Constantius, wrote Commentaries upon the epistle to the Romans, and upon the gospels, and

<sup>n</sup> Ubi supr. p. 130. B.

<sup>o</sup> H. 76. p. 924, &c.

<sup>p</sup> Ib. p. 930. D.

<sup>q</sup> Ad calcem. T. ii. Opp. Origen. ex edit.

Bened.

<sup>r</sup> Origenian. l. iii. n. 2.

<sup>s</sup> Sicut dictum est ad Cornelium: Orationes tuæ et eleemosynæ tuæ ascenderunt sursum in memoriam coram Deo. Act. x. 4. Ascenderunt procul dubio ab angelis, atque spiritalibus ministris delatæ. De quibus dicitur: Omnes sunt ministeriales spiritus pro his qui salutem in hæreditatem capiunt. Hebr. i. 14. Orig. Opp. T. ii. p. 856. B. C.

<sup>t</sup> Vid. not. <sup>s</sup>.

<sup>u</sup> Ap. August. T. 8.

<sup>v</sup> Sub hæc venit in manus meas quidam sermo Arianorum, sine nomine auctoris sui. Huic, petente atque instante qui eum mihi miserat, quantâ potui etiam brevitate ac celeritate respondi. Retr. l. ii. c. 52.

<sup>w</sup> Asterius, Arianæ philosophus factionis, scripsit in epistolam ad Romanos, et in evangelia, et Psalmos, Commentarios, et multa alia, quæ a suæ partis hominibus studiosissime leguntur. De V. I. c. 94.

‘ the psalms, and many other things, which are much read by the men of his party.’

In the chapter<sup>x</sup> of Marcellus, Jerom had before mentioned a book of Asterius against that bishop. And there must have been before that some work of Asterius, which provoked Marcellus to write: as is evident from<sup>y</sup> Eusebius, and<sup>z</sup> Sozomen.

All his writings are lost. Athanasius however has quoted<sup>a</sup> some passages: and there are some other in Eusebius’s books against Marcellus.<sup>b</sup> And in Eusebius’s Commentary upon the fourth Psalm, published by Montfauçon, there are inserted Asterius’s observations upon the same Psalm: in which several texts of the New Testament are quoted, and divers of our Saviour’s miracles rehearsed; where also there appears an air of piety, and zeal for the christian religion.

Socrates says, that<sup>c</sup> Asterius was a sophist of Cappadocia, and that forsaking gentilism he embraced christianity. He afterwards published books in favour of Arianism, which were extant in the time of that ecclesiastical historian; who farther adds, that Asterius was very much with Arian bishops, and frequented synods, desiring to be himself also bishop of some city. But having sacrificed in the time of the persecution, he never obtained that honour. This chapter of Socrates may be compared with another of<sup>d</sup> Sozomen. That lapse of Asterius happened, it is likely, in the year 304, or thereabout. Epiphanius expressly says, it<sup>e</sup> was in Maximian’s persecution. Asterius is often mentioned by Athanasius; he calls<sup>f</sup> him a cunning sophist and patron of heresy; and speaks<sup>g</sup> of his having sacrificed in the time of the last heathen persecution. Nor does Philostorgius dis-

<sup>x</sup> Cap. 86.

<sup>y</sup> Vid. Euseb. contr. Marcell. l. i. c. 4. et de Ecc. Theod. l. ii. c. 19. p. 132, 133. D. l. iii. c. 4. p. 868. A. B.

<sup>z</sup> Προφασις δε γεγρονε Μαρκελλω ταυτης της γραφης Ασεριος τε εκ Καππαδοκιας σοφιστης, ος και περι τε δογματρς λογης συγγραφων της Αρειω δογματος συμφερομενωσ. κ. λ. Soz. l. ii. c. 33. p. 495.

<sup>a</sup> Vid. Orat. 2. contr. Arian. n. 37. p. 505. et Or. 3. n. 2. et de Synod. n. 18. et alibi.

<sup>b</sup> Vid. supr. not. <sup>y</sup>.

<sup>c</sup> Ασεριος τις εν Καππαδοκια σοφισικην μειτων, την μεν κατελειπε χριστιανιζειν δε επηγγελετο. Επεχειρει δε και λογης συγγραφειν, οι μεχρι νυν φερονται, δι’ ων το Αρειω συνιτη δογμα. κ. λ. Socr. l. i. c. 36. in. Vid. et Soz. l. ii. c. 33. et supr. not. <sup>z</sup>.

<sup>d</sup> L. ii. c. 33.

<sup>e</sup> H. 76. n. iii. p. 915. C.

<sup>f</sup> ‘Ο πανηγρος σοφιστης Ασεριος ο και της αιρεσεωσ συνηγορος. Or. i. contr. Arian. n. 30. p. 435. B. Vid. et Or. 2. n. 28.

<sup>g</sup> Ασεριος ο Ξυσας. De Decret. Nic. Synod. n. 8. in. Ασεριος δε τις απο Καππαδοκιας, πολυκεφαλος σοφιστης——επειδη Ξυσας εν τη προτεριω διωγημω τη κατα τον παππον τε Κωνσταντια, εκ ηδυνατο παρ’ αυτων εις κληρον προυχθηναι. De Synod. n. 18. p. 731. E.

semble that<sup>h</sup> fault; but adds, that Asterius was recovered by his master Lucian.

According to Philostorgius, Asterius was a moderate Arian; for in one place he says, that<sup>i</sup> Asterius taught the Son to be in substance like the Father: in another, to<sup>k</sup> be a complete likeness of the Father.

It is needless to give any farther account of the remaining fragments or passages of this writer. Jerom's article alone is sufficient evidence of his respect for the scriptures of the Old and New Testament.

6. Says Jerom, 'Basil<sup>l</sup> of Ancyra, skilful in the art of physic, wrote against Marcellus, and a book concerning Virginity, and some other things. In the time of Constantius he was, together with Eustathius, bishop of Sebasta, the chief of the Macedonian faction.'

Basil, called also Basilas, as<sup>m</sup> Socrates says, was placed in the see of Ancyra by the council of Constantinople in 336, which deposed Marcellus.

In the year 351, he had a disputation at Sirmium, with Photinus, which, as<sup>n</sup> Socrates says, was taken down in writing.

Epiphanius<sup>o</sup> reckons him among the chief of the Semi-Arians, who held the Son to be of like substance to the Father.

Sozomen says, he<sup>p</sup> was in esteem for eloquence and learning: or, as<sup>q</sup> Tillemont understands the last phrase, for his capacity to teach. And Theodoret says, that<sup>r</sup> this Basil and the above-mentioned Eustathius of Sebaste, were in great favour with the emperor Constantius for the sake of their piety.

