THE

WORKS

OF

NATHANIEL LARDNER, D. D.

IN ELEVEN VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

CONTAINING THE CREDIBILITY OF THE GOSPEL HISTORY.

PART II. VOL. I. II. III.

THE

WORKS

OF

NATHANIEL LARDNER, D.D.

IN ELEVEN VOLUMES:

CONTAINING THE

CREDIBILITY OF THE GOSPEL HISTORY;

JEWISH AND HEATHEN TESTIMONIES;

HISTORY OF HERETICS;

AND HIS SERMONS AND TRACTS:

WITH

GENERAL CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES, AND COPIOUS INDEXES.

TO THE FIRST VOLUME IS PREFIXED

THE LIFE OF THE AUTHOR,

BY

ANDREW KIPPIS, D.D. F.R.S. AND S.A.

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164	9	———	has ex-
200	5	from top —	from your
277	3	from bottom —	fences
332	6	———	a lu-

P.	IN THE NOTES.		*read.*
114	note [n]	—	Cav.
270	col. 1. l. 7.	—	Hebræos
291	note [a]	—	first word Των
337	note [c]	— —	ανθρωπων
368	col. 1.	———	reference [b]
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484	note [b] line 4.	—	κ. λ.

THE REIGNS OF THE ROMAN EMPERORS DURING THE FIRST TWO CENTURIES OF THE CHRISTIAN ÆRA.

			A.D.
AUGUSTUS HAVING REIGNED FROM THE DEATH OF JULIUS CÆSAR FIFTY-SEVEN YEARS AND SOME MONTHS, AND FROM THE DEFEAT OF MARK ANTONY AT ACTIUM, FORTY-FOUR YEARS, DIED		AUG. 19	14
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THE

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 SAVIOUR, OR HIS APOSTLES, OR LIVED NEAR THEIR TIME.

PART II.

[FIRST PUBLISHED IN *TWELVE VOLUMES*, AT DIFFERENT TIMES, MDCCXXXIII—MDCCLV.]

VOL. II.

THE CREDIBILITY OF THE GOSPEL HISTORY.

PART II.

[VOL. I. FIRST PUBLISHED IN MDCCXXXIII.]

PREFACE.

THE deſign of this work has been ſhewn in the Preface and Introduction to the foregoing part. It is, in ſhort, to enable perſons of ordinary capacities, who have not an opportunity of reading ancient authors, to judge for themſelves concerning the external evidence of the facts related in the New Teſtament. They who are pleaſed to attend to this will ſoon perceive the reaſon of the method obſerved in this work: why I not only tranſcribe paſſages at length, but likewiſe prefix a hiſtory of the authors themſelves. This I have done very much in the words of other ancient writers, who were their contemporaries, or not very remote from them in time: mentioning alſo the ſentiments of ſome learned moderns, eminent for their ſkill in antiquity, who have already written with great diligence and accuracy the hiſtory of my authors and their works. Somewhat of this kind was neceſſary for the information and ſatisfaction of thoſe, for whom this work is chiefly intended. It might be well expected, that I ſhould obſerve the age and character of the witneſſes I produce: and diſtinguiſh their genuine writings from others, if any have been without ground

aſcribed to them. The teſtimonies themſelves I have endeavoured likewiſe ſo to diſpoſe, as that the value of them might be moſt readily perceived.

I am aware, that ſome learned men, who have already formed their judgment upon a full knowledge of antiquity, may at firſt diſlike the alleging in this volume ſo many paſſages, which contain at the moſt only alluſions to the writings of the New Teſtament, ſome of which too may appear doubtful and uncertain. But if theſe had been wholly omitted, I do not ſee how the repreſentation of this evidence could have been complete. And when it is conſidered, that I do not lay a ſtreſs upon all theſe paſſages, but after the producing them, ſum up the teſtimony of each author, and often diſtinguiſh the importance of the paſſages alleged, and leave it to every one to judge as he ſees beſt; I hope, this conduct will be no longer diſapproved.

The authors are produced in the order of time. By this means their authority and the value of their teſtimonies immediately appear: it being allowed by all, that the reſpect for a writer's teſtimony ought to be proportioned very much to his nearneſs to the time of which he writes.

Many of the paſſages are placed at the bottom of the page in their original languages, which will not be diſagreeable to thoſe who are acquainted with them. And beſide theſe, there are a few notes, more particularly intended for the leſs learned reader: which are referred to by ſmall capitals, as in the former part.

The tranſlations are my own, unleſs I give notice of my borrowing from others: for which, I ſuppoſe, there will be ſeldom occaſion. But there is one perſon of great eminence on account of his ſtation in the church, and the merit of his ſervices for the Chriſtian religion, to whom I am obliged to make my acknowledgements in this place: I mean his grace the archbiſhop of Canterbury. There are few of the many paſſages of the apoſtolical fathers here alleged, which I had not tranſlated, as I collected them out of the originals: but I have ſince thought proper, to make my own more agreeable to his lordſhip's well known and apoſtolical Engliſh: and I have often taken his tranſlation entire, without any alteration.

Though I have uſed my beſt care and diligence, it is nevertheleſs very natural to be apprehenſive of ſome errors and omiſſions in a work of this compaſs and difficulty. I can rely upon the candour of the learned and judicious, who may obſerve them: and upon information I will readily own and correct

rect the errors, and ſupply the omiſſions, if they are material. For what is here aimed at is not glory, but truth and a fair repreſentation of it.

The method is prolix: but the ſubject is of importance. And perhaps in this way ſome diſputes may be ſhortened, and ſome queſtions decided, which could not be ſo well determined otherwiſe. And poſſibly the whole we have to offer may be brought within leſs room than could be at firſt imagined.

The work will not, I preſume, be judged altogether uſeleſs, or unneceſſary at this time. The fathers have not been hitherto conſidered in this method. Though many excellent and beautiful paſſages have been tranſcribed out of them by others in modern languages, none have yet, ſo far as I know, attempted the tranſcribing at length their teſtimony to the ſacred ſcriptures. Nor has the canon of the New Teſtament been often conſidered and enquired into in this method, of placing together at once the teſtimony of every age as it ariſeth: but generally the evidence for particular books has been collected, and placed by itſelf. Which though it have ſome advantages, I believe it will be found, that the method here taken has alſo ſome peculiar advantages belonging to it.

It was the reading of the works of Euſebius of Cæſarea, and particularly his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, in which he has collected ſo many paſſages of ancient writers before him, that gave the firſt riſe to this deſign. Though the execution of it ſhould not be equal to the model upon which it was formed, it may be of benefit to ſome. A large part of the riches of that work will be transferred into this, and will be it's greateſt ornament.

The numerous paſſages here produced out of ancient authors, will not diſcourage any who have ability and opportunity from going to the originals: but rather, I hope, be a means of leading ſome into a farther acquaintance with them. After all the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtories, Bibliotheques and Memoirs, that have been publiſhed, there remain, if I miſtake not, good gleanings in eccleſiaſtical antiquity, for thoſe who ſhall be pleaſed to be at the pains of gathering them in. The ancient writers of the church will ever afford ſomewhat curious and entertaining, to an attentive and judicious reader. The ſtudy of the fathers is indeed laborious, and not very profitable with regard to any ſecular advantages: but it is the fitter for men of generous minds, who prefer the pleaſure of gaining and communicating uſeful knowledge to all the pomp of a vain world. Nor is every one who looks into theſe writings obliged to make the ſtudy of them his

profeſſed work and employment. A man of ingenuity and a good taſte may gain a conſiderable knowledge of them (eſpecially of the moſt ancient and moſt valuable) for his own ſatisfaction in the way of amuſement.

It was not my intention to publiſh a part of the evidence for the principal facts of the New Teſtament, until the whole work was completed. But the notice I gave of this in the Preface to the former part has brought upon me ſome importunities, with which I have ſo far complied, as to publiſh this volume by itſelf. And again I am diſappointed, in not exhibiting now at once the whole evidence of the two firſt centuries of Chriſtianity, for the genuineneſs and authority of the books of the New Teſtament. However, I have thought it moſt expedient to break off here for the preſent, rather than make the volume of an inconvenient ſize. The reſt will follow as ſoon as may be conſiſtent with my other engagements.

As my aim in this work has been the promoting, according to my ability, the intereſt of true religion; it is no ſmall ſatisfaction to me, that the firſt part of it was ſo well received at home, and that it has been ſo far approved abroad, as to be tranſlated by two learned foreigners; by Mr. Cornelius Weſterbaen of Utrecht into Low Dutch, and by Mr. J. Chriſtopher Wolff of Hamburgh into Latin. I cannot but eſteem it an uncommon happineſs, that my thoughts have been ſo juſtly repreſented by perſons well known in the republic of letters for compoſitions of their own.

London, March 1.
1744.

INTRO-

INTRODUCTION.

HAVING in a former treatiſe produced ſufficient evidence of that part of the Goſpel Hiſtory, which concerns the facts occaſionally mentioned in the New Teſtament; I now proceed to lay before the public, in a like manner, the evidences of the principal facts of the ſame hiſtory, which in the Introduction to the foregoing part were briefly ſaid to be theſe: "The birth "and preaching of John the Baptiſt; the miraculous conception and birth, the diſcourſes, miracles, predictions, crucifixion, reſurrection, and aſcenſion of Jeſus Chriſt; the miſſion of the apoſtles, the deſcent of the Holy Ghoſt upon "them, and the other atteſtations, which were given to the "divine authority of Jeſus Chriſt, and the truth of his "doctrine."

It may be now proper to repreſent theſe particulars ſomewhat more at large. The ſubſtance of the hiſtory of the New Teſtament then is this:

Jeſus, called the Chriſt, having been conceived by the power of the Holy Ghoſt in the womb of a virgin named Mary, eſpouſed to a mean perſon whoſe name was Joſeph, of the family of David, was born at Bethlehem in Judea, in the reign of Herod king of the Jews, at a time when there was a taxing, or enrolment, ordered in that country by a decree of Auguſtus, the Roman emperor. Matth. i. Luke i. ii.

The birth of Jeſus was attended and followed with ſome events of an extraordinary nature. Matth. ii. After eight days he was circumciſed, and then preſented at the temple according to the cuſtom of the law of Moſes. And his birth, as king of the Jews, having been notified at Jeruſalem, by the arrival of ſome wiſe men of the Eaſt, who had ſeen his ſtar in their own country, and came to Jeruſalem to worſhip him; Herod formed a deſign againſt the life of the young child. But he was preſerved by flight into Egypt, whither he was carried by Joſeph, together with his mother Mary, by divine order: and after a ſhort ſpace of time was brought back again by Joſeph, who then went and ſettled at Nazareth. There is little more related of the early part of his life, except that at the age of twelve years he went up to Jeruſalem at the feaſt of the paſſover, where he gave ſome proofs of uncommon knowledge, and returned thence to Nazareth, and was ſubject to his parents. Luke ii. 41.

In the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Cæſar, then emperor of Rome, Pontius Pilate being governor of Judea, and

Herod tetrarch of Galilee, John, called the Baptiſt, ſon of Zacharias, of the race of the Jewiſh prieſts, and of his wife Elizabeth, (who was born a few months before Jeſus, in the reign of the fore-mentioned Herod, king of the Jews) appeared in the country beyond Jordan, preaching the *baptiſm of repentance for the remiſſion of ſins.* And great numbers of men from all parts of Judea reſorted to him, and were baptized, *confeſſing their ſins.* He taught, that the kingdom of God was at hand, bid men bring forth fruits meet for repentance, and not to depend upon any national privileges, or external performances, for acceptance with God. *The people were then in expectation,* and *all men muſed in their hearts, whether* he *were the Chriſt or not.* And when the *Jews ſent prieſts and Levites from Jeruſalem to aſk him, who he was,* he *confeſſed,* he was *not the Chriſt:* at the ſame time openly declaring, that there was then among them a great perſon, whom, as yet, they knew not: and though he came after him, he was ſo far preferred before him, that he was not *worthy to unlooſe the latchet of his ſhoes:* and whereas he *baptized* them *with water unto repentance,* this great perſon would *baptize* them *with the Holy Ghoſt and with fire.* Luke ii. iii. Matth. iii. Mark i. John i.

When a great part of the people had been baptized, Jeſus alſo came to John, and was baptized of him in Jordan. Matth. iii. 13. *And Jeſus, when he was baptized, went up ſtraitway out of the water: and lo, the heavens were opened unto him, and he ſaw the Spirit of God deſcending like a dove, and lighting upon him. And lo, a voice from heaven, ſaying, This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleaſed. At which time Jeſus was about thirty years of age.* Luke iii. 23.

Having been thus baptized, he was led by the Spirit into a ſolitary and deſert place, where he faſted forty days and forty nights, and had a great and remarkable temptation. Matth. iv. Luke iv. The temptation being ended, *he returned in the power of the Spirit into Galilee,* and wrought miracles, and began to gather diſciples, who *ſeeing his glory believed on him.* At which time John ſtill baptizing, bore teſtimony to him; that he was the perſon of whom he had ſpoken, and that he *muſt encreaſe.* But, ſays he, *I muſt decreaſe: he whom God hath ſent, ſpeaketh the words of God: for God giveth not the Spirit by meaſure unto him.* John ii. 11. iii. 30, 34.

Soon after this, John was caſt into priſon for his free, but juſt, reproofs of Herod the tetrarch of Galilee: by whoſe order he was alſo afterwards beheaded. Matth. xiv. 1—12. Mark vi. 16. 29. Luke iii. 19, 20. ix. 9.

When John had been caſt into priſon, Jeſus began to preach

more

more publicly: and having chosen out of the number of his disciples twelve, whom he named apostles, to be generally with him, that they might be afterwards the witnesses to the world of his life, his doctrine, miracles, and resurrection, he went about the several parts of the country of Judea, resorting likewise to Jerusalem at the time of the great feasts of the Jewish nation. Matth. iv. 12. Mark i. 14. iii. 13. Luke vi. 12, 13. Acts x. 39, 40, 41.

He taught, that men should repent, and for their encouragement declared, that he *came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance*, Matth. ix. 13. He moreover taught, that God is to be worshipped *in spirit and truth*, and that such worship is acceptable in all places. John iv. 21, 23, 24: That the things which defile a man are those which *proceed out of the heart; evil thoughts, murders, adulteries, fornications, thefts, false witness, blasphemies; but to eat with unwashen hands defileth not a man.* Matth. xv. 19, 20: That the great branches of men's duty are the love of God and their neighbour: That men should do to others, as they would that others should do to them. Matth. vii. 12: That they ought to imitate God in mercy, forgiveness, and all goodness. Matth. v. 44, 45: That they ought to be pure in heart, as well as unblameable in their outward actions: That they ought not to *pray, fast, or give alms to be seen of men*; but in all things to act with an eye to the approbation and acceptance of God, who seeth the most secret, as well as the most public actions. He recommended moderate affections for the things of this present world, and bid men seek in the first place the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and without solicitude and anxiety about the concerns of this life, to confide in the providence of God, which oversees and directs all things. Mat. vi. 1, 19, 20, 25. He assured them that they who believed in God, and in him whom God had sent, and obeyed the commandments delivered by him, should enjoy eternal life, *and he would raise* them *up at the last day*. John vi. 39: That God had given all authority and judgment to him, and that he would come again, and render to all according to their works. And of this doctrine taught by him, he required a sincere and open profession, declaring, Matth. x. 32, 33. *Whosoever shall confess me before men, him will I also confess before my Father which is in heaven. But whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I also deny before my Father which is in heaven.*

These, and the like excellent precepts, and powerful inducements to all virtue, he taught and inculcated every where; speaking sometimes plainly, sometimes in parables, as *men*

were able to hear him; always with ſuch a mixture of authority and familiarity for the manner, ſuch weight and dignity for the matter of his diſcourſes, that the multitude *wondered at the gracious words that proceeded out of his mouth*; and enemies were obliged to acknowledge, that *never man ſpake like him.* Matth. v. vi. vii. Luke vi. Matth. xiii. Mark iv. 33. Luke iv. 22. John vii. 46.

As he went about teaching this doctrine, he wrought many miracles as evidences, that the Father had ſent him, and of the truth of all his words. He turned water into wine; fed with a few loaves and fiſhes great multitudes in deſert places; walked on the ſea; calmed the winds and the waves; gave ſight to the blind, hearing to the deaf, ſpeech to the dumb, ſoundneſs and ſtrength to the lame, and thoſe that were bowed down; healed diſeaſes of all ſorts; reſtored to their right mind lunatics and dæmoniacs, and raiſed the dead. Theſe miracles were performed at his word, in an inſtant, and ſome were wrought on perſons at a diſtance from him. They were done by him in the moſt public and open manner; at Jeruſalem, and in every part of Judea and Galilee; in cities, in villages, in ſynagogues, in private houſes, in the ſtreets, and the highways, in the preſence of enemies, before ſcribes and phariſees, and rulers of ſynagogues, when attended by multitudes: in a word, before men of all characters.

There were alſo in the courſe of his miniſtry divers other ſignal teſtimonies given to him. Beſide the voice from heaven at his baptiſm, he was transfigured in the preſence of three of his diſciples, when *his face ſhone as the ſun, and his raiment was white as light, and a bright cloud overſhadowed them; and behold a voice out of the cloud, which ſaid: This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleaſed, hear ye him.* Matth. xvii. 1—8. See Mark ix. 2. Luke ix. 28. At another time, being at Jeruſalem, ſurrounded by a great multitude, and having prayed, *Father, glorify thy name; there came a voice from heaven, ſaying, I have both glorified it, and will glorify it again.* John xii. 28.

To all theſe great things he appealed, as proofs of his divine authority; referring men to the witneſs of John, the miracles he had wrought, and theſe teſtimonies from heaven. John v. 19, 20, 32—38. x. 25, 37, 38.

Beſide the wonderful works done by him, he alſo manifeſted a clear knowledge of the thoughts and deſigns of men, and foretold frequently, and expreſsly, and with many circumſtances, his own death and reſurrection; the deſcent of the Holy Ghoſt upon his apoſtles; their ſufferings and ſucceſs; the deſtruction of

Jeruſalem

Jeruſalem (at the proſpect of which he was ſo affected, as to lament over that city with tears, Luke xix. 41.) and many other events; that when they came to paſs, his diſciples and others might be confirmed in their faith in him and his doctrine. John xiii. 19.

He had likewiſe ſent forth from him, for a time, his twelve diſciples, and after that ſeventy other, *with power and authority over all devils, and to cure diſeaſes, to preach the kingdom of God, and to heal the ſick:* which they did, and *returned with great joy.* Matth. x. 1. Mark iii. 15. Luke ix. 1. x. 1.

While God thus glorified him, he lived in a mean condition, without external ſtate and ſplendor, and was meek and condeſcending in his behaviour toward his diſciples, and all who reſorted to him for inſtruction, or relief: at the ſame time freely declaring to all their duty, and impartially correcting the faults and failings of his diſciples: and with a true prophetic reſolution and intrepidity reproving the hypocriſy, pride, ambition, covetouſneſs, falſe maxims, and vain traditions of the ſcribes and phariſees, and the chief men of the Jewiſh nation.

When he had fully taught and confirmed his doctrine, knowing that the time of his departure out of this world was nigh, and that the Father had put all things into his hands; he took his leave of his diſciples in the moſt affectionate and inſtructive manner, and appointed a memorial of himſelf and his death. And then retiring to a private place, where he ſometimes reſorted with his diſciples; and having reſigned himſelf to the will of the Father, with regard to the bitter ſufferings, of which he had a near and affecting proſpect; he was betrayed by one of his diſciples to the chief prieſts and council of the Jewiſh nation, by whom he was examined, and condemned, after he had in their preſence ſolemnly avowed his great character: and then was by them accuſed and proſecuted before Pontius Pilate, who at their earneſt and clamorous importunity was prevailed upon, againſt his own conſcience, to condemn him to be crucified. And he was accordingly crucified near Jeruſalem, at the great feaſt of the paſſover, in the common place of execution, between two malefactors. However, during this very extraordinary ſcene of ſufferings, there were ſome extraordinary teſtimonies given to his innocence and dignity. There was a darkneſs of three hours continuance over the whole land: the *vail of the temple was rent in twain from the top to the bottom, and the earth did quake, and the rocks rent.* John xiii. xiv. xv. xvi. xvii. Matth. xxvi. xxvii. Mark xiv. xv. Luke xxii. xxiii. John xviii. xix. Matth. xxvii. 45, 51.

Jeſus having expired on the croſs, and Pilate having received particular information that he was dead; the body was with his leave taken down from the croſs, and laid in a ſepulchre, in which *never man before was laid.* And the Jewiſh council took care to have the ſepulchre ſecured by a guard of Roman ſoldiers, *leſt*, as they ſaid, *his diſciples come by night, and ſteal him away, and* then *ſay to the people*, he *is riſen from the dead.* Luke xxiii. 53. Matth. xxvii. 64.

But notwithſtanding theſe precautions of his enemies, who had all power and authority in that country; on the third day after his crucifixion and burial, early in the morning Jeſus aroſe, and ſhewed himſelf to his apoſtles, and others who were well acquainted with him. He was ſeen of them ſeveral times for the ſpace *of forty days.* They viewed him, they handled him, he diſcourſed and ate with them, and ſaid to his apoſtles: *All power is given to me in heaven and on earth. Go ye therefore*, ſays he, *and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt: teaching them to obſerve whatſoever I have commanded you.* And having renewed to them the promiſe of the Holy Ghoſt, and commanded them to *tarry at Jeruſalem*, till they were *endued with power from on high; he led them out to Bethany*, where he *was parted from them*, and *while they beheld, he was taken up, and a cloud received him out of their ſight.* Matth. xxviii. Mar. xvi. Luke xxiv. John xx. Acts i. 3. 9.

After which, at the motion of Peter for ſupplying the vacancy made by the apoſtacy and death of Judas, Matthias was added to the eleven apoſtles by divine appointment. Acts i. 26.

At the pentecoſt next following the paſſover, at which Jeſus had been crucified, the promiſed gift of the Holy Ghoſt was beſtowed upon the apoſtles, and the men that were with them, and they began to ſpeak with divers tongues. Acts ii. 1. At the ſame time there were at Jeruſalem, beſide the ſtated inhabitants, from all parts of the world Jews, and proſelytes of the Jewiſh religion; men of the greateſt zeal, underſtanding, and prudence; who when they heard them ſpeak *the wonderful works of God* in the languages of the ſeveral countries in which they reſided, were *amazed* and *marvelled.* Whereupon *Peter ſtanding up with the eleven*, informed them, that Jeſus, whom the rulers of the Jewiſh nation had taken, and *with wicked hands had crucified*, after he had been *approved of God by miracles, ſigns and wonders, done by him in the midſt of them*, had been raiſed up by God: of which they, his apoſtles, were witneſſes: and that the ſame Jeſus, being *by the right hand of God exalted*, and

having

having received of the Father the promiſe of the Holy Ghoſt, had ſhed forth that which they now ſaw and heard. And concluded his diſcourſe with theſe words: Acts ii. 36, 37, 38. *Therefore let all the houſe of Iſrael know aſſuredly, that God hath made that ſame Jeſus whom ye have crucified both Lord and Chriſt.* And when they were hereupon filled with much concern of mind, and ſaid, *What ſhall we do?* Peter ſaid unto them: *Repent, and be baptized in the name of Jeſus Chriſt, for the remiſſion of ſins, and ye ſhall receive the gift of the Holy Ghoſt.*

Such was the effect of this diſcourſe, and theſe exhortations, conſequent upon the wonderful effuſion of the Holy Ghoſt, that many *gladly received the word, and were baptized, and the ſame day there were added unto the diſciples about three thouſand ſouls.* Ver. 41. And by the hands of Peter, and the other apoſtles, *were many ſigns and wonders wrought among the people*, which could not be diſputed. Acts v. 12. 14. And *believers were added to the Lord, multitudes of men and women.* All this multitude lived in the greateſt harmony, *neither was there any among them that lacked: for as many as were poſſeſſed of houſes or lands, ſold them, and brought the prices of the things that were ſold, and laid them down at the apoſtles feet: and diſtribution was made unto every man, according as he had need.* Acts iv. 34, 35. But the care of making a proper diſtribution to ſo many perſons being too great for the apoſtles, and ſome obſtruction to them in their main work of preaching, and ſome complaints likewiſe being made, there were choſen *ſeven men to attend the daily miniſtration.* Ch. vi.

Beſide the numerous church at Jeruſalem, there were alſo in a ſhort time ſeveral churches of the faithful gathered in other parts; in Judea, in Galilee, and Samaria. Ch. ix. 31. And on thoſe who believed were beſtowed the gifts of the Holy Ghoſt, by prayer and the laying on of the hands of the apoſtles. Ch. viii. 14—17.

This beginning and progreſs had the doctrine of the goſpel, notwithſtanding many hardſhips and ſufferings endured by the apoſtles and the believers of every rank.

When this doctrine had been planted in the minds of great numbers of Jews and Samaritans, it was preached by Peter, ch. x. and then by others, to Gentiles, men uncircumciſed, in the land of Judea, and in the neighbouring countries: and among them were converts made, upon whom alſo were beſtowed gifts of the Holy Ghoſt.

In the mean time Saul, called alſo Paul, who had been of the ſect of the phariſees, educated by Gamaliel, a celebrated doctor

among the Jewiſh people, and who had been a warm and violent oppoſer and perſecutor of the diſciples of Jeſus, was converted to the ſame faith by an extraordinary appearance. Acts xxii. 3—10. Who received the full knowledge of the doctrine of the goſpel by ſpecial revelation, and was appointed an apoſtle by Jeſus Chriſt himſelf, without the interpoſition of any of thoſe who had been apoſtles before. Gal. i. 1. 12. Eph. iii. 3. As the other apoſtles had done, he alſo ſpoke with tongues, wrought miracles in great variety and abundance, and conferred gifts of the Holy Ghoſt upon his converts.

Paul, together with Barnabas and his fellow-workers in the goſpel, taught, as Peter had done before, that God had raiſed up Jeſus from the dead, exhorted men to repent, and believe in him whom God had ſent. Acts xiii. 16—41. To the Gentiles he declared, that they ſhould turn from idols to the worſhip of God that made the heaven and the earth, and bring forth fruits meet for repentance, or, live in the practice of virtue: *foraſmuch as God had appointed a day, in the which he will judge the world in righteouſneſs, by that man whom he has ordained, whereof he has given aſſurance unto all men, in that he has raiſed him from the dead.* Acts xvii. He moreover ſtrenuouſly aſſerted the acceptance of the Gentiles, and their right to all the privileges of the church and people of God, without the obſervation of the rites of the law of Moſes.

In preaching this doctrine he alſo had great ſucceſs, and formed churches of Chriſtians in many places, conſiſting of men converted from idolatry and vice to the worſhip of God, a faith in Jeſus, and the practice of virtue.

The converts of each city, having been [a] firſt baptized, were formed into religious ſocieties and [b] churches, which met together for the performance of religious worſhip: in which aſſemblies they worſhipped God [c] by prayers and praiſes, had [d] diſcourſes and exhortations, and readings [e] of ſacred writings, and [f] celebrated the memory of the death of Jeſus Chriſt, by eating together bread, and drinking wine in a ſolemn manner. And they were directed by the apoſtles to pray [g] for *kings*, and governors, and *all who are in authority*. Theſe aſſemblies were ordinarily held at leaſt every firſt day of the [h] week, called the

[a] Acts ii. 41. viii. 12. Rom. vi. 3. 1 Cor. i. 13—16. [b] Gal. i. 2. *to the churches of Galatia.* 1 Cor. xiv. 33. *as in all the churches of the ſaints.* xvi. 19. *the churches of Aſia ſalute you.* 2 Cor. viii. *the churches of Macedonia*, and many other places. [c] Acts i. 14. 24. ii. 42. vi. 4. 1 Cor. xiv. 14—17. [d] 1 Cor. xiv. throughout. Acts xviii. 11. xx. 7. Gal. vi. 6. Hebr. xiii. 7.

[e] Coloſſ. iv. 16. 1 Theſſ. v. 27.

[f] Acts ii. 42. xx. 7. 1 Cor. xi. 23.

[g] 1 Tim. ii. 1, 2. [h] Acts xx. 7.

Lord's

[k] *Lord's day*, in memory of the reſurrection of Jeſus from the dead: on which [k] day, they were directed alſo to *lay by in ſtore, as God had proſpered them*, for the relief of their neceſſitous brethren.

And that the worſhip of theſe aſſemblies might be performed in an orderly and decent manner, for general profit, and inſtruction in the principles and practice of piety; and that the neceſſities of each member might be duly provided for, and true religion preſerved among them in a flouriſhing condition; there were at the very time of forming ſuch ſocieties, or ſoon [l] after, appointed in them officers and miniſters, called [m] biſhops, or elders, or paſtors, or teachers; and deacons: men who had been before approved, as perſons of integrity and capacity for the work to which they were appointed. 1 Tim. iii. 10. The peculiar work [n] of the former of whom was to preach the word, and feed the flock, of which they were overſeers, with wholeſome and ſound doctrine and inſtruction; *to reprove, rebuke, exhort with all long-ſuffering and doctrine.* Of the latter, the peculiar work, according to the primitive inſtitution, was the *ſerving tables*, and making a prudent and faithful diſtribution of the ſtock of the [o] ſociety. Acts vi. 2.

And theſe ſeveral officers were to be examples of all virtue to the reſt of the Chriſtian ſocieties, in which they preſided and miniſtred: as theſe ſocieties themſelves were to be examples to the world around them.

Theſe apoſtles of Chriſt, (of whom we have particularly ſpoken) together with their companions and fellow-labourers, evangeliſts, and others, had ſuch ſucceſs in the work of preaching the goſpel, that before they left the world, they had erected ſocieties, or churches of Chriſtians, in moſt parts of the Roman empire; in the countries of Judea, Cyprus, Crete, Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Aſia, Greece, and Italy, in the cities of Jeru-

[j] Rev. i. 10. [k] 1 Cor. xvi. 2.

[l] See Whitby's Annotations on 1 Cor. xiv. 32. Gal. vi. 3. and the Paraphraſe on 1 Theſſ. after Mr. Locke's manner; the note on chap. v. 12. [m] *To all the ſaints which are at Philippi, with the biſhops and deacons.* Philip. i. 1.

[n] See Acts xx. 28. the epiſtles to Timothy and Titus. 1 Pet. v. 1. [o] Some however are of opinion, that the ſeven men of the church of Jeruſalem, who were appointed by the apoſtles for *ſerving tables*, were quite different from the deacons, concerning whom Paul ſpeaks in his epiſtles to Timothy and the Philippians, and who were known by the name of deacons in the primitive Chriſtian churches. They think, that the ſeven in the Acts were extraordinary miniſters or aſſiſtants, choſen for a particular occaſion, the like to which were not continued in the church. This opinion has been learnedly aſſerted by Vitringa de Synagog. Vet. l. 3. P. 2. cap. vi. p. 920—934.

ſalem,

ſalem, Cæſarea, Antioch, Epheſus, Athens, Corinth, Philippi, Theſſalonica, Rome, and in other cities and countries: conſiſting, it is likely, for the moſt part, of perſons of mean condition. But there were likewiſe among them men of learning, wealth, and power.

By theſe means, and upon this foundation, was raiſed the church of Chriſt, which ſtill ſubſiſts, and againſt which, according to his expreſs aſſurance, no adverſe power ſhall ever prevail. Matth. xvi. 16.

This is the ſubſtance of the hiſtory of the New Teſtament, which being well known needs not, I preſume, to be drawn out here into a greater length. Of theſe ſeveral things I propoſe to collect the evidence, which there may be in ancient writers; whether Chriſtians, or others.

I begin with teſtimonies of Chriſtian writers, which will be placed in the following order.

I. Their teſtimonies concerning the antiquity, genuineneſs, and authority of the books of the New Teſtament, in which is contained this hiſtory.

II. Their teſtimonies concerning the facts, properly ſo called; the birth, miracles, death, reſurrection of Jeſus Chriſt; the miſſion of the apoſtles, their miracles, and ſucceſs.

III. The doctrine and principles of belief and practice, delivered and taught by Chriſt and his apoſtles.

IV. The worſhip appointed by Chriſt and his apoſtles.

Which two laſt are to be conſidered as facts; that is, that thoſe principles were delivered, and that worſhip here ſpoken of was appointed, by Chriſt, and his apoſtles.

All which teſtimonies to theſe ſeveral matters of fact may be confirmed, I believe, by ſome conſiderations, which will add weight to them, and very much increaſe their credibility.

And if it ſhould be needful, ſome objections to the validity of this evidence may be ſtated and conſidered.

I now proceed to exhibit in the firſt place the teſtimonies of Chriſtian writers concerning the books of the New Teſtament.

THE

THE

PRINCIPAL FACTS

OF THE

NEW TESTAMENT

CONFIRMED, &c.

PART II. CHAP. I.

St. Barnabas. His History.

Barnabas was a Levite, of the country of Cyprus, and one of thoſe Chriſtians, who ſoon after the reſurrection of Jeſus ſold their goods and lands, and brought the money, and *laid it at the apoſtles feet*. Acts iv. 36, 37. He afterwards preached the goſpel in divers parts, together with the apoſtle Paul. Acts xv. 36. But upon a diſſenſion about the perſon that ſhould accompany them in a journey they were undertaking, they ſeparated from each other: though, it is likely, in friendſhip; or at leaſt they were afterwards reconciled, as may be concluded from the honourable and affectionate mention which St. Paul makes of Barnabas [a], and Mark [b], the perſon about whom the diſpute was, in ſome of his epiſtles. And Barnabas has this teſtimony given him by [c] St. Luke, that he *was a good man, and full of the Holy Ghoſt, and of faith*. There is little known of him, beſides what is ſaid in the New Teſtament; except that ſome of the ancients have ſuppoſed him to be one of Chriſt's ſeventy diſciples, whom he employed in preaching in the land of Judea, in his own life-time on earth.

There is ſtill extant an epiſtle, aſcribed to St. Barnabas. It conſiſts of two parts. The firſt is an exhortation and argument

[a] 1 Cor. ix. 6. [b] Col. iv. 10. 2 Tim. iv. 11. Philem 24. [c] Acts xi. 24.

to conſtancy in the belief and profeſſion of the Chriſtian doctrine; particularly, the ſimplicity of it, without the rites of the Jewiſh law. The ſecond part contains moral inſtructions.

In order to judge of the antiquity and authority of this piece, and the value of the teſtimonies to be taken from it; I ſhall give ſome account of it from the moſt ancient Chriſtian writers. The ſame method will be obſerved with regard to other writings, which I now take with this epiſtle, the firſt piece quoted by me.

St. Clement of Alexandria has often quoted him, and ſometimes calls him apoſtle. "Rightly [d] therefore ſays the apoſtle "Barnabas. I need [e] only allege the apoſtolical Barnabas, one "of the ſeventy, and fellow-worker with Paul." Theſe quotations are from the firſt part of this epiſtle. He has alſo quoted a paſſage [f] found in the laſt chapter of this epiſtle, which aſſures us, that the ſecond part, containing the moral inſtructions, was ſuppoſed to be his, as well as the former.

Origen, in his anſwer to [g] Celſus, quotes it with the title of, "The Catholic Epiſtle of Barnabas." In another work [h] he has quoted from him a paſſage now found in the ſecond part of this epiſtle, as the former was from the firſt part of it.

Euſebius [i] ſays, "That Clement [of Alexandria] in his Inſti-"tutions [a book now loſt] has written ſhort commentaries "upon the books of ſcripture, not omitting thoſe that are "contradicted: I mean the epiſtle of Jude, and the other "Catholic epiſtles, and that of Barnabas, and the Reve-"lation of Peter." In another [k] place Euſebius reckons this epiſtle among thoſe books that are ſpurious, meaning, it is likely, contradicted.

St. Jerom, in his catalogue of illuſtrious [l] men, ſays; "Bar-"nabas of Cyprus, called Joſeph, a Levite, ordained an apoſtle "of the Gentiles with Paul, wrote an epiſtle for the edifi-"cation of the church, which is read among the apocryphal "ſcriptures."

Theſe teſtimonies, without adding any more, let us ſee the opinions of the ancients concerning this epiſtle; the paſſages cited by them being ſtill found in that epiſtle, which we now have under the name of Barnabas.

The judgments of the [m] moderns are various. Pearſon, Cave,

* The volume and page of the original, where the page of the new edition begins.

[d] Strom. l. 2. p. 373. Paris, 1629.

[e] Ibid. p. 410. [f] p. 396.

[g] Lib. 1. p. 49. Cantab. 1677.

[h] De Princip. l. 3. c. 2.

[i] Hiſt. Ec. l. 6. c. 14. vid. & c. 13.

[k] Ibid. l. 3. c. 25. [l] Cap. 6.

[m] The ſentiments of many moderns concerning this epiſtle are collected by Mr.

Cave, Du Pin, Wake, and many other learned men, ſuppoſe it to be a genuine epiſtle of Barnabas, the companion of Paul. Some are more doubtful, as [n] Cotelerius: who is rather inclined to think, it was not written by Barnabas. Others think, there are many things in it unworthy of him. The objections againſt the genuineneſs of it are ſtrongly urged by [o] Baſnage. And the late Mr. [p] Jeremiah Jones has offered in our own language many objections to the ſame purpoſe. But the real difficulties may be reduced to a ſmall number.

The epiſtle has no inſcription, not being directed to the Chriſtians of any particular place: for which reaſon it has been ſometimes called a Catholic epiſtle. Many learned men have ſuppoſed, as [q] Wake does, that it was addreſſed to the Jews, "to draw them off from the letter of the law to a ſpiritual un-"derſtanding of it."

It appears to me moſt probable, that this epiſtle was written by Barnabas, and not to Jews, but to Gentiles: or perhaps rather to Chriſtians in general, of whatever nation or people they were. The deſign of the epiſtle I think likewiſe to be the ſame with that, which is the main deſign of St. Paul in the epiſtle to the Galatians, and in part in other epiſtles; to abate in Chriſtians the reſpect for the peculiar rites and inſtitutions of the Jewiſh laws, and to ſhew, that they were not binding upon Chriſtians: which deſign may be alſo obſerved in the firſt epiſtle of St. Peter.

It ſeems evident from a paſſage of the epiſtle itſelf, that the temple of Jeruſalem was deſtroyed at the time of writing it. "For," ſays [r] he, "through their waging war it has been de-"ſtroyed by their enemies." In another place the author writes: "Conſider [s] yet this alſo; that [or ſince] ye have ſeen ſo "great ſigns and prodigies in the people of the Jews, and thus "God forſakes them." From both which paſſages I conclude, that the temple was but juſt deſtroyed; and that the ſigns and prodigies preceding and attending the deſtruction of Jeruſalem had happened in the time of the perſons to whom he writes:

Mr. J. Jones: New and full method of ſettling the canonical authority of the New Teſtament. vol. 2. c. 38. [n] Eo magis inclino, ut cenſeam non eſſe apoſtoli. Coteler. Judicium de Epiſt. S. Barnab.

[o] Ann. Pol. Eccleſ. *A. D.* 50. n. 52. & ſeq. [p] As above, c. 39. [q] See his Diſcourſe prefixed to the Genuine Epiſtles of the Apoſtolical Fathers. Chap. vii. § 14. and 35.

[r] Δια γαρ το πολεμειν αυτες, καθιρεθη υπο των εχθρων. c. 16.

[s] Adhuc & illud intelligite, cum videritis tanta ſigna & monſtra in populo Judæorum, & ſic illos derelinquit dominus, cap. iv. The late archbiſhop of Canterbury tranſlates it thus: "Conſider this alſo: although you have ſeen ſo great ſigns and wonders done among the people of the Jews, yet this notwithſtanding the Lord has forſaken them." But I humbly apprehend, that his lordſhip has miſinterpreted this paſſage, the verb *derelinquit* being in the preſent tenſe.

forasmuch as they had seen them. And since God was now only forsaking them, this epistle was written, whilst the Jewish people were under great afflictions; between the time of the destruction of Jerusalem, and the reduction of the remaining cities of Judea, of which [t] Josephus has given an account, after the taking and burning of the temple. So that, whether this epistle be Barnabas's, or not, it was written by some zealous Christian of that (A) time. And he thought fit, I suppose, to improve that opportunity for abating the extreme veneration for the Jewish law, which was so prejudicial to true Christianity.

Any one who reads this epistle, with but a small degree of attention, will perceive in it many Pauline phrases and reasonings. To give the character of the author of it in one word: he resembles St. Paul, as his *fellow-labourer*, without copying him.

I shall quote it as being probably Barnabas's, and certainly ancient, written soon after the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus; most likely in the year of our Lord 71, or 72. And, as it is not a part of the canon of the New Testament, I have a right to make the best use of it I am able, for supporting the authority of these books, and the credit of the doctrine and facts delivered in them. We may be obliged, before we have done, to consider, what pretensions this epistle has to be a part of the canon of the New Testament: but there is no necessity for us to enter into that enquiry at present; and it may be done to better advantage hereafter.

This epistle was written in Greek. But the four first chapters, or sections, and a part of the fifth, are wanting in the Greek copies. It is however entire in an ancient Latin version.

In the epistle of Barnabas there is not any express mention of any book of the New Testament.

But there is in it a text or two of the New Testament with a mark of quotation prefixed: and the words of several other texts are applied by him; and to some others he may be supposed to allude.

Quotations.

New Testament.	Barnabas.
I. Matth. xvi. 24. *If any man will come after me, let him*	I. Ch. vii. So [u] they, saith he, who will see me, and ob-

[t] Vid. Jos. de B. J. l. vii. c. 6. & seq.

(A) Dr. Mill Prolegom. n. 144. says it was written about the year 70. and A. B. Wake, somewhat after the destruction of Jerusalem.

[u] Ουτω φησιν, οι θελοντες με ιδειν, και αψασθαι μου της βασιλειας, οφειλουσι θλιβεντες και παθοντες λαβειν με.

deny

deny himself, and take up his cross and follow me.

tain my kingdom, muſt receive me with many afflictions and ſufferings.

This is plainly a quotation, though perhaps not deſigned for an exact quotation of the words of any text, but only of the ſenſe. It is impoſſible to ſay, what particular text of the New Teſtament he refers to: but it is probable he refers to ſome ſuch as that I have ſet over againſt this paſſage. This ſeems to me more likely than the words of Paul and Barnabas, Acts, xiv. 22. *And that we muſt through much tribulation enter into the kingdom of God.* See below n. xxii.

NEW TESTAMENT.

II. Matth. xx. 16. *So the*[w] *laſt ſhall be firſt, and the firſt laſt: for many be called, but few choſen.*

Ch. xxii. 14. *For many are called, but few are choſen.*

BARNABAS.

II. Ch. iv. Let us[x] therefore beware, leſt it ſhould happen to us, as it is written: *There are many called, few choſen.*

This is generally allowed by learned men to be a reference to St. Matthew's Goſpel. And it is a very remarkable one, being made in that form of quotation, which was uſed by the Jews, when they cited their ſacred books: *It is written.*

We meet with in this epiſtle the exact words of ſeveral texts, without any marks of quotation; and there may be thought to be alluſions to ſome others.

Words of the New Teſtament, or alluſions to them.

N. T.

III. Matth. v. 42. *Give*[y] *to him that aſketh thee.*

Luke vi. 30. *Give to*[z] *every man that aſketh thee.*

IV. Matth. ix. 13. *For*[b] *I am not come to call the righteous, but ſinners to repentance.*

BARNABAS.

III. Ch. xix. *Give*[a] *to every one that aſketh thee.*

IV. Ch. v. That[c] he might ſhew, that *he came not to call the righteous, but ſinners to repentance.*

In St. Matthew's goſpel, theſe words are ſpoken by Chriſt in

[w] Πολλοι γαρ εισι κλητοι, ολιγοι δε εκλεκτοι.

[y] Τω αιτουντι σε διδου. [z] Παντι δε τω αιτουντι σε διδου. [b] Ου γαρ ηλθον καλεσαι δικαιους, αλλ' αμαρτωλους εις μετανοιαν.

[x] Adtendamus ergo, ne forte, ſicut ſcriptum eſt, multi vocati, pauci electi invemiamur. [a] Παντι αιτουντι δε διδου.

[c] Οτι ουκ ηλθε καλεσαι δικαιους, αλλ' αμαρτωλους εις μετανοιαν.

answer to the reflections made on his eating with publicans and sinners at Matthew's house, after he had called him to follow him, as one of his apostles. And Barnabas says here, "That "Christ chose for his apostles, who were to preach his gospel, "men who were great sinners, that he *might shew that he came* "*not to call, &c.*

It ought to be observed however, that the same thing is said, Mark ii. 17. and Luke v. 32. and upon the same occasion. This therefore renders it doubtful, which gospel he refers to: and it may be questioned, whether he refers at all to any written gospel.

N. T.	Barnabas.
V. Matth. xxii. 43, 44. *He saith unto them, how then doth David in spirit call him Lord, saying: The Lord said to my Lord, sit thou on my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool.* See Psalm cx. 1.	V. Ch. xii. But because they would say, that Christ is the son of David, therefore fearing and knowing the error of sinful men, he says: *Sit thou on my right hand until I make thine enemies thy footstool.* — Behold how David calls him Lord.
VI. Matth. xxiv. 22. *And except those days should be shortened, there should no flesh be saved: but for the elect's sake those days shall be shortened.*	VI. Ch. iv. For this cause the Lord has shortened the times and days, that his beloved might hasten his coming to his inheritance.

These two last [d] passages I have put down, that it might not be thought I had overlooked them: but I do not think them very material. Barnabas, or whoever wrote this epistle, was able to make use of divers arguments from the Old Testament, found now in the gospels, without having his eye to any written gospel.

N. T.	Barnabas.
VII. Matth. xxv. 5. *While the bridegroom tarried, they all slumbered and slept,* 6. *And at midnight there was a cry made: The bridegroom cometh*—10. *And while they went to buy, the bridegroom came, and they that were ready, went in with him to the marriage, and the door was shut.*	VII. Ch. iv. Take heed, lest at any time sitting still now that we are called, we fall asleep in our sins, and the wicked one getting power over us, stir us up, and shut us out of the kingdom of the Lord.

[d] See Jones's New and Full Method, &c. Part III. p. 21, 24. His arguments to prove, that in these two places Barnabas refers to St. Matthew's gospel.

It is not unlikely, that here is an alluſion to the parable of the ten virgins. But we have here only the old Latin tranſlation of this epiſtle: for which reaſon this paſſage appears with diſadvantage.

N. T.

VIII. Matth. xxvi. 31. *For it is written,* [*viz.* Zech. xiii. 7.] *I will ſmite the ſhepherd, and the ſheep of the flock ſhall be ſcattered abroad.*

IX. Acts x. 42. *That it is he which was ordained of God to be the judge of quick and dead.*

2 Tim. iv. 1. *I charge thee before God, and the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who* [f] *ſhall judge the quick and the dead.*

1 Pet. iv. 5. *Who ſhall give account to him that is ready to judge the quick and the dead.*

BARNABAS.

VIII. Ch. v. When I ſhall ſmite the ſhepherd, then the ſheep of the flock ſhall be ſcattered [e] abroad.

IX. Ch. vii. If therefore the Son of God, who is the Lord of all, and [g] *ſhall judge the quick and the dead,* hath ſuffered,——

It is not poſſible to ſay, what text he refers to, though that in Timothy has the ſame words. But perhaps there is no proof, that he refers to any. This was an article well known to every common Chriſtian: whereas this writer (whoever he be) was able to teach the Chriſtian religion, and that without reſpect to any written goſpels or epiſtles.

N. T.

X. Rom. ix. 10, 11, 12. *And not only this, but when Rebekah had conceived by one, even by our father Iſaac (for the children not being yet born—) it was ſaid unto her, The elder ſhall ſerve the younger.*

BARNABAS.

X. Ch. xiii. Barnabas argues, that the followers of Jeſus are the people of God. "But let us enquire, ſays he, whether this people be the heir, or the former: and whether the covenant belong to us, or to them. Hear then concerning the people, what the ſcripture ſays: Iſaac prayed for his wife Rebekah, becauſe ſhe was barren, and ſhe conceived. Afterwards Rebekah went forth to enquire of the Lord. And

[f] Τω μελλοντι κρινειν ζωντας και νεκρους.

[e] See Jones, as before, p. 22, 23.

[g] Και μελλοντι κρινειν ζωντας και νεκρους.

the Lord ſaid unto her: *There are two nations in thy womb, and two people ſhall come from thy body. And the one people ſhall prevail above the other people; and the elder ſon ſhall ſerve the younger.* [Gen. xxv. 23.] You ought to conſider, who is Iſaac, and who Rebekah; and of whom it was declared, that this people ſhould be greater than that.——You ſee of whom he appointed it, to be this firſt people, and heir of the covenant." Afterwards in the ſame chapter: "What then ſaith he to Abraham, when upon believing he was placed in righteouſneſs? Behold, *I have made thee a father of many nations*, which without circumciſion believe in the Lord." Gen. xvii. 4, 5.

Rom. iv. 3. *For what ſaith the ſcripture? Abraham believed God, and it was accounted to him for righteouſneſs*, V. 16. *Therefore it is of faith —— to the end, that the promiſe might be ſure to all the ſeed, not to that only which is of the law, but to that alſo which is of the faith of Abraham, who is the father of us all (as it is written, I have made thee a father of many nations.)* &c.

St. Paul's argument, Gal. iv. 22—31. might be compared with theſe arguments of Barnabas, eſpecially the former of them. But I do not ſuppoſe theſe paſſages contain a reference to any of St. Paul's epiſtles, though they greatly illuſtrate them.

N. T.	Barnabas.
XI. Rom. xi. 36. *For of him, and*[h] *through him, and to him, are all things.*	XI. Ch. xii. Barnabas having ſpoken of the directions given by Moſes to the Iſraelites in the wilderneſs, to look to the brazen ſerpent, ſays: "You[i] have in this alſo the glory of Jeſus; foraſmuch as in him are all things, and to him."—

But though here are words reſembling thoſe of St. Paul, Rom. xi. there is no reaſon to think Barnabas has any reſpect to them. They are uſed by him in a different ſenſe, and on another account.

[h] Ὅτι ἐξ αὐτου, καὶ δι αὐτου, καὶ εἰς αὐτον τα παντα.

[i] Ὅτι ἐν αὐτῳ τα παντα, καὶ εἰς αὐτον.

N. T.

N. T.

XII. 1 Cor. iii. 16. *Know ye not, that ye are the temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you?*

XIII. 1 Cor. xi. 20. *When* [k] *ye come together into one place, this is not to eat the Lord's supper.*

XIV. 2 Cor. v. 17. *If any man be in Christ, he is a new creature: old things are passed away; behold, all things are become new.*

1 Pet. ii. 5. *Ye also, as lively stones, are built up a spiritual house.*

XV. Eph. v. 16, 17. *Redeeming the time, because the days are evil. Wherefore be ye not unwise, but understanding, what the mind of the Lord is.* And Eph. ii. 2. *The prince of the power of the air, the spirit that now worketh in the children of disobedience.*

XVI. Philip. iv. 5. *The Lord* [m] *is at hand.*

2 Pet. iii. 10. *The earth also, and the works that are therein shall be burnt up.*

Rev. xxii. 12. *Behold, I come quickly, and my reward is with me.*

BARNABAS.

XII. Ch. vi. For, my brethren, the habitation of our heart is an holy temple to the Lord.

XIII. Ch. iv. But [l] coming together into one place, enquire what is fitting and profitable for the beloved in common.

XIV. Ch. xvi. Having received the remission of our sins, and trusting in the name of the Lord, we are made new, again created afresh: therefore God truly dwells in our house, that is, in us.—This is the spiritual temple built unto the Lord.

XV. Ch. ii. Seeing then the days are exceeding evil, and the adversary has the power of this present world; we ought to give diligent heed, to enquire into the righteous judgments of the Lord.

XVI. Ch. xxi. The day is [n] near, in which all things shall be destroyed, together with the wicked one. The Lord is near, and his reward.