For the rest of this bishop's history I would refer to<sup>s</sup> others.

<sup>h</sup> Phil. l. ii. c. 14.

<sup>i</sup> 'Ο δε [Ευδοξιος] της Αρειανης μεν δοξης ην, πλην εκ της Αστειριω γραμματων εις το κατ' εσιαν ομοιον υπενηνεκτο. Phil. l. iv. c. 4.

<sup>k</sup> ———απαρραλλακτον εικονα της τε Πατρος εσιας ειναι τον 'Υιον εν τοις αυτη λογοις και γραμμασι διαμαρτυρομενον. Id. l. ii. c. 15.

<sup>l</sup> Basilus, Ancyranus episcopus, artis medicinae, scripsit contra Marcellum, et de Virginitate librum, et nonnulla alia. Et sub rege Constantio Macedonae partis cum Eustathio Sebasteno princeps fuit. De V. I. c. 89.

<sup>m</sup> L. ii. c. 42. p. 155. C.

<sup>n</sup> ———οξυγραφων τε τας φωνας αυτων γραφοντων. Socr. l. ii. c. 30.

<sup>o</sup> Hær. 73. n. i. p. 845. C. Compare Tillem. Les Ariens, Art. 66.

<sup>p</sup> Και βασιλειω δεινω λεγειν, και επι παιδευσει υπειλημενω.—Soz. l. ii. c. 33. sub in.

<sup>q</sup> Qui avoit la reputation d' être un homme éloquent, et fort capable d' instruire. Tillem. Les Ariens, Art. 22, near the end.

<sup>r</sup> Συνηθεις δε εσαν ετοι τω βασιλει, και πλεισης οσης δια την αξιειπαινον βιοτην απηλθαν παρρησιας. Theod. l. ii. c. 25. f.

<sup>s</sup> Vid. Cav. Hist. Lit. Tillem. Histoire des Ariens. Fabric. Bib. Gr. T. 8. p. 347.

7. Says Jerom, ' Eunomius<sup>t</sup> of the Arian faction, bishop of ' Cyzicum, breaking out into the open blasphemy of his ' heresy, so as to profess publicly what they hide, is said to ' live still in Cappadocia, and to write many things against ' the church. He has been answered by Apollinarius, ' Didymus, Basil of Cæsarea, Gregory Nazianzen, and ' Gregory Nyssen.'

Eunomius was ordained bishop of Cyzicum by<sup>u</sup> Eudoxius and Maris, in the year 360; soon after which he was banished by Constantius. He suffered the like disgrace in the reign of Valens; and once more under Theodosius; who however at length suffered him to retire to some lands of his own at Dacora, <sup>v</sup> his native place, in Cappadocia. The occasion of this last banishment, as Philostorgius says, was, that<sup>w</sup> the emperor understood he had perverted some of his courtiers whilst he lived at Constantinople. Eunomius was alive in 392, when Jerom wrote his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers. But he died not long after, about the year 394.

Eunomius was not only a disciple of Aetius, but also his <sup>x</sup> secretary, or amanuensis.

I shall transcribe here an article from Augustine's book of Heretics. ' The<sup>y</sup> Aetians were so called from Aetius, ' and are also called Eunomians from Eunomius, the disciple ' of Aetius, by which name they are better known. For ' Eunomius, being a better logician, was more successful in ' spreading that heresy, which holds the Son to be in all ' things unlike to the Father, and the Spirit to the Son. He ' is reported to have been so great an enemy to good manners, ' as to have asserted that no man need to fear harm, what- ' ever vices he indulged, if he embraced the doctrines taught ' by him.'

<sup>t</sup> Eunomius, Arianae partis, Cyzicenus episcopus, in apertam hæreseos suæ prorumpens blasphemiam, ut quod illi tegunt, ille publice fateretur, usque hodie vivere dicitur in Cappadociâ, et multa contra ecclesiam scribere. Responderunt ei Apollinarius, Didymus, Basilius Cæsariensis, Gregorius Nazianzenus, et Gregorius Nyssenus. De V. I. c. 120.

<sup>u</sup> Thdrt. l. ii. c. 27. p. 113. D. Phil. l. v. c. 3.

<sup>v</sup> Soz. l. vii. c. 17. in.

<sup>w</sup> Phil. l. x. c. 6.

<sup>x</sup> Ταχυγραφος ων εκεινσ, και ὑπ' αυτσ παιδευθεισ την αίρετικην λεξιν. Socrat. l. ii. c. 35. p. 130. C. Eunomios υπογραφευσ γεγονεν Αειτσ, τσ επικληθειτοσ αθεισ. Id. l. iv. c. 7. sub in.

<sup>y</sup> Aëtiani ab Aëtio sunt vocati, iidemque Eunomiani ab Eunomio Aëtii discipulo, quo nomine magis innotuerunt. Eunomius quippe in dialecticâ prævalens acutus et crebrius defendit hanc hæresim, dissimilem per omnia Patri asserens Filium, et Filio Spiritum Sanctum. Fertur etiam usque adeo fuisse bonis moribus inimicum, ut asseveraret, quod nihil cuique obsesset quorumlibet perpetratio ac perseverantia peccatorum, si hujus, quæ ab illo docebatur, fidei particeps esset. De Hær. c. 54.

This last charge too is in<sup>z</sup> Epiphanius, from whom, I suppose, Augustine had it. And Theodoret says, he<sup>a</sup> had heard of such things, but he does not know them to be true.

These people were also called Anomeans from the principle just mentioned; that the Son is unlike the Father. Epiphanius calls the heresy by that name, and says, that<sup>b</sup> Aetius was the author of it. Which is evident from things taken notice of by us formerly.

Let us now observe Eunomius's writings.

1.) A Commentary upon the Epistle of Paul to the Romans, not extant; of which Socrates speaks in this manner: 'Eunomius<sup>c</sup> had but little skill in the sacred writings, and was not able to interpret them. With abundance of words, repeated and diversified, he never attained his purpose: which fully appears from his seven tomes upon the epistle of the apostle to the Romans; where wasting a great many words, he shows himself not able to represent the scope of the epistle.'

2.) An Apologetical Discourse, still<sup>d</sup> extant, answered by Basil in five books.

3.) An Exposition<sup>e</sup> or Confession of Faith, presented to the emperor Theodosius in 383, still<sup>f</sup> extant: upon which I would make the following remarks.

(1.) This confession is in the common order of ancient creeds: first of God, then of Christ, his person, death, resurrection; then of the Holy Ghost, the resurrection of the body, the general judgment, eternal life: but nothing of Christ's descent into hell, nor of the catholic church, nor the communion of saints, nor the forgiveness of sins.

(2.) Here are references to many texts of scripture, particularly the first epistle<sup>g</sup> of Peter, and the<sup>h</sup> epistle to the Hebrews.

(3.) Here Eunomius says, that<sup>i</sup> Christ took man, consist-

<sup>z</sup> Το δε σφαλῆναι εν τινι πορνεια, η ἑτερα ἁμαρτια εδεν ειναι φασιν' Ουδεν γαρ ζητει Θεος, αλλα το ειναι εν ταυτη μονη τη αυτη νομιζομενη πιστει. Epiph. Synops. p. 810. Vid. et H. 76. n. iv.

<sup>a</sup> H. Fab. l. iv. c. 3. p. 237. B. C.

<sup>b</sup> Ανομοιοι παλιν τινες

εσιν καθεμενοι' Εσχον δε αρχηγον Λετιον τινα διακονον. H. 76. n. 1.

<sup>c</sup> Ολιγομαθως μεν εχων προς τα ιερα γραμματα—ως δεικνυσιν αυτη οι ἑπτα τομοι, ως εματαιποιησεν εις την προς Ῥωμαιως τε αποσολη επισολην' πολλες γαρ λογες εις αυτην αναλωσας, της επισολης τον σκοπον λαβειν ε δειδνηται. l. iv. c. 7. p. 215. C.

<sup>d</sup> Ap. Fab. Bib. Gr. T. viii. p. 262, &c. et Canis. Lection. A. T. i. et ap. Basilii opp. T. i. p. 618. ex edit. Bened.

<sup>e</sup> Vid. Socr. l. v. c. 10. p. 269. A. Sozom. l. vii. c. 12. p. 719. B.

<sup>f</sup> Ap. Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. viii. p. 253. et alibi.

<sup>g</sup> Ib. p. 253, et 257.

<sup>h</sup> P. 257.

<sup>i</sup> ——— αναλαβοντα τον εκ ψυχης και σωματος ανθρωπον. p. 257.

ing of soul and body. Nevertheless, Fabricius well observes, that<sup>k</sup> thereby is not understood a rational, but only a sensitive soul.

(4.) In this Confession Eunomius is truly an Arian. And yet he calls Christ our<sup>l</sup> God, the<sup>m</sup> only-begotten God, and true God, but not unbegotten.

4.) Apology for an<sup>v</sup> Apology; a work in three parts, by way of answer to S. Basil. This<sup>o</sup> book was answered by Theodore, probably of Mopsuesta, Gregory Nyssen, and Sophronius, as we learn from Photius.

5.) Epistles. Photius assures us, that<sup>p</sup> Philostorgius, who extols all Eunomius's writings, still prefers the epistles to the rest. But Photius<sup>q</sup> himself, who had seen forty of them, says, they are written as if the author had not any knowledge of the rules of epistolary writings. A like censure he passeth upon the style of all Eunomius's works in general.

Philostorgius, who greatly admired both master and scholar, compared them together. He says that Aetius excelled in the force of reasoning, and readiness of answer: whilst Eunomius was more remarkable for perspicuity and method, whereby his instructions were more easily instilled into men.

I forbear to add any more, and for the rest would refer to other<sup>s</sup> writers, in whom may be found divers things omitted by me.

8. Says Jerom, 'Eusebius<sup>t</sup> bishop of Emesa, a polite and agreeable writer, published innumerable pieces, suited to gain applause. And following the historical sense, he is

<sup>k</sup> ——— ut per ψυχήν non mentem, sed inferiorem modo animam sensibus constantem. Ib. p. 250.

Χριστ. n. 1. p. 253.

<sup>l</sup> Τε θεε και σωτηροε ημων Ιησε

<sup>m</sup> Πιστευμεν εις τον τε θεε υιον, τον μονογενη θεον. — Χριστον αληθινον θεον, εκ αγεννητον. n. ii. p. 255.

<sup>n</sup> Vid. Gr. Nys. contr. Eunom. l. i. p. 289, 298, 299.

<sup>o</sup> — τε αυτε Ευνομιοε βιβλιον, εν λογοιε τρισιν—φ περιτυχοντεε θεοδωροε, και Γρηγοριοε Νυσσηε, και Σωφρωνιοε. Phot. Cod. 138. p. 113. Vid. et Cod. 4, 5, 6. Conf. Philost. l. viii. c. 12.

<sup>p</sup> Τεε δε λογεε αυτεε πανταε αποθιαζων διαφερεν των αλλων επι μαλλον λεγει ταε επιτολαε. Philost. l. x. c. 6. fin.

<sup>q</sup> ——— παντελωε τε των επιτολων χαρακτηροε εδε τεε νομιοε ακεεεε. Cod. 138. p. 314.

<sup>r</sup> Phil. l. viii. c. 18.

<sup>s</sup> Vid. Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. viii. Cav. H. L. in Eunomio. Canisii Lect. Antiq. T. i. Tillemont, Les Ariens, art. 98—100.

<sup>t</sup> Eusebius Emisenus episcopus, elegantis et rhetorici ingenii, innumerabiles, et qui ad plausum populi pertinent, confecit libros. Magisque historiam secutus, ab his qui declamare volunt studiosissime legitur. E quibus vel præcipue sunt adversum Judæos, et Gentes, et Novatianos, et ad Galatas libri decem, et in evangelia homiliæ breves, sed plurimæ. Floruit temporibus Constantii Imperatoris, sub quo et mortuus. Antiochiæ sepultus est. De V. I. cap. 91.

‘ much read by those who have occasion to speak in public.  
 ‘ The chief of his works are these : Against the Jews, and  
 ‘ Against the Gentiles, Against the Novatians, ten books upon  
 ‘ the epistle to the Galatians, and many short homilies upon  
 ‘ the gospels. He flourished in the reign of the emperor  
 ‘ Constantius, in whose time also he died. He was buried at  
 ‘ Antioch.’

Eusebius flourished about the year 340, and died about the year 360, as Cave thinks. Fabricius roundly placeth his death<sup>u</sup> in 360, Tillemont<sup>v</sup> before 359.

Socrates<sup>w</sup> and Sozomen<sup>x</sup> had before them the life of this bishop, written by his friend George of Laodicea. From whom we learn, that<sup>y</sup> Eusebius was descended of a very honourable family, and born at Edessa in Mesopotamia. He was early instructed in the sacred scriptures, and then in secular learning, by a master at Edessa. He afterwards came into Palestine, that he might farther perfect himself in sacred learning: where he studied under Patrophilus of Scythopolis, and Eusebius of Cæsarea, He likewise went to Antioch, and from thence to Alexandria, where he studied philosophy, and then returned to Antioch.