Some may apprehend, that there is here a reference to some text, or texts, of the N. T. But I think by no means. If he alludes to any text of scripture, it is to Isa. xl. 10. *His reward is with him, and his work before him:* or lxii. 11. *Behold, thy salvation cometh: behold, his reward is with him, and his work before him:* as Menard has observed upon this place of Barnabas.

k Συνερχομενων ὑμων επι το αυτο, κ. λ.

m Ο Κυριος εγγυς.

l Sed in unum convenientes, inquirite.

n Εγγυς γαρ ἡμερα εν ἡ συναπολειται παντα τω πονηρω. Εγγυς ὁ κυριος, και ὁ μισθος αυτου.

N. T.	Barnabas.
XVII. 2 Tim. i. 10. *But is now made manifeſt by the appearing of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, who has aboliſhed death, and brought life and immortality to light through the goſpel.* Rom. xv. 8. *Jeſus Chriſt was a miniſter of the circumciſion, for the truth of God, to confirm the promiſes made unto the fathers.*	XVII. Ch. v. But he, that he might aboliſh death, and make manifeſt a reſurrection from the dead, becauſe it behoved him to appear in the fleſh, ſuffered, that he might perform the promiſe made unto the fathers.
XVIII. Heb. iii. 5. *And*[o] *Moſes verily was faithful in all his houſe, as a ſervant.* —— 6. *But Chriſt, as a ſon, over his own houſe, whoſe houſe are we.*	XVIII. Ch. xiv. Barnabas having obſerved, that Moſes received from God the two tables of the commandments, written by the finger of God, but the people being fallen to idolatry, he caſt them to the ground, and the tables of the covenant were broken, goes on.—"Moſes[p] being a ſervant received them [or it, meaning the covenant, or teſtament.] But the Lord himſelf has given them to us, the people of his inheritance, he having ſuffered for us."

There does not appear to me any the leaſt reaſon to ſuppoſe, that Barnabas has here any reſpect to the epiſtle to the Hebrews. He often argues like the author of that epiſtle, without borrowing from him.

N. T.	Barnabas.
XIX. Heb. x. 25. *Not*[q] *forſaking the aſſembling of ourſelves together, as the manner of ſome is.*	XIX. Ch. iv. Do[r] not withdraw yourſelves from others, like juſtified men.
XX. 1 Pet. i. 17. *And if ye call on the Father, who with-*	XX. Ch. iv. As much as in us lies, let us meditate on

[o] Και Μωσης μεν πιστος—ως θεραπων.—Χριστος δε, ως υιος επι τον οικον αυτου, ου οικος εσμεν ημεις.

[q] Μη εκκαλειτωσαν την επισυναγωγην, καθως εθος τισιν.

[p] Μωσης θεραπων ων ελαβεν—αυτος δε ο Κυριος ημιν εδωκεν, εις λαον κληρονομιας, δια ημας υπομεινας.

[r] Non ſeparatim debetis ſeducere vos tanquam juſtificati.

out reſpect of perſons, judges according to every man's work, paſs the time of your ſojourning here in fear.

the fear of God, and ſtrive to keep his commandments, that we may rejoice in his judgments. For the Lord judges the world without reſpect of perſons; and every one ſhall receive according to what he does.

Thus I have put down the moſt (B) material paſſages of Barnabas, which may be ſuppoſed to contain alluſions to the books of the New Teſtament, that every one may be able to judge for himſelf. But excepting ſome of the firſt numbers, I do not allege them as expreſs quotations, or alluſions. In moſt of theſe places, Barnabas does not appear an imitator, or copier of others, but an original author, who had in his mind the ſame doctrine with Paul, and the other apoſtles. This is the idea I have formed of this epiſtle, from a frequent peruſal of it. And ſome learned men have been [s] of much the ſame opinion.

It is probable, that at the writing of this epiſtle he had read St. Matthew; and that he refers to him in numbers I. II. III. IV. and perhaps at VI. and VII. But it cannot be thought ſtrange, that a man who was contemporary with the apoſtles, and had the ſame ſpirit, and the like gifts with them, if he was not an apoſtle himſelf, ſhould often ſpeak and reaſon and argue like them, without quoting their writings, or referring to them.

XXI. Before we quite leave this epiſtle, we muſt take notice of a ſingular paſſage in it.

Ch. iv. "As [t] the Son of God ſays: "Let us reſiſt all iniquity, and hate it."

(B) Note: at Ch. vii. This writer ſays of the Jews, that they ſhall ſay: *Is not this he whom we crucified, having deſpiſed him, pierced him, and mocked him.* Where he ſeems to apply the words of Zech. xii. 10. which are alſo applied John, ch. xix. 37. Mr. Jones, vol. III. p. 144, hence concludes, that he uſed St. John's goſpel. But I am not convinced by his arguments, the force of which depends very much upon his ſuppoſition, that this writer was originally a Gentile and not a Jew. For though the circumſtance of our Saviour's being pierced at his crucifixion be related only by St. John, v. 34. it never was a ſecret, but was all along well known to the Chriſtians of that time, before John wrote this goſpel. It is moſt manifeſt, (as will appear hereafter) that this writer was a perfect maſter of our Lord's hiſtory, and I believe, learned men in general are ſatisfied, he was better acquainted with the Old Teſtament than Mr. Jones ſuppoſed. Beſides that, *whom they have pierced*, may have been at that time the reading of the Seventy, as well as the Hebrew. See R. Simon. Hiſt. Critique du text du N. T. ch. xx. p. 242, 243.

[s] —— per omnia orthodoxus, & Apoſtolorum, præſertim Sti. Pauli, veſtigiis inſiſtens: ut ſi non laborum & itinerum, ſaltem dogmatum participem ubique agnoſcamus. Ad calcem J. Armachani de Barnabæ epiſt. præmonitionis. ap. Cotel. p. 13. Ed. Amſt. 1698.

[t] C. 4. Sicut dicit filius Dei: reſiſtamus omni iniquitati, et odio habeamus eam.

Menard

Menard upon the place ſays: This ſentence we have in none of the goſpels, but he had heard it from Chriſt, or ſome one of his diſciples. It is like that paſſage of St. Paul, Acts xx. 35. *And to remember the words of the Lord Jeſus, how he ſaid; It is more bleſſed to give, than to receive.*

XXII. And this paſſage may lead us to one obſervation more; that I do not in this epiſtle perceive any quotations or references to Apocryphal goſpels. Nor do I at preſent recollect, that the learned men, who have ſo diligently collected the paſſages of thoſe goſpels, have ſuſpected any quotations of them in this epiſtle, beſide this laſt mentioned paſſage, and that at number I. And I think it without reaſon, that they have ſuſpected theſe: it being no uncommon thing for writers to report the ſenſe of a text or ſaying, without repreſenting their very words. Or, as the ſame Menard upon that place ſays: "He[u] there alleges not any one particular text of the goſpel, "but expreſſes the ſenſe of many of Chriſt's ſayings, concern- "ing the neceſſity of enduring tribulations for the ſake of eter- "nal life: as *ſtrait is the gate: He that will come after me* —— "and the like, which occur frequently in the goſpels."

CHAP. II.

St. Clement. His History.

THE next piece, which I am to quote, is the epiſtle of Clement, biſhop of Rome, to the church of Corinth: whom ancient writers, without any doubt or ſcruple, relate to have been the ſame Clement, whom St. Paul mentions among his *fellow-labourers, whoſe names are in the book of life.* Philip. iv. 3. The epiſtle is written in the name of the whole church of Rome to the church of Corinth. And therefore it is called at one time the epiſtle of Clement, and at another the epiſtle of the Romans, to the Corinthians. The main deſign of it is to compoſe ſome diſſenſions, which there were in the church of Corinth about

[u] Sic inquit, nempe Jeſus. Non profertur hic certus aliquis Evangelii locus, ſed ſenſus multorum Chriſti dictorum, de tribulationibus perferendis ab eis qui ſunt æternæ vitæ ſtudioſi: ut arcta via eſt, quæ ducit ad vitam; qui vult venire poſt me, &c. Et ſimilia, quæ paſſim in Evangelio reperire eſt. Menard. ad cap. vii. See likewiſe Jones, as before, vol. i. p. 518, 519.

their

their ſpiritual guides and governors. Which diſſenſions ſeem to have been raiſed by a few turbulent and ſelfiſh men among them. Upon this occaſion Clement recommends not only concord and harmony, but love in general, humility, and all the virtues of a good life, and divers of the great articles and principles of religion. The [a] ſtyle is clear and ſimple. It is called by the ancients an excellent, an uſeful, a great and admirable (A) epiſtle. And the epiſtle ſtill in our hands deſerves all theſe commendations: though not entire, there being ſome pages wanting in the manuſcript of it: and though we have but one ancient manuſcript of it remaining. For which reaſon it cannot be altogether ſo correct, as if we had a number of copies to compare together.

It being of conſiderable importance in theſe moſt early writings, to ſettle their true age; ſomewhat muſt be obſerved concerning the time, when this epiſtle was written.

The ſucceſſion of the firſt biſhops of Rome lies at preſent in ſome uncertainty and obſcurity. Biſhop [b] Pearſon ſuppoſes, that Clement was biſhop of Rome from the year of our Lord 69, or 70, to the year 83, the ſecond of Domitian: [c] Pagi, that Clement ſucceeded Linus in 61, and ſat in the See of Rome till 77, when he abdicated, and died long after a martyr in the year 100. Thoſe learned men, who place the biſhoprick of Clement ſo early, or that ſuppoſe he might write this epiſtle before he was biſhop, (as Dodwell,) uſually place it before the deſtruction of Jeruſalem. The archbiſhop of Canterbury [d] concludes, that this epiſtle was written ſhortly after the end of the perſecution under Nero, between the 64 and the 70 year of Chriſt. Le Clerc [e] places it in the year 69, and Dodwell [f] in 64. Du Pin, Tillemont, and others [g] think, he was not biſhop till the year 91, or 93. This is the more common opi-

[a] Απλους δε κατα φρασιν και εργους του εκκλησιαστικου και απεριεργου χαρακτηρος. Phot. Cod. 126.

(A) Photius commends the epiſtle in the main. But ſtill he ſays, "There are in it "ſeveral things liable to cenſure. "One "is, that the writer, though he calls our "Lord our high-prieſt and patron, gives "him none of the higher and more divine "titles. However he does not any where "openly blaſpheme him." Αιτιασαιτο δ' αν τις εν ταυταις —— οτι αρχιερεα και προστατην τον κυριον ημων Ιησουν Χριστον εξονομαζων, ουδε τας θεοπρεπεις και υψηλοτερας αφηκε περι αυτου φωνας. Ου μην ουδ' απαρακαλυπτως αυτον ουδαμη εν τουτοις βλασφημοι. Cod. 126. p. 306. That is, in modern language, it is a Socinian epiſtle. So, upon many occaſions, Photius is apt to cenſure ancient writers, who come not up to the orthodoxy of his time.

[b] Opera Poſt. p. 172. [c] Crit. A.D. 100. N. 2. [d] See his diſcourſe prefixed to the genuine epiſtles of the apoſtolical fathers, p. 12. [e] Hiſt. Ec. A.D. 69. N. vi. [f] Diſſerta. ſing. de Rom. Pont. ſucceſſ. c. xi. p. 153.

[g] Vid. Cotelerii judicium de priore S. Clem. Ep. apud Patres Ap. T. i. p. 141. Of this opinion was Dr. Cave, when he wrote his Apoſtolici, vid. Life of St. Clement, § iv. but altered it afterwards. Vid. Hiſt. Lit. Clemens.

nion,

nion, and is agreeable to the ſentiments of Irenæus, Euſebius, and others, the moſt ancient Chriſtian writers.

I ſhall obſerve ſome notes of time in the epiſtle itſelf, and then the teſtimonies of the ancients.

Firſt, Of notes of time in the epiſtle itſelf. The Romans begin with ſaying, that "the calamities and afflictions, which had "befallen them, had ſomewhat retarded their anſwering the Co-"rinthians to thoſe things they had required of them." This letter therefore was written ſoon after ſome perſecution, or at the concluſion of it; either the perſecution of Nero about 64, or that of Domitian in 94, or 95, the next perſecutor of the church. But that it was written after the latter, and not ſo ſoon as that of Nero, may be argued from divers paſſages. In the 44th ch. Clement ſeems to intimate, that there had then been ſome ſucceſſions in the church, ſince thoſe appointed by the apoſtles: for he ſays, "Wherefore we cannot think, that thoſe may be "juſtly thrown out of their miniſtry, who were either appointed "by them, [the apoſtles] or afterwards choſen by other eminent "men, with the conſent of the whole church,"——and "have "been [h] for a long time commended by all." In the 47th chapter he bids the Corinthians take into their hands the epiſtle of Paul, written to them "in the [i] beginning of the goſpel:" and in the ſame chapter he calls the church of Corinth an [k] "an-"cient church." I know indeed, that learned men, who are for the more early date of this epiſtle, endeavour to evade the force of the argument taken from theſe two laſt expreſſions: but I think, it cannot be done without ſome violence to them.

There is indeed a paſſage in the 41ſt chapter, from whence it is argued, that the temple at Jeruſalem muſt have been [*] ſtanding, when Clement wrote; becauſe he ſpeaks in the preſent tenſe concerning the ſacrifices of the Moſaic law: "That [l] "the ſacrifices are not offered every where, but only at Jeruſalem." But I am ſurprized, ſo many learned men ſhould have inſiſted on this argument. Joſephus, in his Antiquities, not finiſhed before the year 93, continually ſpeaks in the preſent tenſe, when he gives an account of the ſeveral kinds of ſacrifices appointed by the law. "A private [m] perſon, ſays he, when he brings "a whole burnt-offering, ſacrificeth an ox, and a lamb, and a

[h] Μεμαρτυρημενης τε πολλοις χρονοις υπο παντων.

[i] Εν αρχη του ευαγγελιου εγραψεν. [k] Αρχαιαν Κορινθιων εκκλησιαν. [l] Ου πανταχου προσφερονται θυσιαι, κ. λ. [m] Απο ιδιωτης βλοκαυτων, θυει μεν βουν, και αρνιον, και εριφον—σφαγιλαν δε τινων, τον κυκλον του αιματος θυουσι τω βωμω οι ιερεις, ειτα καθαροποιησαντες διαμελιζουσι, και πασαντες αλσι επι των βωμων αποβαλλουσι. κ. λ. Antiq. l. iii. c. 9. § 1. vid. & § 2, 3.

"kid.

" kid. When theſe are ſlain, the prieſts pour out the blood " round about the altar. Then having waſhed them, they di- " vide the members, and having ſprinkled them with ſalt, lay " them on the altar, *&c.*" By which all men will underſtand no more, than that this was the appointment of the law: and that when ſacrifices were brought, this was the way of offering them. And, as Cotelerius [n] obſerves, the ſame ſtyle may be uſed concerning the ſame matter to this very day.

In the next place, I ſhall put down ſome ancient teſtimonies concerning this epiſtle, not barely to aſcertain the time of it, but alſo to repreſent the value of it, and its occaſion, deſign and argument.

Irenæus ſays, " When [o] the bleſſed apoſtles [Peter and Paul] " had founded and eſtabliſhed the church, [at Rome] they de- " livered the office of the biſhoprick in it to Linus. Of this " Linus Paul makes mention in his epiſtles to Timothy. " [2 Tim. iv. 21.] To him ſucceeded Anencletus. After " whom, in the third place after the apoſtles, Clement obtain- " ed that biſhoprick, who had ſeen the bleſſed apoſtles, and " converſed with them; who had the preaching of the apoſtles " ſtill ſounding in his ears, and their traditions before his eyes. " Nor he alone, for there were then ſtill many alive, who had (B) " been taught by the apoſtles. In the time therefore of this " Clement, when there was no ſmall diſſenſion among the bre- " thren at Corinth, the church at Rome ſent a moſt excellent " letter to the Corinthians, perſuading them to peace among " themſelves, *&c.*"

Thus Irenæus makes Clement the third in ſucceſſion after the apoſtles. In like manner Euſebius. " In [p] the ſecond of whoſe " reign [that is, of Titus, and according to Euſebius's account, " A. D. 79.] Linus biſhop of the church of the Romans, when " he had governed it twelve years, delivered it to Anencletus. " —— In [q] the twelfth year of this reign, Domitian's, A. D. " 92.] Anencletus having been biſhop of the church of Rome " twelve years, was ſucceeded by Clement, whom the apoſtle

[n] Sed Clemens, inquiunt viri doctiſſimi, meminit, Cap. 41. oblationum in templo. Quidni meminiſſet? cum nunc quoque, tot elapſis ſeculis, par mentio idemque ſermo haberi queat; quemadmodum legenti patebit. Judicium de priore Ep. Clement. ubi ſupra. p. 141. [o] Con. Hær. l. iii. c. 3. et apud Euſeb. H. E. l. v. c. 6.

(B) It is plain from theſe ſeveral obſervations of Irenæus, that he had not the leaſt ſuſpicion, this epiſtle was written before the deſtruction of Jeruſalem; but when all, or moſt of the apoſtles, had been for ſome time dead. Nor would it have been worth obſerving, that in the year 70, there were many living, beſide Clement, who had been taught by the apoſtles: at which time it would be ſtrange, not to ſuppoſe a great part of them ſtill alive.

[p] Euſ. H. E. l. iii. c. 13.

[q] Euſ. H. E. l. 3. c. 15.

" mentions

" mentions in his epistle to the Philippians, Ch. iv. 3." Again, " Of this [r] Clement there is one epistle acknowledged by all, " a great and admirable epistle, which as from the church of " Rome he wrote to the church of the Corinthians, on occasion " of a dissension that there was then at Corinth. And we know " that this epistle has been formerly, and is still publickly read " in many churches. Farthermore, Hegesippus is a sufficient " witness of the dissension which there was at Corinth in the time " of Clement." In another place: " At [s] the same time [be- " ginning of Trajan's reign] Clement still governed the church " of Rome, who was the third in that succession, after Paul and " Peter. For Linus was the first, and after him Anencletus." And he [t] afterwards says, that Clement died in the third year of Trajan, [that is, A. D. 100] having been bishop nine years. Farther: [u] —— " And the epistle of Clement acknowledged " by all, which he wrote to the Corinthians, in the name of the " church of Rome. In [x] which inserting many sentiments of " the epistle to the Hebrews, and also using some of the very " words of it, he plainly manifests that epistle [to the He- " brews] to be no modern piece. And hence it has been not " without reason reckoned among the other writings of the " apostle. For Paul having written to the Hebrews in their own " tongue, some think the evangelist Luke, others, that this " very Clement translated it [into Greek:] which last is the " most likely, since there is a great resemblance between the " style of the epistle of Clement, and the epistle to the He- " brews; as well as between the sentiments of those writings. " It ought to be observed, that there is another epistle said to " be Clement's: but this is not so generally received as the " former; nor do we know the ancients to have quoted it. " There have been also published not long since other large " and prolix writings in his name, containing dialogues of Pe- " ter and Apion: of which there is not the least mention made " by the ancients. Nor have they the pure apostolical doctrine." To add but one place more: speaking of Dionysius, bishop of Corinth, about 170. Eusebius observes from this epistle to the church of Rome addressed to Soter their bishop at that time: "That [y] in his epistle Dionysius makes mention also of the " epistle of Clement to the Corinthians, testifying, that it had " been wont to be read there in the church from ancient time, " saying, To-day we have kept the holy Lord's-day in which

[r] Ibid. c. 16. [s] Ib. c. 21. [t] Ib. c. 22. [u] Euf. H. E. l. iii. c. 34.

[x] Εν η της προς Εβραιους πολλα νοηματα παραθεις, ηδη δε και αυτολεξει ρητοις τισιν εξ αυτης χρησαμενος, κ. λ. [y] Euseb. H. E. l. 4. c. 23. p. 145. B. C.

" we

" we read your epiſtle: which we ſhall continually read for " our inſtruction, as well as the former written to us by Cle- " ment."

With Euſebius, St. Jerom (though a Latin) agrees, in his book [z] of Illuſtrious Men: " Clement, of whom the apoſtle " Paul writes in his epiſtle to the Philippians [Ch. iv. 3.] the " fourth biſhop of Rome after Peter, for as much as Linus was " the ſecond, Anacletus the third, (though moſt of the Latins " think Clement to have been the ſecond after the apoſtle Pe- " ter), wrote a very uſeful epiſtle in the name of the church of " Rome to the church of Corinth, which in ſome places is read " publickly." He goes on to obſerve, as Euſebius had done before, its agreement with the epiſtle to the Hebrews. And then adds: " There is alſo a ſecond epiſtle with his name, but " it is rejected by the ancients, and a long dialogue of Peter " and Apion, which Euſebius has cenſured in the third book of " his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory. He died in the third year of Tra- " jan:" that is, A. D. 100.

All theſe teſtimonies agree together, and they are the moſt valuable we can have. It was indeed the more common opinion of the Latins, as Jerom owns, that Clement was next after Peter, but he does not follow them. And we find [b] Tertullian, the moſt ancient Latin father remaining, though not ſo ancient as Irenæus, ſaying that Clement was ordained by Peter. To which, I think, it may be a ſufficient anſwer to ſay, that Tertullian might be miſtaken in this; and that the teſtimony of Irenæus, confirmed by Euſebius, is much more valuable than his. But if it be needful to reconcile Tertullian with others, this alſo may be done. For it may be ſaid, that though Clement was ordained by Peter; it was not to the biſhoprick of Rome, or any other office in that church, but to ſome ſervice of the goſpel elſewhere. But I think, that is not agreeable to the words of Tertullian: which plainly intend an ordination in the church of Rome, either to the biſhoprick of that church, or ſome other office in it. There is another way of reconciling this matter, by ſaying, that Clement was ordained, or appointed by Peter, to be biſhop in the church of Rome, but he declined it for ſome reaſon. Epiphanius [c] has a conjecture, that though he was ordained biſhop by Peter, he declined the exerciſe of that charge, till after the death of Linus and Cletus: and he builds that conjecture upon a paſſage of Clement in this

[z] Cap. 15. [a] He reckons St. Peter for the firſt. [b] Sicut Romanorum Clementem, a Petro ordinatum. De Præſcr. c. 32. [c] Hær. 27. c. 6.

very epiſtle, chap. liv. "Who is there among you that has any "charity? Let him ſay, if this ſedition, if this contention, be "upon my account; I am ready to depart, I go away—only let "the flock of Chriſt be in peace." And thus he might have practiſed what he here recommends. And Epiphanius ſays likewiſe, that this is related in ſome writings he had ſeen. But though we cannot be certain of this, yet I think it beſt to follow thoſe teſtimonies I have firſt produced: according to which his biſhoprick of Rome muſt have commenced in the year 91 or 92, and the epiſtle was written at the latter end of the reign of Domitian, in 95, or rather 96.

As for the opinion, that this epiſtle was written by him, after he had reſigned, and in a ſuppoſed baniſhment, it hardly deſerves any conſideration: it being plainly confuted by the epiſtle itſelf, which appears to be written from Rome in the name of the church there, after ſome troubles, or when they were abated. And they deſire the ſpeedy return of the three brethren, whom they ſent with it to Corinth. "The meſſengers," ſay they at the end of the epiſtle, "whom we have ſent unto you, Claudius Ephe-"bus, and Valerius Bito, with Fortunatus, ſend back to us "again with all ſpeed—that they may the ſooner acquaint us "with your peace and concord."

Upon the whole, I think this epiſtle was written by Clement, when biſhop, at the end of Domitian's perſecution, in the year 96.

The paſſages I have quoted have ſufficiently ſhewn, not only the age of Clement, and of this epiſtle, but the character of it, and alſo that this is the only piece of Clement that can be relied on as [d] genuine. I ſhall therefore be excuſed, if I do not quote the Conſtitutions, Recognitions, or any other piece, as his: no, not that which is called his ſecond epiſtle: though I ſhall give ſome account of it, after I have put down my extracts out of this.

Indeed the ſecond epiſtle might be ſhewn by many arguments not to be genuine, though ſome learned men have been willing to own it as ſuch. It is expreſsly rejected as ſpurious by [e] Photius. Grabe [f] has well obſerved, that the forementioned Dionyſius, biſhop of Corinth, in the ſecond century, makes mention of but one epiſtle of Clement: that Clement of Alexandria and Origen, who have quoted the firſt, never take any notice of the ſecond: nor yet Irenæus, who has ſo particularly mentioned the firſt, and could not well have omitted to men-

[d] Vid. Phot. Cod. 112, 113. & 126. [e] Cod. 113. [f] Spicil. P. i. p. 266—269.

tion

tion the other alſo, if he had known any thing of it. From all which Grabe concludes with great probability, that this piece was not written before the middle of the third century.

I would only farther obſerve, that ſome have ſuppoſed, our Clement to have been of the family of the Cæſars, and to have ſuffered martyrdom. But both theſe ſuppoſitions ſeem to be originally owing to a confounding him with Flavius Clemens, the conſul: who was a near relation of Domitian, and was alſo put to death by him for chriſtianity. That Clement was no martyr, is fairly concluded from the ſilence of Irenæus, Tertullian, Euſebius, and others: who could not have omitted this, if there had been any ground for it.

A Book of the New Teſtament expreſsly quoted by St. Clement.

In this epiſtle there is but one book of the New Teſtament expreſsly named, which is the firſt epiſtle of St. Paul to the Corinthians.

N. T.	Clement.
I. 1 Cor. i. 12. *Now this I ſay, that every one of you ſaith, I am of Paul, and I of Apollos, and I of Cephas, and I of Chriſt.*	I. Ch. xlvii. Take [g] into your hands the epiſtle of the bleſſed Paul the apoſtle. What did he at the firſt write to you in the beginning of the goſpel? Verily he did by the Spirit admoniſh you concerning himſelf, and Cephas and Apollos, becauſe that even then you did form parties.

St. Clement here quotes this epiſtle to the Corinthians themſelves: to whom, he ſays, it was written by the apoſtle Paul. I need not obſerve, how ſtrong an argument this is for the genuineneſs of the firſt epiſtle to the Corinthians, which we now have. And he ſays, Paul wrote, and admoniſhed them by the Spirit: or, as in the original, ſpiritually.

Quotations and Alluſions.

N. T.	Clement.
II. Jer. ix. 23, 24. *Thus ſaith the Lord: Let not the wiſe*	II. Ch. xiii. And let us do as it is written. For thus ſaith

[g] Λαβετε την επιστολην του μακαριου Παυλου του αποστολου. τι πρωτον υμιν εν αρχη του ευαγγελιου εγραψεν; επ' αληθειας πνευματικως επεστειλεν υμιν, περι αυτου τε, και Κηφα τε, και Απολλω. κ. λ.

man glory in his wisdom, &c. Comp. 1 Cor. i. 31.

Luke vi. 36. *Be ye therefore* [h] *merciful, as your Father also is merciful.* v. 37. *Judge not, and ye shall not be judged: condemn not, and ye shall not be condemned: forgive, and ye shall be forgiven:* 38. *Give, and it shall be given unto you: good measure, pressed down, and shaken together, and running over, shall men give into your bosom. For with the same measure that ye mete withal, it shall be measured to you again.*

Matth. vii. 1. *Judge not, that ye be not judged.* 2. *For with what judgement ye judge, ye shall be judged: and with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again.* Ver. 12. *Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them.*

the Holy Spirit: *Let not the wise man glory in his wisdom*—[i] Especially remembering the words of the Lord Jesus, which he spake, teaching gentleness and long-suffering. For thus he said: *Be ye merciful, that ye may obtain mercy: forgive, that it may be forgiven unto you. As you do, so shall it be done unto you: as you give, so shall it be given unto you: as ye judge, so shall ye be judged: as ye shew kindness, so shall kindness be shewn unto you: with what measure ye mete, with the same shall it be measured to you.* By this command, and by these rules let us establish ourselves, that we may always walk obediently to his holy words.

This passage shews the great respect, which was paid to the words of Christ, [as recorded by the evangelists,] since having quoted a text of the Old Testament, as dictated by the Holy Spirit; he yet demands a still more especial regard to the words of Christ, which there follow.

N. T.

III. Matth. xxvi. 24. *But woe to that man, by whom the Son of Man is betrayed: it had been good for that man, if he had not been born.*

Matth. xviii. 6. *But whoso shall offend one of these little ones which believe in me; it were better for him that a millstone*

CLEMENT.

III. Ch. xlvi. Remember the words of the Lord Jesus. For he said: *Woe to that man* [*by whom offences come.*] *It were better for him that he had not been born, than that he should offend one of my elect. It were better for him, that a millstone should be tied about his neck,*

[h] Γινεσθε οι οικτιρμονες, καθως και ο πατηρ υμων οικτιρμων εστι.——Διδατε, και δοθησεται υμιν——τω γαρ αυτω μετρω ω μετρειτε, αντιμετρηθησεται υμιν.

[i] Μαλιστα μεμνημενοι των λογων του κυριου Ιησου ους ελαλησε——Ουτως γαρ ειπεν· Ελεειτε ινα ελεηθητε, αφιετε ινα αφεθη υμιν· ως ποιειτε, ουτω ποιηθησεται υμιν· ως διδοτε, ουτω δοθησεται υμιν· ως χρηστευεσθε, ουτως χρηστευθησεται υμιν· ω μετρω μετρειτε, εν αυτω μετρηθησεται υμιν.

were

were hanged about his neck, and that he were caſt into the ſea.

Mark ix. 42. *And whoſoever ſhall offend one of theſe little ones, that believe in me, it is better for him that a milſtone were hanged about his neck, and he were caſt into the ſea.*

Luke xvii. 2. *It were better for him, that a milſtone were hanged about his neck, and he caſt into the ſea, than that he ſhould offend one of theſe little ones.*

and that he ſhould be drowned in the ſea, than that he ſhould offend one of my little ones.

I have put down on the other ſide the words of ſeveral evangeliſts, that every one may the better judge: but it is generally ſuppoſed, that the latter part of this paſſage refers to Luke xvii. 2.

Here is however one difficulty: and it is a difficulty, which may frequently occur, whilſt we are conſidering theſe very early writers, who were converſant with the apoſtles, and others, who had ſeen and heard our Lord, and were in a manner as well acquainted with our Saviour's doctrine and hiſtory as the evangeliſts themſelves; unleſs their quotations or alluſions are very expreſs and clear. The queſtion then here is, whether Clement in theſe places refers to words of Chriſt written and recorded; or whether he reminds the Corinthians of words of Chriſt, which he and they might have heard from the apoſtles, or other eye and ear witneſſes of our Lord. Le Clerc [c] in his Diſſertation on the Four Goſpels is of opinion, that Clement refers to written words of our Lord, which were in the hands of the Corinthians, and well known to them. On the other hand, I find, biſhop Pearſon [d] thought, that Clement ſpeaks of words which he had heard from the apoſtles themſelves, or their diſciples.

I certainly make no queſtion but the firſt three goſpels were written before this time. And I am well ſatisfied, that Clement might refer to our written goſpels, though he does not exactly agree with them in expreſſion. But whether he does refer to

[c] Clemens quidem non laudat nomine ullum evangeliſtam, ſed bis λόγους *ſermones* Jeſu Chriſti, quorum jubet memores eſſe Corinthios. Cap. xiii. & Cap. xlvi. Quæ manifeſtò videntur reſpicere ad ſcriptos ſermones, eoſque manibus Corinthiorum vulgo tritos. Ac ſane prior locus exſtat Luc. vi. 36, 37, et 38. quamvis non totidem prorſus verbis, ſed eodem planè ſenſu. Poſteriora vero verba leguntur Matth. xxvi. 24. Marc. ix. 42. Luc. xvii. 2. Matth. xviii. 6. Fateor tamen hic etiam ſenſum potiſſimum reſpici. Sed ſic ſolent quoque apoſtoli paſſim laudare Vetus Teſtamentum, et varia loca in unam orationem conjungere: nec tamen dubium eſt, quin reſpiciant ad libros ſacros, quos etiamnum habemus, et quorum ſacroſancta dudum erat auctorita.. Diſſert. iii. p. 542. *a.*

[d] Cum veritati magis mihi conſonum videatur ab apoſtolis ipſis, aut eorum diſcipulis hæc accepiſſe Clementem.

I have not room for his whole argument, which is in Vindic. Ignat. Part ii. cap. ix.

them, is not eaſy to determine, concerning a man, who very probably knew theſe things before they were committed to writing: and even after they were ſo, might continue to ſpeak of them, in the ſame manner he had been wont to do, as things he was well informed of, without appealing to the ſcriptures themſelves. However either way he by theſe paſſages greatly confirms the truth of our goſpels. If he be ſuppoſed to refer to them the caſe is clear. If the words are ſpoken of, as what he had received from the apoſtles or others, he confirms our goſpels, foraſmuch as theſe words are agreeable to thoſe which are there recorded: and he ſpeaks of them, as certain and well known; both to himſelf, and the Corinthians of that time. We are therefore aſſured by Clement, that our evangeliſts have truly and juſtly recorded the words of Chriſt, which he ſpake, teaching gentleneſs and long-ſuffering, and that they are worthy to be remembered with the higheſt reſpect.

But though here is a difficulty, yet I ſuppoſe, moſt learned men may be of that opinion, which I have ſpoken of as Le Clerc's. Indeed when St. Paul exhorts ſome in a like manner, Acts xx. 35. *To remember the words of the Lord Jeſus, how he ſaid, It is more bleſſed to give than to receive:* I believe, it is generally reckoned, he refers them not to any writing, but only to ſome words of Chriſt, of which he and they were well informed. But nevertheleſs, it does not follow, that this form of reference ought always to be ſo underſtood. It may be as well uſed to refer to written, as to unwritten words of the Lord. We ſhall find Polycarp uſing the ſame form, when he very probably, or rather certainly, refers to our written goſpels. 'Remembring what the Lord ſaid teaching.' See hereafter, in Polycarp, Numb. IV. and VIII.

Before we proceed any farther, we ought likewiſe to obſerve, that the learned Dr. Mill [e] concludes from a paſſage of Irenæus, that Clement did in his manner obſcurely quote Matth. xxv. 41. Irenæus [f] is arguing with ſome heretics, and refers them to the epiſtle of Clement, "who therein delivers the doctrine received "from the apoſtles, which declares, that there is one God Al- "mighty, the maker of the heaven and the earth,——who

[e] Citavit nimirum obſcurius, ſuo more, locum illum, Matth. xxv. 41. Prolegom. n. 140. vid. et n. 141. 343. 369. et ad Matthæi locum.

[f] Admontians quam in recenti ab apoſtolis acceperat traditionem, annuntiantem unum Deum omnipotentem, factorem cœli et terræ,——qui induxerat cataclyſmum, et advocaverit Abraham,—— qui colloquutus ſit Moyſi,——et prophetas miſerit, qui ignem præparaverit diabolo et angelis ejus. Hunc Patrem domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti ab eccleſiis annuntiari, ex ipſa ſcriptura, qui velint, diſcere poſſunt, et apoſtolicam eccleſiæ traditionem intelligere. Iren. L. 3. c. 3. §. 3.

" brought in the flood, and called Abraham,——who ſpake to " Moſes,——and ſent the prophets, who has *prepared the fire for* " *the devil and his angels.* That He is declared by the churches " to be the Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, they who will may " learn from the epiſtle itſelf." And this is one of Mill's arguments, that the true reading of that text of Matthew is not, as in our copies, *everlaſting fire prepared for the devil and his angels*; but *everlaſting fire, which my Father has prepared for the devil and his angels.*

I muſt leave it to the reader to conſider, whether it can be hence determined, that Clement did here refer to Matthew's goſpel. I may however ſay, that this paſſage of Irenæus does deſerve conſideration, though there are not now any ſuch words in Clement's epiſtle. For we have it not entire, as was before ſhewn.

IV. I ſhall here put down a paſſage of St. Jerom in his commentary upon Iſ. lii. that every one may judge, whether it can be thence concluded, that St. Clement quoted St. John's goſpel. " Of which alſo," ſays [g] St. Jerom, " Clement an apoſtolical " man, who after Peter governed the church of Rome, writes " to the Corinthians: The ſceptre of God the Lord Jeſus Chriſt " came not with arrogance of pride, though he could do all " things, but in humility: inſomuch that when ſtruck by the " ſervant of the high-prieſt, he anſwered: *If I have ſpoken evil,* " *bear witneſs of the evil: but if well, why ſmiteſt thou me?* " John xviii. 22, 23."

The former words, concerning Chriſt's being the ſceptre of God, are in the 16th chap. of Clement's epiſtle, and will be quoted preſently under the epiſtle of Paul to the Philippians: but the words following, of John xviii. are not there. I apprehend, they never were. Nor can it be concluded, that Jerom himſelf ſuppoſed they were there: he in that place heaping texts of ſcripture upon one another, without any nice order.

Mr. Jones ſays, [f] " That St. Clement appears to have cited " St. John in §. 49. and that he manifeſtly uſes thoſe words of " that goſpel, ch. x. 15." The words in [g] St. John are: *If ye love me, keep my commandments.* In [h] Clement: *He that has the love that is in Chriſt, let him keep the precepts of Chriſt.* But I think this reference to be at beſt doubtful. Clement knew very well from the public inſtructions of the apoſtles, as well as from

[g] Scribit ad Corinthios: ſceptrum Dei dominus Jeſus Chriſtus, non venit in jactantia ſuperbiæ, quum poſſit omnia, ſed in humilitate: in tantum ut verberatus a miniſtro ſacerdotis, reſponderit: " Si male locutus ſum, argue de peccato; ſin autem " bene, quid me cædis?" ad Iſ. c. 52. Op. T. 3. p. 382. [f] Vol. 3. p. 144.

[g] Εαν αγαπατε με, τας εντολας τας εμας τηρησατε. [h] Ο εχων αγαπην εν Χριστῳ τηρησατω τα τυ Χριστυ παραγγελματα.

his converſation with them, that a profeſſion of love for Chriſt obliged men to *keep his precepts.*

N. T.

V. Acts xiii. 22. *And when he had removed him, he raiſed up unto them David to be their king, to whom alſo he gave teſtimony, and ſaid, I have found David the ſon of Jeſſe, a man after my own heart, which ſhall fulfil all my will.*

Comp. Pſ. lxxxix. 20. *I have found David my ſervant: with my holy oil have I anointed him.* And 1 Sam. xiii. 14. *The Lord has ſought him a man after his own heart.*

VI. Acts xx. 35. *How he ſaid:* [1] *It is more bleſſed to give, than to receive.*

VII. Rom. i. 29. *Being* [1] *filled with all unrighteouſneſs, fornication, wickedneſs, covetouſneſs, maliciouſneſs; full of envy, murder, debate, deceit, malignity; whiſperers.* 30. *backbiters, haters of God, deſpiteful, proud, boaſters.* 32. *who knowing the judgment of God, (that they which do ſuch things are worthy of death) not only do the ſame, but have pleaſure in them that do them.*

Clement.

V. Ch. xviii. And what ſhall we ſay of David, ſo highly teſtified of? To whom God ſaid: *I have found a man after my own heart, David the ſon of Jeſſe, with holy oil have I anointed him.*

It is true, theſe words are alſo to be found in the O. T. But they are introduced by Clement with the ſame, or like form of quotation, with that in the Acts, and the words agree very much: which may diſpoſe one to think, he had an eye to that place.

VI. Ch. ii. Ye were all of you humble-minded . . . . [k] *more willingly giving, than receiving.*

VII. Ch. xxxv. Caſting off [m] from us all *unrighteouſneſs,* and iniquity, *covetouſneſs, debates, malignities, deceits, whiſperings, backbitings, hatred of God, pride, boaſting,* and vain glory, and ambition. *For they that do theſe things are hateful to God: and not only they that do them, but they alſo who have pleaſure in them.*

Every one ſees, we have here the concluſion of the firſt chap-

[1] Μακαριον εςι διδοναι μαλλον η λαμβανειν.

[l] Πεπλησμενες πασῃ αδικια, πορνια, πονηρια, πλεονεξια, κακια· μεςους φθονου, φονου, εριδος, δολου, κακοηθειας. Ψιθυριςας, καταλαλους, θεοςυγεις, υβριςας, υπερηφανους αλαζονας —— οιτινες το δικαιωμα του Θεου επιγνοντες (οτι οι τα τοιαυτα πρασσοντες αξιοι θανατου εισιν) ου μονον αυτα ποιουσιν, αλλα και συνευδοκουσι τοις πρασσουσι.

[k] Ηδιον διδοντες η λαμβανοντες.

[m] Απορριψαντες αφ' εαυτων πασαν αδικιαν και ανομιαν, πλεονεξιαν, εριδας, κακοηθειας τε και δολους, ψιθυρισμους τε και καταλαλιας, θεοςυγιαν, υπερηφανιαν τε και αλαζονειαν, κενοδοξιαν τε και φιλοκενιαν. Ταυτα γαρ οι πρασσοντες μισουνται τω Θεω υπαρχουσιν. Ου μονον δε οι πρασσοντες αυτα, αλλα και οι συνευδοκουντες αυτοις.

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ter of the epiſtle to the Romans: and, as Mill thinks, the true and original reading. In the former part of the ſentence is alſo a plain alluſion to what goes before in that chapter. And we have here, as it ſeems, a plain, and undeniable, inſtance of St. Clement's alluding to the New Teſtament: or giving his exhortations to the Corinthians, in imitation of the apoſtle Paul's writings, without confining himſelf exactly all along to his very words. And I hope, this will juſtify ſeveral other paſſages, which I ſhall allege, on account of a like alluſion.

N. T.	CLEMENT.
VIII. Rom. ix. 4. *Who are Iſraelites, to whom pertaineth the adoption, and the glory, and the covenants, and the giving of the law, and the ſervice of God, and the promiſes.* 5. *Whoſe are the fathers, and of whom as concerning the fleſh Chriſt came.*	VIII. Ch. xxxiii. If any one ſhall conſider them ſingly and diſtinctly, he will acknowledge the greatneſs of the gifts given through him [Jacob.] For from him are the prieſts and the Levites, all who miniſter at the altar of God: from him the Lord Jeſus according to the fleſh. It is hard to think, he had not here a reference to the text ſet on the other ſide.
IX. Rom. xii. 5. *So we being many, are one body in Chriſt; and every* [n] *one members one of another.*	IX. Ch. 46. Why——do we raiſe ſeditions againſt our own body? and come to ſuch madneſs as to forget, [o] that *we are members one of another.*

Mill * thinks, that [p] Clement refers to the 13th ver. of the ſame xii. chapter, and that he had a right reading in it.

X. Rom. xiv. 1. *Him that is weak in the faith receive you, but not to doubtful diſputations.* v. 3. *Let not him that eateth, deſpiſe him that eateth not; and let not him which eateth not, judge him that eateth.* Ch. xv. 1. *We then that are ſtrong, ought to bear the infirmities of the weak.*	X. Ch. xxxviii. Let not him that is ſtrong deſpiſe the weak: and let the weak reverence the ſtrong.

[n] Ουτως οι πολλοι εν σωμα εσμεν εν Χριστῳ, ο δε καθ' εις, αλληλων μελη.

[o] Και στασιαζομεν προς το σωμα το ιδιον, και εις τοσαυτην αποιοιαν ερχομεθα, ωστε επιλαθεσθαι ημας, οτι μελη εσμεν αλληλων.

* Vid. Mill. ad Rom. xii. 13. et Proleg. n. 142.

[p] Ουτως γαρ εσται αυτοις εγκαρτος και τελεια η προς θεον, και τους αγιους μετ' οικτιρμων μνεια. Clem. cap. 56.

We

We have already ſeen Clement's expreſs teſtimony concerning the firſt epiſtle to the church of the Corinthians. Nevertheleſs I ſhall put down alſo ſome paſſages, containing alluſions, or references. They will ſhew us his manner, and be convincing examples of his way of alluding.

N. T.	Clement.
XI. 1 Cor. x. 24. *Let no man ſeek his own; but every man another's wealth.*	XI. Ch. xlviii. And to ſeek what is profitable to all, and not his own things.
XII. 1 Cor. xii. 12. *For as the body is one, and has many members, and all the members of that body, being many, are one body; ſo alſo is Chriſt.*—v. 15. *If the feet ſhall ſay, Becauſe I am not the head, I am not of the body: is it therefore not of the body?* —v. 22. *Nay much more thoſe members of the body, which ſeem to be more feeble, are neceſſary.* —v. 24. *But God has tempered the body together, having given more abundant honour to that part which lacked.*	XII. Ch. xxxvii. The great cannot be without the little: nor the little without the great. There is a temperament in all things, and herein is a benefit. Let us, for example, take our body. The head without the feet is nothing: ſo neither the feet without the head. Even the ſmalleſt members of our body are neceſſary, and uſeful to the whole body. And all conſpire together, and are ſubject to one common uſe, the preſervation of the whole.

The alluſion will appear yet more manifeſt, if Clement be compared with St. Paul's whole argument from v. 12 to 27.

N. T.	Clement.
XIII. 1 Cor. xiii. 4. *Charity ſuffers long and is kind: Charity vaunteth not itſelf, is not puffed up.*—v. 7. *beareth all things.*	XIII. Chap. xlix. Charity (B) endures all things, is long-ſuffering in all things. There is nothing baſe in charity, nothing proud. Charity has no ſchiſm: Charity is not ſeditious: Charity does all things in concord:——without charity nothing is acceptable to God.
Comp. ver. 1, 2, 3.	
XIV. 1 Cor. xv. 20. *But now is Chriſt riſen, and become the firſt fruits of them that ſlept.*	XIV. Ch. xxiv. Let us conſider, beloved, how the Lord does continually ſhew us, that there ſhall be a reſurrection:

(B) Note: This paſſage is cited by Clemens A. Strom. l. 4. p. 518. c. where is wanting "There is nothing baſe" to "ſeditious," inclusive. But poſſibly he omitted theſe words, as not neceſſary to be alleged. And without them the reference to 1 Cor. xiii. is manifeſt.

of

of which he has made the Lord Jesus Christ the first-fruits, having raised him from the dead.

In the same chapter of Clement follows also an argument from seeds, resembling St. Paul's 1 Cor. xv. 36, 37, 38.

N. T.	CLEMENT.
XV. 2 Cor. iii. 18. *We all with open face, beholding as* [q] *in a glass the glory of the Lord, are changed into the same image.*	XV. Ch. xxxvi. By him we shall look up to the height of the heavens: by him we [r] shall behold as in a glass his spotless and most excellent visage.
XVI. 2 Cor. viii. 5. *But first gave their own selves to the Lord, and to us by the will of God.*	XVI. Ch. lvi. Therefore let us also pray for such as are in any sin, that moderation and humility may be given to them; so as to yield themselves not to us, but to the will of God.
XVII. 2 Cor. x. 17. *But he that glorieth, let him glory in the Lord.* 18. *For not he that commendeth himself is approved, but whom the Lord commendeth.* Comp. Rom. ii. 29. *Whose praise is not of men, but of God.*	XVII. Ch. xxx. Let our praise be in God, not of ourselves: for God hates those that commend themselves.
XVIII. 2 Cor. xi. 24. *Of the Jews received I forty stripes save one.* 25. *Thrice was I beaten with rods, once was I stoned.*	XVIII. Ch. v. Seven times was he [Paul] in bonds: he was whipped, was stoned.

I omit several passages of Clement, in which are words found in these two epistles; because those words are also in the O. T. which may therefore render it doubtful, whether he referred to the Old Testament, or to St. Paul.

N. T.	CLEMENT.
XIX. Gal. i. 4. *Who gave himself for our sins, that he might deliver us from this present evil world, according to the will of God and our Father.*	XIX. Ch. xlix. For the love which he had for us, Christ our Lord gave his blood for us, by the will of God: his flesh for our flesh, his soul for our soul.

q Την δοξαν κυριου κατοπτριζομενοι.

r Δια τουτου ενοπτρισωμεθα την αμωμον—— οψιν αυτου.

XX.

XX. Eph. iv. 4. *There is one body, and one ſpirit, even as ye are called with one hope of your calling.* 5. *One Lord, one faith, one baptiſm.* 6. *One God, and Father of all.*

XXI. Philip. i. 10. *That ye may be ſincere, and without offence unto the day of Chriſt.*

XXII. Philip. ii. 5. *Let this mind be in you, which was alſo in Chriſt Jeſus.* 6. *Who being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God.* 7. *But made himſelf of no reputation,* &c.

XXIII. Col. i. 10. *That ye* [s] *might walk worthy of the Lord unto all pleaſing, being fruitful in every good work.*

XXIV. 1 Theſſ. v. 18. *In every thing give thanks.*

XXV. 1 Theſſ. v. 23. *And I pray God, your whole ſpirit, and ſoul, and body, be preſerved blameleſs unto the coming of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.*

XXVI. 1 Tim. ii. 8. *I will therefore, that men pray every where, lifting up holy hands without wrath and doubting.*

[s] Περιπατησαι υμας αξιως του κυριω εις πασαν αρεσκειαν, &. λ.

XX. Ch. xlvi. Have we not one God, and one Chriſt? and is there not one Spirit poured out upon us, and one calling in Chriſt?

XXI. Ch. ii. Ye were ſincere, and harmleſs, toward each other, not mindful of injuries.

XXII. Ch. xvi. For Chriſt is theirs who are are humble. ——The ſceptre of the majeſty of God, our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, came not in the ſhew of pride and arrogance, though he could have done ſo; but in humility.——Ye ſee, beloved, what is the pattern, which has been given to us. If the Lord thus humbled himſelf, what ſhould we do, who are brought by him under the yoke of his grace?

XXIII. Ch. xxi. Unleſs [t] we ordering our converſation worthily of him do with one conſent thoſe things which are good and pleaſing in his ſight.

XXIV. Ch. xxxviii. Having therefore all theſe things from him, we ought *in all things to give thanks to him.*

XXV. Ch. xxxviii. Let therefore our whole body be ſaved in Jeſus Chriſt.

XXVI. Ch. xxix. Let us therefore come to him in holineſs of ſoul, lifting up to him chaſte and undefiled hands.

[t] Εαν μη αξιως αυτω πολιτευομενοι, τα καλα και ευαρεστα ενωπιον αυτου ποιωμεν μεθ' ομονοιας.

XXVII.

XXVII. 1 Tim. iii. 13. *For they that have used the office of a deacon well, purchase to themselves a good degree, and great boldness in the faith which is in Christ.*

XXVII. Ch. liv. Let him say—I am ready to depart—only let the flock of Christ be in peace, with the elders that are set over it. He that shall do this, will procure to himself great glory in the Lord, and every place will receive him.

XXVIII. 1 Tim. v. 4. *For that* [u] *is good and acceptable before God.*

XXVIII. Ch. vii. Let us consider what [x] is good, and what agreeable, and acceptable in the sight of him that made us.

Beside the agreement of the words, the particular modesty, with which Clement here delivers his advice, induces me to think, he alludes to this place: St. Paul having in the first verses of that chapter directed: *Rebuke not an elder, but entreat him as a father, and the young men as brethren.*

N. T.

XXIX. 2 Tim. i. 9. *Who has saved us, and called us with an holy calling.*

CLEMENT.

XXIX. Ch. vii. And let us come up to the glorious and venerable rule of our holy calling.

XXX. Titus iii. 1. *To* [y] *be ready to every good work.*

XXX. Ch. ii. Ye [z] were *ready unto every good work.*

XXXI. Heb. i. 3. *Who being the* [a] *brightness of his glory, and the express image of his person* —— 4. *Being* [c] *made so much better than the angels, as he has by inheritance obtained a more excellent name than they.* 5. *For unto which of the angels said he at any time: Thou art my son, this day have I begotten thee?* [Comp. Ps. ii. 7, 8.] v. 7. *And of the angels he saith: Who maketh his angels spirits, and his*

XXXI. Ch. xxxvi. *Who being the* [b] *brightness* of his majesty, *is by so much* greater [d] *than the angels, as he has by inheritance obtained a more excellent name than they.* For so it is written: *Who maketh his angels spirits, and his ministers a flame of fire.* But of his Son, thus said the Lord: *Thou art my son, this day have I begotten thee. Ask of me, and I will give thee the heathen for thine*

[u] Τουτο γαρ εστι καλον και αποδεκτον ενωπιον του Θεου.