Some time after that he was ordained bishop of Emesa in Phœnicia, but<sup>z</sup> the people could not endure him, having a notion, that he practised magical arts. Such is the reward which some men meet with for diligent application to letters ! And upon another occasion, as Sozomen relates, good<sup>a</sup> and great as he was, he experienced the envy of those, who are offended at other men’s virtues. However, the emperor<sup>b</sup> Constantius was greatly pleased with him, and always carried him with him in his wars against the Persians.

His<sup>c</sup> piety, as well as his learning and eloquence, appears to have been at that time very conspicuous.

Theodoret says, that<sup>d</sup> his writings showed him to be an

<sup>u</sup> Bib. Gr. T. vi. p. 160. T. viii. p. 366.

<sup>v</sup> Les Ariens, art. 31.

<sup>w</sup> Socr. l. ii. c. 9.

<sup>x</sup> Soz. l. iii. c. 6.

<sup>y</sup> ———— ὡς εἶη ἐκ τῶν εὐπατριδῶν τῆς ἐν Μεσοποταμίᾳ Ἐδέσης—ἐκ νεᾶς τε ἡλικίας τὰ ἱερά μαθὼν γραμμάτα· εἶτα τὰ Ἑλλήνων παιδευθεὶς παρατῆρ τῆνικαυτὰ τῆ Ἐδέσῃ ἐπιδημησαντὶ παιδευτῆ· τέλος ὑπο Πατροφίλου καὶ Εὐσεβίου τὰ ἱερά ἐρμηνεύθη Βιβλία—καταλαβεῖν τὴν Ἀλεξανδρείαν, κἀκεῖ μαθεῖν τὰ φιλοσοφία. Socr. l. ii. c. 9. Conf. Soz. l. iii. c. 6.

<sup>z</sup> Διατασσαντων δὲ τῶν Ἐμισσηνῶν ἐπὶ τῆ χειροτονίᾳ αὐτῶ· εὐδοροῦντο γὰρ, ὡς μαθηματικὴν ἀσκεμενός, φύγη χρῆται. Socr. ubi supr. p. 86. A.

<sup>a</sup> Ἄλλ ὁ μὲν, καίπερ τοιωτός ὢν, ἔ διεφυγε τὸν φθόνον τῶν ἀνίσθαι πεφυκῶτων ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀλλῶν ἀρεταῖς. Soz. l. iii. c. 6. p. 504. c.

<sup>b</sup> Ἐγενετο δὲ Κωνσταντῶ τῆ βασιλείᾳ κεχαρισμένος. κ. λ. ib. p. 504. B.

<sup>c</sup> Ὡς γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐν μάλᾳ πολιτενομένου, καὶ λεγῆν κρατίστον ὄντα.—Ib. p. 504. A.

<sup>d</sup> Ἐνετυχὸν ἐνίοις τῶς συγγραμμάσι καὶ εὐρον γὰ τοῖς Ἀρεῖς συμφερόμενον δόγμασι. Dial. 3. p. 171. D.

Arian. And in Jerom's Chronicle he is called<sup>e</sup> a standard-bearer of the Arians. Nevertheless Jerom has elsewhere owned, that <sup>f</sup>Diodorus of Tarsus and <sup>g</sup>John Chrysostom imitated him, as a good model of writing.

Jerom in the article from his Catalogue mentions several of our Eusebius's works: and Sozomen says,<sup>h</sup> in general, that he wrote many books, and speaks of them with commendation: and reckons him among the most noted and eminent persons that flourished in the church at that time. Beside the works mentioned by Jerom, we know from Epiphanius<sup>i</sup> and Theodoret, that<sup>k</sup> he wrote a piece against the Manichees.

Theodoret has transcribed a long<sup>l</sup> passage from some work of this writer; and fragments of him may be found in some other places: but in general his works are lost.

His work against the Jews is said to be still in the library at Vienna. But as it has not been published, it is not easy to form a sure judgment about it. The Homilies, which have been published under his name, are now allowed to belong to<sup>m</sup> others.

Ebedjesu in his Catalogue mentions<sup>n</sup> a book of Questions upon the Old Testament, not taken notice of by Greek or Latin authors.

9. Eusebius,<sup>o</sup> at first bishop of Berytus in Phœnicia, then of Nicomedia, the chief city of Bithynia, was advanced to the see of Constantinople in 338, or 339, and died about the year 341.

He was present at the council of Nice in 325, and after some hesitation signed the creed there composed. Nevertheless, having given some offence, he and Theognis were banished by Constantine, in<sup>p</sup> three months' time after the breaking up of the council. Upon submission made by them, they were<sup>q</sup> both restored to their sees in the latter part of the year 328, or the beginning of the year 329. And Amphion, who had been put in Eusebius's room at Nicomedia, and Chrestus,

<sup>e</sup> Eusebius, episcopus Emisenus, Arianae signifer factionis, multa et varia describit. Chr. p. 183.

<sup>f</sup> Extant ejus in apostolum commentarii, et multa alia, ad Eusebii magis Emiseni characterem pertinentia. De V. I. c. 119.

<sup>g</sup> Eusebii Emiseni, Diodorique sectator. Ib. c. 129.

<sup>h</sup> Soz. l. iii. c. 14. p. 522. C. D.

<sup>i</sup> H. 66. n. 21.

<sup>k</sup> H. Fab. l. i. c. ult. fin.

<sup>l</sup> Dial. 3. p. 171—175.

<sup>m</sup> Vid. Cav. Hist. Lit. et Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. 6. p. 107, 108.

<sup>n</sup> Eusebius Emesenus composuit librum adversus Judæos, et Quæstiones in Vetus Testamentum, et Homilium de Stephano. Ebed. ap. Assem. B. O. T. iii. p. 44.

<sup>o</sup> They who are desirous to make farther inquiries concerning this bishop, may consult Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. vi. p. 109, 110. Cav. Hist. Lit. Tillem. Les Ariens, T. vi. and elsewhere.

<sup>p</sup> Vid. Philost. l. i. c. 9.

<sup>q</sup> Vid. Socr. l. i. c. 23. Soz. l. i. c. 21.



Cave<sup>y</sup> speaks honourably of Euzoius: but none of his works remain, no, not the titles of them; though Jerom says, they might be easily had in his time.

Euzoius is mentioned by Epiphanius<sup>z</sup> among those, whom he calls Semi-Arians.