[x] Τι καλον, και τι τερπνον, και προσδεκτον ενωπιον του ποιησαντος ημας.

[y] Προς παν εργον αγαθον ετοιμους.

[z] Ετοιμοι εις παν εργον αγαθον.

[a] Ος αν απαυγασμα της δοξης.

[b] Ος αν απαυγασμα της μεγαλωσυνης αυτου.

[c] Τοσουτω κρειττων γενομενος των αγγελων, ως διαφορωτερον παρ' αυτους κεκληρονομηκεν ονομα.

[d] Τοσουτω μειζων εστιν αγγελων, οσω διαφορωτερον ονομα κεκληρονομηκεν.

ministers

ministers a flame of fire. [Ps. civ. 4.] v. 13. *But to which of the angels said he at any time, Sit thou on my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool?* [Psal. cx. 1.]

XXXII. Heb. iii. 2. *As also Moses was faithful in all his house.* v. 5. *And verily Moses was faithful in all his house.*

Comp. Numb. xii. 7. *My servant Moses is not so, who is faithful in all mine house.*

XXXIII. Heb. iv. 12. *And is* [e] *a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart.*

XXXIV. Heb. vi. 18. *That by two immutable things, in which it was impossible for God to lye.*

XXXV. Heb. Ch. xi. 5. *By faith Enoch was translated, that he should not see death, and was not found, because God had translated him.* [Comp. Gen. v. 24.] v. 7. *By faith Noah being warned of God of things not seen as yet, moved with fear, prepared an ark.*——

v. 8. *By faith Abraham, when he was called to go out into a place which he should after receive for an inheritance, obeyed, and he went out, not knowing whither he went.* Comp. Gen. xii. 1.

v. 31. *By faith the harlot Rahab perished not with them*

inheritance, and the utmost parts of the earth for thy possession. And again he saith unto him: *Sit thou on my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool.*

XXXII. Ch. xliii. When also Moses, that blessed and *faithful* servant in *all his house.* And Ch. xviii. Moses was called *faithful in all his house.*

XXXIII. Ch. xxi. For he is [f] a searcher of *the intents and thoughts.*

XXXIV. Ch. xxvii. For nothing is impossible with God, but to lye.

XXXV. Ch. ix. Let us take Enoch [for our example] who by obedience being found righteous, was translated, and his death was not found. Noah being found faithful, did by his ministry preach regeneration to the world: and the Lord by him saved the living creatures that went with one accord into the ark.

Ch. x. This man [Abraham] by obedience went out of his own country, and from his kindred, and from his father's house, that so forsaking a small country, and a weak affinity, and a little house, he might inherit the promises of God.

Ch. xii. By faith and hospitality was Rahab the harlot

[e] Και κριτικος ενθυμησεων και εννοιων καρδιας.

[f] Εξεταστης γαρ εστιν ενθυμησεων και εννοιων.

that

that believed not, when she had received the spies with peace. Comp. Josh. ii. 1—6.

v. 32. *And what shall I more say? For the time would fail me to tell of——David also, and Samuel, and the prophets.*

v. 33. *Who through faith ——stopped the mouths of lions.*

v. 34. *Quenched the violence of fire.*

v. 35. *Others were tortured.*

v. 36. *And others had trials of cruel mockings, yea moreover of bonds and imprisonment.*

v. 37. *They were stoned——were slain with the sword, afflicted, tormented.*

v. 39. *And these all having obtained a good report through faith, received not the promises.*

v. 37. *They wandered* [g] *about in sheep-skins and goat-skins.*

XXXVI. Heb. xii. 1. *Wherefore seeing we also are compassed about with so great a cloud of witnesses, let us lay aside every*

saved. For when the spies were sent by Joshua the son of Nun to Jericho——the hospitable Rahab having received them, hid them on the top of her house, under stalks of flax.

Ch. xlv. The righteous were persecuted, but it was by the wicked. They were cast into prison, but it was by the unholy. They were stoned by transgressors. They were put to death by cursed men, and these who had conceived unjust envy. When they suffered these things, they endured them gloriously. For what shall we say, brethren? was Daniel cast into the den of lions by men fearing God? Were Ananias, Misael, and Azarias, thrust into the furnace of fire by men practising the excellent and glorious worship of the most High?—Men full of all wickedness proceeded to so great rage, as to bring into torment those that feared God. But they enduring with a full persuasion have obtained glory and honour, and have been exalted, and lifted up by God in their memorial throughout all ages.

Ch. xvii. Let us be imitators of [h] those who went about in goat-skins, and sheep-skins, preaching the coming of Christ.

XXXVI. Ch. xix. The humility and submissive obedience of so many and so excellent men, thus testified of, have

[g] Περιηλθον εν μηλωταις, εν αιγειαις δερμασιν,

[h] Οιτινες εν δερμασιν αιγειοις, και μηλωταις περιεπατησαν, κ. λ. Confer. Clem. Al. Strom. L. iv. p. 516. B. C.

weight,

weight, and the sin which does so easily beset us, and let us run with patience the race that is set before us. 2. ***Looking unto Jesus, the author and finisher of our faith; who for the joy that was set before him, endured the cross, despising the shame, and is set down at the right hand of the throne of God.***

v. 6. ***For whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth, and scourgeth every son whom he receiveth.*** [See Prov. iii. 11.] v. 9. ***Furthermore, we have had fathers of our flesh, which corrected us, and we gave them reverence: shall we not much more be in subjection to the Father of spirits, and live?*** 10. ***For they verily for a few days chastened us after their own pleasure; but he for our profit, that we might be partakers of his holiness.*** 11. ***Now no chastening for the present seemeth to be joyous, but grievous: nevertheless, afterwards it yieldeth the peaceable fruits of righteousness unto them which are exercised thereby.***

made not only us, but the generations before us, better.—Having therefore many and great and glorious examples, let us return to the mark of peace, which from the beginning was set before us: and let us look up stedfastly to the Father and Creator of the whole world: and let us cleave to his glorious, and exceeding excellent gifts and benefits of peace. See also Ch. xlvi. beginning.

Ch. lvi. Let us receive correction, at which no man ought to repine. The reproof and correction which we exercise toward one another is good, and exceeding profitable; for it closely unites us to the will of God. For so says the sacred word——*Whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth, and scourgeth every son whom he receiveth.* ——Ye see, beloved, there is a defence for those who are corrected by the Lord. For being a good instructor, he is willing we should be admonished by his holy discipline.

I have now represented the several supposed allusions of Clement to the epistle of the Hebrews. And, I think, we must assent to Eusebius, that Clement has inserted in his epistle "many of the "sentiments of the epistle to the Hebrews, and made use of some "of the very words of it." But of these last there are not many instances. And some[1] may be apt to think it not impossible, for a man who had been conversant with the apostles: who was fully instructed in their doctrine, and manner of reasoning, and also well acquainted with the Old Testament; to write with this

[1] See Mr. J. Hallet's Introduction to his Paraphrase of the three last chapters of the ep. to the Hebr. p. 2, 3.

great

great reſemblance of the epiſtle to the Hebrews, both in thought and expreſſion, without borrowing from it, or imitating it.

Dodwell was not poſitive, that [k] the paralled places in Clement were taken from the epiſtle to the Hebrews.

After all, it muſt be owned, that we lie here under ſome diſadvantage. We have not the whole epiſtle of Clement before us, as Euſebius had And therefore we are not ſo good judges of the agreement between the two epiſtles, as he was: who ſeems to have been fully ſatisfied, that Clement had an eye to the epiſtle to the Hebrews, and did "plainly [l] manifeſt that epiſtle "to be no modern writing."

N. T.	CLEMENT.
XXXVII. James i. 5. *If any of you lack wiſdom, let him aſk of God, that giveth to all men liberally, and upbraideth not, and it ſhall be given him.* 6. *But let him aſk in faith, nothing wavering*——7. *For let not that man think, that he ſhall receive any thing of the Lord.* 8. *A double-minded [m] man is unſtable in all his ways.*	XXXVII. Ch. xxiii. Our all-merciful and beneficent Father has bowels toward them that fear him: and in a moſt kind and tender manner beſtows his favours upon them that come to him with a ſimple mind. Wherefore let us not be double-minded: neither let us doubt in our hearts about his excellent and glorious gifts. Let that be far from us which is written: 'Miſerable [n] are 'the double-minded, who are 'doubtful in their minds, and 'ſay: Theſe things have we 'heard, even from our fathers; 'and behold, we are grown 'old, and none of theſe things 'have happened to us.' See Numb. XLIV.
2 Pet. iii. 4. *And ſaying: Where is the promiſe of his coming? For ſince the fathers fell aſleep, all things continue as they were from the beginning of the creation.*	

There is no great agreement here in words: but the ſenſe is ſo reſembling in the former part of this paragraph, that either Clement had an eye to St. James, or they both alluded to ſome one third writer.

N. T.	CLEMENT.
XXXVIII. James ii. 21.	XXXVIII. Ch. xxxi. For

[k] Nec tamen illam [ad Hebr. epiſtolam] penitus fuiſſe etiam antiquioribus illis temporibus incognitam, oſtendunt loca gemina, ut videtur, inde deſumta in Clementis epiſtola ad Corinthios. Diſſ. Iren. i. n. 41.

[l] See before, p. 26.

[m] Διψυχοι εκαταζεις εν πασαις ταις οδοις αυτων.

[n] Ταλαιπωροι εισιν οι διψυχοι, οι διακρινοντες την ψυχην. κ. λ.

Was not our father Abraham juſtified by works, when he had offered Iſaac his only ſon upon the altar?

what was our father Abraham bleſſed? Was it not, becauſe that through faith he wrought righteouſneſs and truth? Iſaac knowing with full aſſurance what was to come, willingly became a ſacrifice.

v. 23. *And was called the friend of God.*

Comp. 2 Chron. xx. 7.—*and gaveſt it to the ſeed of Abraham thy friend.* Iſ. xli. 8. *The ſeed of Abraham my friend.*

Ch. x. Abraham, who was called [God's] *friend*, was found faithful, in that he was obedient to the words of God.

Ch. xvii. Abraham has been greatly witneſſed of, and was called *the friend of God.*

v. 24. *Ye ſee then, how by works a man is juſtified, and not by faith only.*

Ch. xxx. Juſtified by works, not by words.

XXXIX. James iii. 13. *Who is a wiſe man, and endued with knowledge amongſt you? Let him ſhew out of a good converſation his works with meekneſs of wiſdom.*

XXXIX. Ch. xxxviii. Let the wiſe man ſhew forth his wiſdom, not in words, but in good works.

XL. James iv. 3. *Ye aſk, and receive not, becauſe ye aſk amiſs, that ye may conſume it upon your luſts.* 4. *Ye adulterers and adultereſſes, know ye not?* —— v. 6. *But he giveth more grace. Wherefore he ſays: God reſiſteth the proud, but giveth grace to the humble.* See Prov. iii. 34.

XL. Ch. xxx. Fleeing evil-ſpeakings one againſt another, all filthy and impure embraces —abominable concupiſcences, deteſtable adultery, and execrable pride. For *God*, ſays he, *reſiſteth the proud, but giveth grace to the humble.*

Theſe laſt words are alſo in 1 Pet. v. 5. But the context of James and Clement agree, as well as Prov. iii. 34.

XLI. 1 Pet. iv. 8. *For* [o] *charity ſhall cover a multitude of ſins.* Comp. James v. 20.

XLI. Ch. xlix. *Charity* [p] *covers the multitude of ſins.*

XLII. 1 Pet. v. 5. *Yea all of you be ſubject one to another, and be clothed with humility; for God reſiſteth the proud, and*

XLII. Ch. xxxviii. And let every one be ſubject to his neighbour.

Ch. ii. Ye were all of you

[o] Οτι η αγαπη καλυψει πληθος αμαρτιων.

[p] Η αγαπη καλυπτει πληθος αμαρτιων.

giveth

giveth grace to the humble. See above Numb. XL.

humble-minded — rather ſubject, than ſubjecting. The A. B. deſiring rather to be ſubject, than to govern.

Ch. xxx. *For God*, ſaith he, *reſiſteth the proud, but giveth grace to the humble.*

XLIII. 2 Pet. ii. 5. *And ſaved Noah a preacher of righteouſneſs.*

v. 6. *And turning the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah into aſhes, condemned them with an overthrow.*—7. *And delivered juſt Lot, vexed with the filthy converſation of the wicked.*—9. *The Lord knows how to deliver the godly out of temptation, and to reſerve the unjuſt unto the day of judgment to be puniſhed.*

Jude, ver. 7. may be compared.

XLIII. Ch. vii. Noah preached repentance, and they who hearkened [to him] were ſaved.

Ch. xi. By hoſpitality and godlineſs was Lot delivered out of Sodom, when all the country round about was deſtroyed by fire and brimſtone: the Lord thereby making it manifeſt, that he does not forſake thoſe that truſt in him; but thoſe that turn aſide [from his commandments] he appoints to puniſhment and torment.

XLIV. 2 Pet. iii. 4. *And ſaying: Where is the promiſe of his coming? For ſince the fathers fell aſleep, all things continue as they were from the beginning of the creation.*

XLIV. Ch. xxiii. Let that be far from us which is written: 'Miſerable are the dou-
'ble-minded, who are doubt-
'ful in their mind, which ſay:
'Theſe things have we heard
'even from our fathers; and
'behold, we are grown old,
'and none of theſe things
'have happened to us.' See Numb. XXXVII.

XLV. I have now put down from St. Clement what is proper for confirming the antiquity and genuineneſs of the books of the N. T. I have omitted divers leſſer matters, that might be taken notice of; but I have endeavoured to ſelect the moſt remarkable. I have alſo omitted ſome paſſages, becauſe they might be ſuppoſed equally, if not rather, to refer to ſome text in the Old, than the New Teſtament. And where I have alleged any paſſages that contain any words of the Old Teſtament, as well as the New, I have marked them, as I have gone along.

In the paſſages I have alleged, the references or alluſions are not all equally clear. But I think the ſum of the teſtimony of

Clement to the ſcriptures of the N. T. does amount to thus much.

The firſt epiſtle to the Corinthians is expreſsly aſcribed to Paul. Words of our bleſſed Lord, found in the goſpels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke, are recommended with a high degree of reſpect, but without the names of the evangeliſts. And though, as I have already owned, all theſe paſſages are not equally important or clear; yet I think they are ſuch as deſerve to be conſidered, whether there are not alluſions (beſide the evangeliſts) to the acts of the apoſtles; the epiſtle of Paul to the Romans; both the epiſtles to the Corinthians; the epiſtles to the Galatians, Epheſians, Philippians, Coloſſians; the firſt to the Theſſalonians; firſt and ſecond to Timothy, to Titus, the epiſtle to the Hebrews, the epiſtle of James, and the firſt and ſecond of Peter: but all without any name, or ſo much as a mark of citation. Among theſe books, the references and alluſions to ſome are manifeſt, and I think undeniable: as thoſe to the epiſtle to the Romans, and the firſt to the Corinthians. I ſhould likewiſe willingly place here the epiſtle to the Hebrews, as certainly alluded to, were it not for thoſe conſiderations above mentioned at Numb. XXXVI. and for one more, which I ſhall now mention. Euſebius [q] and St. Jerom [r] inform us, that the church of Rome in their time did not receive the epiſtle to the Hebrews. This ſeems very much to weaken the ſuppoſition, that Clement had often alluded to that epiſtle. For if the church of Rome in his time owned it as an epiſtle of Paul, or otherwiſe canonical; it would be ſomewhat difficult to conceive, how they ſhould afterwards reject it.

Mill [s] however allows, that it appears from this epiſtle, that Clement had in his hands, not only our firſt three goſpels, but alſo the acts of the apoſtles, and the epiſtle to the Romans, both the epiſtles to the Corinthians, and the epiſtle to the Hebrews.

And the teſtimony hereby given to the antiquity, genuineneſs, or authority, of the books of the New Teſtament, is to be eſteemed not only the teſtimony of Clement, but likewiſe of the church of Rome in his time. Moreover, it ought to be allowed, that the Corinthians likewiſe, to whom this epiſtle was ſent, were acquainted with, and highly reſpected, the books quoted or alluded to.

I would alſo obſerve concerning this epiſtle, as I did before of that aſcribed to Barnabas, that I have not perceived in it any quotations, or references to any of the apocryphal goſpels, as

[q] H. E. l. 3. c. 3. [r] Ad Dardanum, ep. 129. ord. vulg. edit. Martian. T. 2. p. 608. [s] Proleg. n. 140.

they

they are called. Nor do I remember, that any of the paſſages of the goſpel according to the Hebrews, or that according to the Egyptians, which have been collected by learned men from the writings of the ancient Chriſtians, are taken out of this epiſtle.

The only exception to this muſt be, I think, the quotation at Numb. XXXVII. " Let that be far from us which is written, " Miſerable are the double-minded." But if he does not intend the epiſtle of St. James, nor the ſecond of St. Peter; ſtill I apprehend it moſt likely, that he does not refer to any apocryphal book of the N. T. but to ſome writing of the Old Teſtament, either canonical or apocryphal; the rather, becauſe the ſame words are quoted in the fragment, called Clement's ſecond epiſtle, §. xi. in this manner: " For the prophetic word ſays: " Miſerable are the double-minded"——which [1] was a common form of quotation among the ancient Chriſtians, when they intended the ſcriptures of the Old Teſtament.

C H A P. III.

A Fragment called St. Clement's *Second Epiſtle.*

Beside the epiſtle of Clement to the Corinthians there is a fragment of a piece, called his ſecond epiſtle: which being doubtful, or rather plainly not Clement's, I do not quote as his. I ſhall however, as I promiſed, give an account of the method of quoting the ſcriptures of the New Teſtament in this piece, which by [2] ſome is thought not to be an epiſtle, but a diſcourſe or ſermon.

I. §. iv. 'Let us then not only call him Lord, for that will 'not ſave us. For he ſaith: *Not every one that ſaith unto me, 'Lord, Lord, ſhall be ſaved, but he that doth righteouſneſs.*'

[1] Ἡ προφητικὸς λόγος. Euſeb. Comm. in Pſ. p. 83. C. Διπλοῦς ὁ προφητικὸς λόγος. Theodoret. in Pſ. lxxvii. v. 24. T. 1. p. 737. D. Διδάσκει τοῦτο ὁ προφητικὸς λόγος. Id. ad Pſ. lxxiv. v. 16. p. 721. D. ἐν τῷ ἑξῆς ὁ προφητικὸς λόγος. Ad Pſ. cv. p. 824. A. et paſſim. Περὶ τοῦ τὸ προφητικὸν σπέρμα τρέφειν. Alex. Epiſcop. Alex. ap. Theod. H. E. l. 1. c. 4. p. 12. C. ὁ εὐαγγελικὸς λόγος. Theod. in Iſ. cap. x. T. 2. p. 50. D.

[2] Sed nec epiſtolæ formam ſervat ſecunda hæc, quæ dicitur, epiſtola——Et vero recentiorem illam eſſe Clemente, et pro ejus διδαχῇ potius habendam alibi oſtendimus. Dodwell de Annis priorum Romæ Epiſcop. Diſſ. 2. c. vi. p. 202. Vid. et Diſſ. i. Iren. §. 29. &c. Vid. et Grabe Spicil. P. i. p. 268.

Matth. vii. 21. 'Wherefore if we ſhould do ſuch wicked 'things, the Lord hath ſaid: Though ye ſhould be joined unto 'me, even in my very boſom, and not keep my command-'ments, *I would caſt you off*, and ſay unto you: *I know ye not 'whence ye are, ye workers of iniquity.*' Matth. vii. 23. Luke xiii. 27.

II. Ch. ii. And another ſcripture ſaith: *I came not to call the righteous, but ſinners.* Matth. ix. 13.

III. Ch. v. For the Lord ſaith: *Ye ſhall be as ſheep in the midſt of wolves.* [Matth. x. 16.] Peter anſwered and ſaid: What if the wolves ſhall tear in pieces the ſheep? Jeſus ſaid unto Peter: Let not the ſheep fear the wolves after death. *And ye alſo fear not thoſe that kill you, and after that have no more that they can do unto you: but fear him, who, after you are dead, has power to caſt both ſoul and body into hell-fire.* See Luke xii. 4, 5. and alſo Matth. x. 28.

IV. Ch. iii. For even he himſelf ſays: *Whoſoever ſhall confeſs me before men, him will I confeſs before my Father.* See Matth. x. 32.

V. Ch. viii. For ſo the Lord hath ſaid: *They are my brethren, who do the will of my Father.* See Matth. xii. 50.

VI. Ch. viii. For the Lord ſaith in the goſpel: *If ye have not kept that which was little, who will give you that which is great? For I ſay unto you: He that is faithful in that which is leaſt, is faithful alſo in much.* See Luke xvi. 10. 12.

VII. Ch. vi. For thus ſaith the Lord: *No ſervant can ſerve two maſters.* If 'therefore we ſhall deſire to *ſerve God and 'Mammon*,' it will be no profit to us. [Luke xvi. 13. and Matth. vi. 24.] *For what ſhall it profit, if one gain the whole world, and loſe his own ſoul?* See Matth. xvi. 26.

VIII. Ch. i. This fragment begins thus: 'Brethren, we 'ought ſo to think of Jeſus Chriſt as of God; as of the *judge 'of the quick and the dead.*' Where may be thought to be a reference to Acts x. 42. But as this character of Chriſt was a common article of every Chriſtian's belief, and may be found in other texts of the N. T. that cannot, I think, be depended upon.

IX. Chap. vii. 'And yet all are not crowned, but they 'only that labour much, and ſtrive glorioufly.' Comp. 2 Tim. ii. 5. In the ſame chapter, or ſection, ſeem to be divers alluſions to 1 Cor. ix. 24, 25.

X. Ch. iii.——but have by him been brought to the knowledge of the Father of truth. Whereby ſhall we ſhew, that we do know him, [or, what is the knowledge which is toward him,]

him,] but by not denying him, by whom we have come to the knowledge of him? Perhaps here is an alluſion to 1 John iii. 19. or v. 20.

XI. Laſtly, Ch. xii. near the concluſion of this fragment are ſome words mentioned, as ſpoken by our Lord, which are not in our goſpels, and are ſuppoſed to be taken out of an apocryphal writing, called the goſpel according to the Egyptians: which are to this purpoſe: 'The Lord himſelf being aſked 'by ſome body, when his kingdom ſhould come, ſaid: When 'two ſhall be one, and that which is without as that which is 'within, and the male with the female neither male nor fe-'male.'

XII. What we have to obſerve here is, that we have the goſpels ſeveral times quoted in this fragment; more expreſsly than in Clement's epiſtle to the Corinthians, with ſuch terms as theſe: 'He himſelf ſays:' 'The Lord ſaith:' 'Thus ſaith the Lord:' 'Another ſcripture ſays:' and, 'The Lord ſaith in the goſpel:' and that in a fragment not one fifth part ſo large as the foremen-tioned epiſtle to the Corinthians. This is an internal character, that may confirm the account given by Euſebius, and the judgment of thoſe modern critics, who have ſuppoſed it not to have the ſame author with the epiſtle to the Corinthians, and to be of a later date. For which reaſon I may be the ſhorter in my remarks upon it: though it is undoubtedly ancient, written before the time of Euſebius, in the third century at the lateſt.

And as this piece has not Clement for its author, we have the leſs reaſon to be concerned about the apocryphal quotation juſt mentioned. For whenever that goſpel was compoſed, this quotation can never prove it to be ſo ancient as our goſpels, nor as Clement himſelf.

Mr. Jones [b] has made divers juſt obſervations upon this fragment, and ſeveral of the paſſages here cited by me.

[b] See New and Full Method, &c. Vol. I. in the Appendix, p. 522—531.

CHAP. IV.

HERMAS. His HISTORY.

THE antiquity of the book, called the Shepherd or Paſtor of Hermas, is manifeſt and unqueſtionable from the quotations of it in Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Tertullian, and others.

I muſt be as brief as I can in the teſtimonies I allege. Therefore referring to [a] Cotelerius for the reſt, I ſhall only put down thoſe of Euſebius in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, and St. Jerom in his Catalogue of Illuſtrious Men; as repreſenting very much the ſenſe of the ancients before them concerning the value of this book, as well as that of the Chriſtians of their own time.

Euſebius [b] ſpeaking of what are the genuine writings of Peter and Paul, adds: 'Foraſmuch as the apoſtle in the ſalutations 'at the end of his epiſtle to the Romans makes mention among 'others of Hermas, who, it is ſaid, wrote the book called the 'Shepherd; it is to be obſerved, that it is doubted of by ſome. 'Wherefore it ought not to be placed among the books of un-'queſtioned authority. By others it is judged to be a moſt 'neceſſary book, eſpecially for thoſe who are to be inſtructed 'in the firſt elements of religion. And we know, that it is 'publickly read in the churches, and that ſome very ancient 'writers make uſe of it.'

In another place of the ſame work, having ſpoken of the books of the New Teſtament, which ought to be received, he ſays: 'Among [c] the ſpurious are to be placed the Acts of 'Paul, the book called the Shepherd, and the Revelation of 'Peter.' By which we are not, I think, to underſtand, that the book of Hermas, or the Shepherd, is not genuine, but that it ought not to be reckoned canonical ſcripture.

St. Jerom in the book [d] of Illuſtrious Men: 'Hermas, of 'whom the apoſtle makes mention in his epiſtle to the Ro-'mans, ſaying: *Salute Aſyncritus, Phlegon, Hermas, Patrobas, 'Hermes, and the brethren which are with them*, is affirmed to 'be the author of the book which is called Paſtor. And it

[a] Patres Apoſt. vol. i. See alſo A. B. Wake's Preliminary Diſcourſe, chap. viii. Cave Hiſt. Lit. Du Pin Bibl. et Tillemont Mem. Eccleſ. T. ii. Part i. Fabric. Bib. Gr. T. v. p. 7, &c. [b] H. E. l. 3. c. 3. p. 72. C. D. [c] Ἐν τοῖς νόθοις κατατεταχθαι, &c. Euſ. H. E. l. 3. c. 25. p. 97. B. [d] Cap. x.

'is

'is publickly read in ſome churches of Greece. It is indeed 'a uſeful book, and many of the ancient writers have made uſe 'of teſtimonies out of it. But among the Latins it is almoſt 'unknown.' So Jerom ſays. But it was well known to [e] Tertullian, and to the Chriſtian churches in general of his time, as is evident from the manner in which he ſpeaks of it.

It is then probable, that this book was written by Hermas, whom Paul ſalutes. And it ought not to be doubted, that it is an ancient Chriſtian eccleſiaſtical writing, though not properly canonical.

The exact time of writing it is uncertain. It appears from [f] the book itſelf, that it was written at Rome, or near it, in the time of Clement, probably then biſhop. For Hermas is directed, at the end of the ſecond Viſion, 'to write two books, and ſend one 'to Clement, and one to Grapte. For Clement ſhall ſend it 'to the foreign cities.' As therefore I place the biſhoprick of Clement, with moſt of the ancients, about the 91ſt year of our Lord and onwards; I ſuppoſe this book to have been written toward the latter end of the firſt century of the Chriſtian æra. Tillemont [g] ſuppoſes it was written about the year 92, a little before Domitian's perſecution. Which leads me to obſerve, that it is more than once intimated in the book itſelf, that a time of trial was then near. 'But thou wilt ſay: Behold, there is a 'great trial coming.' Viſ. 2. § 3. Again, 'Here you have 'the figure of the great tribulation, that is about to come.' V. iv. §. 3. See alſo Viſ. 2. §. 2. quoted hereafter, Numb. III. This trial could not be the perſecution under Nero, becauſe that was the firſt great perſecution: and before the writing of this book, Chriſtians had ſuffered 'wild beaſts, ſcourgings, im-'priſonments, and croſſes.' Viſ. iii. §. 2. which is a good deſcription of the perſecution under Nero. See alſo Simil. ix. §. 28. This trial therefore muſt relate to the perſecution under Domitian, about the year 94, or to ſome ſufferings under Trajan. Moreover, it ſeems, that all the apoſtles were now dead. 'Becauſe,' ſays he, 'theſe apoſtles and teachers, who preached 'the name of the Son of God, dying after they had received 'this power, preached to them who were dead before.' Sim. ix. §. 16. However, as Clement was ſtill living, who died, according to Euſebius, in the third of Trajan, A. D. 100, we cannot, I think, place this piece later than the concluſion of the firſt century, about which time it ſeems to have been written.

It is ſaid, there was one Hermes, brother of Pius, biſhop of

[e] De Pudicitia, cap. 10. [f] See V. 1. begin. & Viſ. 2. §. 1. & §. 4. [g] Mem. Ec. T. 2. Par. 1. in Hermas, p. 201. Bruxelles.

Rome,

Rome, about the year 141. But there is no [h] good reaſon to ſuppoſe him the author of this book, which is conſtantly aſcribed by the moſt ancient writers to Hermas. And that the book we have, is the ſame they had, is evident from the agreement of their quotations with the book itſelf.

The Shepherd of Hermas was written in Greek. But we have now only an ancient Latin verſion, beſide ſome fragments of the Greek preſerved in the ancient Greek authors who have quoted him. It conſiſts of three books. In the firſt are four Viſions, in the ſecond twelve Commands, in the third ten Similitudes.

In Hermas are no expreſs citations of any books of the New Teſtament. We muſt be content with only ſome words of ſcripture, or alluſions to them. Nor was it ſuitable to the nature of his writing to quote books. There are no books of the O. T. quoted here.

N. T.	Hermas.
I. Matth. v. 28. *But I ſay unto you, that whoſoever looketh on a woman to luſt after her has committed adultery with her already in his heart.*	I. Command iv. §. 1. I command thee, that thou ſuffer not the thought of another[i] man's wife, or of fornication, to enter into thy heart. Compare Vii. i. §. 1.
II. Matth. v. 42. *Give to him that aſketh thee.* Luke vi. 30. *Give to every one that aſketh thee.*	II. Command ii. 'Give without diſtinction to all that are in want, not doubting to whom thou giveſt, &c.' There follows a fine argument upon this ſubject, which may ſerve as a comment upon this text of the goſpel.
III. Matth. x. 32. *Whoſoever therefore ſhall confeſs me before men, him will I alſo confeſs before my Father which is in heaven.* 33. *But whoſoever ſhall deny me before men, him will I alſo deny before my Father which is in heaven.*	III. Viſion ii. §. 2. Happy are ye, whoſoever ſhall endure the great trial that is at hand, and whoſoever ſhall not deny his life. For the Lord has ſworn by his Son, that whoſoever ſhall deny his Son, and him, being afraid of his life,

[h] However, ſome learned men have been of this opinion. Vid. Dallæum de Libris ſupp. Dionyſ. et Ignat. l. 2. c. 4. p. 250. et Basnage Annal. Polit. Ec. A. D. 150. n. 2. &c. Blondel des Sibylles l. 1. ch. v. p. 16. l. 2. ch. vi. p. 160. Petau. Hiſt. des Dogmes. T. 2. p. 250. I cannot particularly confute this opinion. I have ſaid enough above, that it is contrary to the teſtimony of the moſt ancient writers. Du Pin, and others, may be conſulted by thoſe who are curious.

[i] Ἐπιθυμίαν γυναικὸς ἀλλοτρίας.

they

they will alſo deny him in the world that is to come. But thoſe who ſhall never deny him, of his great mercy he will be favourable to them.

Similitude ix. §. 28. They who have deliberated in their heart, whether they ſhould confeſs or deny him, and yet have ſuffered, their fruits are ſmaller. Wherefore I ſpeak this unto you, who deliberate, whether ye ſhould confeſs or deny him.

IV. Matth. xiii. 5. *Some fell upon ſtony places, where they had not much earth: and forthwith they ſprung up, becauſe they had no deepneſs of earth.* 6. *And when the ſun was up, they were ſcorched: and becauſe they had not root, they withered away*—20. *But he that received the ſeed into ſtony places, the ſame is he that heareth the word, and anon with joy receiveth it:* 21. *Yet has he not root in himſelf, but dureth for a while; for when tribulation or perſecution ariſeth becauſe of the word, by and by he is offended.* 22. *He alſo that received ſeed among thorns is he that heareth the word: and the care of this world, and the deceitfulneſs of riches, choak the word, and he becometh unfruitful.*

IV. Similitude ix. §. 21. Of the fourth mountain which had many herbs —— ſome being touched by the heat of the ſun withered,—their herbs having no [k] foundation [that is, *deepneſs of earth*]. For as their herbs dry away at the ſight of the ſun, ſo likewiſe the doubtful, as ſoon as they hear of perſecutions, fearing inconveniences, return to their idols, and again ſerve them, and are aſhamed to bear the name of their Lord. Viſion iii. §. 6. Theſe are they who have faith, but have alſo the riches of this world. When [l] therefore tribulation ariſeth, becauſe of their riches and traffick, they deny the Lord.

V. Matth. xiii. 7. *And ſome fell among thorns; and the thorns ſprung up, and choaked them.*

Ch. xix. 23. *Verily I ſay unto you, that a rich man ſhall*

V. Simil. ix. §. 20. They who are of the third mountain, which had thorns and brambles, are ſuch as believed, but were ſome of them rich, others

[k] Nullum fundamentum habentes herbæ eorum. [l] Cum ergo venerit tribulatio——

hardly enter into the kingdom of heaven. 24. ——*It is easier for* ***a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God.***

taken up with many affairs. For the brambles are riches: the thorns are they who are entangled in much business, and a diversity of affairs. These [m] therefore shall with difficulty [or *hardly*] enter into the kingdom of God.

VI. Matth. xiii. 31, 32. *The* ***kingdom of heaven is like unto a grain of mustard seed*** —— *which* ——*when it is grown, is the* ***greatest among herbs,*** *and* ***becometh a tree,*** *so that the birds of* ***the air come and lodge in the branches thereof.***

See Mark iv. 30—32. *So that the fowls of the air may lodge under the shadow of it.* And Luke xiii. 19, 20.

VI. Simil. viii. §. 3. This great tree, which covers the plains and the mountains, and all the earth, is the law of God, published throughout the whole world. This law is the Son of God, preached in all the ends of the earth. The people that stand under its shadow are those which have heard his preaching, and believed.

VII. Matth. xviii. 3. *Verily I say unto you, except ye* ***shall be converted,*** *and become as little children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven.* 4. *Whosoever therefore shall humble himself, as this little child, the* ***same is greatest in the kingdom of heaven.***

VII. Simil. ix. §. 29. Whosoever therefore, says he, shall continue [n] as little children, free from malice, shall be more honourable, than all these, of whom I have yet spoken. For[o] all little children are honourable with the Lord, and esteemed the first of all. And §. 31. For this present world must be cut away from them, and the vanities of their riches, and then they will be fit for the kingdom of God. For they must enter into the kingdom of God, because God has blessed this innocent kind. —— I the angel of repentance pronounce you happy, whosoever are innocent like little children, because your portion is

[m] Hi ergo difficile in regnum Dei intrabunt. [n] Quicunque ergo permanserint, inquit, sicut infantes. [o] Omnes enim infantes honorati sunt apud Dominum, et primi habentur.

good,

good, and honourable with the Lord.

That is an excellent paraphraſe of our Lord's diſcourſe, Matth. xviii. and I think it plain he has a reference to it.

N. T.

VIII. Matth. xxiii. 6. *And love the uppermoſt rooms at feaſts, and the chief ſeats in the ſynagogues.* Compare Mark xii. 39. Luke xx. 46.

HERMAS.

VIII. Viſ. iii. §. 9. I therefore now ſay unto you, who are [p] ſet over the church, and love the higheſt ſeats.

IX. Matth. xxviii. 18. *All power is given to me in heaven, and in earth.* 19. *Go ye therefore, and teach all nations.*

IX. Simil. v. §. 6. You ſee, ſaid he, that he is Lord of his people, having received all power from his Father.

Simil. ix. §. 25. They are ſuch as believed the apoſtles, which the Lord ſent into all the world to preach.

To all which might be added Viſ. iv. §. 2. "It had been "better for them they had not been born." See Matth. xxvi. 24.

N. T.

X. Luke xiii. 24. *Strive to enter in at the ſtrait gate: for many, I ſay unto you, will ſeek to enter in, and ſhall not be able.* 25. *When once the maſter of the houſe is riſen up, and has ſhut to the door, and ye begin to ſtand without, and to knock at the door, ſaying, Open to us,* &c.

HERMAS.

X. Viſ. iii. §. 9. Ye that are more eminent, ſeek out the hungry, whilſt the tower is yet unfiniſhed. For when the tower ſhall be finiſhed, ye ſhall be willing to do good, and ſhall have no place.

XI. Luke xvi. 18. *Whoſoever putteth away his wife, and marrieth another, committeth adultery: and whoſoever marrieth her that is put away from her huſband, committeth adultery.* Comp. Matth. v. 32.

XI. Command iv. §. 1. If the woman continues on in her ſin, —— Let her huſband put her away, and let him continue by himſelf. But if he ſhall put away his wife, and marry another, he alſo doth commit adultery.

This may be reckoned a probable, if not a manifeſt alluſion to St. Luke.

XII. Our bleſſed Lord has ſeveral parables in the goſpels of a

[p] —— qui præeſtis ecclæſiæ, et amatis primos conſeſſus.

vineyard,

vineyard, particularly Matth. xxi. 33—41. Mark xii. 1—9. Luke xx. 9—17. Hermas [Simil. v. §. 2.] has a ſimilitude of a huſbandman and his vineyard, which bears a conſiderable reſemblance with thoſe parables.

N. T.	Hermas.
XIII. John xiv. 6. *I am the way, and the truth, and the life: no man cometh unto the Father, but by me.* And our Lord compares himſelf to a *door*. Ch. x. 7. 9.	XIII. Simil. ix. §. 12. The gate is the only way of coming to God. For no man ſhall go to God, but by his Son.

Entering into the kingdom of God is a common expreſſion in the goſpels, and ſo likewiſe in Hermas. See particularly Simil. ix. §. 12.

N. T.	Hermas.
XIV. Acts v. 41. *And they departed from the council, rejoicing that they were counted worthy to ſuffer ſhame for his name.*	XIV. Simil. iv. §. 28. But ye who ſuffer death for his name, ought to honour the Lord; that the Lord counts you[q] worthy to bear his name.
XV. Rom. ix. 4. *To whom pertaineth the adoption,—and the giving the law—and the promiſes.* Ch. xi. 29. *For the gifts and calling of God are without repentance.*	XV. Viſ. iii. §. 2. However to both of them belong[r] gifts and promiſes. For a reference to this epiſtle ſee likewiſe below Number XXV.
XVI. 1 Cor. iii. 16. *Know ye not, that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you.* And Rom. viii. 11. *ſhall quicken you by his Spirit that dwelleth in you.* 2 Tim. i. 14. *by the Holy Ghoſt that dwelleth in us.*	XVI. Comm. v. §. 1. If thou ſhalt be patient, the Holy[s] Spirit that dwelleth in thee, ſhall be pure.
XVII. 1 Cor. iii. 17. *If any man defile the temple of God, him ſhall God deſtroy.*	XVII. Simil. v. §. 7. For if thou defile thy body, thou ſhalt alſo at the ſame time defile the Holy Spirit. And if thou defile thy body, thou ſhalt not live.
XVIII. 1 Cor. vii. 11. *But and if ſhe depart, let her remain unmarried, or be reconciled to her huſband: and let not the*	XVIII. Comm. iv. §. 1. If therefore a woman perſeveres in any thing of this kind, and repents not; depart from her,

q —— quod dignos vos habet Dominus —— nomen ejus feratis. r Sed utrique eis —— ſunt dona et promiſſiones. s —— πνευμα το αγιον κατοικουν εν σοι.

huſband

husband put away his wife. — 15. *But if the unbelieving depart, let him depart,* &c.

and live not with her: otherwise thou also shalt be partaker of her sin. But it is therefore commanded, that both the man and the woman should remain unmarried, because such persons may repent.

Perhaps Hermas refers here to the seventh chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians.

N. T.

XIX. 2 Cor. vii. 10.—— *But the sorrow of the world worketh death.*

HERMAS.

XIX. Vis. iii. §. 2. But the remembrance of injuries [or evils] worketh death; but the forgetting them life eternal.

XX. Gal. iii. 27. *For as many of you as have been baptized into Christ, have put on Christ.*

XX. Simil. ix. §. 13. So also they who have believed in God through his Son, have put on this spirit.

XXI. Eph. iv. 4. *There is one body, and one spirit, even as ye are called with one hope of your calling.*

XXI. Simil. ix. §. 13. Behold there shall be one spirit, and one body, and one colour of their garments.

XXII. Ephes. iv. 30. *And grieve not the Holy Spirit of God.* 31. *Let all bitterness, and wrath, and anger,—be put away from you, with all malice.*

XXII. Com. iii. And should not have grieved the holy and true spirit of God. And Comm. x. §. 1. speaking of anger, and doubting, and sadness, he says of the last: 'It 'torments the Holy Spirit:' and afterwards, 'it [a] grieves 'the Holy Spirit.'

And farther he exhorts: 'Grieve * not the Holy Spi- 'rit that dwelleth in thee, lest 'he ask of God, and depart 'from thee.'

XXIII. Philip. iv. 18. *But I have all, having received the things which were sent from you,*

XXIII. Simil. v. §. 3. Thy [b] sacrifice shall be acceptable in the sight of the Lord.

[a] Βλέπει το πνευμα το αγιον. et §. 2. λυπει το πνευμα το αγιον.

[a] Λυπει δε και το πνευμα το αγιον.

* Και μη λυπει [al. λυπεῖ] το πνευμα το αγιον το κατοικουν εν σοι, μηποτε καταβοηση τον Θεον και απελθη απ' αυτων. Ibid. Vid. Wolf. Cur. ad Eph. iv. 30.

[b] Δεκτη εσται η θυσια σου ενωπιον του κυριου.

—a sacrifice

—a [x] sacrifice acceptable, well-pleasing to God.

However there are several texts resembling this, as Rom. xii. 1. 1 Tim. ii. 3. 1 Pet. ii. 5.

XXIV. Col. i. 15. *Who is —the first born of every creature.* 16. *For by him were all things created—all things were created by him, and for him.*

XXIV. Vis. ii. §. 4. She [z] [the church of God] is therefore, said he, an old woman, because she was the first of all the creation, and the world was made for her. And Simil. ix. §. 12. The Son of God is more ancient than any creature.

XXV. 1 Thess., v. 13. *And be at peace among yourselves.*

Mark ix. 50. *And have peace one with another.*

Rom. xv. 7. *Wherefore receive ye one another.*

XXV. Vis. iii. §. 9. Now [a] therefore hearken unto me, and have peace one with another, and receive one another. — Wherefore admonish one another, and be at peace among yourselves.

XXVI. 2 Tim. iv. 18. *And the Lord shall deliver me from every evil work, and will preserve me unto his heavenly kingdom.*

XXVI. Vis. ii. §. 3. They who are such, shall prevail against all wickednesses, and continue unto eternal life.

XXVII. Heb. xii. 17. *For he found no place of repentance.*

XXVII. Sim. viii. §. 8. For [b] these there is no place of repentance.

XXVIII. James i. 5. *If any of you lack wisdom, let him ask of God, that giveth to all men liberally, and upbraideth not, and it shall be given him.* 6. *But let him ask in faith, nothing wavering.——*

XXVIII. Sim. v. §. 3. Whosoever is the servant of God, and hath the Lord in his heart, he asketh of him understanding, and obtaineth.——But [c] they that are indolent, and slow to pray, they doubt to ask of the Lord: although the Lord be of so inexhausted goodness, as to give all things without ceasing to them that ask him.

[x] Θεσιαν δεκτην, ευαρεστον τω Θεω.

[z] Quoniam, inquit, omnium prima creata est, ideo anus: et propter illam mundus factus est. [a] Nunc ergo audite me, et pacem habete alius cum alio; et visitate vos alterutrum, et suscipite invicem ——Commonete ergo vos invicem, pacatique estote inter vos. [b] His igitur non est locus pœnitentiæ. [c] Quicunque vero otiosi sunt, et pigri ad orandum, illi cohabitant petere a Domino; cui sit Dominus tam profundæ bonitatis, ut petentibus sine cessatione et sine intermissione tribuat.

XXIX. James

XXIX. James ii. 7. *Do not they blaſpheme that worthy name by the which ye are called?*

XXIX. Simil. viii. §. 6. Who among their other crimes, blaſpheming the Lord, have denied his name, which had been called upon them.

XXX. James iii. 15. *This wiſdom deſcendeth not from above, but is earthly, ſenſual, deviliſh* —— 17. *But the wiſdom which is from above, is firſt pure, then peaceable, gentle, eaſy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits.*

XXX. Comm. xi. Believe not the earthly empty ſpirit, which is from the devil, in which there is not faith, nor virtue. xii. §. 1. The ſpirit which [d] is from above is quiet, and humble, and departs from all wickedneſs, and vain deſire of this world, and makes himſelf more humble than any man.

XXXI. James iv. 2. *Ye luſt, and ye have not: ye kill, and deſire to have, and cannot obtain: ye fight, and war, yet ye have not, becauſe ye aſk not. 3. Ye aſk, and receive not, becauſe ye aſk amiſs, that ye may conſume it upon your luſts. 4. —— know ye not, that the friendſhip of the world is enmity with God?*

XXXI. Simil. iv. For they who are involved in much buſineſs, ſin much, becauſe they are taken up with their affairs, and ſerve not God. And how can a man that does not ſerve God, aſk any thing of God and receive it?

XXXII. James iv. 7. *Submit yourſelves therefore to God: reſiſt the devil, and he will flee from you.*

XXXII. Comm. xii. §. 5. For if [e] ye reſiſt him [the devil] he will flee from you with confuſion.

XXXIII. James iv. 12. *There is one lawgiver, who is able to ſave, and to deſtroy.*

XXXIII. Comm. xii. §. 6. Fear the Almighty Lord, who is able to ſave and to deſtroy you.

XXXIV. James v. 1. *Go to now, ye rich men, weep and howl for your miſeries that ſhall come upon you.* 2. *Your riches are corrupted, and your garments moth-eaten.* —— 4. *Behold, the*

XXXIV. Viſ. iii. §. 9. Wherefore this intemperance is hurtful to you who have, and do not communicate to them that want. Conſider the judgment that is coming upon you.

[d] Spiritus qui deſurſum eſt, quietus eſt, & verecundus.

[e] Si enim reſiſtitis illi [diabolo] fugiet

hire of the labourers, which have reaped down your fields, which is of you kept back by fraud, crieth: and the cries of them that have reaped, have entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth.

—Beware therefore ye that glory in your riches, lest [f] perhaps they sigh who are in want, and their sighing ascend to the Lord, and ye be shut out with your goods without the gate of the tower.

I suppose, all these passages are sufficient to prove the antiquity of the epistle of St. James, and that Hermas alluded to it, and had a high respect for it.

N. T.	Hermas.
XXXV. 1 Pet. i. 6. *Though now for a season, if need be, ye are in heavinesse through manifold temptations.* 7. *That the trial of your faith being much more precious than of gold that perisheth, though it be tried with fire, might be found unto praise, and honour, and glory, at the appearing of Christ.*	XXXV. Vis. iv. §. 3. The golden part are ye, who have escaped from this world. For as gold is tried by the fire, and made profitable, so are ye also tried who dwell among them [the men of this world]. They therefore who shall endure to the end, and be proved by them, shall be purged. And as gold is cleansed, and loses its dross; so shall ye also cast away all sorrow and trouble, and be made pure for the building of the tower.
XXXVI. 1 Pet. iii. 15. *But sanctify the Lord God in your hearts, and be always ready to give an answer to every man that asketh you a reason of the hope that is in you, with meekness and fear.*	XXXVI. Comm. xii. §. 4. Take care therefore, ye that are empty and light in the faith, to have the Lord your God in your heart: and ye shall perceive, that nothing is more easy, nor more pleasant, nor more gentle and holy than these commands.
XXXVII. 1 Pet. v. 7. *Casting all your care upon him, for he careth for you.*	XXXVII. Vis. iv. §. 2. Cast your cares [g] upon the Lord, and he will direct them. Again, Vis. iii. §. 11. —— And did not cast your care from yourselves upon the Lord.

[f] Ne forte ingemiscant hi qui egent, et gemitus eorum ascendat ad Dominum—

[g] Immittite sollicitudines vestras super Dominum, et ipse dirigit eas.

XXXVIII. 2 Pet. ii. 15. *Which have forſaken the right way.*

v. 20. *For if after they have eſcaped the pollutions of the world,* &c.

XXXIX. 1 John ii. 27. *But the anointing which ye have received of him abideth in you ——and is truth, and is no lie.*

XL. 1 John iv. 6. *Hereby know we the ſpirit of truth.*

Ch. v. 6.—— *becauſe the ſpirit is truth.*

He is called *the ſpirit of truth* alſo John xiv. 17. xv. 26. xvi. 13.

XLI. 2 John ver. 4. *I rejoice, that I found of thy children walking in truth.*

3 John ver. 3. — *as thou walkeſt in the truth.* v. 4. *I have no greater joy than to hear, that my children walk in truth.*

XLII. Jude ver. 21. *Keep yourſelves in the love of God, looking for the mercy of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt unto eternal life.* 24. *Now unto him that is able to keep you from falling, and to preſent you faultleſs before the preſence of his glory.* See alſo ver. 23.

XXXVIII. Viſ. iii. §. 7. They are ſuch as have believed indeed, but through their doubtings have forſaken the true way.

Viſ. iv. §. 3. The golden parts are you who have eſcaped this world.

XXXIX. Comm. iii. And the Lord may be glorified, who has given ſuch a ſpirit to thee. Becauſe [h] God is true in all his word, and in him there is no lie.

XL. Comm. iii. For [i] they received the ſpirit of truth, and became habitations of the true ſpirit.

XLI. Comm. iii. For thou oughteſt, as the ſervant of God, to have walked in the truth.

Indeed, the whole third command in Hermas, and the epiſtles of St. John, might be well compared together.

XLII. Viſ. 4. §. 3. Becauſe [k] the cleſt of God ſhall be pure and without ſpot unto life eternal. And ſee what follows.

XLIII. It is very probable, that Hermes had read the book of St. John's Revelation, and imitated it. He has many things reſembling it.

1. St. John is directed, ch. i. 11. *What thou ſeeſt, write in a*

[h] Quia Deus verax in omni verbo, et non eſt mendacium in ipſo. [i] Ελαβον γαρ πνευμα αληθειας, και εγενετο αυτοις πνευματος. [k] Quoniam immaculati et puri ſunt electi Dei in vitam æternam.

book, and send it to the seven churches that are in Asia.——Ver. 19. *Write the things which thou hast seen.* Ch. ii. 1. *Unto the angel of the church of Ephesus write.* And so of the rest. Hermas also in his visions receives orders to speak 'to those[l] who 'preside over the church, to order their ways in righteousness.' Again: 'After this I saw a vision in my house, and the old 'woman whom I had seen before came unto me, and asked 'me[m], whether I had delivered the book [or her book] to the 'elders. And I answered, that I had not yet. She replied, 'Thou hast well done.—Thou shalt write two books [that is, 'two copies] and send one to Clement, and one to Grapte.'

2. In the Revelation, ch. xii. the church is represented under the figure of a woman, as we have already seen the church to be in Hermas; who is expressly told, that[n] old woman is the church, and he has the reasons of the figure given him. In the Revelation, that woman is persecuted by a dragon. Hermas also sees a great and terrible beast, which he is informed 'is[o] 'the figure of the trial which was coming.' St. John saw the *holy city, new Jerusalem, coming down from God out of heaven, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband.* Ch. xxi. 2. Hermas says, 'Behold[p] there met me a virgin well adorned, as if she 'were just come out of the bride-chamber, clothed in white.— 'And I knew by my former visions, that it was the church.' St. John sees a city, the *foundations of the walls of which were garnished with all manner of precious stones.* Ch. xxi. 19. Hermas sees 'a[q] tower built with bright square stones.' In the Revelation, v. 16. *the city lies four square.* The tower in Hermas likewise is 'built upon 'a square.'