II. George, bishop of Laodicea, flourished, as Cave says, about the year 340. He wrote the Life of Eusebius bishop of Emesa, which<sup>a</sup> Socrates and<sup>b</sup> Sozomen made use of. He likewise published a book against the Manichees, mentioned by<sup>c</sup> Theodoret and<sup>d</sup> Photius. And Sozomen<sup>e</sup> has a short, but warm letter of his against Aetius.

He was a native of<sup>f</sup> Alexandria, and at first presbyter there, before he was bishop. George is often mentioned, and sometimes quoted by<sup>g</sup> Athanasius. Theodoret says, that<sup>h</sup> though he was an Arian, he was a great philosopher. Nor has Philostorgius failed to observe, that<sup>i</sup> before he was made bishop, he made good progress in philosophy.

One thing however, perhaps, is not to the honour of this Arian bishop and philosopher, that in his Life of his friend Eusebius, bishop of Emesa, he<sup>k</sup> relates many miracles to have been done by him. This, in all probability, ought to be ascribed to credulity or partiality.

Beausobre particularly laments the loss of two books, written against the Manichees, 'which<sup>l</sup> probably were very 'excellent and valuable, as may be concluded from the 'capacity of the authors. The first is that of George bishop 'of Laodicea, whom Athanasius decries as the worst of all 'men, because he was one of the principal supports of 'Arianism: to whom however Theodoret bears witness, as 'one of the greatest philosophers of his time. The second 'book is that of Eusebius of Emesa. This bishop, being 'born at Edessa in Mesopotamia, understood Syriac, which 'was the vulgar tongue of the province, and was able to 'read the works of Mani in the original. Moreover he 'lived at a time, when the memory of his life and actions

<sup>y</sup> Vir plane doctus ac diligens. Ubi supr.

<sup>z</sup> H. 73. n. 37. p. 685. C.

<sup>a</sup> L. ii. c. 9.

<sup>b</sup> L. iii. c. 6.

<sup>c</sup> H. F. l. i. c. ult. fin.

<sup>d</sup> Cod. 85.

<sup>e</sup> Vid. Sozom. l. iv. c. 13.

<sup>f</sup> Vid. Philost. l. viii. c. 17.

<sup>g</sup> Γεωργιος δε ο νυν εν Λαοδικεια,

πρεσβυτερος μεν ων τοτε της Αλεξανδρειας. De Synod. n. 17. p. 731. B.

<sup>h</sup> ——— ανηρ της μεν Αρειω προσατενων αιρεσεως, τοις δε φιλοσοφοις εντε-  
θραμμενος μαθημασι. H. F. l. i. c. ult. f.

<sup>i</sup> Και Γεωργιος δε Αλεξαν-  
δρεως γεν το γενοσ, και των εκ φιλοσοφιας ορμωρμενων.—Phil. l. viii. c. 17.

<sup>k</sup> Τελευταιον δε επαγει ——— και οτι τερασια εν τοις χερσιν αυτω εγενητο.  
Socr. l. ii. c. 9. p. 86. B. Λεγεται γαρ πολλα δι αυτω θανατωρηγησαι το θειον,

ωσ μαρτυρει Γεωργιος ο Λαοδικευς.—Soz. l. iii. c. 6. p. 504. B.

<sup>l</sup> See Hist. de Manich. T. i. p. 223, 224.

‘ was fresh, and in places where he saw many of his followers.  
 ‘ All this, joined with uncommon knowledge and eloquence,  
 ‘ rendered Eusebius the most proper man in the world to  
 ‘ teach us both the history and the opinions of that heresi-  
 arch. But the envy of the Greeks, or their immoderate zeal  
 against the Arians, has caused the loss of all the works of  
 this excellent personage, except a few remains preserved  
 by the Syrians.’

12. Lucius, the Arian bishop at Alexandria after Athanasius, as<sup>m</sup> Jerom says, published some small pieces upon divers subjects: for which cause Jerom has given him a place in his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers, and I have put his words at the bottom of the page, and refer to some others<sup>n</sup> for a fuller account.

13. Maximin, an Arian bishop, with whom Augustine, in the year 427 or 428, had a public disputation or conference, still<sup>o</sup> extant. And soon after that conference, Augustine wrote two books against Maximin, likewise in being. Having already<sup>p</sup> exhibited his testimony to the scriptures, I need not add any thing farther here.

14. Philostorgius was born about the year<sup>q</sup> 368, at a village in Cappadocia. His<sup>r</sup> father's name was Carterius, his mother's Eulampia, only daughter of a presbyter named Anysius, who however had four sons besides. His mother's ancestors, both by the father's and mother's side, were Homoüsians: but Carterius was a follower of Eunomius. He brought over his wife to his own opinion; she persuaded her brothers, at length her father and other relations. Of this opinion Philostorgius makes open profession; that is, he did not believe the Son of God to be like the Father. When he was twenty<sup>s</sup> years of age, he went to Constantinople to improve himself in learning.

His Ecclesiastical History, in<sup>t</sup> two parts, making in all twelve books, was published about the year 425, in the time of the emperor Theodosius the younger, in whose reign likewise wrote those other historians, Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret; containing the history of affairs from the beginning of the Arian controversy, or about the year 300, to that time. The work itself is lost, but we have large extracts

<sup>m</sup> Lucius, post Athanasium Arianæ partis episcopus usque ad Theodosium principem, a quo est pulsus, Alexandrinam ecclesiam tenuit. Exstant ejus solennes de Pascha epistolæ, et pauci variarum hypotheseôn libelli. De V. I. c. 118.

<sup>n</sup> Vid. Cav. Hist. Lit. et Tillem. Les Ariens, Art.

123, &c.

<sup>o</sup> Vid. August. Opp. T. viii.

<sup>p</sup> See p. 582, 583.

<sup>q</sup> Vid. Cav. Hist. L. T. i. p. 410.

<sup>r</sup> Vid. Philost. l. ix. c. 9.

<sup>s</sup> Id. l. x. c. 6.

<sup>t</sup> Vid. Phot. cod. 40.

made by Photius. Beside that history, as he himself informs us, he wrote an<sup>u</sup> encomium of Eunomius, and<sup>v</sup> a book against Porphyry in defence of the christian religion. Philostorgius was undoubtedly a man of a great deal of knowledge and learning, and Photius commends his<sup>w</sup> style; nevertheless, he may be said to be remarkably credulous. In his brief account of Philostorgius's history Photius observes, that<sup>x</sup> he extols Eusebius of Nicomedia, Theophilus the Indian, and many others, as eminent for miracles, as well as for piety of life and conversation.

I apprehend it may be worth the while to take notice of some other instances of credulity and superstition in this learned and zealous Arian.

He highly commends, as Photius<sup>y</sup> says, Constantius, and says, that he built the church at Constantinople, which is called, and really is, great; and that he brought from Achaia the apostle Andrew, and placed him in the church he had built, called also the church of the apostles; near to which he set his father's tomb. He also translated from the same Achaia, Luke the evangelist, and to the same temple. Finally, in like manner he caused to be brought the apostle Timothy from Ephesus in Ionia, to the same celebrated and venerable church.

So writes Philostorgius, with manifest signs of approbation. And I suppose these to be some<sup>z</sup> of the very first translations of reliques. But they are mentioned by some other writers in a different order. For the author of the Paschal Chronicle first<sup>a</sup> mentions the translation of the reliques of Timothy in 356, and then the reliques of Luke and Andrew in the next year. And he says of those last, that<sup>b</sup> by order of the emperor Constantius, the reliques of those holy apostles were brought to Constantinople, with much care and veneration, with singing of psalms and hymns, and were deposited in the church of the holy apostles. St. Jerom's manner of speaking leads us to consider this as a very early instance<sup>c</sup> of this kind of translations.

It is our author who says, that<sup>d</sup> Lucian after his martyrdom was brought by a dolphin to the bay of Nicomedia:

<sup>u</sup> L. iii. c. 21.

<sup>v</sup> L. x. c. 10.

<sup>w</sup> Cod. 40.

<sup>x</sup> *Εν τερατειοις δε και βιω Ευσεβιον τον Νικομηδειας—και Θεοφιλον τον Ινδον, και αλλες πλειονας.* Cod. 40. p. 30.

<sup>y</sup> Philost. l. iii. c. 2.

<sup>z</sup> Vid. Basnage, ann. 356. n. xi. &c.

et Basnage, Hist. de l'Eglise, liv. 19. ch. iv. n. vi.

<sup>a</sup> Chr. Pasch. p. 293. B.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid.

<sup>c</sup> Sacrilegus fuit Constantius imperator, qui sanctas reliquias Andreæ, Lucae, Timothei transtulit Constantinopolim?—Adv. Vig. p. 283. in.

<sup>d</sup> L. ii. c. 12.

near to which place was afterwards built the city of Hele-  
nopolis.

Beside many wonderful appearances related by other historians, by which Julian's attempt to build the temple of Jerusalem was frustrated, Philostorgius tells this strange story: 'At<sup>e</sup> clearing the foundation a stone was taken up ' that covered the mouth of a cave, cut out in the rock, into ' which one of the labourers being let down by a long rope, ' found it full of water to the middle of the leg. Having ' carefully viewed the cave on every side, he found it to be ' four-square. This was the report he then made. Being ' let down again, he observed a pillar reaching a little above ' the water, whereon lay a book wrapped up in clean and ' fine linen. Being drawn up, the linen was seen to be fresh ' and fair. And at the front of the book was found written ' in capital letters, to the great surprise of all, but especially ' of Jews and Gentiles, " In the beginning was the Word, ' and the Word was with God, and the Word was God." ' This is related by no other writer of that time. For which reason, as Cave<sup>f</sup> well observes, ' It stands upon the single ' authority of Philostorgius;' though he is pleased to add: ' but he ancient enough, being born within five years after ' the thing was done.'

He says, the<sup>g</sup> empress, wife of Constantius, was miraculously cured of a certain distemper by Theophilus the Indian.

Photius says, that the ninth book of Philostorgius's history contains many<sup>h</sup> wonderful works of Aetius, Eunomius, and Leontius, forged by the author, as also of Euagrius, and Arianus, and Florentios, especially of Theophilus the Indian, and some others; which<sup>i</sup> nothing but a bigoted zeal could make him invent: yet he relates them without any restraint from a sense of shame of their absurdity and improbability.

He has many stories of judgments<sup>k</sup> befalling the apostates from christianity, in the time of Julian; and another judgment<sup>l</sup> upon a wicked man, who endeavoured to shelter himself in communion with Athanasius.

Speaking of things that happened in his own time, he says, that<sup>m</sup> in several places there fell hail as large as a mau-

<sup>e</sup> L. vii. c. 14.

<sup>f</sup> Life of St. Cyril of Jerus. in English. cap. x. p. 353.

<sup>g</sup> L. iv. c. 7.

<sup>h</sup> — Αετια χειρων υπερφνη εργα—διαπλαττει.

l. ix. c. 1. in.

<sup>i</sup> Οὐς ἡ αυτη της ασεβειας λυσσα θερμετερως

επεδεικνυ' και ταυτα κατα το απιθανωτατον αναπλαττοντι, υδεμια παρην αισθησις της ατοπιας ανακεφιζασα. ib.

<sup>k</sup> L. vii. c. 10, 11, et 13.

<sup>l</sup> L. iii. c. 12.

<sup>m</sup> L. xi. cap. 7.

could grasp in his hand; and some pieces were found to weigh eight pounds.

I forbear to mention any more of these wonders; but I shall refer in the margin to a place or two<sup>n</sup> more.

I proceed to take some things in him relating to the scriptures.

At the beginning of his large extracts Photius observes, that Philostorgius says, he<sup>o</sup> does not know who is the author of the books of the Maccabees. He esteems the first of those books very valuable, as agreeable to the prophecies of Daniel.—Moreover he says, that the second book does not appear to be written by the same author.—The third book he much dislikes. The fourth book, he says, was written by Josephus.

He blames some people for sitting when<sup>p</sup> the gospels were read.

He speaks of Aetius<sup>q</sup> having first with care studied the evangelists, then the epistles of Paul, after that the prophets, particularly Ezekiel: which was mentioned formerly: as have been also divers other things, relating to the scriptures, in the history of several, taken from this writer.

15. Sabinus. Cave<sup>r</sup> supposeth<sup>h</sup> him to have flourished about the year 425. For what reason he placed him so late I cannot tell. Tillemont agrees, that<sup>s</sup> he wrote in the time of Valens: and Fabricius, under<sup>t</sup> Valens or Gratian.

By Socrates we are informed, that<sup>u</sup> Sabinus was bishop of the Macedonians at Heraclea in Thrace. He sometimes calls Sabinus a<sup>v</sup> leader of the Macedonian sect, and a<sup>w</sup> Semi-Arian. He wrote a History of Councils, beginning with that of Nice. The title of his book seems<sup>x</sup> to have been a Collection of Synods, or of the Acts of Synods.

<sup>n</sup> Vid. l. iii. c. 26. l. ix. c. 2. l. x. c. 9, 11.

<sup>o</sup> L. i. c. 1.

<sup>p</sup> Και γαρ καθεζομενοι των ευαγγελικων αναγνωσματων εποινετο την ακροασιν. L. iii. c. 5.