3. Farther, the writer of the Revelation says, xxi. 14. *And the wall of the city had twelve foundations, and in them the names of the twelve apostles of the Lamb.* The woman in Hermas says to him: 'Hear now concerning the stones that are in the build- 'ing. Those 'square and white stones, which agree exactly 'in their joints, are the apostles, and bishops, and teachers, 'and ministers——'

4. St. John is bid to *write*, ch. xix. 9. *Blessed are they which*

[l] Dices ergo eis qui præsunt ecclesiæ, ut dirigant vias suas in justitia. Vis. ii. §. 2. [m] Interrogavit me, si jam libellum dedissem senioribus—scribes ergo duos libellos, et mittes unum Clementi, et unum Graptæ. Ibid. §. 4. [n] Anum illam——quam putas esse?——Est ecclesia Dei. Vis. ii. §. 4. [o] Bestia hæc figura est pressuræ supervenientis. V. iv. §. 2. [p] Ecce occurrit mihi virgo quædam exornata, tanquam de thalamo prodiens, tota in albis. Ibid.

[q] Nonne vides contra te turrim magnam, quæ ædificatur super aquas, lapidibus quadratis splendidis? V. iii. §. 2. [r] In quadrato enim ædificabatur turris. Ibid. [s] Lapides quidem illi quadrati, et albi, convenientes in commissuris suis, ii sunt apostoli, et episcopi, et doctores, et ministri. V. iii. §. 5.

are called to the marriage-supper of the Lamb. And he saith unto me, These are the true sayings of God. Hermas is informed: 'When [t] the structure of the tower is finished, they shall feast 'together near the tower, and shall glorify God, because the 'structure of the tower is finished.' And soon after: 'Say 'unto them, that all these things are true, and that there is 'nothing in them that is not true.'

5. In the Revelation is frequent mention of the *book of life.* Ch. iii. 5. *I will not blot his name out of the book of life.* xxi. 8. *whose names are not written in the book of life.* See also xvii. 8. xx. 15.——Hermas is required to admonish his sons. 'For 'the [u] Lord knows they will repent with all their heart, and 'he will write thee in the book of life.' Others read, 'they 'shall be written in the book of life.' Again: 'Keep [x] the com- 'mandments of the Lord, and thou shalt be approved, and 'shalt be written in the number of those that keep his com- 'mandments.'

6. In Rev. vii. 9. *After this I beheld, and lo a great multitude —stood before the throne, and before the Lamb, clothed with white robes, and palms in their hands.* Hermas says: 'Then [y] the 'angel of the Lord commanded crowns to be brought, made 'as of palms. And the angel crowned those men,——and 'commanded them to go into the tower.' The writer of the Revelation is soon after informed, who these are. v. 14. *He said to me: These are they which came out of great tribulation, and have washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb.* In Hermas we have a like explication. 'But [z] who then, 'Lord, said I, are they who enter into the tower crowned? He 'says to me: All who having striven with the devil, have 'overcome him, these are crowned. And these are they who 'have suffered hard things that they might keep the law.' Again: Rev. iii. 5. *He that overcometh, the same shall be clothed in white raiment.* vi. 11. *And white robes were given unto every one of them.* Hermas says of the persons before mentioned, and of some others: 'For [a] they had the same garment, which was 'white as snow, with which he commanded them to go into 'the tower.' And presently after of some others: 'He gave

[t] Cum ergo consummata fuerit structura — nuncius Domini cor- na jussit afferri. Al- tur- latæ sunt autem coronæ velut ex palmis ris, simul epulabuntur juxta tur- factæ; et coronavit eos viros illos —— rim, et honorificabunt Deum. — Dic illis, et jussit eos ire in turrim. Sim. viii. §. 2. quod hæc omnia sunt vera, et nihil extra [z] Sim. viii. §. 3. [a] Sim. viii. §. 2. veritatem est. V. iii. §. 4. [u] Vis. i. §. 3. [x] Sim. v. §. 3. [y] Tunc

'them a white garment, and so sent them away into the 'tower.'

7. In the book of the Revelation is mention made of a *new name*, and a *new city*. Ch. ii. 17. *To him that overcometh will I give a white stone, and in the stone a new name written, which no man knoweth, saving he that receiveth it.* iii. 12. *Him that overcometh will I make a pillar in the temple of my God, and he shall go no more out: and I will write upon him the name of my God, and the name of the city of my God, which is new Jerusalem, and I will write upon him my new name.* In Hermas: 'The [b] Son of God is indeed 'more ancient than any creature. But the gate is therefore new, 'because [c] he appear d in the last days in the [d] fulness of time, 'that they who shall attain to salvation may by it enter into the 'kingdom of God.— No man shall enter into the kingdom of 'God, but he who shall receive the name of the Son of God. 'For if you would enter into any city, and that city should 'be encompassed with a wall, and had only one gate; could 'you enter into that city, but by that one gate?—So neither 'can any enter into the kingdom of God, but only by the name 'of his Son, who is most dear to him.'

8. I forbear to transcribe any more. But this book of Hermas may be of use to explain divers things in the first epistle of St. John, and the book of the Revelation. And one may be apt to conclude, they were all written about the same time.

XLIV. The allusions which I have here produced from Hermas relate to these several books of the New Testament: the gospels of Matthew, Luke, and John. And for Mark's gospel Numb. XXV. may be observed; the Acts; the epistle to the Romans; first and second to the Corinthians; the epistles to the Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians; first to the Thessalonians; second to Timothy; to the Hebrews; the epistle of James; first and second of Peter; the epistles of John, Jude, and the book of the Revelation.

If the reader is desirous to distinguish these allusions into those which are more, and those which are less probable; I hope he will be willing to place in the former rank the allusions to the gospels of Matthew, Luke, and John, especially those to the two former. I would likewise willingly place here the allusions

[b] Simil. ix. 5. 12. [c] Quia in consummatione in novissimis diebus apparuit, ut qui affecturi sunt salutem, per eam intrent in regnum Dei. [d] And here is a reference to Gal. iv. 4. or rather to Eph. i. 9, 10. At least, it is the doctrine of those texts.

to the Acts, the epiſtle to the Romans, the firſt to the Corinthians, the epiſtle to the Epheſians, and the epiſtle of James. And all the reſt deſerve conſideration; except that I think thoſe to the Galatians, Philippians, firſt to the Theſſalonians, ſecond to Timothy, and the epiſtle to the Hebrews, ſome of the leaſt material.

Here are certainly many alluſions to our genuine books of the New Teſtament, which ſhew the great reſpect theſe writings were in, though they are not expreſsly cited. But the reaſon is, that it was not ſuitable to the nature of the work to quote books. The only quotation in Hermas is in this 'manner: 'The Lord is nigh to them that turn to him, as it is written 'in Heldam and Modal, who propheſied to the people in the 'wilderneſs.' Compare Numb. xi. 26, 27. But it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, this is not a Chriſtian, but a Jewiſh writing. Eldad and Modad are mentioned among the apocryphal books of the Old Teſtament in the Synopſis Scripturae, aſcribed to Athanaſius, but not his. It was no unuſual thing for the ancient Chriſtians to quote Jewiſh as well as heathen books, without intending to give them any authority. Finally, I do not perceive in this work of Hermas any alluſions to any apocryphal goſpels, or other apocryphal books of the New Teſtament. It is certain, no ſuch books are here quoted.

CHAP. V.

St. Ignatius. His History.

Ignatius was biſhop of Antioch in Syria, the latter part of the firſt, and the beginning of the ſecond century. He is ſaid by ſome to have been the child whom our Lord took in his arms, and ſet in the midſt of his diſciples, as an emblem of humility. But for this ſtory there is no foundation in the earlieſt antiquity.

Euſebius [a] in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory ſays, 'That Euodius 'having been the firſt biſhop of Antioch, Ignatius ſucceeded 'him.' With whom St. Jerom [b] agrees. In his Chronicle,

[a] Vit. iii. §. 3. [b] L. 3. cap. 22. [c] D. Vir. Ill. n. 16.

Eusebius places the ordination of Ignatius in the year 69, after the death of Peter and Paul at Rome. Nevertheless some think, that Ignatius was ordained by Peter; and suppose, that Euodius and Ignatius were both bishops of Antioch at one and the same time; the one of the Jewish, and the other of the Gentile Christians: but that after the death of Euodius they all came to be under Ignatius, as their bishop. If Ignatius only succeeded Euodius about the year of our Lord 70, it may be reasonably concluded, he was acquainted with several of the apostles. And St. [c] Chrysostom says, 'he conversed familiarly 'with them, and was perfectly acquainted with their doctrine;' and had the † hands of apostles laid upon him.

Beside the bishoprick, the martyrdom of this good man is another of those few things concerning him which are not contradicted. But the time of it, as well as some other things, is disputed. Du Pin places it in the tenth of Trajan, A. D. 107, as do [d] Tillemont and [e] Cave. But [f] Pearson, Loyd, [g] Pagi, [h] Le Clerc, [i] Fabricius, in 116.

Having given this general account of the age of Ignatius, I shall next transcribe the most ancient testimonies concerning him and his epistles. And then I shall make a few remarks.

We have this passage in [k] Irenæus: 'As one of our people, 'for his testimony of God condemned to wild beasts, said: I 'am the wheat of God, and ground by the teeth of wild beasts, 'that I may be found to be pure bread.' Which words are in §. 4. of Ignatius's epistle to the Romans. And this passage is also cited from Irenæus by [l] Eusebius; who in another [m] place likewise says: "Irenæus mentions Justin Martyr, and Ignatius, 'making use of testimonies out of their writings.'

We meet with Ignatius twice mentioned by Origen. 'Finally,' says [n] he, 'I remember, that one of the saints, Ignatius 'by name, has said of Christ: My love is crucified.' Which words are in the same epistle to the Romans, §. vii. Again: 'I have [o] observed it elegantly written in an epistle of a martyr, 'I mean Ignatius, second bishop of Antioch after Peter, that 'the virginity of Mary was unknown to the prince of this 'world.' See the epistle to Ephesians, §. xix.

Eusebius [p], beside what has been already taken from him, says in another place, after the mention of Polycarp and Papias, as

[c] T. i. Hom. 42. in Ignat. p. 562. c. † Ib. p. 563. B. [d] Mem. Eccl. Tom. 2. p. 2. Ignace, Art. ix. [e] Hist. Lit. [f] Dissertat. de Anno quo S. Ignatius condemnatus. [g] Critic. in Baron. 107. n. 3. &c. [h] Hist. E. 116. n. 7. [i] Bibl. Gr. T. v. p. 39. [k] Adverf. Hær. l. v. cap. 28. [l] H. E. l. 3. c. 36. [m] L. v. c. 8. p. 173. [n] Prolog. in Cant. Cantic. p. 496. T. i. Basil. 1571. [o] Hom. vi. in Luc. Tom. 2. p. 214. [p] H. E. l. 3. cap. 36.

contem-

contemporaries: 'At the ſame time alſo flouriſhed Ignatius, 'who is ſtill highly honoured, being the ſecond in the ſucceſ-'ſion of the church of Antioch after Peter. It is ſaid, that he 'was ſent from Syria to Rome to be devoured by wild beaſts, 'for the teſtimony of Chriſt. And making his journey through 'Aſia under a ſtrong guard, he confirmed the churches in 'every city by his diſcourſes, and eſpecially cautioned them 'againſt the hereſies then ſpringing up, and gaining ground; 'and exhorted them to adhere to the tradition of the apoſtles. 'And for the greater ſecurity, he alſo put down his inſtructions 'in writing. Therefore when he came to Smyrna, where Po-'lycarp was, he wrote an epiſtle to the church at Epheſus, 'another to the church in Magneſia upon the [river] Meander '——and another to the church at Trallium——and beſide 'theſe, he wrote alſo to the church at Rome; [from which 'Euſebius quotes a long paſſage.] Theſe things he wrote 'from the forementioned city to thoſe churches. Afterwards 'removing from Smyrna he wrote to the Philadelphians from 'Troas, and to the church of Smyrna, and in particular to 'their preſident Polycarp.' Euſebius proceeds there not only to refer to a paſſage of this epiſtle to Polycarp, but quotes alſo diſtinctly a paſſage from the epiſtle to the church of Smyrna; and then puts down a paſſage of the epiſtle of Polycarp to the Philippians, in the latter part of which he ſays to them: 'The 'epiſtles of Ignatius ſent by him to us, together with what 'other have come to our hands, we have ſent to you, which 'are ſubjoined to this epiſtle: by which you may be greatly 'profited. For they treat of faith and patience, and of all 'things pertaining to edification in our Lord.' And thus we have ſeen alſo Polycarp's teſtimony in general to theſe epiſtles, who collected them.

To the ſame purpoſe St. Jerom in his book of * Illuſtrious Men: 'Ignatius, the third biſhop of the church of Antioch 'after the apoſtle Peter, in the perſecution under Trajan was 'condemned to wild beaſts. And when he came to Smyrna, 'where Polycarp the diſciple of John was biſhop, he wrote 'an epiſtle to the Epheſians, another to the Magneſians, a 'third to the Trallians, a fourth to the Romans: and when 'he was gone thence, he wrote to the Philadelphians, the 'Smyrneans, and in particular to Polycarp.'

I ſhall tranſcribe no more teſtimonies of the ancients, but

* Cap. 16.

refer

refer the reader for the reſt to the Patres Apoſtolici of Le Clerc.

Beſide thoſe ſeven epiſtles mentioned by Euſebius and Jerom, there are ſeveral other epiſtles which have been aſcribed to Ignatius. But they are now almoſt univerſally ſuppoſed by learned men to be ſpurious, and I think are plainly ſo.

Of theſe ſeven, mentioned by Euſebius and Jerom, there are two editions; one called the larger, and oftentimes the interpolated; and another, called the ſmaller. And, except Mr. Whiſton, and perhaps ſome few others, who may follow him, it is the general opinion of learned men, that the larger are interpolated, and that the ſmaller have by far the beſt title to the name of Ignatius.

I have carefully compared the two editions, and am very well ſatisfied, upon that compariſon, that the larger are an interpolation of the ſmaller, and not the ſmaller an epitome or abridgement of the larger. I deſire no better evidence in a thing of this nature.

And the quotations of Ignatius in the moſt ancient Chriſtian writers do alſo better agree with the ſmaller than the larger epiſtles, as may be ſeen in archbiſhop Uſher's [q] Diſſertations.

But whether the ſmaller themſelves are the genuine writings of Ignatius, biſhop of Antioch, is a queſtion that has been much diſputed, and has employed the pens of the ableſt critics. And whatever poſitiveneſs ſome may have ſhewn on either ſide, I muſt own, I have found it a very difficult queſtion. I ſhall however deliver my opinion, formed upon the inquiry I have made into this controverſy. And every one will be able to judge of it by the teſtimonies here alleged.

I make little doubt, but the ſmaller epiſtles, which we now have, are, for the main, the ſame epiſtles of Ignatius which were read by Euſebius, and which, it ſeems pretty plain from Origen, were extant in his time. As for the quotation from Irenæus, it is diſputable, whether he there cites a paſſage of a writing, or only mentions ſome words or expreſſions of Ignatius, which might be ſpoken by him upon the near view of his martyrdom. But though that may bear ſome diſpute, the teſtimony of Irenæus is not altogether without its weight in favour of the epiſtles.

Conſidering then theſe teſtimonies, which I have alleged from Irenæus, Origen, and Euſebius, and alſo the internal cha-

[q] Cap. 3, 4.

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racters of great ſimplicity and piety, which are in theſe epiſtles, (I mean the ſmaller); it appears to me probable, that they are for the main the genuine epiſtles of Ignatius.

If there be only ‡ ſome few ſentiments and expreſſions which ſeem inconſiſtent with the true age of Ignatius, it is more reaſonable to ſuppoſe them to be additions, than to reject the epiſtles themſelves entirely; eſpecially in this ſcarcity of copies which we now labour under. As the interpolations of the larger epiſtles are plainly the work of ſome [r] Arian, ſo even the ſmaller epiſtles may have been tampered with by the Arians, or the orthodox, or both: though I do not affirm, there are in them any conſiderable corruptions or alterations.

The time of theſe epiſtles of Ignatius is determined by that of his martyrdom. For they were written after he was condemned to the wild beaſts, and while he was going a priſoner from Antioch to Rome. Concerning this I have already mentioned two different opinions. Pearſon, Loyd, and Pagi, are poſitive for the year 115 or 116. Baſnage however [s] puts the year of Ignatius's death among the obſcurities of chronology. Indeed thoſe learned men have for their opinion no other grounds but the teſtimony of Malala, an author of the ſixth century, of no great account in other matters; and the Acts, or Martyrdom of Ignatius, which ſay, that he was condemned by Trajan in perſon at Antioch. But it being certain, as theſe learned men have ſhewn, that Trajan was not at Antioch before the year 112; therefore they conclude, that Ignatius was not condemned, at the ſooneſt, before that year. But the genuineneſs of thoſe Acts may be well diſputed for [t] divers reaſons. And theſe Acts themſelves ſay, that Ignatius was martyred at Rome when Senecio and Sura were conſuls, who were ſo in the year 107, the tenth of Trajan. Since therefore Euſebius ſays nothing of Ignatius being condemned by Trajan himſelf at Antioch, and his death is placed by him [u] in the tenth of Trajan, I the rather incline to that opinion; which indeed appears to me much the more probable.

Theſe epiſtles are now extant in Greek, and in an ancient Latin verſion. The latter was publiſhed by A. B. Uſher in 1664. In 1646, Iſaac Voſſius publiſhed ſix of the ſeven epiſtles in Greek from a manuſcript at Florence. The epiſtle to the Ro-

‡ Beauſobre, though he favours the genuineneſs of the ſmaller epiſtles, ſuſpects that even they have been interpolated. See Hiſt. de Manich. T. i. p. 378. Note (3) and p. 380. Note (2).

[r] Vid. Uſſer. Diſſert. cap. 12. 15. Grabe Spicileg. Patrum. ſec. ii. p. 225, 226. et Clerici Diſſert. alteram, §. xi. apud Patres Apoſt. edit. 1724.

[s] Annal. 107. §. vi. [t] Vid. Baſnage Ann. Pol. E. 107. §. 8. [u] See his Chronicle.

mans,

mans, which was wanting there, has been since published in Greek by Ruinart [x] from a manuscript at Paris.

To conclude: As the epistles which we now have of Ignatius are allowed to be genuine by a great number of learned men, whose opinion I think to be founded upon probable arguments, (as I have also shewn in the testimonies here alleged,) I now proceed to quote them as his.

His Testimony to the Books of the New Testament.

In all the epistles of Ignatius there is but one book of the N. T. expressly named by him, which is St. Paul's epistle to the Ephesians. For writing to the Ephesians he says: §. 12.

I. 'Ye [y] are the companions [in the mysteries of the gospel] 'of Paul the sanctified, the martyr, [or highly commended,] 'deservedly most happy,——who throughout all his epistle 'makes mention of you in Christ Jesus.'

He means plainly the epistle of Paul to the Ephesians, in which [z] the apostle praises and commends those Christians, and never reproves them.

Quotations

[x] Ap. Acta Martyr. Sincera, p. 13. et seq. Extat etiam apud Grabe Spicileg. Patr. T. ii. Patres Apost. Cleric. edit. 1724.

[y] Παυλε συμμυσται τω μεμαξυσημενε, ες εν πασῃ επιστολῃ μνημονευει υμων εν Χριστω Ιησε.

[z] That is according to the sense of Valesius, whose note upon the place is to this effect: Frustra sunt——viri literati, non videntes εν πασῃ επιστολῃ esse *in tota epistola*, ad Ephesos nimirum scripta, qua illos laudat ac semper commendat, nunquam reprehendit apostolus, ut fuit ab Hieronymo observatum. Which interpretation, so far as I can see, Pearson has well defended, and more at large. Vindic. Ignat. P. 2. Cap. x. init. Indeed μνημονευω is seldom used in the sense, in which it is here understood by these learned men, for praising or commending. But that sense of the verb seems to be preserved in the noun μνημονευμα in a passage of Aristotle cited by Stephens in his Gr. Thesaurus V. Μνημονευω—In quem locum hæc scribit P. Victorius: Μνημονευματα, nisi fallor, appellat elogia, et quæ memoriam alicujus ornant. And the verb is used for remembering with affectionate regard in Hebr. xi. 15. Και ει μεν εκεινης εμνημονευον, αφ' ης εξηλθον.—However, a very learned writer of a letter concerning the persons to whom St. Paul wrote [illegible] is called the epistle to the Ephesians, at the end of Dr. Benson's History of the first planting the Christian Religion, thinks, that instead of ες μνημαται.—we should read ες μνημονευω υμων, meaning, that Ignatius himself mentioned the Ephesians in every epistle. But that conjecture appears to be without ground: forasmuch as in all the editions of Ignatius's epistles the verb is in the third person; not only in the Greek of the smaller epistles, which I translate, but likewise in the old Latin version. Qui in omni epistola memoriam facit vestri in Jesu Christo. And in the Greek interpolated epistles: Ος παντοτε εν ταις δεησεσιν αυτου μνημονευει υμων. In like manner in the Latin version of the same: Qui semper in suis orationibus memor est vestri—referring, as may be supposed, to Eph. i. 16. and perhaps to some other parts of the same epistle. There is therefore no various reading. And a new one ought not to be admitted, unless the sense should require it; which it does not appear to do here. For Ignatius is extolling the Ephesians. And one part of their glory is, that the apostle throughout his epistle to them had treated them in an honourable manner. The same is observed by some other ancient writers, who supposed this epistle to have been sent to the Ephesians, as may be seen in Pearson. Indeed Ignatius has mentioned the Ephesians in every one of his epistles, except to Polycarp. But so he has likewise the church of Antioch,

Quotations and Alluſions.

N. T.

II. Matth. iii. 15. *For* [a] *thus it becomes us to fulfil all righteouſneſs.*

III. Matth. x. 16. *Be* [c] *ye therefore wiſe as ſerpents, and harmleſs as doves.*

IV. Matth. xii. 33. *For* [e] *the tree is known by his fruit.*

V. Matth. xv. 13. *Every* [g] *plant, which my heavenly Father has not planted, ſhall be rooted up.*

VI. Matth. xviii. 19. *If two of you ſhall agree on earth, as touching any thing that they ſhall aſk, it ſhall be done for them of my Father which is in heaven.* 20. *For where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midſt of them.*

Ignatius.

II. Smyrn. §. 1. Baptized of John, that all [b] righteouſneſs might be fulfilled by him.

III. Polycarp. §. 2. Be [d] wiſe as a ſerpent, in all things, and harmleſs as a dove.

IV. Epheſ. §. 14. The [f] tree is manifeſt by its fruit.

V. Trall. §. xi. "Theſe [h], are not a plant of the father."

He has the ſame expreſſion in [i] another epiſtle.

VI. Epheſ. §. 5. For if the prayer of one or two be of ſuch force; how much more that of the biſhop, and the whole church?

Antioch, in every letter, not excepting that to Polycarp. It is likely therefore, that if Ignatius intended to ſay, that he mentioned the Epheſians in all his epiſtles, he would have added: "As I do alſo the church of "Antioch in Syria, of which I am not "worthy."

And what ſeems to determine this paſſage to belong to Paul, and not to himſelf, together with the conſtant unvaried reading of the place, is the ſtyle of Ignatius in many other places, where he carries on his ſentences with divers ες, and εν, and ε. I ſhall give an inſtance or two. Vid. ad Magneſ. §. viii.—Ad Philad. §. i. Ουκ επισκοπου οντος αμα εμοι,—αλλ' εν αγαπη θεου παντες και ενος ενουντος μου, μη διαπτυσητε την επισκοπην, ες σωτηριαν ουσαν δουλευσαι των μελλοντων λαλειν. Et ib. §. xi. Περι δε φιλωνος του διακονου απο κιλικιας, ανδρος μεμαρτυρημενου, ος και νυν εν λογω θεου υπηρετει μοι, αμα εμοι—ανδρι εκλεκτω, ος απο συριας μοι ακολουθει, απολελαμπρυσμενος τω βιω. Οι και μαρτυρουσιν υμιν. Καγω τω θεω ευχαριστω υπερ υμων, οτι εδεξασθε αυτους, ως και υμας ο κυριος. Which laſt paſſage ſhews alſo, that if, after having firſt ſpoken of Paul, Ignatius had ſaid any thing of himſelf, particularly, that he mentioned them in all his epiſtles, he would have ſaid, καγω: as indeed the nature of the thing requires he ſhould.

All which therefore ſeems to render it probable, that Ignatius had a copy of this epiſtle with an inſcription of it to the Epheſians. But that this will determine the controverſy, concerning the perſons to whom it was ſent, I do not ſay.

[a] Ουτω γαρ πρεπον εστιν ημιν πληρωσαι πασαν δικαιοσυνην.

[b] Ινα πληρωθη πασα δικαιοσυνη υπ' αυτου.

[c] Γινεσθε ουν φρονιμοι ως οι οφεις, και ακεραιοι ως αι περιστεραι.

[d] Φρονιμος γινου ως ο οφις, και ακεραιος ωσπερ περιστερα.

[e] Εκ γαρ του καρπου το δενδρον γινωσκεται,

[f] Φανερον το δενδρον απο του καρπου αυτου.

[g] Πασα φυτεια——εκριζωθησεται,

[h] Ουτοι γαρ ουκ εισιν φυτεια πατρος.

[i] Ad Philadelph. §. 3.

VII. Matth.

VII. Matth. xix. 12. *He*[k] *that is able to receive it, let him receive it.*

VII. Smyrn. §. 6. He[l] that receives it, let him receive it.

Ignatius, however, is not speaking of the same thing with our Saviour, but of quite another matter.

VIII. To the Philadelphians, §. 6. He speaks of some, 'who seem to him to be but as monuments and sepulchres of 'the dead, upon which are written only the names of men.' Which may be thought to refer to Matth. xxiii. 27, &c. but I do not think it material.

IX. To the Magnesians, §. 9. 'And therefore he, whom 'they [the prophets] justly waited for, being come, raised 'them up from the dead.'

He is here supposed to refer to Matth. xxvii. 52. But I have taken several passages that plainly refer to Matthew's gospel, and therefore need not insist upon it. Moreover Ephes. §. 19. He speaks of a bright star, by which our Lord was manifested to the world: where he is supposed to refer to Matth. ii. and undoubtedly confirms that history.

N. T.

X. Luke xiv. 27. *If any man come to me, and hate not his father and mother,—yea, and his own life also, he cannot be my disciple.*

Ignatius.

X. Romans, §. 5. 'Now I begin to be a disciple.'

It has been thought, that he refers to the opposite text in St. Luke. But I think, it can hardly be determined, what particular text he refers to.

XI. John iii. 8. *The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof: but*[m] *canst not tell whence it cometh, and whither it goeth: so is every one that is born of the spirit.*

XI. Philadelph. §. 7. —— Yet the Spirit is not deceived, being from God: for[n] it knows whence it comes, and whither it goes, and reproves secret things.

XII. John viii. 29. *And he that hath sent me is with me: the Father has not left me alone:*

XII. Magnes. §. 8. That there is one God, who has manifested himself through Jesus

k ὁ δυναμενος χωρειν χωρειτω.

l ὁ χωραν χωρειν.

m ἀλλ' ουκ οιδας ποθεν ερχεται, και που υπαγει.

n Οιδεν γαρ ποθεν ερχεται και που υπαγει κ. λ.

for

[o] *for I do always those things that please him.*

Christ his Son:——who in [p] all things pleased him that sent him.

Note: The words I omit here [q] are these: 'Who is his eter-' nal word, not coming forth from silence.' Which last expression has afforded a strong objection to the genuineness of these epistles. If the whole be genuine, there is probably a reference to John i. 1. in that character of 'eternal word.' For my own part, I have [r] suspected the whole which I have omitted to be an interpolation. The connexion is best preserved without those words.

N. T.	Ignatius.
XIII. John x. 9. *I am the door: by me if any man enter in, he shall be saved*, &c.	XIII. Philad. §. ix. He [Christ] is the door of the Father, by which enter in Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and the apostles, and the church.
XIV. John xii. 49. *For I have not spoken of myself, but the Father which sent me, he gave me a commandment, what I should say, and what I should speak.* See Ch. v. 19. x. 30. xiv. 11.	XIV. Magnes. §. 7. As therefore the Lord did nothing without the Father, being united to him; neither by himself, nor by his apostles, &c.
XV. John xvi. 28. *I came forth from the Father, and am come into the world: again, I leave the world, and go to the Father.*	XV. The same: As to one Jesus Christ, who proceedeth from one Father, and exists in one, and is returned to him.
XVI. In John's Gospel, Ch. xii. 31. xiv. 30. xvi. 11. Satan is called the '*prince of this world.*	XVI. Rom. §. 7. 'The' prince of this world would fain carry me away.' He has the same expression in another epistle [u].
XVII. Acts x. 41.—*Who* [x]	XVII. Smyrn. §. 3. But [y]

[o] Οτι εγω τα αρεστα αυτω παντοτε.

[p] Ος και πασι ευηρεστησε τω παμβασιλει αυτου.

[q] Ος εστιν αυτου λογος διδιος ουκ απο σιγης προελθων.

[r] Vid. Voss. not. in. loc.

[s] Ο αρχων του κοσμου τουτου.

[t] Ο αρχων του αιωνος τουτου διαπασαι με βουλεται.

[u] Φευγεις σπευδοντας τον αρχοντα του αιωνος τουτου. Ad Philad. §. 6. Vid. et. Ephes. §. 17. 19.

[x] Οιτινες συνεφαγομεν, και συνεπιομεν αυτω μετα το αναστηναι αυτον εκ νεκρων.

[y] Μαλα δε τον αναστασιν συνεφαγεν αυτοις και συνεπιεν.

did

did eat and drink with him after he arose from the dead.

Comp. Luke xxiv. 42, 43.

XVIII. Rom. xv. 7. *Wherefore* [z] *receive ye one another, as Christ also received us, to the glory of God.*

after his resurrection he did eat and drink with them.

XVIII. Philad. §. 11. And I give thanks to God for you[i] that ye have received them, as the Lord you.

Though the original word for *receive* is not the same with that in Paul, that alone ought not to render the reference doubtful. Ignatius used his memory. And these two words, προσλαμβανομαι and δεχομαι are both used in this sense in the N. T.

XIX. In §. v. of his epistle to the Romans is supposed to be an allusion to Rom. viii. 38, 39.

St. Paul, Rom. i. 3, 4. *Concerning his Son Jesus Christ our Lord, who* [b] *was made of the seed of David according to the flesh, and declared to be the Son of God with power.* Ignatius Smyrn. §. 1. says: 'Our Lord was truly [c] of the race of David, according to the flesh, the Son of God, according to the will and power of God.' Again he says, Ephes. §. 18. 'He [d] was of the seed of David.' Once more, ib. §. 20. That he was, 'according to the flesh, of the race [or family] of David.' Whether he takes this from the epistle to the Romans, or from the genealogies in the gospels, I cannot say.

N. T.	Ignatius.
XX. 1 Cor. i. 10. *Now I beseech you, brethren, by the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that* [e] *ye all speak the same thing, and that there be no divisions among you; but that ye be perfectly joined together in the same mind and in the same judgment.*	XX. Ephes. §. 2. It is fitting therefore, that in all manner of ways ye should glorify Jesus Christ, who has glorified you, that [f] in one obedience ye may be perfectly joined together, in the same mind, and in the same judgment, and may all speak the same thing of the same thing.
XXI. 1 Cor. i. 18. *For the preaching of the cross is to them*	XXI. Ephes. §. 18. Let my life be sacrificed for the doc-

[z] Διο προσλαμβανεσθε αλληλους, καθως και ο Χριστος προσελαβετο ημας εις δοξαν Θεου.

[a] ——ὅτι εδεξασθε αυτους ως και ημας ο κυριος.

[b] Του γενομενου εκ σπερματος Δαβιδ κατα σαρκα.

[c] Ὁλα εκ γενους Δαβιδ κατα σαρκα.

[d] Εκ σπερματος μεν Δαβιδ.

[e] ——ινα το αυτο λεγητε, παντες, και μη η εν υμιν σχισματα, ητε δε κατηρτισμενοι εν τω αυτω νοι, και εν τη αυτη γνωμη.

[f] Ινα εν μια υποταγη τῳ κατηρτισμενοι του αυτου νοι, και τη αυτη γνωμη, και το αυτο λεγητε παντες περι του αυτου.

tbat

that periſh, fooliſhneſs: but unto us that are ſaved, it is the power of God. 19. *For it is written,* ——*I will bring to nothing the* [g] *underſtanding of the prudent.* 20. *Where is the wiſe? Where is the ſcribe? Where is the diſputer of this world? But we preach Chriſt, unto the Jews a ſtumbling block, and unto the Greeks fooliſhneſs.* 24. *But unto them which are called, both Jews and Greeks, Chriſt the power of God, and the wiſdom of God.*

trine [h] of the croſs, which is a ſtumbling block unto unbelievers, but to us ſalvation, and life eternal. Where is the wiſe? Where is the diſputer? Where is the boaſting of them that are called prudent?

XXII. 1 Cor. iv. 4. *For I* [i] *know nothing by myſelf, yet am I not hereby juſtified.*

XXII. Rom. §. 5. But [k] I am not therefore juſtified.

XXIII. 1 Cor. v. 7. *Purge out therefore* [l] *the old leaven, that ye may be a new lump, as ye are unleavened. For Chriſt our paſſover is ſacrificed for us.* 8. *Therefore let us keep the feaſt, not with old leaven, neither with the leaven of malice and wickedneſs.*

XXIII. Magneſ. §. x. Caſt [m] away therefore the evil leaven which is waxed old and ſour, and be transformed into the new leaven, which is Jeſus Chriſt.

XXIV. 1 Cor. vi. 9, 10. *Be not* [n] *deceived: neither fornicators,* —— *nor adulterers, nor effeminate, nor abuſers of themſelves with mankind, ſhall inherit the kingdom of God.*

XXIV. Epheſ. §. 16. Be not [o] deceived, my brethren, corrupters of houſes [or families] ſhall not inherit the kingdom of God. See alſo Philad. §. 3. at the end.

XXV. 1 Cor. xv. 8. *And laſt* [p] *of all, he was ſeen of me*

XXV. Rom. §. ix. For [q] I am not worthy, being the laſt of

[g] Την συνεσιν των συνετων αθετησω—Που σοφος; που γραμματευς; που συζητητης του αιωνος τουτου—ημεις δε κηρυσσομεν Χριστον εσταυρωμενον, Ιουδαιοις σκανδαλον. κ. λ.

[h] ——Τω σταυρω, ο εστιν σκανδαλον τοις απιστουσιν, ημιν δε σωτηρια, και ζωη αιωνιος. Που σοφος; που συζητητης; που χαυχησις των λεγομενων συνετων;

[i] Αλλ' ουκ εν τουτω δεδικαιωμαι.

[k] Αλλ' ει παρα τουτο δεδικαιωμαι.

[l] Εκκαθαρατε ουν την παλαιαν ζυμην, ινα ητε νεον φυραμα——ωστε εορταζωμεν, μη εν ζυμη παλαια, μηδε εν ζυμη κακιας και πονηριας. κ. λ.

[m] Υποφθειρεσθε συν τη κακη ζυμη την παλαιωθεισαν, και εκξισασαν, και μεταβαλεσθε εις νεαν ζυμην, ο εστιν Ιησους Χριστος.

[n] Μη πλανασθε——βασιλειαν Θεου ου κληρονομησουσιν.

[o] Μη πλανασθε——οι οικοφθοροι βασιλειαν Θεου ου κληρονομησουσιν.

[p] Εσχατον δε παντων, ωσπερει τω εκτρωματι ωφθη κακοι.

[q] ——ουκ εσχατος ειμων, και ελεημα· αλλ' πλεημαι τις ειναι, εαν Θεου επιτυχω. Conf. 1 Cor. vii. 25. 1 Tim. i. 13. 16. et Ignat. Smyrn. §. xi. εσχατος αυτων ων,

alſo, as of one born out of due time.

them, and one born out of due time. But I have obtained mercy to be ſome body, if I ſhall get to God.

It is plain, he imitates Paul's ſtyle.

XXVI. 2 Cor. v. 14. *For the love of Chriſt conſtrains us—* 15. *And that he died for all, that they which live ſhould not henceforth live unto themſelves, but unto him which died for them, and roſe again.*

XXVI. Rom. §. vi. Him I ſeek, who died for us: him I deſire, who roſe again for us.

XXVII. Gal. i. 1. *Paul an apoſtle, not* [1] *of men, neither by man, but by Jeſus Chriſt, and God the Father.*

XXVII. Philadelph. §. 1. Which biſhop [of the Philadelphians] I know obtained the miniſtry for the public, not of himſelf, nor [2] by men, nor out of vain glory, but by the love of God the Father, and the Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

XXVIII. Gal. v. 4. *Chriſt is become of no effect unto you: whoſoever of you are juſtified by the law, ye are fallen from grace.*

XXVIII. Magneſ. §. viii. For if we ſtill live according to Judaiſm, we confeſs we have not received grace.

XXIX. I think, that Ignatius in his ſalutation of the church of Epheſus alludes to Eph. i. 3, 4. and iii. 19. But as he has expreſsly owned the epiſtle of St. Paul to the Epheſians [Numb. I.] and there are divers other alluſions to that epiſtle to be taken notice of, I omit it.

N. T.

XXX. Eph. ii. 22. *In whom ye alſo are builded for an habitation of God through the Spirit.* See ver. 20, 21.

IGNATIUS.

XXX. Epheſ. §. ix. As being ſtones of the temple of the Father, prepared for the building of God the Father; drawn up on high by the engine of Jeſus Chriſt, which is the croſs, uſing for a rope the Holy Ghoſt.

Smyrn. §. 1. He may allude alſo to the foregoing verſes of Epheſ. ii. when he ſays, 'that Chriſt by his paſſion and reſur-

[1] Οὐκ ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων, οὐδὲ δι' ἀνθρώπου.

[2] Οὐκ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ, οὐδὲ δι' ἀνθρώπων. κ. λ.

[6] rection

'rection had lifted up a sign for all ages, to his holy and faith-'ful people, whether they be Jews or Gentiles, in one body of 'his church.'

N. T.

XXXI. Ephes. iv. 3. *Endeavouring to keep the unity of the Spirit, in the bond of peace.* 4. *There is one body, and one Spirit, even as ye are called in one hope of your calling.* 5. *One Lord, one faith.*

XXXII. Eph. v. 2. *And walk in love, as Christ also has loved us, and has* [u] *given himself for us, an offering and a sacrifice to God, for a sweet smelling savour.*

XXXIII. Eph. v. 25. *Husbands, love your wives, even as Christ also loved the church.*

29. *For no man hateth his own flesh, but nourisheth and cherisheth it, as* [y] *the Lord the church.*

30. *For we are members of his body, of his flesh, and of his bones.*

XXXIV. Ephes. vi. 13. *Wherefore take unto you the whole armour of God.* 14. *Stand therefore having your loins girt about with truth, and having on the breast-plate of righte-*

IGNATIUS.

XXXI. Magnes. §. vii. Coming together into one place, let there be one [t] prayer, one supplication, one mind, one hope, in charity and joy undefiled. There is one Lord Jesus Christ.

XXXII. Ephes. §. 1. That I may become the disciple of him, [x] who offered himself for us to God, an offering and a sacrifice.

XXXIII. Polycarp. §. v. In like manner exhort my brethren, in the name of Jesus Christ, to love their wives, as [z] the Lord the church.

Ephes. §. v. That he may acknowledge by the things ye do, that ye are members of his Son.

XXXIV. Polycarp. §. 6. Let none of you be found a deserter, but let your baptism remain as [your] arms, faith as a helmet, love as a spear, patience as whole armour.

[u] Και παρεδωκεν εαυτον υπερ ημων προσφοραν και θυσιαν τω Θεω.

[y] Καθως και ο την εκκλησιαν,

[t] Μια προσευχη, μια δεησις. The Archbishop: 'Have one common prayer, one 'supplication.' Which is according to the larger, or interpolated epistles. But as his lordship professes to translate the smaller, I think, with submission, it had been better to follow them here also: though by putting the word *common* in Italic he has hinted, that it is not in the original.

[x] Τω υπερ ημων εαυτον ανενεγκοντος Θεω προσφοραν και θυσιαν.

[z] Ως ο Κυριος την εκκλησιαν.

ousness. 16. *Above all taking the shield of faith.*—17. *And take the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God.*

XXXV. Philip. i. 21. *For me to live is Christ, and to die*[a] *is gain.*

XXXV. Rom. §. vi. He[b] is the gain that is laid up for me.

And that he refers to this text of the Philippians, is farther evident, in that he is here intreating the Romans not to desire his life, and prevent his suffering for Christ: and would have them consider the 'things[c] that straiten' him, or how he was straitened, as Paul[d] also says he was, ver. 23.

N. T.

XXXVI. Philip. ii. 3. *Let*[e] *nothing be done through strife.* 5. *Let this mind be in you, which was also in Christ Jesus.*

XXXVII. Col. i. 7. *As ye also learned of Epaphras*[g] *our dear fellow servant, who is for you a faithful minister of Christ.* See iv. 7.

XXXVIII. 1 Thess. v. 17. *Pray without*[i] *ceasing.*

IGNATIUS.

XXXVI. Philadelph. §. viii. I beseech you, that[f] ye do nothing through strife, but according to the instruction of Christ.

XXXVII. Eph. §. ii. For what concerns Burrhus my[h] fellow servant, and according to God your deacon, blessed in all things.

XXXVIII. Polyc. §. 1. Be at leisure[k] to pray without ceasing.

And to the Ephes. §. x. he writes: 'Pray also for other men[l] without ceasing.' Which are the very words of St. Paul's advice.

N. T.

XXXIX. 2 Tim. i. 16. *The Lord give mercy to the house of Onesiphorus, for he*[m] *oft re-*

IGNATIUS.

XXXIX. Eph. §. ii. And Crocus—has in[n] all things refreshed [or comforted] me, as

[a] Και το αποθανειν, κερδος.

[b] Ο δε τοκετος μοι επικειται. Ille lucrum mihi adjacet. Vers. Lat.

[c] Ειδως τα συνεχοντα με.

[d] Συνεχομαι γαρ εκ των δυο.

[e] Μηδεν κατα εριθειαν——τουτο γαρ φρονεισθω εν υμιν ο και εν Χριστω Ιησου.

[f] Παρακαλω δε υμας, μηδεν κατα εριθειαν πρασσειν, αλλα κατα χριστομαθειαν.

[g] Του αγαπητου συνδουλου ημων, ος εστι πιστος υπερ ημων διακονος του Χριστου.

[h] Περι δε του συνδουλου μου Βουρρου, του κατα Θεον διακονου υμων εν πασι ευλογημενου.

[i] Αδιαλειπτως προσευχεσθε.

[k] Προσευχαις σχολαζε αδιαλειπτοις.

[l] Και υπερ των αλλων δε ανθρωπων αδιαλειπτως προσευχεσθε.

[m] Οτι πολλακις με ανεψυξε, και την αλυσιν μου ουκ επησχυνθη.

[n] Κατα παντα με ανεπαυσεν, ως και αυτον Πατηρ Ιησου Χριστου αναψυξει.

freſhed me, and was not aſhamed of my chain.

18. *The Lord grant unto him, that he may find mercy of the Lord in that day.*

the Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt ſhall alſo refreſh him.

He has more to the ſame purpoſe, Smyrn. §. 9, 10. and ſays: 'My ſoul be for yours, 'and my bonds, which ye 'have not deſpiſed, nor been 'aſhamed of[o].'

XL. 2 Tim. ii. 4. *No man [p] that warreth, entangleth himſelf with the affairs of this life, that he may pleaſe him who hath choſen him to be a ſoldier.*

XL. Polycarp. §. vi. Pleaſe [q] him, under whom ye war, and from whom ye receive your wages.

XLI. Tit. ii. 3. *The [r] aged women, that they be in behaviour as becometh godlineſs.*

XLI. Trall. §. iii. Whoſe [s] very behaviour is an excellent inſtruction [ſpeaking of their biſhop].

The only reaſon of taking notice of this place is the word καλασημα, *behaviour*, which is no where in the N. T. but this place to Titus.

N. T.

XLII. Philem. ver. 20. *Yea, [t] brother, let me have joy of thee in the Lord.*

IGNATIUS.

XLII. Epheſ. §. ii. And [u] may I always have joy of you.

This phraſe of St. Paul to Philemon occurs in ſeveral [x] of Ignatius's epiſtles.

N. T.

XLIII. Heb. x. 28. *He that deſpiſed Moſes' law, died without mercy, under two or three witneſſes.* 29. *Of how much ſorer puniſhment ſhall he be thought worthy, who has trodden under foot the Son of God, and hath counted the blood of the covenant, wherewith he was ſanctified, an unholy thing?*

IGNATIUS.

XLIII. Epheſ. §. xvi. If therefore they who do theſe things according to the fleſh have died [or ſuffered death], how much more ſhall he who by wicked doctrine corrupts the faith of God, for which Jeſus Chriſt was crucified? Such a one being defiled, ſhall go into fire unquenchable, as ſhall he who hears him.

[o] Και τα δεσμα μου, ους επεφυσησατε, ουδε επησχυνθητε.

[p] Ουδεις στρατευομενος εμπλεκεται ταις του βιου πραγμασιν, ινα τω στρατολογησαντι αρεση.

[q] Αρεσκετε ω στρατευεσθε.

[r] Πρεσβυτιδας νηφαλιους εν καλασημαλι περιπατειν.

[s] Ου αυτο το καλασημα μεγαλη μαθησις.

[t] Εγω σου οναιμην εν Κυριω.

[u] Οναιμην υμων δια παντος.

[x] Magneſ. §. xii. Polycarp. §. vi.

XLIV. Hebr. xiii. 9. [y] *Be not carried about with divers and ſtrange doctrines: for it is a good thing, that the heart be eſtabliſhed with grace, not with meats, which have not profited them which have been occupied therein.*

XLIV. Magneſ. §. viii. Be [z] not deceived with heterodox opinions, nor with old fables, which are unprofitable. For if we ſtill continue to live according to the Jewiſh law, we confeſs we have not received grace.

The larger or interpolated epiſtles of Ignatius are in this place thus: 'Be not deceived with heterodox opinions, nor give heed to 'fables and endleſs genealogies [1 Tim. i. 4.], and to the Jewiſh 'pride. Old things are paſſed away: behold, all things are be-'come new.' [2 Cor. v. 17.] Whence I think it muſt be owned, that by 'old fables which are unprofitable,' the author was led to think of 1 Tim. i. 4. and was therefore induced to put down that place diſtinctly. Nevertheleſs, I think the whole paſſage of the ſmaller epiſtles contains a probable alluſion to Heb. xiii. 9.

XLV. Ignatius, Epheſ. §. v. 'For it is written: God re-'ſiſteth the proud.' Which words are indeed in James iv. 6. and 1 Pet. v. 5. But it is moſt probable, that Ignatius refers to Prov. iii, 34.

N. T.

XLVI. 1 Pet. v. 5. *Yea* [a], *all of you, be ſubject one to another.*

IGNATIUS.

XLVI. Magneſ. §. xiii. Be [b] ſubject to the biſhop, and to one another.

XLVII. 1 John i. 2. *And the life was manifeſted,—and—we ſhew unto you that eternal life, which* [c] *was with the Father, and was manifeſted unto us.*

XLVII. Magneſ. §. vi.—Jeſus Chriſt, [d] who was with the Father before the world was, and in the end appeared.

This is the doctrine of the New Teſtament. But the ſame thing being ſaid likewiſe in other texts, as Tit. i. 3. 1 Pet. i, 20. one can hardly ſay poſitively, that Ignatius refers to the epiſtle of John.

N. T.

XLVIII. 3 John 2. *Be-*

IGNATIUS.

XLVIII. Magneſ. §. xiii.

y Διδαχαις παιναιαις και ξεναις μη περιφερεσθε· καλον γαρ χαριτι βεβαιουσθαι την καρδιαν, ου βρωμασιν, οι ουκ ωφεληθησαν οι περιπατησαντες.

a Παυλος δε αλληλοις υποτασσεσθαι λεγει.

c Ην προς τον Πατερα, και εφανερωθη ημιν.

z Μη πλανασθε ταις ετεροδοξιαις, μηδε μυθευμασιν τοις παλαιοις ανωφελεσιν ουσιν. κ. λ.

b Υποτασσησθε τω επισκοπω και αλληλοις.

d Ος προ αιωνων παρα Πατρι ην, και εν τελει εφανη.

loved,

loved, I wiſh above [e] *all things that thou mayeſt proſper, and be in health, even as thy ſoul proſpereth.*

That [f] whatever ye do, ye may proſper in fleſh and ſpirit, &c.

When Ignatius writes, Smyrn. §. x. 'Ye have well done, that 'ye have received Philo, and Reus Agathopus, who followed me 'for the word of God, as the ſervants [or deacons] of Chriſt our 'God:' there is a great reſemblance with ver. 5, 6, 7, 8. of this third epiſtle of John.

XLIX. Beſide theſe alluſions and references to particular books, or texts, of the New Teſtament; it has been obſerved by [g] ſome learned men, that this ancient writer has made mention of the ſcriptures of the N. T. under ſome general names and diviſions.

L. Philadelph. §. v. 'Fleeing [h] to the goſpel, as the fleſh of 'Jeſus, and to the apoſtles as the preſbytery of the church. 'Let us alſo love the prophets, becauſe that they alſo ſpoke 'of the goſpel, and hoped in him [or Chriſt], and expected 'him.'

In this place Grabe and Mill underſtand by 'the goſpel,' the book or volume of the goſpels; by 'the apoſtles,' the book or volume of their epiſtles: as by 'the prophets,' the volume, or whole canon of the Old Teſtament. And [i] Le Clerc, who aſſents to the truth of the obſervation of theſe learned men, has farther commented upon this paſſage in this manner: 'Which 'words,' ſays he, 'as it ſeems, are to be underſtood of the evan-'gelic and apoſtolic writings. So that what Ignatius intends 'is this: that in order to underſtand the will of God, he fled 'to the goſpels, which he believed no leſs than if Chriſt him-'ſelf, in the fleſh, that is, in the condition he was in on earth, 'preſent and ſtill living among men, delivered with his own 'mouth thoſe diſcourſes which are contained in the goſpels. 'As alſo, he fled to the writings of the apoſtles, whom he 'eſteemed as the preſbytery of the whole Chriſtian church, 'under Chriſt the univerſal biſhop, which [preſbytery] taught 'all Chriſtian ſocieties what they ought to believe. Whence 'it is ſufficiently manifeſt, how much the ſacred books of the 'N. T. were eſteemed at that time. He adds: "Let us alſo 'love the prophets." Which words intend the Old Teſtament,

[e] Ἐυχομαι σε εὐοδοῦσθαι καὶ ὑγιαίνειν, καθὼς καὶ ὑγιαίνει σου ἡ ψυχή.

[f] Καλῶς ποιῶν σαρκὶ καὶ πνεύματι.

[g] Vid. Millii Prolegom. n. 198, 199.

[h] Προσέφυγον τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ, ὡς σαρκὶ Ἰησοῦ, καὶ τοῖς ἀποστόλοις, ὡς πρεσβυτερίῳ ἐκκλησίας· καὶ τοὺς προφήτας δὲ ἀγαπήσωμεν. κ. λ.

[i] Vid. Hiſtor. Ec. An. D. 116. §. 25.

'as written: for the prophets could not be otherwiſe known to 'Ignatius. Nor ought it to be paſſed by without obſervation, 'that he in the firſt place mentions the writings of the N. T. by 'which we are Chriſtians, as his "refuge:" and in the ſecond 'place the books of the O. T. becauſe the New may be con-'firmed out of them.'

LI. Again: Philadelph. §. ix. 'But [k] the goſpel has ſomewhat 'in it more excellent, the appearance of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, 'his paſſion and reſurrection. For the beloved prophets re-'ferred to him, but the goſpel is the perfection of incor-'ruption.'

Smyrn. §. 7. 'Ye [l] ought to hearken to the prophets, 'but eſpecially to the goſpel, in which the paſſion has been 'manifeſted to us, and the reſurrection perfected.'

In theſe two places Mill ſuppoſes to be meant the book of the goſpels. And in the following paſſage by 'goſpel' he ſuppoſes to be meant the canon of the New Teſtament in general.

LIII. Smyrn. §. v. 'Whom [m] neither the prophecies, nor 'the law of Moſes have perſuaded: nor yet the goſpel even to 'this day, nor the ſufferings of every one of us.'

LIV. Philadelph. §. viii. 'Becauſe [n] I have heard of 'ſome who ſay, unleſs I find it in the ancients [ſome are for ar-'chives], I do not believe in the goſpel: and I ſaid unto 'them, It is written: they anſwered me, It is not mentioned. 'But to me inſtead of all ancients is Jeſus Chriſt. And the un-'corrupted ancient [doctrines] are his croſs, and his death, and 'his reſurrection, and the faith which is by him.'

This difficult text I have rendered as near as I could accord-ing to the ſenſe in which it is underſtood by Le Clerc [o], which I think to be the moſt likely meaning. He ſuppoſes it to be an anſwer to the Jews, who refuſed to believe the goſpel, for want of ſome clearer prophecies in the Old Teſtament. I have thought proper to take this notice of this paſſage, to prevent any wrong concluſions from it, as it ſtands in the Archbiſhop's tranſ-lation.

LV. We are to obſerve one place more. Smyrn. §. iii.

[k] Εξαιρετον δε τι εχει το ευαγγελιον, την παρουσιαν του Κυριου ημων Ιησου Χριστου, το παθος αυτου, και την αναστασιν· οι γαρ αγαπητοι προφηται κεκηρυγκεισαν εις αυτον· το δε ευαγγελιον απαρτισμα εστιν αφθαρσιας. [l] Περιεχειν δε τους προφητας, εξαιρετως δε το ευαγγελιον, εν ω το παθος ημιν δεδηλωται, και η αναστασις τετελειωται. [m] Ους ουκ επεισαν οι προφητικοι, ουδ' ο νομος Μωσεως, αλλ' ουδε μεχρι νυν το ευαγγελιον, ουδε τα παθηματα ημων κατ' ανδρα παντα. [n] Επει ηκουσα τινων λεγοντων, ὃτι εαν μη εν τοις αρχαιοις ευρω, εν τω ευαγγελιω ου πιστευω· και λεγοντος μου αυτοις, Γεγραπται, απεκριθησαν μοι, Ου προκειται. [al. ου προκειται. Vid. Voſſ. in loc.] εμοι δε αρχειον εστι Ιησους Χριστος· τα αδυτα αρχεια ο σταυρος αυτου, και ο θανατος και η αναστασις αυτου, και η πιστις η δι' αυτου. [o] Vid. Hiſt. E. 116. 26. et ad loc. Ignat. ap. Patr. A. ed. 1724.

'And

'And when he [Christ] came to those who were with Peter, 'he [p] said unto them: Take, handle me, and see that I am 'not an incorporeal demon:' or, in other words, I am not a spirit.

Eusebius [q] has quoted this passage of Ignatius, and says, he did not know whence Ignatius took these words of our Saviour. But Jerom [r] says, it was taken out of the Gospel according to the Hebrews. If these ancient writers, and some learned moderns, had not suspected these words to be taken out of some particular writing; I think one might have supposed, that Ignatius only quoted Luke's gospel in a loose manner, where is exactly the same sense. Ch. xxiv. 39. *Behold my hands and my feet, that it is I myself: handle me and see, for a spirit has not flesh and bones, as ye see me have.* And if it had not been a disputed point, I should have inserted this passage above, as a quotation of the gospel of St. Luke, or a reference to it. I find Mr. Le Clerc so much of the same mind, that I shall place his words [s] in the margin. And I would also add, that it was the opinion of [t] Isaac Casaubon, and bishop Pearson, that Ignatius did not quote these words out of the Gospel of the Hebrews, but that they were afterwards inserted in it.

Having shewn the opinion of these learned men, I beg leave to detain the reader a little longer, while I set before him this passage with the context more at large. In opposition to some heretics, Ignatius says: 'Christ truly suffered, as he also truly 'raised up himself: not as some unbelievers say, that he only 'seemed to suffer, they themselves only seeming to be. And [u] 'as they think, so shall it happen to them, to be incorporeal 'and phantastical [in the original, literally, "incorporeal and 'dæmoniac"]. But I know, that after the resurrection he was in

[p] Ἐφη αὐτοις· Λαβετε, ψηλαφησετε με, και ιδετε, ὁτι εκ ειμι δαιμονιον ασωματον. [q] H. E. l. 3. c. 36. p. 108. A. [r] De Vir. Ill. n. 16. in Ignatio. Vid. et Grabe Spicil. T. i. p. 25.

[s] Quæ crediderim quidem Hieronymo fuisse in evangelio Hebræorum; sed videntur esse paraphrasis verborum, quæ sunt Lucæ, cap. xxiv. 39. quâ uti potuit Ignatius, pro more antiquissimorum patrum, qui persæpe scripturæ sensum potius quam verba laudant. Certè Ignatius ea verba Matthæo non tribuit, et Nazaræi etiam historiam, quæ apud Lucam exstabat, potuerunt suo exemplari Matthæi nonnihil immutatam inserere; ita ut utrique ex eodem fonte hauserint, non Ignatius ex Nazaræis. Dissertat. iii. quæ est de iv. Evangeliis: ad calcem Harmoniæ Evangelicæ.

[t] Quin est fortasse verius, non ex evangelio Hebraico Ignatium illa verba descripsisse, verum traditionem allegasse, non scriptam, quæ postea in literas fuerit relata, et Hebræorum evangelio quod Matthæo tribuebant inserta. Casaub. Exerc. ad Baron. xvi. Numb. 126. Pearson having cited this passage approves it: Et hoc quidem multo mihi verisimilius videtur. Vindic. Ign. P. 2. Cap. 9. And again afterwards: Quidni pariter et S. Ignatius [inquit Pearsonus], qui cum apostolis et eorum discipulis versatus est, præsertim eo tempore, quo scriptis evangeliis uti forte eo non licebat, eandem historiam quam narrat S. Lucas aliis verbis explicaret? Ibid. [u] Και καθως φρονουσιν, και συμβησεται αυτοις, ουσιν ασωματοις και δαιμονικοις.

'the

'the fleſh, and I believe him to be ſo ſtill. And when he came 'to thoſe who were with Peter, he ſaid to them: Take, handle 'me, and ſee that I am not an incorporeal phantom.' From whence I think it appears, Ignatius was wont to uſe the words dæmon and dæmoniac, as equivalent to phantom or ſpirit, and phantaſtical. This being his ſtyle, if he had not St. Luke before him (as it is very likely, in his circumſtances, he had not); it was very natural for him to repreſent the ſenſe of that text of St. Luke's goſpel, juſt as we ſee in this paſſage.

I ſhall now make two obſervations:

1. That this is the firſt place of the apoſtolical fathers, in which we have a paſſage, I do not ſay quoted from, but found in, an apocryphal book of the New Teſtament. And this is the firſt in Grabe's collection of the fragments of the Goſpel according to the Hebrews. It will not be improper for me to confirm this obſervation by the judgment of Mr. Le Clerc, who has been ſo converſant with theſe writers. He ſays then [x] expreſsly, 'that he has not obſerved in any of the apoſtolical 'fathers, (he means thoſe already here quoted, and St. Polycarp, 'who will next follow,) any quotations of apocryphal books, 'concerning the doctrine or hiſtory of Chriſt, except only this 'one paſſage of Ignatius; in which he may ſeem to quote the 'goſpel of the Nazarenes: but I rather think, ſays he, the place 'taken from St. Luke.'

2. I would obſerve concerning the Goſpel according to the Hebrews, That this paſſage of it affords an argument, that it was compoſed after our genuine goſpels; becauſe it appears to be taken out of St. Luke's goſpel, only with a little alteration; in conformity, perhaps, to this very place of Ignatius. I think I could argue the ſame thing from ſome other paſſages of that Goſpel of the Hebrews. But we may have a better opportunity of ſhewing more at large, that the ground-work of that goſpel is St. Matthew's goſpel; to which have been made additions of things taken out of St. Luke's, (and perhaps other goſpels) and other matters that had been delivered by oral tradition.

LVI. Thus I have given an account of the teſtimony which Ignatius affords to the books of the New Teſtament, without any reſpect to the larger epiſtles, except in Numb. XLIV. where I have particularly mentioned them. The larger epiſtles would have ſupplied me with many more, and expreſs quotations of

[x] Non animadverti ulla uſpiam evangelia, aut ſcripta apocrypha ad hiſtoriam aut doctrinam Chriſti pertinentia, ab iis laudari; excepto uno illo Ignatii, in quo videri poſſit laudare evangelium Nazaræorum; ſed quem ex Luca expreſſum potius exiſtimaverim, ut jam dixi. Le Clerc Harmon. Evangel. p. 542. b.

the goſpels and epiſtles, if we could allow them to be genuine. But beſide th many other arguments againſt their genuineneſs, this may be one, that there are more quotations out of the Old and New Teſtament, than could be well expected. The larger epiſtles were plainly compoſed by a man at leiſure. Ignatius at his writing was very much ſtraitened for time, being at once a traveller, and a priſoner under a ſtrong guard; and, at the places where he reſted, much engaged by the kind and reſpectful viſits of the Chriſtians there, and from the neighbouring cities, and in giving them exhortations by word of mouth. I have endeavoured to take nothing but what is genuine. The Greek edition, even of the ſmaller epiſtle to the Romans, as now publiſhed by Ruinart, would have afforded me two references or quotations more than I have taken; one of Matthew xvi. 26. the other of 2 Cor. iv. 8. the words of which texts are there at length. But Grabe[y] has honeſtly and ingenuouſly owned, he ſuſpects them to be additions, they being wanting in the ancient Latin verſion of that epiſtle.

LVII. We may now ſum up the teſtimony of Ignatius. And in the firſt place, he has expreſsly aſcribed the epiſtle to the Epheſians to St. Paul. In the next place, here are plain alluſions to the goſpels of St. Matthew and St. John. Whether he has alluded to the goſpel of St. Luke, is doubtful, unleſs we allow him to refer to it in the paſſage at Numb. LV. The other alluſions here taken from Ignatius relate to the Acts of the apoſtles, the epiſtle to Romans, firſt and ſecond to the Corinthians, Galatians, Epheſians, Philippians, Coloſſians, firſt to the Theſſalonians, ſecond to Timothy, to Titus, Philemon, Hebrews, firſt epiſtle of Peter, firſt and third epiſtles of John. And moſt of theſe alluſions, I apprehend, will be allowed manifeſt. The leaſt conſiderable ſeem to be thoſe to the Coloſſians, Titus, and the Hebrews. And if any think, likewiſe, the agreement between Ignatius and ſome of the other books not material, I ſhall not contend about it. Every one is now able to judge for himſelf. But I think, there are ſome references to the greateſt part of theſe books, which will not be diſputed.

And beſides, here are terms uſed by him, importing a collection of the goſpels, and of the epiſtles of the apoſtles, and of the books of the New Teſtament in general.

[y] Neque tamen diſſimulare poſſum, et iſtud non omnino ſincerum, ſed loca ſcripturæ, 2 Cor. iv. et Matth. xvi. aliaque, addita videri, quæ a vetere verſione abſunt. Grabe Spicil. Patr. T. 2. p. 8.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

St. Polycarp. His History.

The character and age of Polycarp, and the genuineness of his remaining epistle to the Philippians, will appear from some passages of Irenæus, bishop of Lyons in Gaul. These passages will also serve to shew at the same time the age, and consequently the authority, of Irenæus himself, and the value of his testimony, when we shall come to make use of it.

Irenæus [a] says in his excellent work against all heresies: 'And Polycarp teaches the same things, who was not only 'taught by the apostles, and had conversed with many who had 'seen Christ, but was also by the apostles appointed bishop of 'the church of Smyrna in Asia. Whom also I saw in my ear-'ly age (for he lived long, and at a great age had a glorious 'and splendid martyrdom): I say Polycarp always taught these 'things, which he had learned from the apostles, which he de-'livered to the church, and which alone are true. To this 'bear witness all the churches in Asia, and they who to this 'time have succeeded Polycarp; that he is a more credible 'and sure witness of the truth than Valentinus and Marcion, 'and other authors of corrupt opinions. Who also, when he 'came to Rome in (A) the time of Anicetus, converted many 'of the before-mentioned heretics to the church of God, de-'claring that to be the one and only truth which had been re-'ceived from the apostles, and was delivered by the church. 'And there (B) are those who have heard him say, that John, 'the

[a] L. 3. c. 3. §. 4. Edit. Mass. et apud Euseb. H. E. l. iv. cap. 14.

(A) The occasion of Polycarp's journey to Rome is said to be some controversy about the time of keeping Easter. See Euseb. H. E. l. 4. c. 14. Hieron. de Vir. Ill. c. 17. But learned men are not agreed about the time of it. It must be determined by that of Anicetus being bishop of Rome. Bishop Pearson, as he places the bishoprick of Anicetus in the beginning of the reign of Antoninus the Pious, places this journey accordingly about the year 142. Oper. Post. Diss. ii. c. 14. Others in 153. Basnage Ann. 153. §. 64. Others in 158, or 160. See Pagi Crit. 165. n. v. Du Pin Bibl. Polycarpe.

(B) The same story is told with different circumstances by Epiphanius H. 30. c. 24. But the truth of it has been sometimes called in question. It is observable, that Irenæus, though personally acquainted with Polycarp, does not say, that he had it himself from him; but that there were some, who heard him say as much: *και εισιν οι ακηκοοτες αυτου.* It is not at all likely, that the apostle John should go to a public bath. Epiphanius, or whoever formed the story, as related by him, saw this impropriety; and therefore says, that 'John 'was moved by the Spirit to go thither:' *Ηναγκασθη υπο του αγιου πνευματος προελθειν εως του βαλανειου.* And Theodoret says, that 'John went thither, because of an indis-'position he happened to labour under:' *συνεβη γαρ και αυτον δι αρρωστιαν χρησθαι τω βα-λανειον.*

'the disciple of the Lord, going to bathe at Ephesus, and see-
'ing Cerinthus already in the bath, came out again in haste
'without bathing, saying to those who were with him: "Let us
"flee hence, lest the bath should fall, while Cerinthus the ene-
"my of the truth is within." And Polycarp himself, Marcion
'once coming in his way, and saying to him, "Do you own
"me?" he answered: "I own you to be the first born of Satan."
'——There is also a most excellent epistle of Polycarp written
'to the Philippians; from which they who are willing, and are
'concerned for their own salvation, may learn both the cha-
'racter of his faith, and the doctrine of the truth.'

This passage has been transcribed by Eusebius in his Eccle-siastical [b] History, who immediately adds: 'Polycarp, in the fore-
'mentioned epistle to the Philippians, which is still extant,
'has made use of some testimonies from the first epistle of
'Peter.'

Irenæus also, in a [c] letter to Florinus, who had embraced the errors of Valentinus, has these words: 'Those opinions, the
'presbyters before us, who also conversed with the apostles,
'have not delivered to you. For I saw you, when I was very
'young, in the lower Asia with Polycarp.——For I better re-
'member the affairs of that time, than those which have lately
'happened; the things which we learn in our childhood grow-
'ing up with the soul, and uniting themselves to it. Insomuch
'that I can tell the place in which the blessed Polycarp sat and
'taught, and his going out and coming in, and the manner of
'his life, and the form of his person, and the discourses he
'made to the people; and how he related his conversation with
'John, and others who had seen the Lord; and how he related
'their sayings, and what he had heard from them concerning
'the Lord; both concerning his miracles, and his doctrine, as
'he had received them from the eye-witnesses of the Word of
'Life: all which Polycarp related agreeable to the scriptures.
'These things I then, through the mercy of God toward me,
'diligently heard and attended to, recording them not on pa-
'per, but upon my heart. And through the grace of God I
'continually renew the remembrance of them. And I can af-

Paulus. Theod. H. F. l. 2. c. 3. Irenæus and Theodoret say, it was Cerinthus: Epiphanius, that it was Ebion, who was in the bath. And there are other different circumstances in the relations of this matter, and also other objections against this whole story, which may be seen in Lampe Prolegom. de V. Joann. Evang. lib. 1. cap. v. n. 1, 2. to whom I refer. And indeed some of the ancients who mention it, speak of it only as an uncertain report, particularly Theodoret, before quoted, Τῦτο, ὡς φασι, ὁ θεσπέσιος Ἰωάννης ὁ εὐαγγελιστὴς λουόμενος διεσάφησε· κ. λ ubi supra.

[b] L. iv. cap. 14. [c] The letter itself is not extant. But Eusebius has preserved a fragment of it. L. v. c. 20.

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'firm in the preſence of God, that if this bleſſed and apoſtolical 'preſbyter had heard any ſuch thing, he would have cried out, and 'ſtopped his ears, and, according to his cuſtom, would have ſaid: 'Good God, to what times haſt thou reſerved me, that I ſhould 'hear ſuch things! And he would have fled from the place in 'which he was ſitting or ſtanding, when he heard ſuch words. 'And as much may be perceived from his epiſtles, which he 'ſent to neighbouring churches, eſtabliſhing them; or to ſome 'of the brethren, inſtructing and admoniſhing them.'

We have now ſeen in Irenæus Polycarp's age and character, particular mention of his letters to the Philippians and other churches, and to ſome of the brethren, or particular perſons.

Euſebius, ſpeaking of thoſe who flouriſhed in the time of Trajan, as Ignatius and Papias, [d] ſays: 'At that time flou-'riſhed in Aſia Polycarp, diſciple of the apoſtles, who received 'the biſhoprick of the church in Smyrna from the eye-wit-'neſſes and miniſters of the Lord.'

St. Jerom in his book [e] of Illuſtrious Men ſays: 'Polycarp, 'the diſciple of John the apoſtle, and by him ordained biſhop 'of Smyrna, was the prince of all Aſia. Foraſmuch as he had 'ſeen and been taught by ſome of the apoſtles, and thoſe who 'had ſeen the Lord. —— Afterwards, in the reign of Marcus 'Antoninus and L. Aurelius Commodus, in the fourth perſecu-'tion after Nero, he was condemned to the flames at Smyrna, 'the proconſul being preſent, and all the people in the am-'phitheatre demanding his death. He wrote to the Philip-'pians a very uſeful epiſtle, which to this day is read in the 'aſſembly of Aſia.'

His martyrdom happened, according to biſhop [f] Pearſon, who ſuppoſes he ſuffered under Antoninus the Pious, in the year 148: according to Du Pin, Tillemont, and many other learned men, in the year 167, or thereabouts, in the ſeventh year of Marcus Antoninus the philoſopher: according to Baſnage [g], in the year 169, which was alſo [h] archbiſhop Uſher's opinion. Theſe latter opinions ſeem to me much nearer the truth than biſhop Pearſon's, becauſe Euſebius and Jerom place it in the time of Marcus Antoninus: though to determine the exact year of this martyrdom is very difficult, as [i] Pagi has obſerved.

So I ſaid in the firſt edition. I muſt now add, that [k] there is an ancient inſcription, which very much favours Pearſon's argument for the early date of St. Polycarp's martyrdom.

[d] H. E. l. 3. c. 36. [e] Cap. 13. [f] Op. Poſt. Diſſ. ii. c. 15, 16, 17.
[g] Ann. 169. §. vi. et ſeq. [h] Vid. Not. ad Cap. xi. Ep. Polyc. ad Philip.
[i] Critic. in Bar. 167. §. 4, 5. [k] See Chiſhull's Travels, pag. 11.

We

We have the relation of his martyrdom in a letter of the church of Smyrna to the church of Philadelphia and other churches. In this relation Polycarp ſays to the proconſul: 'Eighty and ſix years have I now ſerved Chriſt.' Underſtand this of his life; and, according to every calculation of the time of his death, he lived a good while in the firſt century. Underſtand it of his Chriſtianity, as [l] Tillemont does, and being martyred, as he ſays, in the year 166, his converſion to Chriſtianity happened in the year 80. Underſtand it of his ſerving Chriſt in the miniſtry; and he was biſhop of Smyrna from the year 84, according [m] to Baſnage. He is thought by many to be the angel of the church of Smyrna, to whom the epiſtle in the Revelation is ſent.

But though we ſhould not be able preciſely to ſettle the time of Polycarp's birth, or death; it is evident from the teſtimonies here alleged, that he was a diſciple of John; appointed biſhop of Smyrna by him, if not alſo by ſome other apoſtles joining with him therein; and that he had converſed with ſeveral who had ſeen the Lord.

Irenæus aſſures us, Polycarp had written divers letters. The loſs of the writings of ſuch a perſon cannot but be lamented. And I think it ſomewhat likely, that Euſebius and Jerom had ſeen nothing of his, beſide the epiſtle to the Philippians.

There is ſcarce any doubt or queſtion among learned men about the genuineneſs of this epiſtle of Polycarp, though there have been exceptions taken to a paſſage or two of it, as if they were additions and interpolations. Indeed, the epiſtle we ſtill have well anſwers to the apoſtolical character of Polycarp himſelf; and agrees with the character given of his epiſtle by Irenæus, and the obſervation of Euſebius, that he had therein quoted the firſt epiſtle of Peter, and not the ſecond. It has alſo the paſſages expreſsly quoted from it [n] by Euſebius. It ought therefore to be received, and reſpected as his, without heſitation.

It is certain, this epiſtle was written after the death of Ignatius, and, as is generally ſuppoſed, ſoon after it. Baſnage [o] indeed denies, there is any proof of this. However, I ſhall place it here in the year next after the death of Ignatius, A. D. 108.

The former and larger part of this epiſtle we have in its original Greek. The tenth, eleventh, and twelfth ſections (of which there are thirteen in the whole) are now extant only in

[l] Mem. E. T. 2. Part 2. Polycarp Art. 1. [m] Annal. 84. §. 3. 169. §. 12.
[n] H. E. l. 3. c. 36. p. 108. [o] Annal. 110. §. 4. 6.

an

an ancient Latin verſion; which is entire, and contains the whole epiſtle.

The Relation of the Martyrdom of Polycarp, written by the church of Smyrna, of which he was biſhop, is an excellent piece; which may be read with pleaſure by the Engliſh reader in the archbiſhop of Canterbury's collection of the apoſtolical fathers. As there are in it ſome quotations of the books of the N. T. or references to them, I ſhall give an account of it when I have made my collections out of Polycarp's epiſtle to the Philippians. The greateſt part of that Relation is inſerted by Euſebius in his Eccleſiaſtical [p] Hiſtory; and it [q] is preſerved elſewhere entire.

There are ſome fragments, called Reſponſiones, aſcribed to St. Polycarp; in which the four evangeliſts, and the characters of their goſpels, are diſtinctly mentioned. Theſe fragments were firſt publiſhed by Feuardentius in his Irenæus, from Victor of Capua, a writer of the ſixth century, and have been ſince ſeveral times republiſhed by [r] others. But we have already obſerved it to be ſomewhat likely, that there was nothing remaining of Polycarp in the time of Euſebius and Jerom, beſide his epiſtle to the Philippians. Du Pin [s] ſays plainly, there is a good deal of reaſon to think, theſe fragments are ſuppoſititious. And our moſt reverend Metropolitan, [t] having obſerved that, beſide the great diſtance of Victor Capuanus, the firſt collector of them, from the time of Polycarp, he has given, upon other occaſions, manifeſt proofs of his little care and judgment in diſtinguiſhing the works of the ancient fathers who lived any long time before him; and that the paſſages themſelves aſcribed to St. Polycarp, are little agreeable to the apoſtolical age, concludes: 'All theſe conſiderations have juſtly reſtrained 'learned men from giving any credit to thoſe fragments, or 'from receiving them as belonging in any wiſe to ſo ancient 'an author.' They will therefore be no farther taken notice of here. I proceed to conſider the teſtimonies of the only remaining piece of this father.

In St. Polycarp's ſhort epiſtle to the Philippians are many texts of the N. T. though but few books cited, or expreſsly named. However, of theſe in the firſt place.

[p] L. iv. c. 15. [q] Apud Patr. Apoſt. Cotel. v. ii. Ruinart Act. Martyr. et alibi.
[r] Ap. Grabe Irenæ. p. 205. et Patres Apoſt. T. 2. p. 203. [s] Il y a bien de l'apparence, que ce ſont de choſes ſuppoſées. Bibl. Eccl. en Polycarpe.
[t] Diſcourſe concerning the treatiſes of his Collection. Ch. 3. §. 14.

Books

Books of the New Teſtament quoted by Polycarp.

N. T.	POLYCARP.
I. 1 Cor. vi. 2. *Do ye not know, that the ſaints ſhall judge the world?*	I. Ch. xi. Do [u] we not know, that the ſaints ſhall judge the world? as Paul teaches.
II. Eph. iv. 26. *Be ye* [x] *angry, and ſin not: let not the ſun go down upon your wrath.*	II. Ch. xii. For I truſt that ye are well exerciſed in the holy ſcriptures——As in theſe ſcriptures it is [y] ſaid: Be ye angry, and ſin not. And, Let not the ſun go down upon your wrath.

It is true, the firſt of theſe directions is the ſame with that Pſ. iv. 4. *Stand in awe, and ſin not*; which in the Septuagint verſion is: Οργιζεσθε, και μη αμαρτανετε, 'Be angry, and ſin not.' But as the latter advice is no where in the O. T. and both theſe precepts are together in the epiſtle to the Epheſians; it ſeems to me, that Polycarp does expreſsly refer the Philippians to St. Paul's epiſtle to the Epheſians, and calls it ſcripture. If this be ſo, then we ſee, that the writings of the N. T. had now the name of 'ſacred writings,' or 'holy ſcriptures,' and that they were much read by Chriſtians in general.

III. Ch. iii. 'For neither I, nor any one like me, can come 'up to the wiſdom of the bleſſed and renowned Paul, who— 'when abſent [z] wrote to you letters: [an epiſtle, A. B. Wake] 'into which if ye look, you will be able to edify yourſelves in 'the faith which has been delivered to you.'

Ch. xi. 'But I have neither perceived nor heard any ſuch 'thing to be in you, among [a] whom the bleſſed Paul laboured, 'who are in the beginning of his epiſtle: for he glories in you 'in all the churches, which then alone knew God.'

In the former of theſe two paſſages the original Greek word, which I have rendered 'letters,' is in the plural number. But thereby ſome underſtand only an epiſtle, and ſo it is rendered

[u] An neſcimus, quia ſancti mundum judicabunt? ſicut Paulus docet.

[x] Οργιζεσθε, και μη αμαρτανετε· ο ηλιος μη επιδυετω επι τω παροργισμω υμων.

[y] Ut his ſcripturis dictum eſt: Iraſcimini et nolite peccare. Et, Sol non occidat ſuper iracundiam veſtram.

[z] Ος και απων υμιν εγραψεν επιστολας, εις ας εαν εγκυπτητε, κ. λ. [a] In quibus laboravit beatus Paulus; qui eſtis in principio epiſtolæ ejus. De vobis etenim gloriatur in omnibus eccleſiis, quæ Deum tunc ſolæ cognoverunt.

by the archbiſhop in his excellent tranſlation. And it is [b] certain, that the original word is ſometimes uſed in the plural number for only one epiſtle. Underſtand it ſo here, and we have at leaſt an expreſs teſtimony for the epiſtle of Paul to the Philippians. But comparing theſe two paſſages together, I am [c] apt to think, that by 'epiſtles' Polycarp intends the epiſtle to the Philippians, and alſo both the epiſtles to the Theſſalonians. For in this laſt paſſage he ſeems to quote theſe words, 2 Theſſ. i. 4. *So that we ourſelves glory in you in the churches of God.* Nor is it at all unlikely, that Polycarp might conſider the epiſtles directly ſent to the Theſſalonians, as written likewiſe to the Philippians; they being alſo in the ſame province of Macedonia, of which Theſſalonica was the capital city.

And though the word in the firſt paſſage ſhould be limited to one epiſtle, that directly to the Philippians; yet this latter paſſage is ſo clear for the ſecond to the Theſſalonians, that we are in a manner obliged to underſtand Polycarp to ſuppoſe the Philippians concerned in thoſe epiſtles.

Words of the New Teſtament, and alluſions, without the name of the book or writer.

N. T.	Polycarp.
IV. Matth. v. 3. *Bleſſed are the poor in ſpirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.* v. 7. *Bleſſed are the merciful, for they ſhall obtain mercy.* 10. *Bleſſed are they which are perſecuted for righteouſneſs ſake, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.*	IV. Ch. ii. But [d] remembering what the Lord ſaid teaching: Judge not, that ye be not judged: forgive, and ye ſhall be forgiven: be ye merciful, that ye may obtain mercy: with what meaſure ye mete, it ſhall be meaſured to you again. And, Bleſſed are the poor, and they that are perſecuted for righteouſneſs ſake: for theirs is the kingdom of God.
Matth. vii. 1. *Judge not, that ye be not judged.* 2. *And with what meaſure ye mete, it ſhall be meaſured to you again.*	
Luke vi. 20. *Bleſſed be ye poor, for yours is the kingdom of God.* 36. *Be ye therefore merciful, as your Father alſo is merciful.* 37. *Judge not, and ye*	

[b] Vid. Coteler. in loc. ad h. l.

[c] This was the opinion of Salmeron. Vid. Uſſer. Notas

[d] Μνημονευοντες δε ων ειπεν ο Κυριος διδασκων. κ. τ.

ſhall

ſhall not be judged.——Forgive, and ye ſhall be forgiven. 38. *——For with the ſame meaſure that ye mete, it ſhall be meaſured to you again.*

V. Matth. v. 44. *Love your enemies, bleſs them that curſe you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which deſpitefully uſe you, and perſecute you:*

V. Ch. xii. And pray for thoſe that perſecute you, and hate you, and for the enemies of the croſs.

VI. Matth. vi. 12. *And forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors.* 14. *For if ye forgive men their treſpaſſes, your heavenly Father will alſo forgive you.* 15. *But if ye forgive not,* &c.

VI. Ch. vi. Not ſevere in judgment, knowing that we are all debtors in point of ſin: if therefore we pray the Lord, that he will forgive us, we ought alſo to forgive.

VII. Matth. vi. 13. *And lead us not into temptation* [c].

VII. Ch. vii. With ſupplication beſeeching the all-ſeeing God [f], not to lead us into temptation.

VIII. Matth. xxvi. 41. *The* [g] *ſpirit indeed is willing, but the fleſh is weak.* See alſo Mark xiv. 38.

VIII. Ch. vii. As the Lord [h] hath ſaid: The ſpirit indeed is willing, but the fleſh is weak.

I have put down in the margin the original words of theſe two laſt paſſages, and of the correſponding texts in Matthew, to be compared as a ſpecimen of the agreement between the originals. It would be too tedious to do ſo all along, without ſome ſpecial reaſon. But in the other places there is alſo a like agreement in the originals with what appears in the tranſlations.

We have in divers of theſe paſſages words of our Lord, with a mark of reference, 'The Lord hath ſaid,' though no hiſtorian or evangeliſt is expreſsly named.

N. T.

IX. Acts ii. 24. *Whom* [i] *God hath raiſed up, having looſed the pains of death.*

POLYCARP.

IX. Ch. i. Whom [k] God hath raiſed, having looſed the pains of hell.

[c] Και μη εισενεγκης ημας εις πειρασμον.

[f] Μη εισενεγκειν ημας εις πειρασμον.

[g] Το μεν πνευμα προθυμον, η δε σαρξ ασθενης.

[h] Καθως ειπεν ο Κυριος· το μεν πνευμα προθυμον, η δε σαρξ ασθενης.

[i] Ον ο Θεος ανεστησε, λυσας τας ωδινας του θανατου.

[k] Ον ηγειρε ο Θεος, λυσας τας ωδινας του αδου.

X. Rom. xiii. 9. — *And if there be any other commandment, it is briefly comprehended in this ſaying, namely, Thou ſhalt love thy neighbour as thy ſelf.* 10. *Love worketh no ill to his neighbour, therefore love is the fulfilling of the law.*

X. Ch. iii. Led on by love toward God, and Chriſt, and toward our neighbour: for if any man has theſe things, he has fulfilled the law of righteouſneſs: for he that has love is far from all ſin.

XI. Rom. xiv. 10. *We* [l] *ſhall all ſtand before the judgment-ſeat of Chriſt.* 12. *So then every one of us ſhall give an account of himſelf to God.*

XI. Ch. vi. And [m] muſt all ſtand before the judgment-ſeat of Chriſt, and every one give an account for himſelf.

In 2 Cor. v. 10. is much the ſame ſenſe, and ſome of the ſame words. But he who compares the places together will perceive, this is the place which Polycarp had an eye to particularly.

N. T.

XII. 1 Cor. v. 11. *But now I have written unto you, not to keep company, if any man that is called a brother be a fornicator, or covetous, or an idolater — with ſuch a one, no not to eat.*

POLYCARP.

XII. Ch. xi. If any one does not keep himſelf from covetouſneſs, he ſhall be polluted with idolatry, and ſhall be judged as if he were a Gentile.

XIII. 1 Cor. vi. 9. *Neither fornicators, nor idolaters, nor adulterers, nor effeminate, nor abuſers of themſelves with mankind,* 10. *— ſhall inherit the kingdom of God.*

XIII. Ch. v. And neither fornicators, nor effeminate, nor abuſers of themſelves with mankind, ſhall inherit the kingdom of God.

XIV. 2 Cor. iv. 14. *Knowing* [n] *that he which raiſed up the Lord Jeſus, ſhall raiſe up us alſo by Jeſus.*

XIV. Ch. ii. But [o] he who raiſed up him from the dead will raiſe us up alſo, if we do his will.

XV. 2 Cor. vi. 7. —— *by the armour of righteouſneſs.*

XV. Ch. iv. Let us arm ourſelves with the armour of righteouſneſs.

XVI. 2 Cor. viii. 21. *Providing* [p] *for honeſt things, not only*

XVI. Ch. vi. Always [q] providing what is honeſt

[l] Παυλος γαρ παρασησομεθα τω βηματι τυ Χριστυ. Αρα ων εκαστος ημων περι εαυτυ λογον δωσει Θεω.

[n] Ειδοτες ὁτι ὁ εγειρας τον Κυριον Ιησυν, και ημας δια Ιησυ εγερει.

[p] Προνουμενοι καλα ε μονον ενωπιον Κυριυ, αλλα και ενωπιον ανθρωπων.

[m] Και παυλος δε παρασησται τω βηματι τυ Χριστυ. και εκαστον ὑπερ εαυτυ λογον δωσει.

[o] Ο δε εγειρας αυτον εκ νεκρων, και ημας εγερει.

[q] Προνουμενοι αει τα καλα ενωπιον Θευ και ανθρωπων.

only in the ſight of the Lord, but in the ſight of men.

in the ſight of God and men.

Part of this advice is given alſo Rom. xii. 17. *Provide things honeſt in the ſight of all men.* But any one may ſee, he rather refers to the text in the Corinthians.

This alſo, with many other places, may afford proof of the firſt Chriſtian writers citing, or referring to, texts of ſcripture by memory, without looking upon them. For which reaſon Polycarp ſays, 'what is honeſt,' in the ſingular number, inſtead of 'honeſt things.'

N. T.

XVII. Gal. i. 1. *But by Jeſus Chriſt, and God the Father, who raiſed him from the dead.*

POLYCARP.

XVII. Ch. xii. Who ſhall believe in our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and in his Father, who raiſed him from the dead.

XVIII. Gal. iv. 26. *For Jeruſalem, which is above, is free, which is the mother of us all.*

XVIII. Ch. iii. ——edified in the faith delivered to you, which is the mother of you all.

Perhaps, ſays Dr. Young, it ſhould be 'us all.'

XIX. Gal. vi. 7. *Be [t] not deceived, God is not mocked.*

XIX. Ch. v. [s] Knowing therefore, that God is not mocked.

XX. Epheſ. ii. 8, 9. *For [t] by grace are ye ſaved, through faith, and that not of yourſelves: it is the gift of God——not of works.*

XX. Ch. i. Knowing, [u] that by grace ye are ſaved, not of works, but by the will of God through Jeſus Chriſt.

XXI. Philip. ii. 10. *That at the name of Jeſus every knee ſhould bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth.* 11. *And that every tongue ſhould confeſs.*

Ver. 16. *That I may rejoice in the day of Chriſt, that I have not run in vain.*

XXI. Ch. ii. To whom all things are made ſubject, that are in [y] heaven, and that are in earth, whom every living creature ſerves.

Ch. ix. Being perſuaded that all theſe have not run in vain. Speaking of Paul, and the other apoſtles, and ſome others.

[r] Μη πλανασθε, Θεος ου μυκτηριζεται.

[s] Τα γαρ χαζη εστε στεσασμενοι δια της πιστεως ——ουκ εξ εργων.

[t] Παντος του καμψη επουρανιων και επιγειων—— και πασα γλωσσα εξομολογησηται.

[u] Ειδως; ουκ εξ εργων.

[y] Ω υπεταγη τα παντα ετερανια και επιγεια· ω πασα πνοη λατρευει.

XXII. Col. i. 28. *That we may present every man perfect in Christ.*

XXIII. 1 Thess. v. 17. *Pray*[z] *without ceasing.*

Ver. 22. *Abstain*[b] *from all appearance of evil.*

XXIV. 2 Thess. iii. 15. *Yet count*[d] *him not as an enemy, but admonish him as a brother.*

XXII. Ch. xii. That your fruit may be manifest in all, and ye may be perfect in him.

XXIII. Ch. iv. Praying[a] without ceasing for all.

Ch. ii. Abstain[c] from all evil.

XXIV. Ch. xi. Giving advice about one who had offended, he says: Be ye also moderate in this, and do not[e] count such as enemies, but call them back as suffering and erring members.

XXV. 1 Tim. ii. 1, 2. *I exhort therefore, that supplications ——and giving of thanks, be made for all men; for kings, and all that are in authority.*

XXVI. 1 Tim. vi. 7. *For*[f] *we brought nothing with us into this world, and it is certain, that we can carry nothing out.*—— 10. *For the love of money is the root of all evil.*

XXV. Ch. xii. Pray for all the saints: pray also for kings, and powers, and princes.

XXVI. Ch. iv. But[g] the love of money is the beginning of all troubles. Knowing therefore, that as we brought nothing into the world, so neither can we carry any thing out——

Here Polycarp transposeth the order of the words. He used his memory.

XXVII. In the fifth chapter of this epistle Polycarp adviseth, that deacons should not be 'double-tongued,' as St. Paul does 1 Tim. iii. 8. And in that and the following chapter Polycarp gives divers other directions to presbyters and deacons, resembling those in the third chapter of the first epistle to Timothy: but they need not, I apprehend, be transcribed in this place.

N. T.	Polycarp.
XXVIII. 2 Tim. ii. 11. *It*	XXVIII. Ch. v. According

z Ἀδιαλείπτως προσεύχεσθε.

b Ἀπὸ παντὸς εἴδους πονηροῦ ἀπέχεσθε.

d Καὶ μὴ ὡς ἐχθρὸν ἡγεῖσθε, ἀλλὰ παιδεύετε ὡς ἀδελφόν.

f Οὐδὲν γὰρ εἰσηνέγκαμεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον, δῆλον ὅτι οὐδὲ ἐξενεῖκεῖν τι δυνάμεθα. 10. Ῥίζα γὰρ ἡ φιλαργυρία πάντων τῶν κακῶν ἐστιν ἡ φιλαργυρία.

a Ἐὐξάμενος ἀδιαλείπτως περὶ πάντων.

c Abstinete vos ab omni malo.

e Et non sicut inimicos tales existimetis, sed sicut passibilia membra et errantia eos revocate.

g Ἀρχὴ δὲ πάντων χαλεπῶν φιλαργυρία. Εἰδότες οὖν ὅτι οὐδὲν εἰσηνέγκαμεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐξενεῖκεῖν τι ἔχομεν.

is [h] *a faithful saying*—12. *If we suffer, we shall also reign with him.*

as he has promised us, that he will raise us up from the dead, and that if we walk worthy of him, we shall also reign [i] with him.

XXIX. 2 Tim. iv. 10. *For* [k] *Demas hath forsaken me, having loved this present world.*

XXIX. Ch. ix. For [l] they loved not this present world.

XXX. Heb. iv. 12. *And is a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart.* 13. *Neither is there any creature that is not manifest in his sight: but all things are naked and opened unto the eyes of him with whom we have to do.*

XXX. Ch. iv. Knowing, that he sees all things, and that nothing is hid from him, not the reasonings, nor the intents, nor any secrets of the heart.

The author of the epistle to the Hebrews useth in this place metaphorical expressions, borrowed from sacrifices, which were flayed, divided, and laid open from the neck to the rump, downwards. Polycarp here says, that 'widows are to be free '[m] from all faults, knowing, that they are the altars of God, 'and that he sees——' This, together with the resemblance of expression, renders it probable, that Polycarp alludes to this text in the epistle to the Hebrews.

Again: Polycarp, Ch. xii. 'Now [n] the God and Father of 'our Lord Jesus Christ, and he himself our everlasting high 'priest, the Son of God, Jesus Christ, build you up in faith and 'truth.' Compare Heb. iv. 14. vi. 20. vii. 3.

N. T.

XXXI. 1 Pet. i. 8. *Whom* [o] *having not seen ye love: in whom, though now you see him not, yet believing, ye rejoice with joy unspeakable, and full of glory.*

POLYCARP.

XXXI. Ch. i. In [p] whom, though you see him not, ye believe, and believing ye rejoice with joy unspeakable, and full of glory.

[h] Γι υπομενομεν, και συμβασιλευσομεν.

[i] Και συμβασιλευσομεν αυτω.

[k] Αγαπησας τον νυν αιωνα.

[l] Οι γαρ τον νυν ηγαπησαν αιωνα.

[m] Και παντος κακου, γινωσκουσας ὅτι εισι θυσιαστηρια Θεου, και ὅτι παντα ημων σκοπεται [A. B. Wake reads παντα μωμοσκοπεται, and translate it, 'sees all blemishes.' Vid. Usser. Not. in h. l.] και λεληθεν αυτον ουδεν, ουτε λογισμων, ουτε οινοιων, ουτε τι των κρυπτων της καρδιας.

[n] Deus autem et Pater Domini nostri Jesu Christi, et ipse sempiternus pontifex, Dei Filius, Christus Jesus, ædificet vos in fide et caritate.

[o] Ον ουκ ειδοτες αγαπατε, εις ον αρτι μη ορωντες, πιστευοντες δε, αγαλλιασθε χαρα ανεκλαλητω και δεδοξασμενη.

[p] Εις ον ουκ ιδοντες πιστευετε, πιστευοντες δε αγαλλιασθε χαρα ανεκλαλητω και δεδοξασμενη.

Ver. 13. *Wherefore, gird up the loins of your mind, be sober——*

Ver. 21. *Who by him do believe in God, that raised him up from the dead, and gave him glory.*

XXXII. 1 Pet. ii. 11. *I beseech you,* [q] *abstain from fleshly lusts, which war against the soul.*

Ver. 12. *Having your conversation honest among the Gentiles, that whereas they speak against you as evil doers, they may by your good works, which they shall behold, glorify God in the day of visitation.*

Ver. 17. *Love* [s] *the brotherhood.*

Ver. 22. *Who* [u] *did no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth.* 24. *Who his ownself bare our sins in his own body on the tree.*

XXXIII. 1 Pet. iii. 9. *Not* [y] *rendering evil for evil, or railing for railing.*

Ver. 14. *And if ye suffer for righteousness sake, happy are ye—*

Ch. ii. Wherefore, girding up the loins, serve the Lord in fear and truth——having believed in him that raised up our Lord Jesus Christ from the dead, and gave him glory, and a seat at his right hand.

XXXII. Ch. v. Polycarp says, young men ought to restrain themselves from all evil, —— [r] because every lust wars against the spirit.

Ch. x. Having your conversation unreprovable among the Gentiles, that by your good works both ye yourselves may receive praise, and the Lord may not be blasphemed through you.

Ch. x. Lovers [t] of the brotherhood.

Ch. viii. Let us, therefore, without ceasing, stedfastly adhere to our hope —— [x] which is Jesus Christ: who bare our sins in his own body on the tree: who did no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth.

XXXIII. Ch. ii. Not [z] rendering evil for evil, or railing for railing.

Ch. viii. But suffered all for us, that we might live through [in] him. Let us therefore imitate his patience: and if we suffer for him, we shall glorify him.

q Παρακαλω—απεχεσθαι των σαρκικων επιθυμιων, αιτινες στρατευονται κατα της ψυχης.

s Την αδελφοτητα αγαπατε.

u Ος αμαρτιαν ουκ εποιησεν, ουδε ευρεθη δολος εν τω στοματι αυτου. 24. Ος τας αμαρτιας ημων αυτος ανηνεγκεν εν τω σωματι αυτου επι το ξυλον.

y Μη αποδιδοντες κακον αντι κακου, η λοιδοριαν αντι λοιδοριας.

r Οτι πασα επιθυμια κατα του πνευματος στρατευεται.

t Fraternitatis amatores.

x Ος ανηνεγκεν ημων τας αμαρτιας τω ιδιω σωματι επι το ξυλον· ος αμαρτιαν ουκ εποιησεν, ουδε ευρεθη δολος εν τω στοματι αυτου.

z Μη αποδιδοντες κακον αντι κακου, η λοιδοριαν αντι λοιδοριας.

XXXIV.

XXXIV. 1 Pet. iv. 5. *Who shall give account to him that is ready to judge the quick and the dead.*

XXXIV. Ch. ii. Who comes [as] the judge of the quick and the dead.

Ver. 7. *Be ye therefore sober, and* [a] *watch unto prayer.*

Ch. vii. Watching [b] unto prayer.

XXXV. 1 Pet. v. 5. *Yea, all of you be subject one to another.*

XXXV. Ch. x. Be all of you subject one to another.

XXXVI. 1 John ii. 7. *The old commandment is the word, which ye have heard from the beginning.*

XXXVI. Ch. vii. Let us return to the word that was delivered to us from the beginning.

XXXVII. 1 John iv. 3. *And* [c] *every spirit, that confesseth not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, is not of God: and this is that spirit of Antichrist, whereof you have heard,* &c.

XXXVII. Ch. vii. For [d] whoever confesseth not, that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, is Antichrist.

XXXVIII. Jude, ver. 3. —— [e] *earnestly contend for the faith, which was once delivered to the saints.*

XXXVIII. Ch. iii. To edify [f] yourselves in the faith delivered [given] to you.

XXXIX. He has this declaration, which seems to respect the writings of the N. T. in general. 'And [g] whosoever perverts the oracles of the Lord to his own lusts, and says there 'is neither resurrection nor judgment, he is the first-born of 'Satan.' And we before saw the epistle to the Ephesians referred to under the term of 'holy scriptures.' Numb. II.

XL. Thus I have given (omitting however some lesser things) a large and distinct account of Polycarp's testimony to the writings of the N. T. So many exhortations in the words of Christ and his apostles, in so short a letter, are a lively evidence, of the respect which Christians had for these books, and that these things were deeply engraved on their memories. For it is from thence chiefly, as I apprehend, Polycarp bor-

[a] [illegible] εις τας προσευχας.

[b] Νηφοντες εις προσευχας.

[c] [illegible] ομολογει τον Ιησουν [illegible] σαρκι εληλυθοτα, εκ του Θεου ουκ εστι· και [illegible] αντιχριστου. κ. λ.

[d] Πας γαρ ος αν μη ομολογη Ιησουν Χριστον εν σαρκι εληλυθεναι αντιχριστος εστι.

[e] [illegible] παραδοθειση τοις [illegible] πιστει.

[f] Οικοδομεισθαι ειν την δοθεισαν υμιν πιστιν.

[g] [illegible] μεθοδευη τα λογια του Κυριου προς τας ιδιας επιθυμιας, και λεγη μητε αναστασιν, μητε κρισιν [illegible] πρωτοτοκος εστι του Σατανα. C. VII.

rowed theſe expreſſions, without looking into the books themſelves.

XLI. We have then in St. Polycarp quotations of the firſt epiſtle to the Corinthians, the epiſtles to the Epheſians and Philippians, and both the epiſtles to the Theſſalonians. Words of our Lord, found in St. Matthew's and St. Luke's goſpels, are quoted as ſpoken by him. And beſide theſe, we have references, which may be reckoned undoubted, to the Acts of the apoſtles, the epiſtles to the Romans, firſt and ſecond to the Corinthians, Galatians, Epheſians, firſt and ſecond to the Theſſalonians, firſt and ſecond to Timothy, firſt of St. Peter, and firſt of St. John, and a probable reference to the epiſtle to the Hebrews. Thoſe to the epiſtle to the Coloſſians, and the epiſtle of St. Jude, are only doubtful.

The reſpect for the books of the New Teſtament appears in the great number of alluſions to them, and in ſome particular expreſſions, in which they are called 'ſacred ſcriptures,' and 'oracles of the Lord.'

CHAP. VII.

The relation of St. POLYCARP's *martyrdom: and general obſervations on the teſtimony of the Apoſtolical Fathers.*

I NOW proceed to give a brief account of the notice taken of the books of the N. T. by the church of Smyrna, in their epiſtle concerning Polycarp's martyrdom. Though it was not written until a conſiderable time after the epiſtle of Polycarp to the Philippians (as we have before ſhewn), yet it will very properly ſtand here. For the teſtimony of Polycarp is alſo the teſtimony of his church: and their teſtimony is likewiſe to be conſidered as his, the epiſtle having been written preſently after his death.

I. §. 1. They ſay at the beginning: 'All things that went 'before were done, that [a] the Lord might ſhew us from above '[or from the very firſt] a martyrdom according to the go-'ſpel. For he expected to be delivered up, as the Lord alſo 'did, that we likewiſe might be imitators of him.'

Undoubtedly here is a reference to the hiſtory of our Lord's

[a] Ἵνα ἡμῖν ὁ Κύριος πάλιν ἐπιδείξῃ τὸ καθ' τὸ εὐαγγέλιον μαρτύριον.

ſufferings,

ſufferings, and to his being betrayed and apprehended, as ſhewn at the latter end of the ſeveral goſpels. But as Polycarp had retired from Smyrna for a while, and was taken in the place of his retreat; I think it likely, that there is alſo a reference to Matth. x. 23. *But when they perſecute you in one city, flee ye into another.* And §. 4. ſpeaking of a Chriſtian who had offered himſelf to the proconſul, and afterwards was affrighted at the ſight of the wild beaſts, they ſay: 'We do not [b] commend 'thoſe who offer themſelves: foraſmuch as the goſpel teaches 'us no ſuch thing.' Referring perhaps to the ſame text, as well as to other things: however, in both theſe places calling the hiſtory of Jeſus Chriſt and his doctrine, 'the goſpel.'

II. §. 7. They ſay: The ſerjeants and other officers who went to look for Polycarp, 'went [c] with their uſual arms, as 'againſt a thief.' Referring perhaps to Matth. xxvi. 55.

III. §. 2. They make uſe of the words of 1 Cor. ii. 9. 'And with the eyes of the ſoul looked to thoſe good things, 'which are reſerved for thoſe that endure, which neither ear 'has heard, nor eye ſeen, nor have entered into the heart of man.' And though the like ſenſe is alſo in Iſai. lxiv. 4. yet I think it plain they refer to the epiſtle to the Corinthians.