<sup>q</sup> —παρ' ᾧ τες εναγγελιστας αναγνε, και τοις καθ' ἑκασον επισησας,—εφ' ο τας τε αποσολε αναδιδαχθεις επισολας.—κ. λ. l. iii c. 15. p. 481. B. C.

<sup>r</sup> H. L. T. i. p. 41.

<sup>s</sup> Je ne sçai, si cette retenue de Sabin à leur égard ne marqueroit point, qu'il écrivoit sous Valens, dans le temps que les purs Ariens étoient encore tout-puissans. Les Ariens, Art. 107. med.

<sup>t</sup> —cujus collectionem——a Concilio Nicæno usque ad Valentis tempora, sub quo, vel sub Gratiano, scripsisse videtur. Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. 6. p. 119. not. 1.

<sup>u</sup> Σαβινος γαρ, ὁ των εν' Ηρακλεια της Θρακης Μακεδονιανων επισκοπος. κ. λ. l. i. c. 8. p. 20. A.

<sup>v</sup> Σαβινος ὁ της Μακεδονια αιρεσεως προεσως. l. i. c. 9. p. 31. D. Vid. et l. ii. c. 15.

<sup>w</sup> Αρειανιζων γαρ τι ἡμιν. l. iv. c. 22. p. 231. B.

<sup>x</sup> —εν τη συναγωγῃ των συνοδων. l. ii. c. 17. p. 95. B. τη συναγωγῃ των συνοδικων Σαβινε. l. iii. c. 25. p. 204. D.

This author is often quoted by Socrates, who took some materials from him for his own work. Socrates does likewise several times complain of his partiality,<sup>y</sup> in suppressing and concealing divers things which did not make for the honour of his party. And the justness of those remarks must, I think, be allowed by every one who reads them in Socrates.

16. Says Jerom: 'Theodore<sup>z</sup> bishop of Heraclea in Thrace, in the time of the emperor Constantius, published Commentaries upon Matthew and John, and upon the Apostle, and upon the Psalter, in a neat and elegant style, explaining chiefly the literal sense.'

Cave computes, that<sup>a</sup> he was made bishop of Heraclea about the year 334. Tillemont says that<sup>b</sup> he was put in that see some time before the year 334, but in what year is uncertain. The time of his episcopate is collected from a passage of<sup>c</sup> Theodoret. Athanasius expressly says that he<sup>d</sup> was promoted by the Arians. He was deposed by the synod of Sardica in 347. He died, as some think, in<sup>e</sup> 355, others about the year<sup>f</sup> 358. Theodoret reckons him, with Eusebius of Nicomedia, and Theognis of Nice, one<sup>g</sup> of the prime adversaries of Athanasius. He nevertheless owns, that<sup>h</sup> he was a very learned man, and wrote a Commentary upon the divine gospels.

Jerom has elsewhere plainly mentioned this bishop's<sup>i</sup> Commentary upon the Psalms; and refers also, as it seems, to his<sup>k</sup> Commentary upon the epistle to the Galatians.

It is supposed by<sup>l</sup> Cave, and<sup>m</sup> Fabricius, that his Commentary upon the Psalms is still extant entire. Tillemont

<sup>y</sup> Vid. l. ii. c. 15. p. 92. et c. 17. p. 95. l. iv. c. 22.

<sup>z</sup> Theodorus, Heracleæ Thraciarum episcopus, elegantis apertique sermonis, et magis historicæ intelligentiæ, edidit sub Constantio principe commentarios in Matthæum et in Joannem, et in Apostolum, et in Psalterium. De V. I. cap. 90.

<sup>a</sup> Hist. Lit. T. i. p. 203.

<sup>b</sup> Les Ariens, Art. 20.

<sup>c</sup> L. i. c. 28.

<sup>d</sup> Ad Episc. Æg. et Lib. p. 277. A.

<sup>e</sup> Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. viii. p. 412.

<sup>f</sup> Cav. ubi supr.

<sup>g</sup> Vid. Thdrt. H. E. l. i. c. 28. l. ii. c. 3, et 8. l. v. c. 7.

<sup>h</sup> Ἐλλογιμος δὲ διαφερομένως ὁ Θεόδωρος ἦν, καὶ δὴ καὶ τῶν θεῶν εὐαγγελίων τὴν ἑρμηνείαν συγγεγραφεὺς. l. ii. c. 3. p. 71. B.

<sup>i</sup> —maxime in explanatione Psalmorum, quos apud Græcos interpretati sunt multis voluminibus primus Origenes, secundus Eusebius Cæsariensis, tertius Theodorus Heracleotas. Hier. ad Aug. Ep. 73. [al. 95.] p. 627. in.

<sup>k</sup> Prætermitto Didymum,—Eusebium quoque Emisenum, et Theodorum Heracleotem: qui et ipsi nonnullos super hac re commentarios reliquerunt. Ib. p. 619. in.

<sup>l</sup> Ex his exstat nonnisi commentarius integer in

Psalmos. Cav. ib. p. 203.

<sup>m</sup> Commentarium Theodori in Psalmos integrum cum Patrum in Psalmos Catena Corderius edidit. Fabr. ubi supr. p. 412.

only says: It<sup>u</sup> is thought, that we still have his Commentary upon the Psalms, and some fragments of what he wrote on St. Matthew. I must own likewise, that it appears to me very doubtful, whether the Commentary upon the Psalms, published by Corderius, be justly ascribed to this bishop of Heraclea in its present condition. It is however well written, and there are in it many good observations. The author (if the remarks of several are not there mixed together) received<sup>o</sup> the epistle to the Hebrews as St. Paul's.

17. I may not omit Ulphilas, but must aim at brevity, and refer to others, both<sup>p</sup> ancients and<sup>q</sup> moderns, for a more particular account.

Cave supposeth him to have flourished chiefly about the year 365.

Socrates says, that<sup>r</sup> Ulphilas subscribed the Arian creed of the council held at Constantinople in 360, who before had followed the Nicene faith, which had been signed by Theophilus, bishop of the Goths, who was present at that council.

It seems, that<sup>s</sup> in the time of the emperor Valens, the christians of that country were brought more generally into the Arian scheme than they had been before. Theodoret expressly says, that<sup>t</sup> the Goths had long before received the rays of divine light, and until that time had been nourished in the apostolical doctrine. He adds, that<sup>u</sup> even after that alteration they believed indeed the Father to be greater than the Son; but they did not call the Son a creature, though they communicated with those who did so.

Ulphilas was in great authority with that people, and very useful to them. He cultivated among them civility and learning, and made many converts to the christian religion. He<sup>v</sup> invented for them an alphabet, and translated the scriptures of the Old and New Testament into their

<sup>n</sup> Les Ariens, Art. 21. sub fin.