IV. §. 10. There ſeems to be a reference to Rom. xiii. 1. and Tit. iii. 1.

V. §. 14. Polycarp in a prayer of his there inſerted ſays: 'I praiſe and glorify thee [d] through the eternal high prieſt, 'Jeſus Chriſt, thy well-beloved Son.' This character may be thought to be borrowed from the epiſtle to the Hebrews, where Chriſt is ſaid to be *made an high prieſt for ever*, ch. vi. 20. and to have an *unchangeable prieſthood*, ch. vii. 24. Indeed, in the Greek copy of this epiſtle in Cotelerius this place ſtands thus: 'I [e] glorify thee with the eternal and heavenly Jeſus Chriſt.' But in Euſebius it is as I have given the place at firſt. And with him the old Latin verſion, publiſhed by Uſher, agrees in the main, ſaying: 'By [f] the eternal high prieſt, the all-power-'ful Jeſus Chriſt.'

VI. §. 17. When they ſay, 'Chriſt [g] ſuffered, who was 'without ſpot, for ſinners,' they may be thought to refer to 1 Pet. iii. 19. But I think the place not very material. Nor are thoſe words in Euſebius, or his tranſlator Rufinus, or the ancient Latin verſion, as Uſher obſerves.

[b] Ἐπειδὴ οὐχ ὕτως διδάσκει τὸ εὐαγγέλιον. [c] Μετὰ τῶν συνήθων ὅπλων, ὡς ἐπὶ λῃστὴν τρέχοντες.
[d] Δι' τοῦ αἰωνίου ἀρχιερέως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. Apud Euſeb. H. E. p. 133. D. [e] Σὺν τῷ αἰωνίῳ καὶ ἐπουρανίῳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. [f] Per æternum pontificem omnipotentem Jeſum Chriſtum. Vid. Notas Uſſer in loc, apud Coteler. Patr. Apoſt. [g] Ἀμώμων ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτιῶν.

VII. In the ſalutation, at the beginning of this epiſtle, are theſe words: 'Mercy [h] and peace, and love from God the Father, and our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, be multiplied.' This is very agreeable to Jude, ver. 2. *Mercy unto you, and peace and love be multiplied.* However, compare 1 Pet. i. 2. *Grace unto you and peace be multiplied.* 2 Pet. i. 2. *Grace and peace be multiplied unto you.*

VIII. Any one is able to add this teſtimony to that of Polycarp in his epiſtle, of which we there gave a ſummary view. The principal thing to be obſerved here is, that the church of Smyrna has more plainly given the title of 'goſpel' to the hiſtory of our Lord by the evangeliſts [i]: and perhaps in the [k] ſecond place, where that word was uſed by them, they intend the New Teſtament in general. They may be reckoned likewiſe to give ſome confirmation to the ſuppoſition, that St. Polycarp was acquainted [l] with the epiſtle to the Hebrews.

IX. Having now gone through all the apoſtolical fathers, it will not be diſagreeable to conclude our extracts out of them with ſome general obſervations. Le Clerc's Diſſertation on the Four Goſpels, already mentioned, will afford us ſeveral. He ſpeaks of theſe fathers in this order: Clement, Barnabas, Hermas, Ignatius, Polycarp. I ſhall however put down his obſervations in the order I have quoted theſe writers, which is not very different from his. I ſhall take no particular notice here of the fragment, called St. Clement's Second Epiſtle; becauſe we have ſhewn, it does not belong to this time.

1. 'Barnabas,' ſays [m] Le Clerc, 'has many more paſſages 'out of the Old Teſtament than the New: but then almoſt 'throughout that epiſtle he argues againſt the Jews, againſt 'whom it was in vain to allege the New.'

I think, there is another very obvious reaſon of this, ariſing from the time and character of the writer, as I have ſhewn in my remarks upon him.

2. 'Clement [n] has more paſſages out of the Old Teſtament, 'and oftener alludes to it than to the New. But yet he quotes

[h] Ἔλεος, εἰρήνη, καὶ ἀγάπη ἀπὸ Θεοῦ Παντοκράτορος καὶ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ πληθυνθείη.

[i] Numb. I. [k] In §. 4. in the remark on Numb. I. [l] See here Numb. V. and compare it with Polycarp in the foregoing ch. Numb. XXX. [m] Barnabas multo plura habet ex Veteri Teſtamento quam ex Novo; ſed per totam ferme epiſtolam contra Judæos ratiocinatur; contra quos Novum proferre non potuit, niſi illis ludibrium debere vellet. Diſſertat. iii. de Quatuor Evang. p. 543. b. [n] Ex hiſce autem [ſcriptoribus] Clemens ſæpius quidem attulit loca deprompta e Veteri Teſtamento, atque ad id alluit, quam ad libros Novi, ex quo etiam pauciora profert. Sed tamen non ſemel poſterius hoc laudat, nec raro ad id reſpicit.—Non profert quidem nomina ſcriptorum Novi Teſtamenti; ſed nec Veteris librorum aut ſcriptorum nomina ſolet proferre. Ibid.

'this

'this more than once, and often refers to it.——Indeed, he 'does not mention the names of the writers of the New 'Testament. Nor is it his custom to mention the names 'of the books or writers of the Old Testament.'

3. 'Hermas [o] quotes neither the Old nor the New Testa-'ment. The reason is, because he only relates his visions, and 'delivers precepts as received from angels.'

4. 'Ignatius [p] does not quote the Old Testament oftener 'than the New. Nay, he seems to refer or allude to this 'oftener than to the other.'

Le Clerc speaks of the smaller epistles, the same we have made use of, without any regard to the larger or interpolated, which he utterly rejects. But he speaks modestly. For I think, that Ignatius has alluded much oftener to the New Testament than to the Old.

5. 'Polycarp [q] has alluded above twenty times to texts of the 'New Testament, or recited the very words of them, and 'scarce once refers to any passage of the Old Testament.'

These are Le Clerc's observations, which appear to me very much to our purpose.

X. I would observe farther, first, that all these are but short pieces. The largest is the Shepherd of Hermas, which is as large as several of the other, and almost as large as all the rest put together. But it was inconsistent with the nature of that work for the writer to quote books.

2. All these pieces, except the Shepherd of Hermas, are epistles written to Christians; who, it is likely, needed not at that time to be particularly informed what books they ought to receive; but only to be admonished to attend to the things contained in them, and to maintain their respect for them, as is here often done.

3. Considering the shortness, and the nature of these pieces; it is reasonable to suppose, that most, or all of these writers, and those they write to, received more books, or writings of the New Testament, as sacred, or canonical, than those expressly named, or clearly alluded to by them. For as these several pieces are short, so they never design to give a list or catalogue of the books, either of the Old or the New Testament, received by Christians. All the mention made of either is only occasional.

[o] Hermas nec Vetus nec Novum Testamentum laudat, quia visiones suas narrat, et præcepta veluti ab angelis accepta exponit. Ibid. [p] Ignatius non frequentius laudat Vetus Testamentum quam Novum, atque ad hoc crebrius respicere videtur. Ibid. [q] Polycarpus pluries quam vigesies alludit ad loca Novi Testamenti, aut ea verbo tenus laudat: vix semel respicit ad locum Veteris. Ibid.

Beside

Beſide that, we have loſt divers letters written by St. Polycarp, both to churches, and particular perſons. It cannot therefore by any means be concluded, that his one remaining epiſtle to the Philippians gives us full information of all the books received by him. It is moſt reaſonable to ſuppoſe, it contains quotations, or alluſions to a part only of thoſe books which he received and owned, as the rule of Chriſtian belief and practice.

4. In the writings of theſe apoſtolical fathers, there is all the notice taken of the books of the New Teſtament that could be expected. Barnabas, though ſo early a writer, appears to have been acquainted with the goſpel of St. Matthew. Clement, writing in the name of the church of Rome to the church of Corinth, on occaſion of ſome diſſenſion there, deſires them to 'take into their hands the epiſtle of the bleſſed apoſtle Paul,' written to them; and refers them particularly to a part of that epiſtle, in which he admoniſhed them againſt ſtrife and contention. He has likewiſe in his epiſtle divers clear and undeniable alluſions to St. Paul's epiſtle written to the church over which he preſided, and in whoſe name he wrote. Not to mention at preſent other things.

5. Quotations there could not be, as we have often obſerved, in the book of Hermas. But alluſions there are to the books of the New Teſtament, ſuch as were ſuitable to his deſign.

6. Ignatius, writing to the church of Epheſus, takes notice of the epiſtle of Paul written to them, in which he 'makes mention of them in Chriſt Jeſus.'

7. Laſtly Polycarp, writing to the Philippians, refers them to the epiſtle of the 'bleſſed and renowned Paul,' written to them: if not alſo, as I imagine, to the epiſtles ſent to the Theſſalonians, Chriſtians of the ſame province. Not to mention now his expreſs quotations of other books of the New Teſtament, or his numerous and manifeſt alluſions to them.

8. From theſe particulars here mentioned it is apparent, that they have not omitted to take notice of any book of the N. T. which, as far as we are able to judge, their deſign led them to mention. Their ſilence therefore about any other books can be no prejudice to their genuineneſs, if we ſhall hereafter meet with credible teſtimonies to them. And we may have good reaſon to believe, that theſe apoſtolical fathers were ſome of thoſe perſons, from whom ſucceeding writers received that full and ſatisfactory evidence, which they appear to have had concerning the ſeveral books of the New Teſtament.

9. And though I do not here deſign to ſum up the whole evidence

evidence given by these writers, from their allusions, and other particulars, but only to mention some general observations; yet it ought to be here remembered, that Ignatius has made use of terms denoting a code, or, collection of 'gospels' and 'epistles.'

CHAP. VIII.

EVANGELISTS *in the reign of* TRAJAN.

EUSEBIUS [a] in the history of things in the reign of Trajan has this remarkable passage:

'Among those who were illustrious at that time was Quadratus, who, together with the daughters of Philip, is said to 'have enjoyed the gift of prophecy. And beside these there 'were at that time many other eminent persons, who [b] had the 'first rank in the succession of the apostles: who, being the 'worthy disciples of such men, every where built up the 'churches, the foundations of which had been laid by the 'apostles; extending likewise their preaching yet farther, and 'scattering abroad the salutary seeds of the kingdom of heaven 'all over the world. For many of the disciples of that time, 'whose souls the Divine Word had inspired with an ardent love 'of philosophy, first fulfilled our Saviour's precept, distributing 'their substance to the necessitous. Then travelling abroad they 'performed the work of evangelists, being ambitious to preach 'Christ, [c] and deliver the scripture of the divine gospels.'

I presume, I have not improperly placed this passage here. Eusebius, as I just said, is writing the history of things under Trajan. In the foregoing chapter he had given an account of Ignatius and his writings, who died in the tenth of Trajan. And in the two following chapters he speaks of Clement of Rome, and Papias. Though therefore Eusebius does not always place things in his Ecclesiastical History in the exact order of time; yet I think it must be allowed, that he was fully persuaded, that before the end of the reign of Trajan, who died in 117, the gospels were well known, and collected together: and they, who preached the doctrine of Christ to those who had

[a] H. E. l. 3. c. 37. [b] Την πρώτην ταξιν της των αποστολων επεχουσης διαδοχης.
[c] Και την των θειων ευαγγελιων παραδοσιν ποιησασθαι σπουδην.

not

not heard it, carried the gospels with them, and delivered them to their converts. They must therefore have been before this for some time in use, and in the highest esteem in the churches planted by the apostles. It must have been no difficult thing at that time to know the genuineness of writings which were of so great authority with them. And certainly they were well assured of it, or they had not so highly esteemed them. The persons of whom Eusebius here speaks were the immediate successors of the apostles, and had the first rank among them: and they lived a good part of their time in the very first century, as well as St. Ignatius and St. Clement.

There can be, I think, but one exception to my placing this passage here, in the reign of Trajan, at the year 112, which is, that this is not a passage of any ancient writer of this time, but of Eusebius, an author of the fourth century. To which I would answer, that it is reasonable to suppose, Eusebius had good ground, from ancient authors, for what he here says. And that the gospels were before now well known, and in great esteem, and collected together, appears probable from what we ourselves have seen in the apostolical fathers still remaining, particularly in Ignatius. If this does not satisfy, I would add: that I do not intend to bring forward many more passages of Eusebius, or any other writer, in this manner.

CHAP. IX.

PAPIAS.

PAPIAS is placed by Cave [a] at the year 110. According to others, he flourished about the year [b] 115, or [c] 116. How long he lived, is uncertain. He is said by some [d] to have been a martyr. But as this is not mentioned by Eusebius or Jerom, I think it need not be much regarded. Irenæus [e] speaks of him as a hearer of John, and companion of Polycarp; and by John seems to intend the apostle and evangelist.

Eusebius, in his Ecclesiastical History, has a whole chapter concerning him, beside what he says of him in other places.

[a] Hist. Lit. Papias. [b] Basnage Ann. P. E. 115. n. 8. [c] Pagi Crit. in Bar. A. D. 116. Cleric. H. E. [d] Vid. Cave ibid. [e] L. v. c. 33.

There

There is no part of that chapter, which we ſhall not have occaſion for at one time or other. I think therefore, though it be long, it will be the ſhorteſt courſe to take it all here at once.

'There are,' ſays 'Euſebius, 'five books of Papias, entitled, An Explication of the Oracles of the Lord. Theſe Ire-'næus makes mention of, as the only books written by him, 'after this manner: "Theſe things Papias, who was a hearer of "John, and a companion of Polycarp, an [g] ancient man, atteſts "in his fourth book: for there are five books compoſed by him." 'Thus ſpeaks Irenæus. But Papias in the preface of his books 'does by no means ſay, that (A) he heard or ſaw any of the 'holy apoſtles: but only, that he had received the things con-'cerning the faith from thoſe who were well acquainted with 'them, which he ſhews in theſe words: "I ſhall not think much "to ſet down together with my interpretations what I have "learned [h] from the elders [or preſbyters], and do well remem-"ber, confirming the truth by them. For I took no delight, "as moſt men do, in thoſe that talk a great deal, but in thoſe "that teach the truth: nor in thoſe that relate ſtrange precepts, "but in them that relate the precepts which the Lord has en-"truſted us with, and which proceed from the truth itſelf. "And if at any time I met with one who had converſed with "the elders, I enquired after the ſayings of the elders: what "Andrew or what Peter ſaid; or what Philip, what Thomas, "or James had ſaid: what John or Matthew, or what any "other of the diſciples of the Lord were wont to ſay: and what "Ariſtion, or John the preſbyter, diſciples of the Lord, ſay: "for I was of opinion, that I could not profit ſo much by books [i] "as by the living." Where it is proper to obſerve, that he twice 'mentions the name of John; the former of whom he rec-'kons with Peter, James, Matthew, and the reſt of the apo-'ſtles, manifeſtly intending the evangeliſt. Then making a 'diſtinction in his diſcourſe, he places the other John with the 'others who are not of the number of apoſtles, putting Ari-'ſtion before him; and he expreſsly calls him preſbyter. By 'which too is ſhewn the truth of their account, who have ſaid, 'that there were two in Aſia of that name; and that there were

[f] H. E. l. 3. c. 39. [g] Αρχαιος ανηρ.

(A) It is therefore ſtill a queſtion, whether Papias was a hearer of John the apoſtle, as Irenæus ſeems to intimate, or only of John the elder. See this queſtion conſidered by Grabe Spic. T. 2. p. 26. &c. Tillem. Mem. Ec. T. 2. p. 2. St. Papias, Note i. Pagi Crit. in Baron. 116. n. v. Baſnag. Ann. 115. n. ix. Beauſobre Hiſt. de Manich. liv. 2. ch. 2. p. 352. Note (2.)

[h] Παρα των πρεσβυτερων. [i] Οσα τα παρα ζωσης φωνης και μενουσης.

'two sepulchres at Ephesus, and that each of them are still said 'to be the sepulchre of John. This is worthy of our remark. 'For it is likely, that the Revelation, which goes under the 'name of John, was seen by the second, if not by the first. 'This Papias then, of whom we have been speaking, confesseth, 'that he received the apostles' sayings from those who conversed 'with them; and says, that he was a hearer of Aristion, and 'John the presbyter. And indeed he often mentions them by 'name, and puts down in his writings the traditions he had re-'ceived from them. Nor will our mention of these things, I 'suppose, be judged unprofitable. It will be worth while to 'add here to the fore-cited words of Papias some other of his pas-'sages, in which he mentions some miracles, and other things, 'which had come to him by tradition. That Philip the apo-'stle resided with his daughters at Hierapolis, has been shewn 'in some things we have[k] already produced. Now we are to 'observe how Papias, who lived at the same time, mentions 'a wonderful relation he had received from Philip's daughters. 'For he relates, that in his time a dead man was raised to life. 'He also relates another miracle of Justus surnamed Barsabas: 'that he drank deadly poison, and by the grace of the Lord 'suffered no harm. Now that this Justus, after the ascension 'of our Saviour, was set forth by the holy apostles together with 'Matthias, and that they prayed, that one of them might be 'allotted to fill up their number in the room of Judas the trai-'tor, the scripture of the Acts relates in this manner, ch. i. 23, '24. *And they appointed two, Joseph called Barsabas, who was 'surnamed Justus, and Matthias. And they prayed, and said.* And 'other things the same writer has related, which he received by 'unwritten tradition, and some strange parables of our Saviour, 'and sermons of his, and several other things of a fabulous 'kind. Among which he says likewise, that there shall be 'a thousand years after the resurrection of the dead, wherein 'the kingdom of Christ shall corporally subsist upon this earth. 'Which opinion, I suppose, he was led into by misunderstand-'ing the apostolical narrations; and for want of seeing into 'those things which they spoke mystically, and in figures. 'For he[l] was a man of no great capacity, as may be conjec-'tured from his writings. Yet he gave occasion to a great many 'ecclesiastical writers after him to be of the same opinion, who 'respected the antiquity of the man; as Irenæus, and the rest

[k] L. 3. c. 31.

[l] Σφοδρα γαρ τοι σμικρος ων τον νουν, ως αν εκ των αυτου λογων, τεκμηραμενον ειπειν, φαινεται.

'who have maintained that opinion. In the ſame writing he 'delivers many other narrations of the fore-mentioned Ariſtion 'of the words of the Lord, and traditions of John the preſbyter; 'to which we refer the curious reader. But it is requiſite we 'ſhould ſubjoin to his fore-cited paſſages a tradition, which he has 'concerning Mark, who wrote the goſpel, in theſe words: "And "this the preſbyter [or elder] ſaid: Mark being the interpreter of "Peter wrote exactly whatever he remembered; but not in the or-"der in which things were ſpoken or done by Chriſt. For he was "neither a hearer, nor a follower of the Lord; but, as I ſaid, af-"terwards followed Peter, who made his diſcourſes for the pro-"fit of thoſe that heard him, but not in the way of a regular "hiſtory of our Lord's words. Mark however committed no "miſtake in writing ſome things, as they occurred to his me-"mory. For this one thing he [m] made his care, to omit no-"thing which he had heard, and to ſay nothing falſe in what he "related." Thus Papias writes of Mark. Concerning Mat-'thew he ſays: "Matthew wrote the [divine] oracles in the He-"brew tongue, and every one interpreted them as he was able." 'He alſo brings teſtimonies out of the firſt epiſtle of John, and 'of Peter in like manner. He relates alſo another ſtory of a 'woman accuſed of many crimes before the Lord, which is [n] 'contained in the Goſpel according to the Hebrews.'

It ſhould be juſt obſerved, that in another place [o] Euſebius, ſpeaking of Ignatius and Polycarp, ſays: 'At the ſame time 'flouriſhed Papias, biſhop of Hierapolis, an eloquent man, and 'ſkilful in the ſcriptures.' But Valeſius in his notes offers di-vers reaſons for believing this laſt character to be an interpo-lation; it being wanting in ſeveral manuſcripts, and alſo in the tranſlation of Rufinus, and contrary to what Euſebius ſays in the above-cited chapter.

I need not put down diſtinctly what Jerom in his Catalogue ſays of Papias, it being little more than a tranſcript of Euſe-bius. Only we may obſerve, that he aſſures us, he was biſhop of Hierapolis in Aſia, and that he wrote five books, called An Explication of the Words of the Lord.

Omitting now the confirmation which Papias affords to the facts of the evangelical hiſtory, in what he ſays of our bleſſed Lord and his apoſtles; there are divers things in the foregoing chapter of Euſebius to be taken notice of, very much to our preſent purpoſe. We muſt by all means obſerve what is here

[m] Ταῦτα περὶ μὲν τοῦ Μάρκου, εἴρηται· περὶ δὲ τοῦ Ματθαίου ἔφη τάδε· Τὰ μὲν οὖν λόγια συνετάξατο Ματθαῖος Ἑβραΐδι διαλέκτῳ· ἡρμήνευσε δ' αὐτὰ ὡς ἦν δυνατὸς ἕκαστος. [n] Ἱστορεῖ δὲ καὶ ἑτέραν γυναῖκα ἐπὶ πολλαῖς ἁμαρτίαις ἐπὶ τοῦ Κυρίου κατηγορημένην. [o] H. E. l. 3. c. 36. m.

ſaid, or hinted, concerning St. Matthew's and St. Mark's goſpels, the Acts of the apoſtles, ſome other books of the N. T. and the ſtory contained in the Goſpel according to the Hebrews.

1. *Of St. Matthew's Goſpel.*

1.) Here is an authentic teſtimony to the genuineneſs of the goſpel of St. Matthew. It was well known in the time of Papias. No one doubted but it was written by him.

2.) Papias ſays, this goſpel was written in Hebrew. The ſame thing we ſhall hereafter find often affirmed by ancient Chriſtian writers. Nevertheleſs, ſome very learned men have diſputed this. They think, ſucceeding writers have taken this account upon truſt from Papias, without duly conſidering the matter. I think it muſt be allowed, there are not in our Greek goſpel of St. Matthew any marks of a tranſlation: but of this I ſhall ſay no more here.

3.) The particular obſervation concerning St. Matthew's goſpel, that it was written in Hebrew, ſeems to imply, that it is the only goſpel that was written originally in that language.

4.) He ſays, 'every one interpreted it as he was able.' Which ſome have thought to be one ſpecimen of this man's weak capacity: for it requires ſome knowledge in the Hebrew tongue, to interpret a book written in that language.

5.) Allowing St. Matthew's goſpel to have been written in Hebrew, it does not follow from what Papias ſays, that there was then no Greek goſpel of St. Matthew, or that Papias knew of no ſuch. Papias collected accounts of former things from any perſons whom he thought credible. What he ſays, therefore, of every one interpreting it as he was able, may relate only to ſome ſhort time after it was written. All that can be concluded from what Papias ſays, is, that he thought the goſpel of Matthew was written originally in Hebrew; and that for ſome time, till a Greek tranſlation was publiſhed, every one interpreted it as he could.

That at the time of Papias, and before, there was extant a Greek goſpel of St. Matthew, is apparent from the quotations or alluſions of the apoſtolical fathers, particularly thoſe of Ignatius and Polycarp; there being a great agreement between them and our Greek goſpel, not only in ſenſe, but alſo in the very words.

2. *Of St. Mark's Gospel.*

1.) Here is an authentic teſtimony to the goſpel of St. Mark. What Papias writes concerning it, he had received from the preſbyter, meaning undoubtedly the preſbyter John. The preſbyter ſaid, Mark was the interpreter and follower of Peter, and the goſpel written by him was compoſed out of Peter's ſermons. And better materials no man could have. Nor could any man, not an apoſtle himſelf, have better advantages for writing a goſpel, than frequent hearing the apoſtle, and intimate converſation with him.

2.) But we need not be determined abſolutely by the judgment of the elder, that Mark did not write in the order in which things were ſpoken or done by Chriſt. For though Peter in his ſermons might not always deliver things in the order of time in which they happened, nor in each ſermon every particular here related; yet there was uſually in his ſermons ſome regard to the order of time. And Mark, who long attended on him, and often heard him preach, would certainly be able to put the whole together, when he came to write, very much in the order of time in which things were ſpoken or done. And if Peter's public inſtructions had not fully qualified him for writing a regular hiſtory, he had in his converſation with Peter frequent opportunities of making farther enquiries about any matters he doubted of.

3.) The preſbyter, according to this account, put the credit and authority of Mark's goſpel upon its being a true and faithful relation of the preaching, or ſermons, of the apoſtle Peter. This is manifeſt from every particular there mentioned.

4.) However, it ought by no means to be overlooked, that in another place Euſebius, after he had put down what Clement of Alexandria ſays of Mark's goſpel, adds: 'And [p] Papias, bi-'ſhop of Hierapolis, agrees with him.'

What St. Clement ſays there is to this purpoſe: that St. Peter's hearers at Rome were deſirous of having his ſermons written down for their uſe: that they made their requeſt to Mark, to leave them a written memorial of the doctrine they had received by word of mouth: that they did not deſiſt from their ſolicitations, till they had prevailed upon him: that when the apoſtle Peter knew what had been done, he was pleaſed with

[p] Hiſt. Eccl. l. 2. c. 15.

the zeal of the men, and [q] confirmed that writing by his authority, that it might be read in the churches. 'This is related,' ſays Euſebius, 'by Clement in the ſixth book of his Inſtitutions; 'and Papias, biſhop of Hierapolis, agrees with him.'

From this paſſage of Euſebius it has been concluded by learned men, that Papias had related not only what we have before ſeen in the foregoing chapter from the elder, but likewiſe that Peter had confirmed Mark's goſpel. So thought Mr. [r] Richardſon, who has written with ſo much judgment on the canon of the New Teſtament. 'And we learn,' ſays he, 'from Euſe-'bius, that both Papias, and Clement of Alexandria, atteſted, 'that the Romans having prevailed with St. Mark to write his 'goſpel, what he had done was revealed to St. Peter by the 'Holy Ghoſt, who thereupon authorized the work, and ap-'pointed it to be read publicly in the church.'

But to this I crave leave to ſay two things.

Firſt, That this ſame paſſage from Clement of Alexandria is related by Euſebius in another [s] place differently, and I think in ſome reſpects more accurately than here. There Euſebius informs us, that Clement ſays, when Mark had 'compoſed his 'goſpel, he delivered it to them that had aſked it of him. 'Which when Peter knew, he neither forbid it nor encouraged 'it.' But of this I ſay no more here. When we come to Clement himſelf, we ſhall farther conſider theſe two accounts of Euſebius: how they may be reconciled, and which is the moſt accurate.

Secondly, Which ſoever of theſe two accounts is the more accurate: ſuppoſing that Clement did write, that when Peter 'knew what was done, he confirmed the writing by his autho-'rity, that it might be read in the churches;' yet it cannot be inferred from Euſebius, that Papias had ſaid all this. Euſebius ſays: 'And Papias, biſhop of Hierapolis, agrees with Clement.' Such obſervations as theſe are, in my opinion, to be interpreted cautiouſly. Theſe words of Euſebius do not imply, that Papias had expreſsly related every thing there ſaid by Clement: but only in general, that the two accounts of St. Mark's goſpel given by Clement and Papias are agreeable to each other. They agree in the author of that goſpel, that he was a diſciple and companion of St. Peter, and that it was compoſed out of that apoſtle's ſermons. But becauſe Papias is ſaid to agree

[q] — χυρῶσαι τε τὴν γραφὴν εἰς ἔνωσιν τῆς ἐκκλησίας—συνεπιμαρτυρεῖ δ' αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ ἱεραπόλεως ἐπίσκοπος Παπίας. [r] The Canon of the N. T. vindicated, p. 34. ed. third, 1611.

[s] H. Ec. l. vi. c. 14. Ὅτερ ἱστορία τοῦ Πέτρου, προτρεψαμένων μὲν τῶν ἀκροατῶν, προτρεψάντων. p. 216. B.

with

with Clement, it is by no means neceſſary to ſuppoſe, he had delivered every particular contained in that paſſage of Clement.

3. *Of the Acts of the Apoſtles.*

Papias does undoubtedly give ſome confirmation to the hiſtory of the Acts of the apoſtles, in what he ſays of Philip; and eſpecially in what he ſays of Juſtus, called Barſabas. But I think it cannot be affirmed, that he did particularly mention, or refer to, the book of the Acts. For I reckon, it is Euſebius himſelf who adds that quotation out of the Acts, upon occaſion of what Papias had written of the before-mentioned Barſabas.

4. *Of the Epiſtles of Peter and John.*

1.) Papias evidently confirms the genuineneſs and authority of the firſt epiſtle of Peter, and the firſt of John.

2.) Papias had written nothing of the ſecond epiſtle of Peter, or of the other epiſtles of John. If he had, Euſebius would certainly have taken notice of it. Theſe epiſtles were doubted of, and contradicted, by ſome in his time. He therefore diligently obſerved whatever he met with concerning them in ancient writers, and fails not of informing his readers of it.

3.) Nevertheleſs, nothing can be inferred from the ſilence of Papias to the prejudice of the genuineneſs of theſe epiſtles. He no where deſigned to give a catalogue of the writings of theſe apoſtles. All Euſebius ſays is, 'Papias brought teſtimonies 'out of the firſt epiſtle of John, and the firſt of Peter likewiſe.' That he has alleged no paſſages out of the other, is not at all ſtrange. Papias dealt chiefly in unwritten traditions, and had no particular occaſion to quote any other epiſtles of thoſe apoſtles. He confirms theſe, therefore, without prejudicing the reſt.

5. *Of the Revelation.*

I think it alſo highly probable, that Papias had read the book of the Revelation. And this may be confirmed from the paſſage of Irenæus, where he mentions him. But I apprehend too, that it may be fairly concluded from what Euſebius ſays of the two Johns, that Papias had no where in theſe five books expreſsly ſaid, that the Revelation was written by John the apoſtle.

ſtle. However, I do not take the ſilence of Papias in this matter to be any objection to that ſuppoſition. Who was the author of that book, was well known in his time: but he might have no particular occaſion to mention him.

And it is obſervable, that Andrew, biſhop of Cæſarea in Cappadocia, who is [u] ſuppoſed to have flouriſhed about the year 500, in the preface to his Commentary upon the Revelation mentions Papias, together with others who had borne teſtimony to this book, in this manner: 'But [x] we judge it needleſs,' ſays Andrew, 'to enlarge on the divine inſpiration of this book, to 'which ſo many bleſſed men bear a credible teſtimony: as Gre-'gory the divine, and Cyril, and others more ancient than they; 'I mean, Papias, Irenæus, Methodius, and Hippolytus.'

6. *Of the Goſpel according to the Hebrews.*

Papias gives no confirmation to this goſpel. Euſebius ſays, he had a hiſtory, 'which is contained in the Goſpel according to 'the Hebrews.' The words of Euſebius are remarkable. He does not ſay, that this ſtory was taken out of that goſpel, or that Papias had quoted, or brought teſtimonies out of it. This goſpel ſeems to have contained ſeveral ſtories and relations, or circumſtances of things, added to the goſpel of St. Matthew. It is not at all wonderful, that Papias, who collected unwritten traditions, ſhould have one ſtory found, or 'contained,' in the Goſpel according to the Hebrews. When theſe additions were inſerted in that goſpel, is uncertain: poſſibly about the time of Papias, poſſibly after it; and if they were a little before, it is not very material. I conclude, however, that Papias had no where quoted that goſpel. And I infer therefore likewiſe, that when Papias ſpoke of St. Matthew's goſpel, he ſpoke of his Greek goſpel, which he was well acquainted with. He had received ſome tradition by word of mouth, that it was written originally in Hebrew. But as for any Hebrew goſpel of Matthew in his time, he knew nothing of it, being a perfect ſtranger to that language.

It may be thought, that I have been too particular in my remarks upon Papias, a man of ſmall capacity. But I eſteem the teſtimony very valuable, which he has given to the goſpels

[u] Vid. Car. H. L. T. i.

[x] Περι μεντοι τȣ θεοπνευστȣ της βιβλȣ περιττον μηκυνειν τον λογον ηγȣμεθα, των μακαριων, Γρηγοριȣ τȣ θεολογȣ,—προσεθι δε και αρχαιοτερων, Παπιȣ, Ειρηναιȣ, Μεθοδιȣ, και Ιππολυτȣ, ταυτη προσμαρτυρȣντων το αξιοπιστον. Andr. Proleg. ad Apoc. p. 3. B. C. ad calcem. T. 8. Opp. S. Chryſ. Ed. Morell.

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of St. Matthew and St. Mark, and to the firſt epiſtle of St. Peter, and St. John. If Papias had been a wiſer man, he had left us a confirmation of many more books of the New Teſtament.

CHAP. X.

JUSTIN MARTYR.

I. *His hiſtory.* II. *His works, with extracts out of the Quæſtiones et Reſponſiones aſcribed to him.* III. *His teſtimony to the Scriptures of the New Teſtament, particularly the Goſpels.* IV. *The Acts of the Apoſtles.* V. *St. Paul's Epiſtles.* VI. *The ſecond Epiſtle of St. Peter.* VII. *The Revelation.* VIII. *Of Apocryphal Scriptures ſuppoſed to be quoted by him.* IX. *The ſum of his teſtimony to the Scriptures of the New Teſtament.*

THE hiſtory of Juſtin may be collected partly from his own writings, partly from other ancient authors.

He was born [a] in Flavia Neapolis, anciently called Sichem, a city of Samaria in Paleſtine. His father's name was Priſcus, his grandfather's Bacchius.

He was early a lover of truth, and ſtudied philoſophy under ſeveral maſters: firſt under a Stoic, next a Peripatetic, then a Pythagorean, and laſtly a Platonic: whoſe principles and ſentiments he preferred above all other, until he became acquainted with the Chriſtian religion; which he then embraced, as the 'only [b] certain and uſeful philoſophy.' Of his converſion to Chriſtianity he gives an account in his Dialogue with Trypho. All theſe particulars we have from himſelf.

The exact time of his converſion is uncertain. Cave conjectures [c] it happened about the year 132 or 133. Tillemont [d] is of much the ſame opinion, who ſuppoſes he was born in 103, and was about thirty years of age when he embraced Chriſtianity in the reign of Adrian, A. D. 133. The courſe of his life, after his converſion, is thus briefly digeſted by Cave [e]. In the beginning of the reign of Antoninus the Pious he came to Rome, and in the year 140 preſented his firſt Apology to that emperor.

[a] Apol. i. init. Pariſ. p. 55. p. 225. C. in Dial. and Hiſtoria Liter. p. 36. Not. 1. & Art. v. Not. 4.

[b] Ταυτην μονην ασφαλη τε και συμφορον φιλοσοφιαν ευρισκω.

[c] See Juſtin's Life, §. v. in Lives of the Primitive Fathers,

[d] Mem. Ecc. T. 2. Part ii. Vie de Juſtin M. Art. 2.

[e] Hiſtor. Lit.

Afterwards

Afterwards he went into Asia, where he had the celebrated conference with Trypho the Jew; and then returned again to Rome, where he wrote his second Apology, inscribed to Marcus Antoninus the philosopher, and suffered martyrdom about the year 164. Tillemont [f] is rather inclined to place his death in the year 167 or 168. Fabricius [g] supposes he was born in 89, and suffered martyrdom in the 74th year of his age, A. D. 163. Grabe [h] is also of the same opinion about the time of his birth, and that his martyrdom happened in the year 163 or 165, the 74th or 76th year of his age.

Justin is mentioned by many ancient Christian writers; by his disciple Tatian, by Irenæus [i], Tertullian [k], Methodius, Eusebius, Jerom, Epiphanius, Photius, and others. I shall put down some of their testimonies.

Tatian [l] calls him an 'admirable man.' Methodius [m] says, he was a man not far removed from the apostles in time, or virtue. Eusebius [n] says, he flourished not long after the times of the apostles. Photius [o] says, 'he was well acquainted with the 'Christian philosophy, and especially with the Heathen; rich 'in the knowledge of history, and other parts of learning. But 'he took little care to set off the native beauty of philosophy 'with the ornaments of rhetoric. For which reason his dis-'courses, though weighty and learned, want those allurements 'which are apt to attract the vulgar.' He adds: 'He [p] shewed 'himself a philosopher not only in words, but in his actions, 'and his habit.'

II. Eusebius, beside the accounts he had before given [q] of Justin's books against Marcion, and all heresies, and his Apologies, gives also [r] this distinct enumeration of his works. He says, that 'Justin left behind him a great number of very 'useful works: as his Apology to Antoninus the Pious, and his 'sons, and the Roman senate, and another to his successor: a 'book against the Greeks [or Gentiles]: another book against 'the Gentiles, called Elenchus [or a Confutation]: another of 'the Monarchy of God: another, entitled Psaltes: of the Soul: 'a Dialogue against the Jews, which he had at Ephesus with 'Trypho. There are also,' says Eusebius, 'many other books 'of his, which are in the hands of the brethren.' Jerom's [s] account of Justin's works agrees with this of Eusebius.

[f] Ubi supra Art. 22. [g] Biblioth. Gr. T. v. p. 51, 52. [h] Spicileg. Patrum, T. ii. p. 146, 147. [i] Adv. Hær. l. iv. cap. 6. et lib. v. cap. 26. [k] Adv. Valent. cap. v. Justinus Philosophus et Martyr. [l] Ὁ θαυμασιώτατος Ἰουστῖνος. Cont. Gr. p. 157. c. [m] Apud Phot. cod. 234. p. 921. [n] H. Ec. l. 2. c. 13. [o] Cod. 125. [p] φιλοσοφῶν καὶ τοῖς λόγοις, καὶ τῷ βίῳ, καὶ τῷ σχήματι, ibid. [q] H. E. l. 4. cap. 11, 12. 16. [r] Cap. 18. [s] De Vir. Ill. cap. 23.

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The principal works of Juſtin are his two Apologies, and his Dialogue with Trypho the Jew, in two parts.

The firſt and larger Apology was addreſſed, as has been already hinted, to Titus Antoninus the Pious, Marcus Antoninus, and Lucius Verus, the ſenate and people of Rome. [t] Tillemont and Grabe [u] think it was not preſented to the emperor before the year 150. Cave ſays, in 140: Pagi [x] and Baſnage [y], in the year 139: Maſſuet [z], about 145. The Benedictine editors of Juſtin's works, in their preface, ſupport Tillemont's opinion in a very plauſible manner.

The Dialogue with Trypho was written not long after, and, according to Pagi and Baſnage, in 140; according to [a] Maſſuet and the fore-mentioned Benedictines, about the year 155.

The ſecond Apology ſeems to have been preſented to Marcus Antoninus in the beginning of his reign, in the year 162.

The larger Apology is ſtill extant entire. The beginning of the ſecond Apology is wanting: as is the concluſion of the firſt, and beginning of the ſecond part of the Dialogue with Trypho.

Beſide theſe there are two diſcourſes to the Gentiles, which are generally allowed to be Juſtin's: one called, An Oration to the Gentiles; the other, Παραινεσις, or, An Exhortation to the Gentiles, which is ſuppoſed [b] to be the Elenchus mentioned by Euſebius.

The piece we now have of the Monarchy of God, ſeems to be a fragment of the genuine work of Juſtin with that title.

The epiſtle to Zena and Serenus is at beſt doubtful, and I think not Juſtin's.

The epiſtle to Diognetus is generally ſuppoſed to be Juſtin's, though it is doubted of by ſome, becauſe the ſtyle is more elegant than that of his other pieces. For my own part, I cannot perſuade myſelf to quote it as Juſtin's; ſince the ſtyle is allowed to be ſuperior to his, and there is no mention made of it by Euſebius or Jerom. It would indeed be to my purpoſe to ſuppoſe it genuine, becauſe it has more references to St. Paul's epiſtles than all the other works of Juſtin. But this is another exception, it not being very uſual for Juſtin to expreſs himſelf in the ſtyle of the N. T. as this writer does. Nor can there be any particular reaſon for it in this epiſtle, written to a Gentile, and not to a Chriſtian. And how can one pretend to aſcribe to any author a ſmall piece, not mentioned among his works by

[t] Vid. de Juſtin. as above, art. 13. & note 3. [u] Spicileg. Sec. ii. p. 150. [x] Crit. in Bar. A. D. 148. n. 5. [y] Ann. P. E. 129. §. 5. [z] Vid. Diſſ. i. in Irenæ. Ibid. ii. p. xv. [a] Ibid. [b] Vid. Grabe Spic. Patr. T. 2. p. 249.

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the ancients, different from the ordinary ſtyle of all his other allowed pieces, when there is no character in the title or concluſion to determine whoſe it is? Tillemont, [c] who is ſenſible the ſtyle is abundantly ſuperior to Juſtin's, endeavours to prove it more ancient, and written before the deſtruction of Jeruſalem. Thoſe arguments are fully confuted by [d] Baſnage, who is willing to think the epiſtle genuine. The Chriſtians, before the writing of this epiſtle, had ſuffered ſeveral perſecutions; which could not be ſaid of them before Jeruſalem was deſtroyed. It is an excellent epiſtle. And as, at the time of writing it, the Chriſtians were in [e] a ſuffering condition, it muſt have been written before the reign of Conſtantine. I think, therefore, that the author of it is ſome anonymous ancient Chriſtian writer, whoſe age cannot be exactly ſettled. I ſhall quote him as ſuch; and, after I have made my extracts out of Juſtin, ſhew what teſtimony this writer bears to the books of the New Teſtament.

The Quæſtiones et Reſponſiones ad Orthodoxos, and ſome other pieces uſually joined with Juſtin's works, are allowed to have the marks of a later time.

It may be not improper however, for me to take notice of thoſe Quæſtiones et Reſponſiones, the work of a learned and laborious author.

Cave [f] thinks him a writer of the fifth century. Du Pin [g] obſerves, that ſome aſcribe it to Theodoret: and he argues, that the writer lived in the fifth or ſixth century. Beauſobre thought this [h] work to be rightly aſcribed to Diodorus of Tarſus. The Benedictine editors of Juſtin Martyr have examined this point with ſo much care, that their obſervations deſerve to be briefly inſerted here. They ſay, it [i] is needleſs to prove it not to be a work of Juſtin, the thing is ſo evident. They think it probable, that the author was a Syrian; which might lead us to Theodoret: nevertheleſs, there are ſtrong reaſons againſt that ſuppoſition. In the end, they conclude the author to have been a Pelagian of that country in the fifth century.

In this work moſt of the writers of the New Teſtament are quoted, and particularly the four evangeliſts by name. In like manner the author quotes the [k] epiſtle to the Hebrews, and [l]

[c] Le ſtile ſi magnifique et ſi eloquent de cette lettre s'eleve beaucoup au deſſus de celui de St. Juſtin. Vie de Juſtin, Art. 12. p. 371.

[d] A. D. 165. §. ix.

[e] See Du Pin Bibl. Baſnage as above.

[f] Vid. Cav. Hiſt. Lit. in Juſtin. M. et Irenæ. et Conf. Dodwell. Diſſ. Iren. iii, n. 22.

[g] Bib. Ecc. T. i. p. 58.

[h] Hiſt. de Manich. T. i. p. 288. n. (1.)

[i] Admonit. in Q. et R. p. 434—437.

[k] Qu. 99. p. 480. D. E. et paſſim. Ed. Bened.

[l] Καθα φησιν ο αποστολος Παυλος; εν τη δευτερα αυτου καθολικη επιστολη. Qu. 94. p. 478. C.

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the ſecond epiſtle of Peter. He reckoned [m] both the genealogies to be Joſeph's, one of his natural, the other of his legal father. And he ſays, that [n] both the writers of the genealogies, meaning Matthew and Luke, were Hebrews, and took their accounts from the public regiſters. As he ſuppoſed Luke to have been a Jew, it is likely, that he did not think him to be the phyſician mentioned by the apoſtle Paul, Col. iv. 14.

It is beſide my deſign to give any farther account of thoſe works of Juſtin which are not extant: though every one muſt lament the loſs of them; as his book againſt all hereſies, which he particularly refers to in his firſt Apology; and his book againſt Marcion; and likewiſe that part of his book of the Monarchy of God, which is not extant; eſpecially if he therein argued from the ſcriptures of the New, as well as of the Old Teſtament. The words of [o] Euſebius are, 'Of the Monarchy of 'God, which he proved, not only out of our ſcriptures, but alſo 'the books of the Gentiles.'

III. We are now to take a different method from what we have uſed with the apoſtolical fathers. For it is impoſſible to tranſcribe all the places of Juſtin, in which he has quoted the goſpels, in his Apologies and Dialogue, though always without expreſsly mentioning the names of the evangeliſts. I ſhall endeavour to take paſſages enough, to ſhew his manner of quoting.

Quotations and Alluſions.

1. 'At [p] the ſame time an angel was ſent to the ſame virgin, 'ſaying: "Behold, thou ſhalt conceive in thy womb by the "Holy Ghoſt, and thou ſhalt bring forth a ſon, and he ſhall be "called the Son of the Higheſt. And thou ſhalt call his name "Jeſus, for he ſhall ſave his people from their ſins:" as they have 'taught, who have written the hiſtory of all things concerning 'our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt. And we believe them.' Matth. i. 20, 21. Comp. Luke i. 31. Thus he writes in his firſt Apology.

2. Again, in the ſame Apology: 'But leſt [q] we ſhould ſeem 'to deceive you, it may be fit to lay before you ſome of the 'doctrines of Chriſt. His words were ſhort and conciſe. For 'he was no ſophiſt, but his word was the power of God. Of 'chaſtity he ſpoke in this manner: "Whoſoever looketh on a "woman to luſt after her, has committed adultery with her al-

[m] Vid. Qu. 131, 132, 133. Et Conf. Qu. 66. Vid. et Beauſ. Hiſt. de Manich. T. i. p. 354, 355. [n] Εβραιοι γαρ ησαν εξ Εβραιων, οι τας γενεαλογιας συγγραψαμενοι ευαγγελισται. Qu. 133. p. 491. E. [o] Ηι ου μονον εκ των παρ' ημιν γραφων, αλλα και εκ των Ελληνικων συνιστησι βιβλιων, H. E. p. 140. A. [p] Apol. i. p. 75. B. Pariſ. 1636. [q] P. 61. E.

"ready

" ready in his heart, in the ſight of God. And if thy right eye " offend thee, pluck it out. For it is better for thee to enter " into the kingdom of heaven with one eye, than having two eyes " to be caſt into eternal fire. And he who marries her who is " divorced from another man committeth adultery." Matth. v. 28, 29. 32.

3. In his Dialogue. ' And it is [r] written in the goſpel, that ' he ſaid: " All things are delivered to me of the Father. And " no man knoweth the Father, but the Son: neither the Son, " ſave the Father, and they to whom the Son will reveal him." Matth. xi. 27.

4. ' And [s] the virgin Mary having been filled with faith and ' joy, when the angel Gabriel brought her good tidings, that ' the ' Spirit of the Lord ſhould come upon her, and the power ' of the Higheſt overſhadow her, and therefore that holy thing ' born of her ſhould be the Son of God: anſwered, " Be it unto " me according to thy word.' Luke i. 35. 38.

5. It is undoubted that the goſpels of Matthew and Luke are chiefly quoted by him, and Mark's but ſeldom. However, I ſhall take a part of a paſſage, in which within the compaſs of half a page theſe three goſpels are quoted.

' And in [t] other words he ſays, " Depart from me into outer " darkneſs, which the Father has prepared for Satan and his an- " gels." Matth. xxv. 41. ' And again he ſaid in other words: " I give unto you power to tread upon ſerpents, and ſcorpions, " and venomous [u] beaſts, and upon all the power of the enemy." Luke x. 19. ' ——And before he was crucified, he ſaid: " The ſon of man muſt ſuffer many things, and be rejected of " the ſcribes and phariſees, and be [x] crucified, and riſe again the " third day." Mark viii. 31.

Theſe laſt words are exactly quoted by Juſtin again [y] in another place. In St. Luke ix. 22. is a text very reſembling: but in this place Juſtin appears to have uſed St. Mark. In St. Luke it is,—*and* [z] *be ſlain, and raiſed the third day.*

6. That Juſtin had read St. John's goſpel, might be concluded from his calling Chriſt the ' Word,' and the word and reaſon of God. However, it will not be amiſs to obſerve a quotation, or a reference or two.

7. ' But [a] he is the firſt power next after God the Father and ' Lord of all, and Son, and the Word. And in what manner

[r] Καὶ ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ δὲ γεγραμμένον ἐστὶν. 326. D. [s] Dial. Par. ii. p. 327. C.
[t] P. 301. D. [u] Καὶ σκορπίους, κ.τ. [x] Καὶ σταυρωθῆναι, καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀναστῆναι.
[y] P. 327. A. [z] Καὶ ἀποθανεῖν καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἐγερθῆναι. [a] Apol. i. p. 74. B.

' being

'being made flesh he became man, I shall shew hereafter.' John i. 14.

8. Speaking of John the Baptist: 'They [b] suspected him to 'be the Christ: to whom he said: "I am not the Christ, but "the voice of one crying, There will come one mightier than "me, whose shoes latchets I am not worthy to bear." John i. 20. 23. 27. Compare Matth. iii. 11. Luke iii. 16.

9. 'For [c] Christ himself has said: "Unless ye are born "again, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven." John iii. 3, 4, 5. 'But it is manifest to all, that it is impossible for 'those who have been once born, to enter into the wombs of 'them that bare them.'

10. 'For thus he [d] said: "He that hears me, and does the "things I say, he hears him that sent me." John xiv. 24.

11. Justin often speaks of the gospels under the title of Memoirs, or [e] Commentaries; Commentaries [f] of the apostles; His, [g] or Christ's Memoirs; Memoirs of the apostles and their companions; and we have before seen him use the word gospel, as he does also gospels.

12. Speaking of the eucharist: 'For the [h] apostles, in the 'memoirs composed by them, which are called gospels, have 'thus delivered it, that Jesus commanded them to take bread, 'and give thanks.' Matth. xxvi. 26. Mark xiv. 22. Luke xxii. 19, 20.

13. 'For [i] in the commentaries, which, as I have said, were 'composed by the apostles, and their followers [or compa-'nions], it is written: that his sweat fell like drops of blood, as 'he prayed, saying: "If it be possible, let this cup pass from "me."

There can be no doubt but he here intends particularly Luke xxii. 42. and Matth. xxvi. 39.

14. And upon the whole, it must be plain to all, that he owned, and had the highest respect for, the four gospels; written, two of them by apostles, and the other two by companions and followers of the apostles of Jesus Christ; that is, by Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John.

15. Farther, these gospels were publicly read in the assemblies of the Christians every Lord's day, by a person appointed for that purpose, whom he calls 'reader.' For giving an account of the Christian worship to the emperor, in the first Apo-

[b] Dial. p. 316. C. [c] Apol. p. 94. A. [d] P. 64. A. [e] Εἰς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀπομνημονευμάτων ἐμαθόμεν. p. 332. C.

[f] Ὅπερ ἐν τοῖς ἀπομνημονεύμασι τῶν ἀποστόλων αὐτοῦ γέγραπται. 332. B. et alibi. [g] Ἐν τοῖς ἀπομνημονεύμασιν αὐτοῦ. p. 333. D.

[h] Ap. i. p. 98. B. Ἃ καλεῖται εὐαγγέλια.

[i] Ἐν γὰρ τοῖς ἀπομνημονεύμασιν, ἃ φημι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐκείνοις παρακολουθησάντων συντετάχθαι, οὐ ἰδρώς. κ. λ. p. 331. C. D.

logy,

logy, he ſays; 'The [k] memoirs of the apoſtles, or the writings 'of the prophets, are read, according as the time allows; and 'when the reader has ended, the preſident makes a diſcourſe, 'exhorting to the imitation of ſo excellent things.'

16. Trypho the Jew in the Dialogue ſays [l] to Juſtin: 'I am 'ſenſible, that the precepts in your goſpel, as it is called, are ſo 'great and wonderful, that I think it impoſſible for any man 'to keep them. For I have been at the pains to read them.'

Whether the Dialogue be real, or only a fictitious diſcourſe, this is a proof, the goſpels were open to all, and were well known in the world. For it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that Juſtin choſe to write in character.