<sup>o</sup> Vid. Corderii Caten. Patr.

Gr. in Ps. ii. ver. 7. T. i. p. 27. In Ps. viii. ver. 6. p. 158. In Ps. xxix [al. xl.] ver. 7. p. 740.

<sup>p</sup> Socr. l. ii. 41. f. l. iv. 33. Soz

l. iv. c. 24. l. vi. c. 37. Theod. l. iv. c. 37. Philost. l. ii. c. 5.

<sup>q</sup> Cav. H. L. Tillem. Les Ariens, art. 132, 133.

<sup>r</sup> Socr. l. ii. c. 41.

<sup>s</sup> Vid. Socr. l. iv. c. 33. Soz. l. vi. c. 37.

<sup>t</sup> Παλαι γαρ τας της Θεογνωσιας ακτινας δεξαμενοι, τοις αποστολικους ενετρεφοντο οὐγμασι. Theod. l. iv. c. 37. p. 195. D.

<sup>u</sup> Οὐ δὴ ἐνεκα, μεχρι και τημερον οἱ Γοτθοι μειζονα μεν τον Πατερα λεγασι τε ὕις κτισμα δε τον ὕιον ειπειν εκ ανεχονται. κ. λ. ib. p. 196. B.

<sup>v</sup> Τοτε δε και Ουλφιδας, ο των Γοθων επισκοπος, γραμματα εφευρε Γοθικα, και τας θειας γραφας εις την Γοθων μεταβαλων, τες βαρβαρες μανθανειν τα θεια λογια παρεσκασεν. Socr. l. iv. c. 33. p. 251.

Πρωτος δε γραμματων ευρητης αυτοις εγενετο, και εις την οικειαν φωνην μεταφρασε τας ιερας βιβλας. Soz. l. vi. c. 37. p. 698. A.

language ; excepting only, as Philostorgius<sup>w</sup> says, the books of the Kingdoms, [meaning, it is likely, the two books of Samuel, the two books of the Kings, and the books of the Chronicles,] containing the history of wars : for the Goths being a warlike people, he thought they rather needed a check, than an incentive to fighting.

As these were great performances, I have placed at the bottom of the page the accounts of several writers in the original words at length.

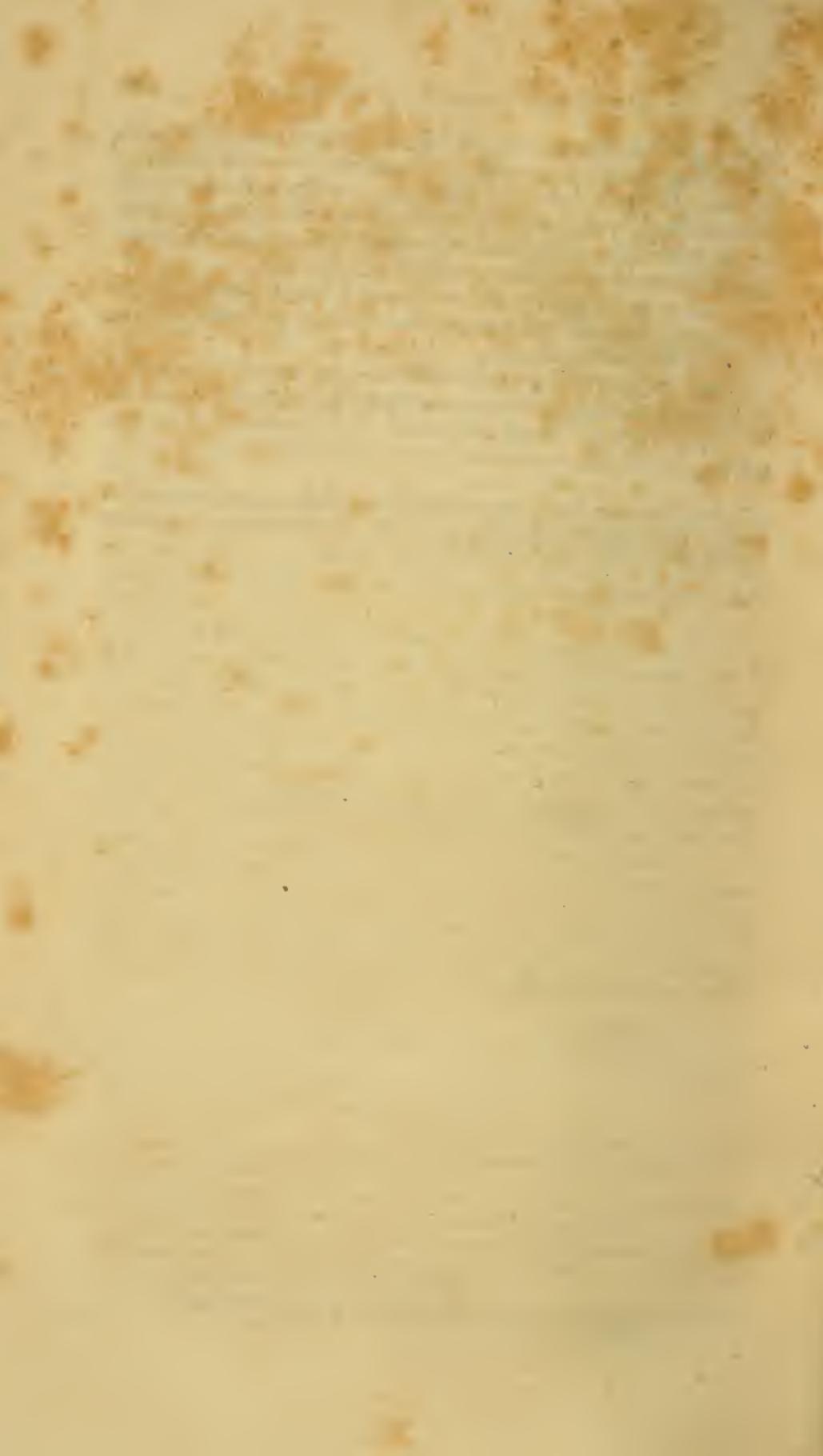
This may suffice for a brief history of the Arian writers, in most of which articles somewhat has offered relating to the scriptures, so much respected by all christians in general.

<sup>w</sup> Και γραμματων αυτοις οικειων ευρετης κατασας, μετεφρασεν εις την αυτων φωνην τας γραφας απασας, πλην γε δη των Βασιλειων, ατε των πολεμωι ισοριαν εχουσων. κ. λ. Phil. l. ii. c. 5.

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

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