IV. Let us in the next place obſerve ſome references to the Acts of the apoſtles.

N. T.	Justin.
1. Acts vii. 22. *And [m] Moſes was learned in all the wiſdom of the Egyptians.*	1. Moſes was [n] thought worthy to partake of all the learning of the Egyptians, &c.
2. Acts xiii. 27. *But they that dwell at Jeruſalem, and their rulers, becauſe they knew [o] him not, nor yet the voices of the prophets which are read every ſabbath day, they have fulfilled them in condemning him.*	2. For the Jews who had the prophecies, and always expected the coming of Chriſt, knew him not [p], and not only ſo, but killed him. But the Gentiles, who had never heard of Chriſt, until the apoſtles ſetting out from Jeruſalem taught them the things concerning him,——being filled with joy and faith——gave themſelves up to the unbegotten God through Jeſus Chriſt.

I think it plain, there is here a reference to the hiſtory in the Acts. See Ch. xiii. from ver. 44. to the end.

N. T.	Justin.
3. Acts xxvi. 22, 23. *Saying none other things, than thoſe*	3. For though it had been obſcurely declared by the pro-

[k] Και τα απομνημονευματα των αποστολων, η τα συγγραμματα των προφητων αναγινωσκεται μεχρις εγχωρει· ειτα παυσαμενου του αναγινωσκοντος. κ. λ. p. 98. D.

[l] Εν τω λεγομενω ευαγγελιω——εμοι γας εμελησεν ενδυκως αυτοις. p. 227. C.

[m] Και επαιδευθη πασῃ σοφιᾳ Αιγυπτιων.

[n] Αλλα και πασης της Αιγυπτιων παιδευσεως μετασχειν ηξιωθη. Ad Græc. Cohort. p. 11. B.

[o] Των αγνοησαντες, κ. λ.

[p] Πρότερον, Ap. i. p. 85. A.

which

which the prophets and Moſes did ſay ſhould come: that [q] *Chriſt ſhould ſuffer, and that he ſhould be the firſt that ſhould riſe from the dead*, &c.

phets, that ' Chriſt ſhould ſuffer, and after that be Lord of all, &c.

V. We will now proceed to St. Paul's epiſtles.

N. T.	JUSTIN.
1. Rom. i. 4. *Or deſpiſeſt thou* [s] *the riches of his goodneſs, and forbearance, and long ſuffering, not knowing, that the goodneſs of God leadeth thee to repentance?*	1. For ' the goodneſs and kindneſs of God, and the immenſity of his riches, eſteem, as Ezekiel declares, him that repents of his ſins, as one who is righteous, and has not ſinned. See Ezek. xxxiii. 15, 16.

The firſt words have a great reſemblance with Paul's, Rom. ii. 4. Dr. Thirlby in his Notes refers alſo to Rom. xi. 33. Eph. ii. 7. iii. 8.

2. ' Nor was Abraham declared righteous by God becauſe ' of circumciſion, but becauſe of faith. For before that he was ' circumciſed, it was ſaid of him: "Abraham believed God, and it " was imputed to him for righteouſneſs." [Gen. xv. 6.] Wherefore ' we alſo in the circumciſion of our fleſh believing in God ' through Chriſt, and having the circumciſion which is uſeful to ' them that have it, that is, of the heart, hope to appear righ- ' teous, and acceptable to God.' In theſe laſt words is a great reſemblance with Rom. ii. 28, 29. as in the firſt with Paul's argument, Rom. iv. Gal. iii.

For Rom. xi. 2, 3, 4. may be ſeen Dialog. p. 257. D. But I do not think it worth while to inſert the paſſage here.

N. T.	JUSTIN.
3. 1 Cor. v. 7. *For* [u] *even Chriſt our paſſover is ſacrificed for us.*	3. For Chriſt ' was the paſſover, who was afterwards ſacrificed for us.
4. 1 Cor. xi. 18, 19.——*I* [y] *hear that there are diviſions among you, and I partly believe it. For there muſt be alſo hereſies among you.*	4. For he ſaid—— [z] And, there ſhall be ſchiſms and hereſies.

[q] Ει παθητος ο Χριστος, κ. λ.

[s] Η του πλουτου της χρηστοτητος αυτου——καταφρονεις, ——;

[u] Και γαρ το πασχα ημων υπερ ημων ετυθη, Χριστος.

[y] Λεγω, σχισματα εν υμιν υπαρχειν——Δει γαρ και αιρεσεις εν υμιν ειναι.

[r] Παθητος μεν γενομενος ο Χριστος. Dial. p. 302 A.

[t] Η γαρ χρηστοτης, και η φιλανθρωπια του Θεου, και το αμετρον του πλουτου αυτου. Dial. p. 266. D.

[x] Η γαρ το πασχα ο Χριστος, ο τυθεις υπερ, Dial. p. 338. C.

[z] Και, εσονται σχισματα και αιρεσεις, p. 253. B.

5. 1 Cor. xii. 8, 9, 10. *For to one is given by the ſpirit the word of wiſdom; to another the word of knowledge by the ſame ſpirit; to another faith by the ſame ſpirit; to another the gifts of healing by the ſame ſpirit; to another the working of miracles; to another prophecy; to another diſcerning of ſpirits.*

5. One [a] receives the ſpirit of underſtanding, another of counſel, another of power [or miracles], another of healing, another of fore-knowledge, another of doctrine, another of the fear of God.

6. 1 Cor. xv. 12. *How [b] ſay ſome among you, that there is no reſurrection of the dead?*

6. Who alſo ſay [c] that there is no reſurrection of the dead.

7. Gal. iv. 12. *Brethren, I beſeech [d] you, be as I am: for I am as ye are.*

7. In his oration to the Greeks: Be you [e] as I am, for I alſo was as you are.

8. The Jew in the Dialogue allows, that the Meſſiah might ſuffer; but it ſeems incredible to him, that he ſhould be ſo ignominiouſly [f] crucified: 'For,' ſays he, 'we read in the law, 'that he who is crucified is accurſed:' referring to Deut. xxi. 23. which is alſo obſerved Gal. iii. 13. Juſtin afterwards [g] anſwers this; but his reſpect to the epiſtle to the Galatians is not very manifeſt.

N. T.

9. Eph. ii. 20. *And are built upon the foundation of the apoſtles and prophets, Jeſus [h] Chriſt himſelf being the chief corner ſtone.*

JUSTIN.

9. But our circumciſion manifeſted next after yours has been [i] made by ſharp ſtones, that is, by the words of the apoſtles of the chief corner ſtone.

He [k] argues from the words of Pſ. lxviii. 18. which are quoted Eph. iv. 8. but his reference to that epiſtle is not very clear.

[a] Dial. p. 258. A.

[b] Πως λεγουσι τινες εν υμιν, ὁτι ανασασις νεκρων ουκ εστιν.

[c] Οι και λεγουσι μη ειναι νεκρων ανασασιν. Dial. p. 307. A.

[d] Γινεσθε ως εγω, ὁτι καγω ως υμεις.

[e] Γινεσθε ως εγω; ὁτι καγω υμων ως εσμεν. p. 40. D.

[f] p. 317. A.

[g] p. 322, 323.

[h] Ὁντος ακρογωνιαιου αυτου Ιησου Χριστου.

[i] Δια λιθων ακρογωνιων, τυτεστι, δια των λογων των δια των αποστολων του ακρογωνιαιου λιθου. p. 342. A.

[k] p. 258. B.

10. Philip.

N. T.

10. Philip. iv. 8. *Whatſoever things are true, whatſoever things are honeſt,—juſt,—pure,—lovely,—think of theſe things.*

11. Col. i. 15. *Who* [m] *is the firſt-born of every creature.*

JUSTIN.

[r] 10. Juſtin ſays [l], that in the law of Moſes are enacted thoſe things that are by nature good, pious, and juſt.

11. Juſtin ſays: 'Chriſt is [n] 'the firſt-born of all things 'made.' Again: '[o] The firſt-'born of every creature.' Once more: '[p] The firſt-born 'of God, and before all the 'creatures.'

12. 2 Theſſ. ii. 3, 4. *For that day ſhall not come, except there be* [q] *a falling away firſt, and that man of ſin be revealed, the ſon of perdition, who oppoſeth, and exalteth himſelf above all that is called God, or that is worſhipped.*

12. Juſtin, ſpeaking of Chriſt's ſecond coming, ſays, 'He ſhall appear from heaven 'in glory, when alſo [r] the man 'of apoſtacy, who ſpeaking 'great things againſt the Moſt 'High, ſhall vex us Chriſ-'tians.'

13. Hebr. v. 9, 10. *And being made perfect, he became the author of eternal ſalvation unto all them that obey him. Called of God an high-prieſt after the order of Melchiſedec.* Ch. vi. 20. *Made an high-prieſt for ever, after the order of Melchiſedec.* See Ch. vii. 11. Pſ. cx. 4.

13. This is he [s] who after the order of Melchiſedec is king of Salem, and eternal prieſt of the Moſt High. He calls Chriſt [t] elſewhere alſo, 'God's eternal prieſt and king.' See hereafter Numb. VII.

14. In another place Juſtin ſays of Chriſt, the Word, and Son of God: 'That [u] he is alſo called both angel and apoſtle.' As Chriſt is no where in the ſcriptures of the Old and New Teſtament called 'apoſtle,' except in Hebr. iii. 1, Grabe

[m] Πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως.

[n] Πρωτότοκον των πάντων ποιημάτων. p. 310. B.

[o] Πρωτότοκα πάσης κτίσεως, p. 311. B.

[p] Πρωτότοκον τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ πρὸ πάντων των κτισμάτων, p. 326. D.

[q] Ὅτι ἐαν μὴ ἔλθῃ ἀποστασία πρῶτον καὶ ἀποκαλυφθῇ ὁ ἀνθρωπος της ἁμαρτίας, κ. λ.

[r] Ὅταν καὶ ὁ της ἀποστασίας ἀνθρωπος, κ. λ. p. 336. D.

[s] P. 341. in.

[t] Καὶ διαπαντὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἱερεὺς, καὶ βασιλεὺς, καὶ Χριστὸς μελλησθαι γινεσθαι, p. 323. C.

[u] Καὶ ἀγγελος δὲ καλεῖται, καὶ ἀποστολος. Ap. i. p. 95. D.

thinks, it [x] may be hence not unfairly collected, that Justin knew and approved of that epistle.

N. T.	JUSTIN.
VI. 2 Pet. iii. 8. *But, beloved, be not ignorant of this one thing, that one day is with the Lord as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day.* See Ps. xc. 4.	VI. We have also [y] understood, that the saying, that 'a 'day of the Lord is as a thou- 'sand years,' belongs to this matter.

VII. 'And [z] a man from among us, by name John, one of 'the [a] apostles of Christ, in the revelation made to him, has 'prophesied, that the believers in our Christ shall live a thou- 'sand years in Jerusalem; and after that shall be the general, 'and in a word the eternal resurrection and judgment of all 'men together. [See Revel. ch. xx.] The same thing, which 'also our Lord has said: "That they shall neither marry, nor "be given in marriage, but shall be equal to the angels, and "shall be the children of God, being [the children] of the re- "surrection." Luke xx. 35, 36.

It deserves to be considered likewise, whether the expression of 'eternal resurrection and judgment' do not allude to Heb. vi. 2. *And of resurrection of the dead, and of eternal judgment.*

St. Jerom [b] seems to say, that Justin and Irenæus explained, or wrote commentaries upon, the Revelation. But perhaps we misunderstand him. He may only mean, that they had quoted it, and made some remarks upon it, in their works. If he intends any commentary of theirs, he must have been mistaken. Divers learned men have shewn there is no ground to think, that either of those fathers wrote any commentary upon that book. I shall place in the margin a note of [c] Fabricius. Huet [d] also writes to the same purpose.

VIII. Thus

[x] Vid. ejusd. Annot. ad Justin. loc. ed. Oxon. 8vo. cap. 82. p. 121. [y] Συνηκαμεν και το εἰρημενον, ὅτι ἡμερα Κυριου ὡς χιλια ἐτη, εἰς τους συναγει, p. 308. A. [z] Και ἐτεθη και παρ' ἡμιν ἀνηρ τις ὀνοματι Ἰωαννης, εἰς των ἀποστολων του Χριστου, ἐν ἀποκαλυψει γενομενα αὐτῳ, κ. λ. p. 308. A. [a] Eusebius may be supposed to refer to this very passage, when in his account of Justin's works he observes: Μεμνηται δε και της Ἰωαννου ἀποκαλυψεως, φασκων τον ἀποστολον αὐτην εἰναι λεγειν. Hist. Ec. l. 4. c. 18. p. 140. D.

[b] Scripsit [Joannes] Apocalypsim, quam interpretantur Justinus Martyr et Irenæus. De Vir. Ill. Joannes, c. ix. [c] Hieronymus in chronico: 'Sub eo [Domitia- 'no] apostolus Joannes in Patmum in- 'sulam relegatus Apocalypsim vidit, quam 'Irenæus interpretatur.' In Græco Eusebii est, ὡς δηλοι Εἰρηναιος. Itaque nec de Justini nec Irenæi commentario in Apocalypsin cogitandum, quem nec Hieronymus infra ubi horum scripta persequitur, neque alius quisquam veterum memorat. Saltem illud interpretatur, sive ut Græcus interpres, μεθερμηνευει, non potest nisi de illis locis scriptorum Justini M. et Irenæi intelligi, in quibus Apocalypseos Joannis mentionem faciunt, vel verba quædam illius explicant. Vide Tillemontium, Tom. I. Mem.

VIII. Thus far of quotations, or allusions of Justin Martyr to our books of the New Testament, commonly received. There is likewise a passage or two, in which some have supposed him to refer to apocryphal writings.

1. In his Dialogue with Trypho he says: 'Wherefore [e] also 'our Lord Jesus Christ has said: "In whatsoever [things, or "actions, or ways] I shall find you, in the same I will also judge "you."

I think I need not stay long upon this passage. Possibly, Justin designed not to quote any text, but to represent the sense of many of our Lord's sayings. Fabricius [f] has observed, that this saying has been quoted by many writers, and that Justin is the only one who ascribes it to our Lord; and that there are words resembling these in Ezekiel: 'I will judge them according 'to their ways.' Ez. vii. 3. 8. and xviii. 30. xxiv. 14. xxxiii. 20. Moreover Justin had but just before expressly quoted Ezekiel. Mr. Jones [g] conjectures, that Justin wrote only, the 'Lord 'hath said;' and that some scribe, ignorantly imagining these to be the words of Christ, inserted in his copy the words 'our,' and 'Jesus Christ.'

2. In another place, in the same Dialogue, Justin [h] says: 'And 'then when Jesus came to the river Jordan, where John was 'baptizing, as Jesus descended into the water, a fire also was 'kindled in Jordan: and when he came up out of the water, 'the apostles of this our Christ have written, that the Holy 'Ghost lighted upon him as a dove.'

Somewhat like this there was in the gospel made use of by the Nazarenes, or Ebionites. Epiphanius [i], in his account of the Ebionites, says, that in their gospel it is written, 'that when 'Jesus came up out of the water, the heavens were opened, 'and he saw the Holy Spirit of God in the shape of a dove de-'scending and entering into himself. And there was a voice out

Mon. Ec. p. 637. [St. Jean l'evangeliste, ... le Spicilegium Patrum J. E. Grabe. T. II. p. 170. Fabric. ad loc. Hieron. de Vir. Ill. [d] Demonst. E. Propos. i. [e] ... Apol. p. 267. A.

[f] Ceterum non putem apocryphum ... libris librum ab autore vitæ Antonii, ... ch. Chrysostomo inspectum esse; sed po... ex prophetia Ezechielis, quali- hodie ... ab aliquo exculptum, et deinde pluri... ... tionibus invaluisse, licet non eadem ... verba apud Ezechielem legantur. ... nisi Latinum. M. memoria lap-

sum dicere velimus, qui solus verba illa Christo tribuit, et plus simplici vice in allegandis scriptoribus hallucinatus est, probabile tane fuerit ab eo lecta esse in apocrypho aliquo evangelio. Cod. Apocr. N. T. p. 333. [g] New and Full Method, V. i. p. 539. [h] Και τοτε ελθοντος του Ιησου επι τον Ιορδανην ποταμον, ενθα ο Ιωαννης εβαπτιζε, και ελθοντος του Ιησου επι το υδωρ, και πυρ ανηφθη εν τω Ιορδανη· και αναβαντος αυτου απο του υδατος, ανεωχθησαν τα αγια ουρανια· και το αγιον πνευμα κατεπτη επ' αυτον, εγραψαν οι αποστολοι αυτου τουτου του Χριστου ημων. Dialog. Part 2, p. 315. D. [i] Har. 30. §. 13.

'of heaven, ſaying: "Thou art my beloved Son, in thee I am "well-pleaſed." And again: "I have this day begotten thee." 'And [k] immediately a great light ſhone round about the 'place.'

Ittigius [l] obſerves, that the accounts given of our Lord's baptiſm by Juſtin and the Nazarene goſpel are different; and concludes therefore, that Juſtin did not take his account from thence. It is plain, I think, they differ, in that Juſtin ſays, 'as Jeſus deſcended into the water,' there was a great light kindled in Jordan: whereas, according to that goſpel, the light appeared after Jeſus was come up out of the water, and after the 'voice from heaven.' Mr. Jones [m] has obſerved another diſagreement. The one ſpeaks of a 'fire kindled in the river;' the other, of 'a great light encircling, or ſhining round all the 'place.'

Grabe [n] has an obſervation, which, I think, is not contemptible: that Juſtin does not ſay, the apoſtles have related any thing of this fire, but only, that when he came up out of the water, the Holy Ghoſt lighted upon him as a dove. This account therefore of the fire in the river of Jordan, ſeems to be only a ſtory which Juſtin had received by tradition. And perhaps it is only a concluſion from thoſe words in our goſpels, that the *heavens were opened to him*, or a particular explication of them.

But I think we need not any farther concern ourſelves with theſe paſſages. It is plain from his numerous quotations, that our goſpels are the books Juſtin made uſe of, as authentic hiſtories of Jeſus Chriſt.

IX. It is time we ſum up the evidence of this writer. He has numerous quotations of our goſpels, except that of St. Mark, which he has ſeldom quoted. He quotes them, as containing authentic accounts of Jeſus Chriſt, and his doctrine. He ſpeaks of 'memoirs,' or records, written by 'apoſtles' and 'their companions;' plainly meaning the apoſtles and evangeliſts, Matthew and John; and by companions, or diſciples of apoſtles, Mark and Luke. Theſe goſpels were read and expounded in the ſolemn aſſemblies of the Chriſtians, as the books

[k] Και ευθυς περιλαμψαι τον τοπον φως μεγα.

[l] Appendix ad Diſſ. de Hæreſ. p. 24.

[m] As before, V. i. p. 542.

[n] Verum Juſtinus ipſa verborum conſtructione, quaſi ſtudio, indicaſſe videtur, verba, *ſcripſerunt apoſtoli*, poſteriorem propoſitionem de columbæ deſcenſu, quem Matthæus et Johannes apoſtoli memoriæ prodiderunt, non item priorem de igne ſplendeſcente, ſpectare, ſiquidem illa ſolum in modo infinitivo expreſſa ad τε *ſcripſerant* relationem habet, non prior, quæ modo indicativo poſita eſt, ideoque merito in impreſſis exemplaribus per colon diſtincta. Spicil. T. I. p. 19, 20.

of

of the Old Teſtament were; and as they had been before in the Jewiſh ſynagogues. Whether any other books of the New Teſtament were ſo read, he does not inform us. This reading of the goſpels he mentions in his firſt Apology to Antoninus the Pious. He muſt have been well aſſured of the truth of what he ſays; and, it is likely, knew it to be the ordinary cuſtom of the Chriſtian churches he had viſited in his travels. If it had not been a general practice, or had obtained in ſome few places only, he muſt have ſpoken more cautiouſly, and made uſe of ſome limitations and exceptions. For if there were Chriſtian churches in which the 'memoirs' he ſpeaks of were not read; upon enquiry made by the emperor, or his order, he had run the hazard of being convicted of a deſign to impoſe upon all the majeſty of the Roman empire; and that, not in an affair incidentally mentioned, but in the conduct and worſhip of his own people, concerning whom he profeſſeth to give the juſteſt information. The general reading of the goſpels, as a part of divine worſhip, at that time, about the year 140, or not very long after, is not only a proof, that they were well known, and allowed to be genuine, but alſo, that they were in the higheſt eſteem. Theſe goſpels were not concealed. Juſtin appeals to them in the moſt public manner, and they were open to all the world; read by Jews, and others.

The other paſſages of Juſtin here alleged relate to the Acts of the apoſtles, the epiſtle to the Romans, the firſt to the Corinthians, the epiſtles to the Galatians, Epheſians, Philippians, and Coloſſians, the ſecond to the Theſſalonians, the epiſtle to the Hebrews, the ſecond of Peter, and the book of the Revelation; which laſt he expreſsly aſcribes to John, the apoſtle of Chriſt. I ſhall leave it to the reader to conſider, how many of the references to any of the other books are full and clear. I think, it was not the method of Juſtin to uſe alluſions in his ſtyle ſo often as ſome other writers do.

CHAP. XI.

The EPISTLE to DIOGNETUS

I SHALL now ſhew, as I promiſed, how the words of the New Teſtament are adapted and applied by the author of the epiſtle to Diognetus. It is plain, he was acquainted with the goſpels of Matthew and John. I have obſerved no references to

the Acts of the apoſtles. But whereas in all Juſtin's works hitherto quoted, ſeveral of which are of conſiderable length, there are very few expreſſions borrowed from the epiſtles of the New Teſtament, and thoſe generally obſcure, here we ſhall find many in an epiſtle of about nine folio pages. I ſhall put them down, and leave every one to judge, how different this is from Juſtin's manner in thoſe works we have hitherto made uſe of. But though this epiſtle be not Juſtin's, the teſtimonies it affords to the books of the New Teſtament are very valuable.

I. 'Chriſt has taught us,' he [a] ſays, 'not to be ſolicitous '[or take any thought] about raiment or food.' See Matth. vi. 25—31.

II. The author ſays, 'God [b] has ſent from heaven the truth, 'and the holy word:' and he [c] ſays, 'he was from the begin-'ning:' and calls Chriſt the 'Word' ſeveral [d] times; which character he may be well ſuppoſed to have learned from the beginning of John's goſpel. He ſays [e] likewiſe, that 'Chriſtians live 'in the world, but they are not of the world.' See John xvii. 14, 15, 16.

III. 'For [f] what could cover our ſins but his righteouſneſs? 'By whom could we, who were wicked and ungodly, be juſtified, 'but by the only Son of God? O delightful exchange, O un-'ſearchable contrivance, O unexpected benefit! that the ini-'quity of many ſhould be hid by one righteous perſon, and the 'righteouſneſs of one juſtify many wicked.'

Herein is an alluſion to the whole fifth chapter of the epiſtle to the Romans. See alſo ch. xi. 33.

N. T.	The Epiſtle to Diognetus.
IV. 1 Cor. iv. 12.——*being* [g] *reviled, we bleſs.*	IV. They [h] are reviled and bleſs.
V. 1 Cor. viii. 1.——*knowledge* [i] *puffeth up, but charity edifieth.*	V. The apoſtle [k] ſays: Knowledge puffeth up, but charity edifieth.
VI. 1 Cor. ix. 10.—*That*	VI. But he who [l] with fear

[a] Περὶ ἐνδύσεως καὶ τροφῆς μὴ μεριμνᾶν. p. 500. D. [b] Ἀπ' ἐκείνου τὴν ἀλήθειαν καὶ τὸν λόγον τὸν ἅγιον καὶ ἀπρόσιτον αὐτὸς πᾶσι ἐνέβαλε. p. 501. D. [c] Ὃς ἦν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς. p. 501. C. D. [d] Καὶ Χριστιανοὶ ἐν κόσμῳ εἰσίν, ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰσὶ ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου. p. 497. D. [e] p. 500. B. C.

[g] Λοιδορούμενοι, εὐλογοῦμεν. [h] Λοιδορεῖσθαι καὶ εὐλογοῦσι. p. 497. C.

[i] Ἡ γνῶσις φυσιοῖ, ἡ δὲ ἀγάπη οἰκοδομεῖ. [k] Ἀπόστολος—λέγει· ἡ γνῶσις φυσιοῖ, ἡ δὲ ἀγάπη οἰκοδομεῖ. 502. C.

[l] P. 502. C.

he that ploweth, ſhould plow in hope: and that he that threſheth in hope, ſhould be partaker of his hope. Comp. ver. 7. *Who planteth a vineyard, and eateth not of the fruit thereof?*

knows, and ſeeks life, planteth in hope, expecting fruit.

VII. 2 Cor. x. 3. *For though we walk in the fleſh, we do not war after the fleſh.*

2. Cor. vi. 8. *By honour and diſhonour, by evil report and good report.*——9. *As unknown, and yet well known: as dying, and behold we live: as chaſtened, and not killed.* 10. *As ſorrowful, and yet always rejoicing: as poor, yet making many rich: as having nothing, yet poſſeſſing all things.*

VII. They are in the fleſh, but they live not after the fleſh. —[m] They are unknown [he ſpeaks of Chriſtians in his own time all along], and yet are condemned. They are put to death, and yet are revived. They are poor, and make many rich. They want all things, and abound in all things. They are in diſhonour, and in diſhonour are glorified. They are evil-ſpoken of, and are juſtified.——Being put to death, they are made alive.

The whole paſſage (of which I have tranſcribed here but a part) is a moſt beautiful repreſentation of the ſuffering circumſtances and virtues of the Chriſtians of the author's own time, in alluſion to theſe and other words of the N. T. Therefore a part of it has been already tranſcribed, and more of it will appear in ſome following numbers.

N. T.

VIII. Philip. iii. 20. *For*[n] *our converſation is in heaven.*

The Epiſtle to DIOGNETUS.

VIII. They dwell[o] on earth, but they converſe in heaven.

IX. 1 Tim. iii. 16. *And without controverſy great is the myſtery of godlineſs: God was manifeſt in the fleſh, juſtified in the ſpirit, ſeen of angels, preached unto the Gentiles, believed on in the world, received up into glory.*

IX. Who [the diſciples] being eſteemed[p] by him, were acquainted with the myſteries of the Father. For which cauſe he ſent the Word, that he might appear to the world: who having been rejected of the people, preached by the

[n] Ημων γαρ το πολιτευμα εν ουρανοις υπαρχει.

[m] p. 497. B. C.

[o] Επι γης διατριβουσιν, αλλ' εν ουρανω πολιτευονται. p. 497. B.

[p] p. 501. D.

apoſtles,

X. 2 Tim. i. 11. *Whereunto I am appointed a preacher, and an apostle, and* [q] *a teacher of the Gentiles.*

XI. 1 Pet. ii. 20.——*but if* [p] *when ye do well, and suffer for it, ye take it patiently, this is acceptable with God.*

XII. 1 Pet. ii. 24. *Who* [u] *his own self bare our sins in his own body on the tree.*

XIII. 1 Pet. iii. 18. *For Christ also has once suffered for our sins, the* [y] *just for the unjust, that he might bring us to God.*

XIV. 1 John iv. 9. *In this was manifested the love of God to us, because that God sent his only begotten Son into the world.*

10. *Herein is love, not that we loved God, but that he loved us.*

16. *And we have known and believed the love that God has to us.*

17. *Herein is our love made perfect.*

19. *We love him, because he first loved us.*

apostles, was believed on by the Gentiles.

X. And being [r] a disciple of the apostles, I become a teacher of the Gentiles. [So the author speaks of himself.]

XI. When they [t] do well, they are punished as evil.

XII. Saying himself: He [x] took our sins. This is evidently a quotation, and only by a different pointing may be read thus: saying: He himself took our sins. But perhaps it may be doubtful, whether he refers to this text of Peter, or to Isa. ch. liii.

XIII. He delivered up [z] his own Son a ransom for us, the holy for the transgressors, the innocent for the guilty, the just for the unjust.

XIV. For God loved mankind——to whom he sent his only begotten Son, to whom he has promised a kingdom in heaven, and will give it to them that love him. And [a] when you know him, with how great joy will you be filled? And how will you love him, who so loved you before? And having loved him, you will be an imitator of his goodness.

[q] Και διδασκαλος εθνων.

[p] Αλλ' ει αγαθοποιουντες, κ. τ.

[u] Ος τας αμαρτιας ημων αυτος ανηνεγκεν.

[y] Δικαιος υπερ αδικων.

[r] Αλλ' αποστολων γενομενος μαθητης, γνησιως διδασκαλος εθνων. p. 501. C.

[t] Αγαθοποιουντες, ως χαιρει κολαζομενοι. 497. C.

[x] Λεγων αυτος, τας ημετερας αμαρτιας ανενεγκειν. 500. B.

[z] Λυτρον τον ιδιον υιον αποδους λυτρον υπερ ημων, τον αγιον υπερ ρυπαρων, τον ακακον υπερ των κακων, τον δικαιον υπερ των αδικων. 500. B.

[a] P. 501. A.

XV. Speak-

XV. Speaking of the ſtate of things after the coming of Chriſt, he has this paſſage, in which he ſeems to ſpeak of the volume of the goſpels, and of the epiſtles of the apoſtles.

'The [b] fear of the law is ſung, and the grace of the prophets 'is known, and the faith of the goſpels is eſtabliſhed, and the 'tradition of the apoſtles is kept, and the grace of the church 'rejoiceth exceedingly.'

XVI. The paſſages alleged from this epiſtle relate to the goſpels of St. Matthew and St. John; the epiſtle to the Romans, the firſt and ſecond to the Corinthians; the epiſtle to the Philippians; the firſt and ſecond to Timothy; and the firſt epiſtle of St. Peter, and firſt of St. John. And in moſt of them the alluſion is plain. Words of the firſt epiſtle to the Corinthians are expreſsly cited as the apoſtle's, meaning Paul. The author ſeems likewiſe to ſpeak of a code, or collection, of goſpels and apoſtolical epiſtles, which he joins together with the law and the prophets.

CHAP. XII.

DIONYSIUS OF CORINTH.

DIONYSIUS, biſhop of Corinth, flouriſhed, according to Cave [a], about the year 170. Euſebius in his Chronicle [b], at the eleventh year of Marcus Antoninus (which is the year 171 of our Lord), ſays, 'Dionyſius, biſhop of Corinth, a ſacred man, was 'then in reputation.' He wrote ſeven letters, called by Euſebius [c] Catholic, or general, they being ſent to divers churches, and another to a Chriſtian woman. Theſe epiſtles are mentioned [d] by Euſebius in the following order: One to the Lacedæmonians: another to the Athenians: the third to the faithful of Nicomedia, which was the capital city of Bithynia: the fourth to the church at Gortyna, and the reſt of the churches of Crete: the fifth to the church in Amaſtris, together with the churches throughout Pontus: the ſixth to the Gnoſſians, likewiſe in Crete: the ſeventh to the Romans, inſcribed to Soter then biſhop. 'And beſide theſe,' ſays Euſebius, 'there is extant

[b] Ἡ τε φόβος νόμου ᾄδεται, καὶ προφητῶν χάρις γινώσκεται, καὶ εὐαγγελίων πίστις ἵδρυται, καὶ ἀποστόλων παράδοσις φυλάσσεται, καὶ ἐκκλησίας χάρις σκιρτᾷ. p. 502. A.

[a] Hiſt. Lit. [b] Διονύσιος ἐπίσκοπος Κορίνθου πόλεως αὐτῆς ἐγνωρίζετο. [c] Καθολικὰς πρὸς τὰς ἐκκλησίας ἐπιστολάς. H. E. l. 4. c. 23. p. 143. C. [d] Loc. cap.

'another

'another sent to Chrysophora, a most faithful sister.' Of these epistles nothing remains, except some fragments in [e] Eusebius.

St. Jerom's [f] account of Dionysius contains an enumeration of these letters. And he says, 'he was a man of great elo-'quence and industry: and that he flourished under M. An-'toninus and Commodus.' He has been called a martyr by some, but without [g] any foundation in antiquity.

I shall now put down a few particulars, suitable to our present design, out of the fragments of these epistles preserved by Eusebius.

'The letter to the Athenians,' says Eusebius, 'is [h] exhortatory 'to the faith, and a conversation according to the gospel:' meaning by gospel the doctrine and precepts of the Christian religion, or the books of the New Testament, in whole or in part. However, it must be owned, these are properly the words of Eusebius.

In this epistle 'he relates [i] moreover,' says Eusebius, 'that 'Dionysius the Areopagite, who was converted to the faith by 'the apostle Paul, according to the account given in the Acts 'of the apostles, was appointed the first bishop of the church 'of the Athenians.'

How far Dionysius had referred for this to the book of the Acts of the apostles, is doubtful, and cannot be determined from Eusebius. But every one will upon this occasion regret the loss of these epistles.

In the epistle to the Nicomedians, 'he [k] opposeth the heresy 'of Marcion, and strenuously asserts and [l] defends the rule of 'truth.'

It is highly probable, he here maintained the genuineness and authority of divers books of the New Testament against Marcion, who [m] rejected some, and mutilated and curtailed others.

In the epistle to the church of Amastris, Eusebius [n] says, 'he 'has inserted expositions of the divine scriptures.'

We cannot be positive indeed; but there is no reason to forbid our supposing, here were expositions of the scriptures of the New, as well as of the Old Testament.

'Farther,' says Eusebius, 'the same person, speaking of his 'own epistles, as having been corrupted, expresseth himself [o] in 'this

[e] Ibid. et l. 2. cap. 25. p. 68. A.

[f] De Vir. Ill. cap. 27.

[g] Vid. Tillemont Mem. E. T. ii. Denys de Corinthe, ad fin.

[h] Διεγερτικὴ πίστεως καὶ τῆς κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον πολιτείας, l. iv. c. 23. p. 143. D.

[i] p. 144. A.

[k] Ἐν ᾗ Μαρκιανὸς αἱρέσιν πολέμων, τῷ τῆς ἀληθείας παρίσταται κανόνι. p. 144. A.

[l] Vid. Valef. in loc.

[m] Vid. Irenæ. l. 1. cap. 27. al. 28. et Tertullian. adv. Marcion.

[n] Γράφων τε θείων ἐξηγήσεις παρατέθεται. ib. B.

[o] Εἶτ' δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς καὶ περὶ τῶν ἰδίων ἐπιστολῶν ὡς ῥαδιουργηθεισῶν, ταῦτα φησιν· ἐπιστολὰς γὰρ ἀδελφαὶ

'this manner: "I have written epistles," says he, "at the desire of the brethren. But the apostles of the devil have filled "them with darnel, taking out some things, and adding others: "for whom there is a woe reserved. It is not to be wondered, "therefore, if some have attempted to corrupt the scriptures of "the Lord [or the Dominic scriptures], since they have attempted "the same thing in writings not comparable to them."

When he says, 'there is a woe reserved' for those persons, Le Clerc [p] says, he seems to allude to Isa. v. 20. or to Rev. xxii. 18, 19. but of this we cannot be certain.

By 'scriptures of the Lord' he seems to mean the scriptures of the New Testament in general, as containing the doctrine and precepts of the Lord Jesus. There were some who endeavoured to corrupt them. He intends, it is likely, in particular, the followers of Marcion. However, the Catholic Christians were upon their guard. These heretics, therefore, only attempted this; and it was a vain attempt, without any considerable success. The alterations they made were detected by the vigilance of the sounder part of Christians; who, by the numerous copies of most of the books of the New Testament, in the apostolic churches, in almost every part of the world, could without much difficulty discover the frauds attempted to be practised on their sacred writings.

There is another remarkable fragment of this writer in Eusebius, which may deserve to be placed here. Eusebius is speaking of Nero's persecution, and the martyrdoms of St. Peter and St. Paul: 'And,' says [q] he, 'that they both suffered martyrdom 'about the same time, Dionysius bishop of Corinth, assures us 'in his epistle to the Romans, writing in this manner: "So "also you, by this your so suitable admonition, have joined together the plantation of the Romans and the Corinthians, which "was made by Peter and Paul. For they both coming to our "city of Corinth planted and taught us. And in like manner "going together to Italy, they taught there, and suffered martyrdom about the same time."

This is all I have to offer at present (B) from this writer. But from the little that remains of him it may be justly concluded, that his epistles would be of great use to us, if they were now extant; especially considering the traces of eminent

[illegible] με γραψαι, εγραψα· και ταυτας οι [illegible] απο[illegible] ζιζανιων γεγεμικαν· α μεν [illegible], α δε προστιθεντες· οις το [illegible] κειται· [illegible] ει και των κυριακων ραδιουργησαι [illegible] γραφων, [illegible] και ταις [illegible] επιθεθληκασι. p. 145. C.

[p] Vid. Hist. E. p. 735. Note 3.

[q] Euf. H. E. l. 2. c. 25. p. 68. A.

(B) See hereafter Ch. XXVIII. Numb. V. VI. See likewise Ch. II. p. 26.

virtue that appear in almoſt every part of his ſhort fragments. He ſhews a peaceable diſpoſition, in recommending peace and unity to the Lacedemonians. He ſhews his goodneſs and candour, in his precept to the Amaſtrians, 'that all who recover 'from any fall, whether of vice or heretical opinion, ſhould 'be kindly received:' and his judgment and good ſenſe, as well as true virtue, in his admonition to Pinytus, biſhop of the Gnoſtians; 'not to impoſe on the brethren the heavy yoke of conti-'nence as neceſſary, but to conſider the infirmity of the moſt.' In a word, it is the character which Euſebius gives him, 'that 'he was uſeful to all by his divine labours, and not only to the 'church particularly under his care.' Dionyſius was an excellent man.

CHAP. XIII.

TATIAN.

TATIAN flouriſhed, according to [a] Cave, about the year 172. In his Oration aginſt the Gentiles, generally reckoned his only remaining work, he has informed us of ſeveral things concerning himſelf: That [b] he was born in Aſſyria, was originally a Heathen, and [c] was converted to Chriſtianity by reading the books of the Old Teſtament, and by reflecting on the corruptions and abſurdities of Gentiliſm: and that [d] he had been a conſiderable traveller, and ſeen the world; and afterwards came to Rome, where he farther improved himſelf in arts and ſciences. The Oration itſelf ſhews him to be a man of reading, and well acquainted with the Greek learning; which character is alſo univerſally allowed him by ancient writers. He mentions Juſtin Martyr with [e] great reſpect: and by many ancient Chriſtian writers we are well aſſured, that he was his follower; but ſome while after his death, which happened about the year 165, he went into a great variety of abſurd opinions. He is ſaid to be the author of the ſect of the Encratites, or Continents; condemned the uſe of wine; denied the lawfulneſs of marriage, the reality of Chriſt's ſufferings, the ſalvation of Adam; embraced the Æons of Valentinus; aſſerted with Mar-

[a] Hiſt. Lit. Vid. et Tillemont Mem. Ec. T. 2. Part 3. Les Encratites. Baſnage Ann. 172. §. 3, 4, &c. Du Pin Bibl. Fabric. Bibl. Gr. T. vi. p. 81, &c.
[b] p. 174. B. C. [c] p. 165. B. [d] p. 170. B. C. [e] p. 157. D. 158. A.

cion,

cion, that there are two gods. But whatever were his principles in the latter part of his life, he will afford a good proof of the antiquity, and high esteem of the gospels in his time, and be otherwise of considerable use to us.

I shall farther observe briefly the notice that has been taken of him by the ancients. Irenæus [f] says, he was a follower of Justin, and mentions the heresies he taught after Justin's martyrdom. Clement [g] of Alexandria makes frequent mention of him, and confutes him. Origen [h] speaks of his Oration to the Greeks as a learned work. Eusebius, [i] in his Chronicle, dates his heresy at the 12th of the emperor Marcus Antoninus, or the year 172. What Eusebius says farther of Tatian will be placed below distinctly. Epiphanius [k] has given a particular account of his heresy.

St. Jerom's account of Tatian, in his book [l] of Illustrious Men, is this: 'Tatian, who first taught rhetoric, and gained a 'great deal of honour thereby, was a follower of Justin Martyr, 'and flourished in the church as long as he adhered to him. 'But afterwards puffed up with the pride of eloquence, he 'founded a new heresy, called that of the Encratites, which was 'afterwards improved by Severus. Tatian wrote an infinite 'number of books; of which there is one written against the 'Gentiles, which is reckoned the most considerable of all his 'works. He flourished under the emperor M. Antoninus 'Verus, and L. Aurelius Commodus.'

I shall take no more passages concerning the history of this writer. I proceed to those which will set before us his testimony to the scriptures of the New Testament.

1. Eusebius in his Ecclesiastical History, having given an account of Tatian, and his opinions, from Irenæus, and then of Severus, and his followers, who had made additions to some of Tatian's opinions, adds: 'But [m] their first leader, Tatian, com-'posed I know not what harmony and collection of the gospels, 'which he called [Dia Tessaron] Of the Four, which is still 'in the hands of some. And it is said, that he had the assurance 'to alter [or explain] some words of the apostle, as pretending 'to correct the composition and order of his style. He left a

[f] Adv. Hær. l. i. cap. 28. [al. 30, 31.] l. iii. cap. 23. [al. 36, &c.]

[g] Strom. lib. i. p. 320. B. lib. iii. p. 465. A. B. D. 465. C. ex tab. Heidelb. p. 5. C. [h] Cont. Celf. l. i. p. 14.

[i] Tatianus hæreticus agnoscitur: a quo Encratitæ. Chr. p. 170. [k] Hær. 26. al. 46. [l] Cap. 29.

[m] Ὁ μεὶν γε πρῶτος αὐτὰν ἀρξάμενος ὁ Ταϊανὸς, συναφειὰν τινα καὶ συναγωγὴν οὐκ οἶδ' ὅτου τὸν εὐαγγελίων συνθεὶς, τὸ διὰ τεσσάρων τοῦτο πρὸς - ωνόμασεν· ὃ καὶ παρὰ τισὶν ἐτι φέρεται τῶν ἀνδρῶν. τὸ δὲ ἀποστόλου φασὶ τολμῆσαι τινας αὐτὸν μεταφράσαι φάσεις, ὡς ἐπιδιορθώσεως αὐτὸν τὴν τῆς φράσεως σολοικίζειν. H. E. l. iv. c. 28. Vid. et cap. 16. de Tatiano.

'great number of books: of which, his celebrated diſcourſe 'againſt the Gentiles has been quoted by many; which ſeems 'to be the moſt elegant, and moſt uſeful, of all his writings.'

This is a ſtrong proof, that there were four, and but four goſpels, which were in eſteem with Chriſtians. It ſeems, that Euſebius had not ſeen this harmony or collection of Tatian.

Theodoret [n], who flouriſhed in the fifth century, about 423, ſpeaks of this book in the following manner: 'He [Tatian] 'compoſed a goſpel, which is called *Dia Teſſaron* [Of the Four], 'leaving out the genealogies, and every thing that ſhews the 'Lord to have been born of the ſeed of David according to the 'fleſh: which has been uſed not only by thoſe of his ſect, 'but alſo by them who follow the apoſtolical doctrine; they 'not perceiving the fraud of the compoſition, but ſimply uſing 'it as a compendious book. I have alſo met with above two 'hundred of theſe books, which were in eſteem in our churches: 'all which I took away, and laid aſide in a parcel, and placed 'in their room the goſpels of the four evangeliſts.'

Victor Capuanus, a writer of the ſixth century, ſays, that Tatian called his harmony Δια Πεντε Of the Five. Whence ſome learned moderns have inferred, that Tatian uſed alſo the Goſpel according to the Hebrews. Ittigius [o] has ſhewn it, I think, to be very probable, that this Δια Πεντε Of the Five, in Victor, is only an error of the tranſcribers for Δια Παντων Of All. Euſebius calls it 'Of the Four,' as does Theodoret. All the fault that Theodoret, who had ſeen ſo many copies, finds with this performance is, that Tatian had left out the genealogies.

It is ſaid, that [p] Ephraim the Syrian, of the fourth century, wrote commentaries upon Tatian's harmony, or Diateſſaron.

Whether this harmony be now extant, is diſputed by [q] learned men: I think, I need not concern myſelf with that queſtion.

The apoſtle, whoſe words Tatian had the aſſurance to alter, or explain, undoubtedly is Paul. But it cannot be determined from this paſſage of Euſebius, what epiſtles of Paul Tatian owned, or how many of them he had explained, or corrected. Nay, it ſeems, that Euſebius had never ſeen the work itſelf. What he writes of it is only from the report of others. Mill [r] thinks, there was no ill deſign in this work of Tatian: that his

[n] Hæret. Fab. l. i. cap. 20. [o] Tho. Ittigii de Hæreſiarchis. Sect. 2. cap. 12. p. 182. [p] Syriacum Tatiani Diateſſaron commentariis illuſtravit Sanctus Ephræmus, teſtibus Barſalibæo et *Barhebræo*, quorum verba retuli. T. i. p. 57, 58. Aſſeman. Bib. Orient. T. 3. P. 1. p. 13.

[q] Vid. Valeſ. Not. ad Euſeb. H. E. l. iv. cap. 29. Tillemont. Mem. T. ii. Part. 3. Les Encratites. Not. 2. Baſnage Ann. 172. n. vi. Fabr. Bibl. Gr. T. vi. p. 83.

[r] Proleg. n. 361, 362.

altering

altering the words of Paul amounted to no more than ſome interlineary or marginal explications; putting here and there over againſt the apoſtle's other ſynonymous words, which were ſomewhat clearer. Tatian's 'correcting of the compoſition of the 'apoſtle's ſtyle,' likewiſe, according to him, was only diſpoſing in the margin ſome of the words of St. Paul in a more natural order, without intending, or in the event doing, any prejudice to the apoſtle's original text.

The Oration againſt the Gentiles being commended by ſo many, affords an argument, that it was written before the year 172, about which time Tatian left the Catholic opinions; and as it ſeems to have been written after Juſtin's death, therefore ſome time between 165 and 172. In this Oration are a few references or alluſions to the goſpels, which I ſhall take notice of.

N. T.	TATIAN.
II. Luke vi. 25. *Woe* [s] *unto you that laugh now: for ye ſhall mourn and weep.*	II. You may [t] laugh, but you will weep.
III. John i. 3. *All* [u] *things were made by him, and without him was not any thing made, that was made.*	III. Forſaking dæmons, give up yourſelves to the one God. For [x] all things are by him, and without him was not any thing made.
IV. John i. 5. *And the light ſhineth in darkneſs,* [y] *and the darkneſs comprehendeth it not.*	IV. This is [z] what is ſaid: The darkneſs comprehendeth not the light. —— And the word [or reaſon] is the light of God: the ignorant ſoul is darkneſs.

V. He ſeems to refer to the beginning of St. John's goſpel in another place [a]. He likewiſe ſays [b], 'God is a ſpirit,' in the very words of John iv. 24.

VI. 'He [c] that wants nothing is not to be traduced by us, 'as if he wanted.' This is much the ſame thought, and applied to the ſame purpoſe, with Paul's, Acts xvii. 25. *as though he needeth any thing.* But it is a character of the Deity ſo ob-

[s] Ουαι ὑμιν οι γελωντες νυν· ὅτι πενθησετε και κλαυσετε.

[t] Γελατε δε ὑμεις, ως και κλαυσοντες. p. 167. C.

[u] Παντα δι αυτου εγενετο· και χωρις αυτου εγενετο ουδε ἑν, ο γεγονεν.

[x] Παντα υπ' αυτου, και χωρις αυτου γεγονεν ουδε ἑν. p. 158. D.

[y] Και η σκοτια αυτο ου καταλαμβανει.

[z] Και τουτο εστι αρα το ειρημενον· η σκοτια το φως ου καταλαμβανει. p. 152. C.

[a] p. 245. A. B. C. [b] Πνευμα ο Θεος. p. 144. C. [c] p. 144. D.

 vious,

vious, that I think it cannot determine us to ſuppoſe he had an eye to thoſe words of the apoſtle.

VII. St. [d] Clement has informed us, that Tatian, in a book called Perfection according to the Saviour, argued againſt marriage from the words of Paul, 1 Cor. vii. 5; and from St. Jerom [e] it appears, that Tatian had abuſed to the ſame purpoſe the words of Paul, Gal. vi. 8.: but I do not think it needful to tranſlate either of theſe paſſages.

And from [f] Irenæus we learn, 'that Tatian had endeavoured 'to ſupport his opinion concerning Adam, that he was not 'ſaved, from theſe words 1 Cor. xv. 22. that *in Adam all die*; 'and from ſome other expreſſions of the apoſtle.'

VIII. Laſtly, St. Jerom, in his preface to his Commentary upon the Epiſtle to Titus, ſays: 'But Tatian [g], the patriarch of 'the Encratites, though he rejected ſome of Paul's epiſtles, was 'of opinion, that this to Titus ought to be owned as the apo-'ſtle's without any heſitation.'

IX. We ſee then plainly, that the goſpels, and many of Paul's epiſtles, were received by Tatian, and owned by him to the laſt: and his rejecting any of the reſt is of no weight, when a man gave way to ſuch manifeſt abſurdities as he did in the latter part of his life.

CHAP. XIV.

HEGESIPPUS.

HEGESIPPUS, as we are informed by Euſebius [a], was originally a Jew, converted to the Chriſtian faith. He is ſuppoſed to have been born in the beginning of the ſecond century; and died, according to the Alexandrian Chronicle, in

[d] Γραφει γαρ καλα λεξιν εν τω περι του καλα τον Σωτηρα καλαρισμου· Συμφασιαν μεν ουν αρμοζει παρεστιχε· καινωνια δε φθορας ενδει την ειδεξιν. κ. λ. Strom. l. iii. p. 460. A.

[e] Tatianus qui putativam Chriſti carnem introducens, omnem conjunctionem maſculi ad feminam immundam arbitratur, Encratitarum vel acerrimus hæreſiarches, tali adverſum nos ſub occaſione præſentis teſtimonii uſus eſt argumento: 'Si qui 'ſeminat in carne, de carne metet corrup-'tionem:' in carne autem ſeminat, qui mulieri jungitur. Ergo et is qui uxore utitur, et ſeminat in carne ejus, de carne metet corruptionem. Comm. in Gal. cap. 6.

[f] Tentans et ſubinde uti hujuſmodi a Paulo aſſidue dictis: quoniam in 'Adam 'omnes morimur.' l. iii. cap. 23. §. 8. al. cap. 39. [g] Sed Tatianus Encratitarum patriarches, qui et ipſe nonnullas Pauli epiſtolas repudiavit, hanc vel maxime, hoc eſt, ad Titum, apoſtoli pronunciandam credidit; parvi pendens Marcionis et aliorum, qui cum eo in hac parte conſentiunt, aſſertionem, [a] H. E. l. iv. c. 22. p. 143. B.

the reign of Commodus. 'He wrote,' says [b] Eusebius, 'a faithful relation of the apostolic preaching in a very plain style.' And in these books, Eusebius says, he mentions his journey to Rome: that in his way he conversed with many bishops: that in all of them he had perceived one and the same doctrine. 'When 'I came to Rome,' says he, 'I took [d] up (A) my 'abode with Anicetus, whose deacon Eleutherus [then] was. 'After Anicetus succeeded Soter, and after him Eleutherus.' And in another place [c] Eusebius says, that Hegesippus writes, he came to Rome in the time of Anicetus, and staid there until the bishoprick of Eleutherus. Though therefore learned men are not exactly agreed about the time of these bishops of Rome, we must suppose the five books of Hegesippus not finished till after 170, very [f] few placing the beginning of Eleutherus's bishoprick before that year.

Eusebius [g] however assures us, he was in the 'first succession 'of the apostles:' and Stephen [h] Gobar, in Photius, calls him an 'ancient and apostolical man.' St. Jerom, in his Catalogue [i], writes of him to this purpose: 'Hegesippus, who was near the 'times of the apostles, composed a history of the affairs of the 'church from the passion of our Lord to his own time. And 'collecting together a great variety of matters for the benefit 'of his readers, he wrote five books in a plain and simple man-'ner, imitating [k] therein the style of those whose life he fol-'lowed [or, as perhaps some may choose to have it rendered, "whose life he wrote"]. He says, he came to Rome in the time 'of Anicetus, the tenth bishop after Peter, and continued there 'to the time of Eleutherus, bishop of the same city, who for-'merly had been deacon of Anicetus.'

These five books are all lost, except some fragments preserved by Eusebius in his Ecclesiastical History, and one more in Photius from Stephen Gobar; of which I shall presently give an account, so far as they relate to our present subject: and in the margin I shall put the character (B) of this writer, as given by

[b] Ἐν τοῖς δὲ τοῦ συγγράμματος αὐτοῦ πέντε βιβλίοις τὴν ἀπλουστάτην παράδοσιν τοῦ ἀποστολικοῦ κηρύγματος ἀπλουστάτῃ ἑρμηνείᾳ γράφει ἐπιμνησθεὶς ὧν. l. iv. c. 8. init. [c] Γενόμενος δὲ ἐν Ῥώμῃ διαδοχὴν [al. διαδοχῇ] ἐποιησάμην μέχρις Ἀνικήτου, οὗ διάκονος ἦν Ἐλεύθερος· καὶ πάλιν Ἀνικήτου διαδεχόμενος Σωτὴρ τὸν Ἐλεύθερον. ibid. c. 22.

[d] Vid. Vales. Not. in loc. Eus.

(A) Or, as others: 'I composed a succession (of the bishops of Rome) to Anicetus.' Vid. Pearson. Op. Post. p. 24. Grabe Spicil. T. 2. p. 212 et 256. [e] Ibid. cap. xi. p. 125. B. [f] Vid. Grabe Spic. T. 2. p. 204. [g] Ἐπὶ τῆς πρώτης τῶν ἀποστόλων γενεᾶς διαδοχῆς. l. 2. c. 23. p. 62. C.

[h] Ἄρχαιος τε αὖτε καὶ ἀποστολικὸς. Phot. Cod. 232. [i] Cap. 22. [k] Ut quorum vitam sectabatur, dicendi quoque exprimeret characterem.

(B) Suspectum tamen merito Hegesippi est testimonium, quia ex reliquis ejus apud Eusebium fragmentis abunde constat, eum non

by ſome moderns, though it be not very much to his advantage.

I. The firſt fragment [l] is his relation of the death of James the Juſt at Jeruſalem. In this narration, the ſtyle of the ſcriptures of the New Teſtament often appears. When the Jews (ſcribes and phariſees) and others came to James to deſire him to tell the people his opinion of Jeſus, they ſay to him: 'For [m] we and all the people bear witneſs to you, that you are 'juſt, and accept no man's perſon.' Matth. xxii. 16. Luke xx. 21. Afterwards, James ſays to them: 'Why [n] do you aſk me 'concerning Jeſus the ſon of man? He ſits in heaven, on 'the right hand of the Great Power, and will come in the clouds 'of heaven.' Matth. xxvi. 64. 'Whereby many were fully 'perſuaded, and glorified God for that teſtimony of James, 'ſaying, "Hoſanna to the ſon of David." Matth. xxi. 9. 15. When they had thrown him down from the battlement of the temple, he not being quite dead, they began to caſt ſtones at him. 'But [o] he kneeling down ſaid:' "I beſeech thee, O "Lord God the Father, forgive them: for they know not "what they do." Acts vii. 60. Luke xxiii. 34.——'This man 'was [p] a faithful witneſs both to the Jews and Greeks, that Jeſus 'was the Chriſt.' Acts xx. 21.

II. The next [q] fragment of this writer contains an account of Domitian's inquiry after the poſterity of David. 'At that 'time,' ſays he, 'there were yet remaining of the kindred of 'Chriſt the grandſons of Jude, who was called his brother ac-'cording to the fleſh. Theſe ſome accuſed, as being of the 'race of David; and Evocatus brought them before Domi-'tianus Cæſar. For [r] he too was afraid of the coming of the 'Chriſt, as well as Herod.' Matth. ii.

This paſſage deſerves to be remarked. It contains a reference to the hiſtory in the ſecond chapter of St. Matthew;

non accuratum, ſed credulum ac fabuloſum fuiſſe ſcriptorem. Ingenuum hic eſt judicium Dupinii, qui recenſitis fragmentis Hiſtoriæ Eccleſiaſticæ Hegeſippi addit: 'Autant que nous pouvons juger par ce qui 'nous reſte, il eſtoit peu exact, et plus rem-'pli d'hiſtoires feintes et fabuleuſes, que 'narrations ſolides et veritables.' Idem judicium eſt Baſnagii, et aliorum. Lampe Prolegom. In Joann. l. i. c. 4. n. x.

l Euſ. H. E. l. 2. c. 23. m Ημιν γαρ μαρτυρειν σοι και πας ο λαος, ὁτι δικαιος ει, και ου λαμβανεις προσωπον. p. 64. C.

n Τι με επερωτατε περι Ιησου του υιου του ανθρωπου, και αυτος καθηται εν τω ουρανω εκ δεξιων της μεγαλης δυναμεως, και μελλει ερχεσθαι επι των νεφελων του ουρανου· και σολλων σληροφορηθεντων και δοξαζοντων επι τη μαρτυρια του Ιακωβου, και λεγοντων, Ωσαννα τω υιω Δαβιδ. p. 64. D.

o Αλλα γραφεις ειχεν τα γονατα, λεγων· σαρακαλω, Κυριε Θεε Πατερ, αφες αυτοις· ου γαρ οιδασι τι σοιουσιν. p. 65. B. p Μαρτυς αληθης Ιουδαιοις τε και Ελλησι γεγενησθαι, ὁτι Ιησους ο Χριστος εστιν. p. 65. C. q Euſ. H. E. l. 3. c. 19, 20. r Εφοβειτο γαρ την σαρουσιαν του Χριστου, ως και Ηρωδης. p. 89. C.

and

and ſhews plainly, that this part of St. Matthew's goſpel was owned by this Hebrew Chriſtian. But Epiphanius [t] informs us, that the goſpel of the Ebionites begins thus: 'It came to 'paſs in the days of Herod the king of Judea, that John came 'baptizing with the baptiſm of repentance in the river Jordan;' which is the beginning of the third chapter of St. Matthew, a little altered. And he there [t] ſays expreſsly, that their goſpel called according to Matthew, is 'defective and corrupted.' It is plain however from this paſſage, that Hegeſippus received the hiſtory in the ſecond chapter of St. Matthew: ſo that he uſed our Greek goſpel. Or, if he uſed only the Hebrew edition of St. Matthew's goſpel, this hiſtory muſt have been in it in his time.

Theſe grandſons of Jude were interrogated by Domitian concerning their own ſubſtance; which they informed him of, and gave him proofs they were poor labouring men. 'Being 'aſked,' ſays [u] Hegeſippus, 'of Chriſt and his kingdom, of 'what kind it was, and when and where it ſhould appear? 'Luke xix. 11. they anſwered, that it was not worldly nor 'terrene, but heavenly and angelical, and would be in the end 'of the world; when he coming in glory ſhould judge the quick 'and the dead, and render to every man according to his 'works.' 2 Tim. iv. 1.

I do not pretend abſolutely to determine a reference to any particular texts in theſe laſt words: but I have thought it very proper to place them here, together with what precedes, as repreſenting the doctrine of the New Teſtament very much in the ſtyle of it.

I omit the next fragment of this author in [x] Euſebius, giving the hiſtory of the martyrdom of Simeon biſhop of Jeruſalem, it containing nothing ſuitable to our preſent deſign.

III. But afterwards, in another chapter, [y] Euſebius obſerves ſeveral things which were in the five books of this writer: 'That in his journey to Rome he viſited many biſhops, in par-'ticular Primus biſhop of Corinth, where he ſtaid many days; 'and where,' ſays he, 'we received mutual refreſhment from the 'true faith. From thence he went to Rome, and ſtaid there to 'the time of Eleutherus.' He [z] adds: 'And in every ſucceſ-

[t] Hær. 30. §. 13. p. 138. A. T. i. ed. Petav. [t] Ibid. init. §. 13.

[u] Ἐρωτηθέντας δὲ περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ, ὁποία τις εἴη, καὶ ποτὲ καὶ ποῖ φαινησομένη; λόγον δοῦναι, ὡς οὐ κοσμικὴ μὲν οὐδ' ἐπίγειος, ἐπουράνιος δὲ καὶ ἀγγελικὴ τυγχάνει, ἐπὶ συντελείᾳ τοῦ αἰῶνος γενησομένῃ, ὁπηνίκα ἐλθὼν ἐν δόξῃ κρίνει ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς, καὶ ἀποδώσει ἑκάστῳ κατὰ τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα αὐτοῦ. p. 90. A. B.

[x] L. 3. c. 32. [y] L. iv. cap. 22.

[z] Ἐν ἑκάστῃ δὲ διαδοχῇ καὶ ἐν ἑκάστῃ πόλει οὕτως ἔχει, ὡς ὁ νόμος κηρύττει, καὶ οἱ προφῆται, καὶ ὁ Κύριος. p. 142. C.

'sion, and in every city, the same doctrine is taught, which the 'law, and the prophets, and the Lord preacheth.' Here it seems, that by 'the Lord' he must mean the scriptures of the New Testament; which he looks upon as containing the very doctrine taught and preached by Jesus Christ. However, he afterwards speaks of heresies; but the true church was free from these.

IV. 'He also takes some things,' says [a] Eusebius, 'out of 'the Gospel according to the Hebrews, and out of the Syriac, 'and in particular out of the Hebrew tongue; manifesting 'hereby, that he is one of the faithful from among the 'Hebrews.'

The former part of this sentence is rendered agreeably to the translation of Valesius, which I suppose is generally taken very contentedly; though, on the other hand, some have been mightily puzzled about the true meaning. I think Valesius's version is agreeable enough to the Greek in Eusebius. But one would be apt to suspect, our present copies are here hardly right. I cannot pretend to correct them: but I imagine, that St. Jerom has given us, though undesignedly, the true sense of what Eusebius wrote, when he says: 'In the [b] Gospel according to 'the Hebrews, which is written indeed in the Syriac and Chal-'daic tongue [or Syro-Chaldaic tongue], but in Hebrew cha-'racters, is this history;' which he there relates.

Let this passage of Eusebius be allowed to be ever so obscure, I think it affords proof, that there was a Hebrew gospel in the time of Hegesippus, and that he made use of it; but how far, we cannot say. Here is nothing to help us to determine the question, whether this Gospel according to the Hebrews, written in the Syriac language, but in Hebrew letters, was a translation, or an original.

V. The last passage concerning our author to be taken from Eusebius is this: 'And discoursing [c] of the books called apocry-'phal, he relates, that some of them were forged by some he-'retics in his time.'

Whether he speaks of apocryphal books of the Old Testament, or the New, may be doubtful; because the last preceding observation of Eusebius is, that this writer, as well as Irenæus, and some other ancients, call the Proverbs of Solomon by the

[a] Εκ τε τȣ καθ' Εβραιȣς ευαγγελιȣ, και τȣ Συριακȣ, και ιδιως εκ της Εβραιδος διαλεκτȣ τινα τιθησιν, εμφαινων εξ Εβραιων αυτον πεπιστευκεναι. p. 143. B. [b] In evangelio juxta Hebræos, quod Chaldaico quidem Syroque sermone, sed Hebraicis literis scriptum est; ——adv. Pelagian. lib. iii. init. Op. T. iv. Par. 2. p. 533. ed. Bened. [c] Και περι των λεγομενων δε αποκρυφων διαλαμβανων, επι των αυτȣ χρονων προς τινων αιρετικων αναπεπλασθαι τινα τȣτων ιστορει. p. 143. B.

name

name of Wisdom. But the connection in Eusebius does not, I think, afford any certain proof, that he means the apocryphal books of the Old Testament. However, this we may learn hence, that the first Christians were not only upon their guard against heretics, but also against their forgeries.

VI. Beside these, there is a remarkable fragment of Hegesippus, preserved by Photius [d] in his extracts out of Stephen Gobar, a tritheistical writer of the sixth century.

Gobar there says: 'The eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, 'neither have entered into the heart of man the things which 'God hath prepared for the righteous: though [e] Hegesippus, 'an ancient and apostolical man, in the fifth book of his Com-'mentaries [or Memoirs], I know not for what reason, says, 'this is said without ground, and that they who say so contra-'dict the divine scriptures, and the Lord, who says: "Blessed "are your eyes which see, and your ears which hear:" and what 'follows.'

Here is a good quotation of St. Matthew's gospel, ch. xiii. 16. The other words are in 1 Cor. ii. 9. Is. lxiv. 4. It is likely, Hegesippus did not blame [f] these words themselves, but only some interpretation of them by persons who pretended that Jesus Christ was a mere phantom, and that the senses were not good judges of his actions.

VII. We have then seen in Hegesippus divers things expressed in the style of the gospels, and Acts, and some other parts of the New Testament. He refers to the history in the second chapter of St. Matthew, and recites another text of that gospel, as spoken by the Lord. He speaks of the doctrine taught by the law, the prophets, and the Lord; by which last expression he must mean some writing or writings containing the doctrine of Christ. Moreover, he used the Gospel according to the Hebrews, and says, there had been books forged by heretics; but they were such only as were called apocryphal, and were not received by the Catholics as of authority.

[d] Cod. 232. p. 893. [e] Ηγησιππος μεν τοι, αρχαιος τε ανηρ και αποστολικος, εν τῳ πεμπτῳ των απομνηματων, ουκ οιδ' ο, τι και παρεν, μαθημεν ειρησθαι ταυτα λεγει. και κατα ψευδεσθαι τους ταυτα φαμενους των τε θειων γραφων, και του Κυριου λεγοντος, Μακαριοι οι οφθαλμοι υμων οι βλεποντες, και τα ωτα υμων τα ακουοντα, και εξης. Apud Matth. Υμων δε μακαριοι οι οφθαλμοι, οτι βλεπουσι· και τα ωτα υμων, οτι ακουει.

[f] Vid. Grabe Spic. T. 2. p. 256.

CHAP. XV.

MELITO.

THIS writer will afford little relating to our present design. However, for the sake of that little, and his otherwise great merit, and many labours, it is very fit we should here settle his time, and give some account of him.

Melito is placed by [a] Cave at the year 170. He was bishop of Sardis in Lydia. Some moderns have supposed him to be the angel of the church of Sardis, to whom the epistle is directed, Rev. iii. 1—6. but this is without ground from antiquity: and, as Tillemont [b] observes, it would oblige us to suppose he was bishop above seventy years; which is not easy to believe, none of the ancients calling him a disciple of the apostles, or making any mention of his great age; and Eusebius placeth him after several others who flourished about the middle of the second century.

Polycrates bishop of Ephesus calls him an eunuch, on account, as is generally supposed, of his living a chaste and self-denying life in celibacy for the sake of the gospel. 'What 'need I,' says [c] he, 'mention Melito the eunuch, who con-'ducted himself in all things by the holy spirit, who lies buried 'in Sardis?'

St. Jerom [d] informs us, 'that Tertullian, in one of his books, 'praises Melito's elegant and oratorical genius, and says, that 'he was esteemed a prophet by many of our people.'

He travelled into Palestine on purpose to learn the number of the books of the Old Testament. His catalogue [e] is preserved by Eusebius, who took it out of Melito's preface to his book of Extracts out of the Law and the Prophets. 'It is a catalogue,' says Eusebius, 'of the scriptures of the Old Testament univer-'sally acknowledged.' It contains the books received by the Jews into their canon; but he does not mention the book of Esther. It is the first catalogue of the books of the Old Testament recorded by any Christian writer.

[a] Hist. Lit. [b] Mem. Ec. T. ii. Meliton, Note 1. [c] Τι δε δει λεγειν—— Μελιτωνα τον ευνουχον, τον εν αγιω πνευματι παντα πολιτευσαμενον. ap. Euf. H. E. l. v. c. 24. p. 191. D. [d] Hujus elegans et declamatorium ingenium laudans Tertullianus in septem libris quos scripsit adversus ecclesiam pro Montano dicit eum a plerisque nostrorum prophetam putari. De Script. Ill. n. 24. [e] Euf. H. E. l. iv. cap. 26. p. 148, 149.

Melito

Melito [f] presented, or addressed at least, an Apology to Marcus Antoninus in behalf of the Christians then under sufferings. It is placed by Eusebius in his Chronicle at the year 170, the tenth of that emperor, after the death of Lucius Verus, adopted brother and colleague of Marcus Antoninus, which happened in the year 169. With Eusebius agrees the Alexandrian Chronicle. It is evident, it could not be written sooner than the year 170, or the latter part of 169. Pagi [g] herein follows the Chronicle of Eusebius. Tillemont [h], from the manner in which Melito speaks of the emperor's son in a passage of his Apology (recorded by [i] Eusebius in his Ecclesiastical History), concludes, that Commodus had then the tribunitian power, if he was not colleague with his father in the empire. The former, Commodus received in the year 175, and equal power with his father Marcus Antoninus in 176 or 177. Tillemont therefore is inclined to place this Apology in the year 175, and Basnage [k] is rather for 177. This argument for the latter date of this Apology is so cogent, that I likewise choose to place it in 177.

Eusebius [l] has given us this catalogue of Melito's works. 'Two books concerning Easter: Rules of Life, and of the 'Prophets: Of the Church: A Discourse of the Lord's Day: 'Another of the Nature of Man, and of his Formation: Of the 'Obedience of the Senses to Faith: Of the Soul and Body, or 'of the Mind: Concerning Baptism: Of Truth, and of Faith, 'and the Generation of Jesus Christ: His Book of Prophecy, 'and of Hospitality: and the Key, and of the Devil, and [m] the 'Revelation of John.' Another book, the title [n] of which I do not translate, because [o] the meaning of it is doubtful. 'And 'lastly, his little book to Antoninus:' by which Eusebius means his forementioned Apology.

St. Jerom [p] gives also a catalogue of Melito's works, in the main agreeable to Eusebius. We need not here concern ourselves about some little differences between them. These books are all lost, except a few fragments.

It was not amiss to put down here at length the titles of all this good man's works, to shew the diligence of our Christian ancestors. But the only piece belonging to our present design is that concerning the Revelation of John. What it contained,

[f] Eus. H. E. l. iv. cap. 26. p. 148, 149. [g] Critic. in B. 170. §. 3.
[h] Meliton, as above, Note 2. [i] L. iv. c. 26. p. 148. A. [k] Ann. Polit. Ec. 177. §. 3. [l] H. E. l. iv. c. 26. p. 146, 147. [m] Και τα περι του διαβολου, και τις απικαλυψεως Ιωαννου. [n] Και ο περι ενσωματου Θεου. [o] See Tillemont, as before, in Meliton. Note 3. et Fabric. Gr. V. v. and the references there. [p] De Vir. Ill. cap. 24.

we

we are not informed. Mill [q] says, it was a commentary upon that book. It is plain, he ascribed that book to John, and, very likely, to John the apostle. I think it very probable, he esteemed it a book of canonical authority.

There is nothing in the fragment of his Apology preserved by Eusebius to be inserted here. But in his preface to his Extracts out of the Law and the Prophets is a short passage, which I shall put down in this place, having only first observed, that [r] Eusebius professes there to give us the passage he alleges, word for word. It is a letter to one Onesimus, to whom Melito says: 'When [s] therefore I went into the east, and was 'come to the place where those things were preached and 'done; I procured an accurate account of the books of the 'Old Testament, the catalogue of which I have here subjoined, 'and sent to you. Their names are these.'

From this passage I would conclude, that there was then also a volume or collection of books, called the New Testament, containing the writings of apostles and apostolical men: but we cannot from hence infer the names, or the exact number, of those books.

Melito then received the book of the Revelation, written by John; and, it is probable, many other books, collected together in a volume, called the New Testament: just as the books received by the Jews, as of divine authority, were called the Old Testament.

CHAP. XVI.

The Epistle of the Churches of Vienne and Lyons.

In the time of Marcus Antoninus the Christians suffered extremely. 'In the seventeenth year of the reign of this prince,' says Eusebius [a], in his Ecclesiastical History, 'the persecution 'against us raged with great violence in several parts of the 'world, through the enmity of the people in the cities. What

q Melito vero Sardensis ecclesiæ (ad quam quintam Johannis, cap. 3. Apoc. epistolam datam aiunt) episcopus integro eam commentario illustravit. Prolegom. n. 227.

r Εχοντα επι λεξεως ουτως. p. 148. D.

s Ανελθων ουν εις την ανατολην, και εως του τοπου γενομενος ενθα εκηρυχθη και επραχθη, και ακριβως μαθων τα της παλαιας διαθηκης βιβλια, υποταξας επεμψα σοι. Ibid. p. 149. A.

a L. v. Prooem.

'vast

'vaſt multitudes of martyrs there were throughout the whole 'empire, may be well concluded from what happened in one 'nation.' He means that of Gaul. The perſecution was particularly violent at Lyons, and the country thereabout. At this time many of the Chriſtians of Lyons and Vienne ſuffered exquiſite torments with the greateſt patience. Pothinus biſhop of Lyons, then above ninety years of age, was apprehended and carried before the governor, by whom he was examined, and before whom he made a generous confeſſion of the Chriſtian religion; and having ſuffered many indignities, he was ſent to priſon, where he ſoon expired.

The time of the perſecution in Gaul has been diſputed. Some have argued for the year 167, thinking that Euſebius himſelf places it there in his Chronicle. Dodwell [b] has defended this opinion with his uſual diligence; but the general opinion is with Euſebius in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, who, as we have juſt ſhewed, there places it in the ſeventeenth year of Marcus Antoninus, the 177th of our Lord. Suppoſing that Euſebius had in his Chronicle placed it in the ſeventh of that emperor, it would nevertheleſs be more reaſonable for us to adhere to the account in the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, written after his Chronicle, where he gives the moſt particular account of the ſufferings of theſe Chriſtians. But indeed Euſebius does not diſagree with himſelf. The Chriſtians ſuffered in one part or other of the world, from almoſt the beginning of Marcus's reign to the end of it. In his Chronicle, Euſebius aſſigns the fourth perſecution to the ſeventh year of that emperor, becauſe ſome ſuffered then; and upon that occaſion he makes a general mention of the martyrs of Lyons. But the perſecution of the churches in Gaul did not happen until the ſeventeenth year of Marcus, as Euſebius particularly relates in his Hiſtory. But I need not farther inſiſt upon this point. The probability of the latter date of the perſecution in Gaul has been ſo well argued, the invalidity of Dodwell's arguments ſo fully ſhewn, and every difficulty ſo fairly conſidered and removed by Pagi [c] and [d] Tillemont, that, I think, every unprejudiced perſon muſt acquieſce. Nor do I expect, that any learned man, who has a concern for his reputation as a critic, ſhould attempt a direct confutation of this opinion.

The churches of Lyons and Vienne ſent a relation of the ſufferings of their martyrs to the churches of Aſia and Phrygia.

[b] Diſſ. Cypr. xi. §. 36. [c] Critic. in Baron. 177. §. 3—7. [d] Memoires Eccleſ. Tom. 3. St. Pothin, et les Martyrs de Lion. Art. ii. et Note i.

Euſebius

Euſebius [e] placed this epiſtle entire in his collection of the acts of the martyrs; and he has alſo inſerted a large part of it into his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, which we ſtill have. It is the fineſt thing of the kind in all antiquity. Some think it was compoſed by Irenæus.

There were at the ſame time ſome other letters diſpatched from theſe churches, concerning the affair of Montaniſm; which having had its riſe about the year 171, began now to make a noiſe in the world. One of theſe letters likewiſe was ſent to the brethren in Aſia and Phrygia, another to Eleutherus biſhop of Rome. Theſe letters concerning the pretended prophecies of Montanus were written by the martyrs [f] themſelves, when in priſon, before they were brought forth to be put to death. Of theſe letters there is little remaining. But the former, containing the relation of the ſufferings of the martyrs at Lyons, being for the main part of it preſerved in Euſebius, will afford a conſiderable teſtimony to the books of the New Teſtament. And how valuable their teſtimony is, muſt be manifeſt from what has been ſaid of them; and that they had for their biſhop Pothinus, who died aged above 90, in the year 177, and was born therefore about the year 87 of our Lord. We ſhall make frequent mention, in the courſe of this work, of this epiſtle of the churches of Vienne and Lyons. I am now to exhibit only the teſtimony it affords to the books of the New Teſtament.

N. T.	The EPISTLE, &c.
I. Luke i. 6. *And they were both righteous before God, walking in all the commandments and ordinances of the Lord, blameleſs.*	I. Of one of their brethren they ſay: 'That [g] though 'young, he equalled the cha- 'racter of old Zacharias: for 'he walked in all the com- 'mandments and ordinances 'of the Lord, blameleſs.'
II. John xvi. 2. *Yea, the time cometh, that whoſoever killeth you, will think that he doth God ſervice.*	II. Then was [h] fulfilled, that which was ſpoken by the Lord, that whoſoever killeth you will think that he doth God ſervice.
III. Acts vii. 60. *And he kneeled down, and cried with a loud voice, Lord, lay not this ſin to their charge.*	III. They prayed [i] for thoſe from whom they ſuffered hard things, as did the perfect martyr Stephen:

[e] Vid. H. E. l. v. Proœm. [f] Euſ. H. E. l. v. c. iv. fin. v. in. [g] Euſ. H. E. l. v. cap. i. p. 155. D. Vid. et p. 156. A. B. [h] Ibid. p. 157. A. [i] p. 167. A.

'Lord,

'Lord, lay not this ſin to 'their charge.' And if he prayed for thoſe that ſtoned him, how much more ought we to pray for the brethren?

I may be allowed to obſerve here, that the words of theſe Greek quotations, or references, are exactly conformable to the Greek original in our copies.

N. T.	The EPISTLE, &c.
IV. Rom. viii. 18. *For I reckon, that* [k] *the ſufferings of this preſent time are not worthy to be compared with the glory that ſhall be revealed in us.*	IV. Shewing indeed, that [l] the ſufferings of this preſent time are not worthy to be compared with the glory that ſhall be revealed in us.

Here is alſo an exact agreement in the very words, and it is remarkable.

V. 'Then they [m] came to Blandina; by whom Chriſt ſhewed, 'that thoſe things, which to men appear mean, obſcure, and 'contemptible, are greatly honoured by God, for the love to-'ward him ſhewn in power, not boaſted of in appearance.' Here may be an alluſion to 1 Cor. i. 25—31. and 2 Cor. v. 12.

N. T.	The EPISTLE, &c.
VI. Eph. vi. 5. *Servants, be obedient to them that are your maſters according to the fleſh.*	VI. For when [n] we were all afraid on her account, and [eſpecially] her fleſhly miſtreſs.
VII. Philip. ii. 6. *Who being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal to God.*	VII. Who [o] alſo were ſo far followers and imitators of Chriſt: who being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal to God.

One would be almoſt apt to think, that theſe churches underſtood this text thus: 'did not think it a thing to be caught at, 'to be equal, or like, to God.' They ſeem at leaſt to uſe the laſt words in that ſenſe. They are not to their purpoſe in any other; unleſs we ſhould ſuppoſe, that by reciting theſe they intend to refer to what there follows. But I think that, if they had not underſtood theſe words to be expreſſive of our Lord's humility, they would have proceeded ſomewhat farther in that portion of

[k] Οτι ουκ αξια τα παθηματα του νυν καιρου, προς την μελλουσαν δοξαν αποκαλυφθηναι εις ημας.

[l] Οτι ουκ αξια τα παθηματα του νυν καιρου, προς την μελλουσαν δοξαν αποκαλυφθηναι εις ημας. p. 155. B.

[m] p. 157. B. [n] Ibid. [o] Οι και εις τοσουτον ζηλωται και μιμηται Χριστου γεγονασι, ος εν μορφη Θεου υπαρχων ουχ αρπαγμον ηγησατο το ειναι ισα Θεω. p. 166. B.

ſcripture;

scripture; at least so far as to mention one branch of the humility of our blessed Lord.

N. T.	The Epistle, &c.
VIII. 1 Tim. iii. 15. *Which is the church of the living God, the pillar and ground of the truth.* See Rev. iii. 12.	VIII. Attalus—who [p] was always the pillar and ground of the Christians there.
IX. 1 Tim. iv. 3, 4.—*commanding to abstain from meats, which God hath created to be received with thanksgiving.—For every creature of God is good, and nothing to be refused, if it be received with thanksgiving.* See also Rom. xiv. 2.	IX. Alcibiades lived upon bread and water, in prison. Attalus declared, 'It [q] was revealed to him, that Alcibiades did not do well in not using the creatures of God:'——and Alcibiades was persuaded, and partook of all things promiscuously, and gave God thanks.
X. 1 Pet. v. 6. *Humble [r] yourselves therefore under the mighty hand of God, that he may exalt you in due time.*	X. They [s] humbled themselves under the mighty hand, by which they are now proportionably exalted.

XI. There is likewise, I think [p. 160. B. C.], an allusion to 1 Pet. iv. 14, 15, 16. But the passage being somewhat long, and this being a plain allusion to that epistle, I forbear putting it down.

N. T.	The Epistle, &c.
XII. 1 John iii. 16. *Hereby perceive we the love of God, because he laid down his life for us. And [t] we ought to lay down our lives for the brethren.*	XII. Which he manifested by the abundance of his love, for [u] he was willing in defence of the brethren to lay down even his own life.
XIII. Rev. xiv. 4. *These are they [x] which follow the lamb whithersoever he goes.*	XIII. For he was indeed a genuine disciple of Christ, [y] following the lamb whithersoever he goes.

XIV. The passages alleged out of this epistle have a reference to the gospels of St. Luke and St. John, the Acts of the

[r] Ταπεινωθητε ουν υπο την κραταιαν χειρα του Θεου, ινα υμας υψωση εν καιρω.

[t] Και ημεις οφειλομεν υπερ των αδελφων τας ψυχας τιθεναι.

[x] Ουτοι εισιν οι ακολουθουντες τω αρνιω οπου αν υπαγη.

[p] p. 157. B.

[q] p. 167. D.

[s] Εταπεινουν εαυτους υπο την κραταιαν χειρα, ιφ' ης ικανως νυν εισιν υψωμενοι. p. 166. D.

[u] Ευδοκησας υπερ της των αδελφων απολογιας και την εαυτου θειναι ψυχην. p. 156. A. B.

[y] Ακολουθων τω αρνιω οπου αν υπαγη. p. 156. B.

apostles,

apoſtles, the epiſtle to the Romans, the firſt and ſecond to the Corinthians, the epiſtles to the Epheſians and the Philippians, the firſt to Timothy, the firſt of St. Peter, the firſt of St. John, and the book of the Revelation; moſt of which will be readily allowed to be good references. But there is not any book of the New Teſtament expreſsly quoted in this epiſtle. However, a text of John is referred to as containing words of 'the 'Lord.'

Ruinart [z], in his edition of this Epiſtle, has put down in the margin, Rev. xxii. 11. againſt theſe words: 'That the ſcrip-'ture might be fulfilled,' "Let the wicked be wicked ſtill, and "the righteous be righteous ſtill." But I rather think they refer to Dan. xii. 11. which is ſet by Valeſius in the margin [a] of Euſebius over-againſt thoſe words.

CHAP. XVII.

ST. IRENÆUS.

I. *His hiſtory, time, works, and character.* II. *His teſtimony to the Scriptures of the New Teſtament, particularly to the Goſpels,* III. *The Acts of the Apoſtles,* IV. *St. Paul's Epiſtles,* V. *The Catholic Epiſtles,* VI. *The Revelation.* VII. *An obſervation.* VIII. *A ſummary account of the books of the New Teſtament received by him.* IX. *Titles and diviſions of the books of Scripture.* X. *Reſpect for the Scriptures.* XI. *Of reading the Scriptures.* XII. *Whether he received any other writings, as of authority.* XIII. *Upon what grounds he received the Goſpels of St. Mark, and St. Luke, and the Acts of the Apoſtles.*

I. THE age and authority of Irenæus, biſhop of Lyons in Gaul, have been already ſhewn in part in the hiſtory of St. Polycarp. His country is not certainly known: but it is probable, from his name, that he was a Greek; and from his early acquaintance with St. Polycarp, that he was of Aſia. It is likewiſe probable, that he was from the beginning educated in the

[z] Act. Martyr. p. 69. [a] p. 162.

Chriſtian

Chriſtian religion. When he came into Gaul, is unknown. Some have ſuppoſed, that he came to Rome with St. Polycarp, in the time of Anicetus, about the year 157, and from thence paſſed into Gaul. But concerning this we have no information in antiquity; and it is in vain to form conjectures.

Learned men are not entirely agreed about the time of Irenæus himſelf, or of his principal work, againſt hereſies. Dodwell[a] ſuppoſes he was born in the reign of Nerva, in the year 97; wrote[b] his books againſt hereſies in 176 or 177, and did not[c] outlive the year 190. Grabe[d] is unwilling to differ from Dodwell, but thinks Irenæus was not born till about the year 108, and ſpeaks dubiouſly about the time of writing the work againſt hereſies. Du Pin[e] ſays, Irenæus was born in the later part of the reign of Adrian, or the beginning of that of Antoninus, a little before the year 140, and died a martyr in 202. Maſſuet[f] differs little from him, ſuppoſing that Irenæus was born in the year 140, and died in 202; and that he wrote[g] the fore-mentioned work about the year 192. Tillemont[h] thinks that Irenæus was born about the year 120, and died in 202; and that the[i] work againſt hereſies might be written partly in the latter end of the time of Eleutherus, who died, according to him, in 192, and the remaining part in the time of his ſucceſſor Victor.

I ſhall now put down ſome few of the teſtimonies of the ancients concerning this father, and then make ſome remarks.

The[k] martyrs of Lyons, in their letter to Eleutherus, make a very honourable mention of him, and give him the title of preſbyter.

Tertullian mentions him as one of the moſt conſiderable writers of the Chriſtian church, and ſays, [l] he was a 'diligent 'inquirer of all ſorts of opinions.' He means, it is likely, that Irenæus had well ſtudied the ſentiments of the Heathen philoſophers, and of heretics, as well as the principles of the Chriſtian religion.

Euſebius ſays: 'When[m] Pothinus had been put to death 'with the martyrs in Gaul, Irenæus ſucceeded him in the bi-'ſhoprick of the church of Lyons; who, in his youth, had 'been a diſciple of Polycarp.' He there obſerves likewiſe,

[a] Diſſ. Irenæ. 3. §. 4. [b] Diſſ. 4. §. 41. [c] Diſſ. 3. §. 29. [d] Prolegomena de Vit. et Script. Irenæi, §. 1, 2. [e] Nouv. Bibl. Irenée. [f] Diſſertat. ii. §. 2. [g] Ibid. §. 47. [h] Mem. Ecc. Irenée, article ii. [i] Ibid. artic. 7. [k] Apud Euſ. H. E. l. v. c. 4. [l] —— ut Irenæus omnium doctrinarum curioſiſſimus explorator. Contra Valentin. c. 5. [m] H. E. l. v. p. 170.

that

that his book againſt hereſies was written when Eleutherus was biſhop of Rome.

Of the works of Irenæus, Euſebius has made this mention in ſeveral places: 'Irenæus [n] wrote,' ſays he, 'ſeveral letters 'againſt thoſe which at Rome corrupted the true doctrine of 'the church: one to Blaſtus concerning ſchiſm; another to Florinus, concerning the monarchy; or, that God is not the author of evil;——and concerning the number eight.' Again: 'Beſide [o] the treatiſes and epiſtles of Irenæus already mentioned, 'there is extant a ſhort, but very neceſſary diſcourſe of his 'againſt the Gentiles, entitled, Concerning knowledge; another inſcribed to a brother named Marcianus, being a Demonſtration of the apoſtolical preaching; and a little book 'of divers diſputations [or diſcourſes], in which he makes 'mention of the epiſtle to the Hebrews, and the book called 'the Wiſdom of Solomon, alleging ſome paſſages out of 'them.' Euſebius [p] alſo gives an account of a letter to Victor, biſhop of Rome, concerning the controverſy about the time of celebrating Eaſter; which, he ſays, was written in the name of the brethren in Gaul, over whom he preſided. And beſide all theſe, he has moreover quoted divers [q] large paſſages out of the work, Againſt hereſies.

It is proper to ſhew here what Euſebius had obſerved in his works, concerning the ſcriptures of the N. T. beſide what has been already ſaid relating to the epiſtle to the Hebrews.

He [r] firſt takes a paſſage from the third book of Irenæus concerning the four evangeliſts, which will be found at length below. Euſebius then proceeds: 'In his fifth book he thus diſ-'courſes of the Revelation of John, and the computation of 'the name of Antichriſt: "Theſe things being thus, and this "number being in all the exact and ancient copies, and they "who ſaw John atteſting the ſame things, and reaſon teaching "us, that the number of the name of the beaſt, according to "the computation of the Greeks, is expreſſed by the letters "contained in it." And a little after of the ſame matter he 'ſays: "We therefore will not run the hazard of affirming "any thing too poſitively of the name of Antichriſt. For if "his name were to have been openly declared at this time, it "would have been mentioned by him who ſaw the Revelation. "For it was not ſeen long ago, but almoſt in our age, near the "end of the reign of Domitian." He alſo mentions the firſt

[n] Cap. 20. [o] Cap. 26. [p] Cap. 24. p. 192. C. D. [q] L. v. c. 6, 7, 8.
[r] H. E. l. v. c. 8.

'epiſtle of John, alleging many teſtimonies out of it. He alſo 'in like manner mentions the former [epiſtle] of Peter.'

It is perhaps needleſs to put down after theſe St. Jerom's teſtimony: I ſhall, however, take a part of his account of this excellent perſon, which we have in his book of [s] Illuſtrious Men.

'Irenæus, preſbyter of Pothinus, who was biſhop of the 'church of Lyons in Gaul, carried a letter from the martyrs of 'that city concerning ſome diſputes of the church to Eleuthe-'rus, biſhop of Rome, in which letter he is honourably men-'tioned. Afterwards, Pothinus having obtained the crown of 'martyrdom, when he was almoſt ninety years of age, he was 'ſubſtituted in his room. It is certain, he was diſciple of Po-'lycarp, biſhop and martyr. He wrote five books againſt 'hereſies;' and divers others, which Jerom there mentions agreeable to Euſebius. He concludes: 'He flouriſhed chiefly 'under the emperor Commodus, who ſucceeded M. Antoninus 'Verus.'

Though then it is not in our power at preſent to determine exactly the time, either of the birth or death of Irenæus; we have good reaſon to believe he was a diſciple of St. Polycarp, preſbyter in the church of Lyons under Pothinus, whoſe martyrdom happened in the year 177, and that he ſucceeded Pothinus in the biſhoprick of that church. His antiquity is farther confirmed, from the [t] frequent mention he makes of a preſbyter who had converſed with the immediate ſucceſſors of the apoſtles. But who this was, cannot be determined; whether Papias, whom he has quoted by name, or Pothinus, or ſome other. Euſebius, who alſo has particularly taken notice of this, ſays: 'Iræneus [u] has mentioned the ſayings of a certain apoſto-'lical preſbyter, without telling us his name, and puts down his 'expoſitions of the divine ſcriptures.'

As for the time of writing his five books againſt hereſies, it is the opinion of divers learned men, that they were not written and publiſhed all together, but rather at ſome diſtance of time. In his very [x] firſt book he gives an account of the hereſies of Tatian, who is not ſuppoſed to have left the Catholic church before the year 172. In his third [y] book he expreſsly mentions Eleutherus, as being then the twelfth biſhop of Rome. He alſo ſpeaks [z] of the tranſlation of Theodotion, which is ge-

[s] Cap. 35. [t] Quemadmodum audivi a quodam preſbytero, qui audierat ab iis qui apoſtolos viderant, et ab his qui didicerant. Adv. H. l. iv. c. 27. §. 1. Maſſ. [al. c. 45. in.] et alibi. [u] Euſ. H. E. l. v. c. 8, p. 173. C. [x] L. i. cap. 31. al. 28 [y] L. 3. c. 3. [z] L. 3. c. 24. al. 21.

ne-

nerally allowed to have been publiſhed in the reign of Commodus. Theſe are ſome notes of time that are commonly inſiſted on: but I ſhall not attempt to ſettle exactly the year in which this work was completed. It ſeems to me however moſt probable, that it was not written till ſome time after he was biſhop. That he may ſtand near thoſe Chriſtians to whom he was particularly related, I ſhall place him in the year 178; though I am rather inclined to think his five books, Againſt hereſies, were not publiſhed quite ſo ſoon.

It is commonly ſaid, that Irenæus died a martyr: but from the ſilence of Tertullian, and Euſebius, and others, concerning this matter, it is juſtly argued by [a] Cave, and [b] Baſnage, and Dodwell, that there is no good ground for that ſuppoſition.

There is nothing now remaining of Irenæus, beſide his five books Againſt hereſies, and fragments of ſome other pieces; and thoſe five books, which were written by him in Greek, are extant only in an ancient Latin verſion, excepting ſome fragments preſerved by Euſebius, and other Greek writers who have quoted them.

Irenæus has ſhewn himſelf, in this large work, Againſt hereſies, well acquainted with heathen authors, and the abſurd and intricate notions of heretics, as well as with the ſcriptures of the Old and New Teſtament. He was at the ſame time a very humble, modeſt man, and, agreeable to his name, a lover of peace: as appears from his letter [d] to Victor, on occaſion of the controverſy about the time of keeping Eaſter.

Photius [e] indeed ſays of him, that in ſome of his writings he weakens the certain truth of the doctrines of the church by falſe reaſonings. However, he at the ſame time calls him the divine Irenæus; but I ſhall not now offer a particular apology for any of thoſe reaſonings to which Photius may be ſuppoſed to refer. Irenæus, though his writings may not be free from imperfections, has given ſuch proofs of learning, integrity, and good ſenſe in the main, that all good judges muſt eſteem him (as doubtleſs Photius did,) an ornament to the ſect he was of.

II. I ſhall now ſhew particularly, how the books of the New Teſtament are quoted by him.

1. The firſt will be a long paſſage concerning the four goſpels, the writers of them, their ability and fitneſs for the work; having been firſt filled with the knowledge of the doctrine of the

[a] Hiſt. Lit. in Iren. [b] Annal. 194. §. 4. [c] Vid. Diſſ. iii. in Iren. cap. 21. [d] Euſ. H. E. l. v. c. 24. [e] Τι και ει τισιν αυτου των εις την καθ' ημας ευσεβειαν λογισμων ασθενεστερα την αληθειαν ως προς τα δογματα της εκκλησιας κατεσκευασεν. Cod. 120. [f] Τω θειοτατω

goſpel by the Spirit, and having firſt preached that doctrine, then ſet it down in writing.

'For [g] we have not received,' ſays he, 'the knowledge of 'the way of our ſalvation by any others than thoſe by whom 'the goſpel has been brought to us; which goſpel they firſt 'preached, and afterwards by the will of God committed to 'writing, that it might be for time to come the foundation and 'pillar of our faith.——For after that our Lord roſe from the 'dead, and they [the apoſtles] were endued from above with 'the power of the Holy Ghoſt coming down upon them, they 'received a perfect knowledge of all things. They then went 'forth to all the ends of the earth, declaring to men the bleſ-'ſing of heavenly peace, having all of them, and every one 'alike, the goſpel of God. Matthew then, among the Jews, 'wrote a goſpel in their own language, while Peter and Paul 'were preaching the goſpel at Rome, and founding a church 'there. And [h] after their exit [death, or departure] Mark alſo, 'the diſciple and interpreter of Peter, delivered to us in writing 'the things that had been preached by Peter; and Luke, the 'companion of Paul, put down in a book the goſpel preached 'by him [Paul]. Afterwards John, the diſciple of the Lord, 'who alſo leaned upon his breaſt, he likewiſe publiſhed a go-'ſpel while he dwelt at Epheſus in Aſia. And all theſe have 'delivered to us, that there is one God, the maker of the heaven 'and the earth, declared by the law and the prophets, and one 'Chriſt, the Son of God. And he who does not aſſent to them, 'deſpiſeth [i] indeed thoſe who knew the mind of the Lord: but 'he deſpiſeth alſo Chriſt himſelf the Lord, and he deſpiſeth 'likewiſe the Father, and is ſelf-condemned, reſiſting and op-'poſing his own ſalvation, as all heretics do.'

That part of this paſſage, which particularly concerns the four evangeliſts ſeverally, is cited by [k] Euſebius: the reſt is only in the old Latin verſion.

2. Nor [l] can there be more or fewer goſpels than theſe. For 'as there are four regions of the world in which we live, and 'four catholic ſpirits, and the church is ſpread all over the 'earth, and the goſpel is the pillar and foundation of the 'church, and the ſpirit of life; in like manner was it fit, it

[g] Adv. Hær. lib. 3. cap. 1.

[h] Μετα δε την τουτων εξοδον, Μαρκος ο μαθητης και ερμηνευτης Πετρου, και αυτος τα υπο Πετρου κηρυσσομενα εγγραφως ημιν παρεδοσαν· και Λουκας δε ο ακολουθος Παυλου, το υπ' εκεινου κηρυσσομενον ευαγγελιον εν βιβλιω κατεθετο.

[i] Spernit quidem participes Domini.

[k] H. E. l. v. c. 8.

[l] Neque autem plura numero quam hæc ſunt, neque pauciora capit eſſe evangelia, &c. Lib. 3. cap. xi. §. 8. [Apud Grabe, p. 221.]

'ſhould

'should have four pillars, breathing on all sides incorruption, 'and refreshing mankind. Whence it is manifest, that the 'Word, the former of all things, who sits upon the cherubim, 'and upholds all things, having appeared to men, has given us 'a gospel of a fourfold character, but joined in one spirit.—— 'The gospel according to John declares his primary and glo- 'rious generation from the Father: "In the beginning was the "Word."——But the gospel according to Luke, being of a 'priestly character, begins (A) with Zacharias the priest offer- 'ing incense to God.——Matthew relates his generation, which 'is according to man: "The book of the generation of Jesus "Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham."——Mark 'begins from the prophetic Spirit, which came down from 'above to men, saying: "The beginning of the gospel of Jesus "Christ, as it is written in Esaias the prophet."

In these passages we see the number of gospels owned by Irenæus, and the names of the writers of them, and sufficient particulars concerning them, to satisfy us, he means the very same books of the gospels which we now have. Nevertheless, I shall take a passage or two more concerning each of these gospels.

3. The first passage will relate to Matthew's gospel from a fragment [m] of Irenæus.

'The gospel according to Matthew was written to the Jews; 'for they earnestly desired a Messiah of the seed of David: 'and Matthew having also the same desire to a yet greater de- 'gree, strove by all means to give them full satisfaction, that 'Christ was of the seed of David; wherefore he began with 'his genealogy.'

4. 'Wherefore [n] also Mark, the interpreter and follower of 'Peter, makes this the beginning of his evangelic writing: "The beginning of the gospel of Jesus Christ, the Son of God." '——And in the end of the [his] gospel Mark says: "So then "the Lord Jesus, after he had spoken to them, was received up "into heaven, and sat on the right hand of God."

5. 'But if any [o] one rejects Luke, as if he did not know the 'truth, he will be convicted of throwing away the gospel, of 'which he professeth (B) to be a disciple. For there are many,

(A) Though Irenæus does not in this ... of St. Luke's gospel mention his ... logy of our Lord, which is in ch. iii. ... to the end; he owned it, and has par- ... observed, that St. Luke carried up ... Saviour's genealogy to Adam. L. 3. ... 22. §. 3. [al. cap. 33.]

[m] Ex Pessini Catena Patrum in Matthæum; apud Massuet, p. 347. Grabe, p. 471. [n] Lib. 3. c. x. §. 6. [ed. Grabe, p. 217.] [o] L. 3. c. 14. §. 3. [Grabe, p. 235.] (B) Because the heretics, with whom Irenæus there disputes, owned the whole, or part at least, of that gospel.

'and thoſe very neceſſary parts of the goſpel, which we know 'by his means: as, Luke i. ii. iii. the birth of John, the hiſtory 'of Zacharias, and the viſit of the angel to Mary, and the de- 'ſcent of the angels to the ſhepherds, and the things ſaid by 'them, and the teſtimony of Anna and Simeon to Chriſt, and 'that at the age of twelve years he was left behind at Jeruſa- 'lem, and the baptiſm of John, and the age of our Lord when 'he was baptized, and that this was done in the fifteenth year of 'Tiberius Cæſar, and what he ſaid in his ſermon to the rich: '*Woe unto you that are rich, for ye receive your conſolation.*' 'Luke vi. 24, 25, 26.——All theſe things we know from 'Luke only. And we have learned from him many actions of 'our Lord, which (c) all receive; as, the great multitude of 'fiſhes which they who were with Peter incloſed, when at the 'command of the Lord they caſt their nets: and the woman 'with the infirmity of eighteen years, who was cured on the 'ſabbath-day, ch. xiii. 11. and the man with the dropſy, whom 'the Lord healed on the ſabbath-day, xiv. 2, 3. and how he 'defended his healing on that day: and how he taught his di- 'ſciples not to covet the chief ſeats: and that we ought to in- 'vite the poor and infirm, who cannot recompenſe us again, '7—13. and of him who knocked at the door in the night- 'time for bread, and obtained it, becauſe of his importunity, 'xi. 8. and that, ſitting at table at the houſe of a phariſee, a 'woman that was a ſinner kiſſed his feet, and anointed him with 'ointment, vii. 36. and all that for her ſake the Lord ſaid 'concerning two debtors: and the parable of the rich man 'that hoarded up his increaſe, xii. 16. to whom alſo it was 'ſaid: *This night ſhall thy ſoul be required of thee: then 'whoſe ſhall theſe things be, which thou haſt provided?* As 'alſo the parable of the rich man, that was clothed in purple, 'and fared ſumptuouſly, and the beggar Lazarus, xvi. 19. and 'the anſwer which he made his diſciples, when they ſaid to 'him: "Increaſe our faith," xvii. 5. and the converſation with 'Zaccheus the publican, xix. 1. and concerning the phariſee 'and the publican who worſhipped together at the temple, 'xviii. 10. and the ten lepers whom he healed at the ſame 'time in the way, xvii. 12. and that he commanded the lame 'and the blind to be brought to the wedding from the ſtreets 'and the lanes, xiv. 21. and the parable of the judge who 'feared not God, whom the widow's importunity compelled to

(c) That is, parts of his goſpel received by all, heretics as well as catholics. 'Et plurimos actus Domini per nunc ſilentium, quibus cunctis utuntur.'

'average

'avenge her, xviii. 1. and of the fig-tree in the vineyard, which 'bore no fruit, xiii. 6. And many other things there are to 'be found in Luke alone, which [things] Marcion and Valen-'tinus made use of: and beside all these things, after his 'resurection, what he said to the disciples in the way, and 'how he was made known to them in breaking of bread.' xxiv. 35.

6. There is likewise a passage relating to John's gospel, representing the design of it, which may deserve to be transcribed.

'John [p], the disciple of the Lord, being desirous by declar-'ing the gospel to root out the error that had been sown in the 'minds of men by Cerinthus, and a good while before by 'those who are called Nicolaitans,——that he might confute 'them, and satisfy all, that there is one God who made all 'things by his word; and not, as they say, one who made the 'world, and another the Father of the Lord; and one the Son 'of the creator, and another from the super-celestial places, 'even Christ, who they say also continued ever impassible, who 'descended upon Jesus the Son of the creator, and fled away 'again into his *pleroma* [or fulness]:——the disciple there-'fore of the Lord, willing at once to cut off these errors, and 'leave a rule of truth in the church; that there is one God 'almighty, who by his word made all things visible and invi-'sible; declaring likewise, that by the Word, by which God finished the creation, by the same also he bestowed salvation 'upon those men who are in the creation; he thus begins in 'his doctrine, which is according to the gospel: "In the be-"ginning was the Word." John i. 1—5.

So far of the gospels.

III. The Acts of the apostles is a book much quoted by Irenæus, as written by Luke [q] the disciple and companion of the apostles. There are few things recorded in that book, which have not been mentioned by Irenæus. I shall put down one passage, giving a general account of all the latter part of it.

1. 'And that [r] Luke was inseparable from Paul, and his 'fellow-worker in the gospel, he himself shews, not boasting of 'it indeed, but obliged to it for the sake of truth. "When "Barnabas, and John, who was called Mark, separated from "Paul, and they sailed to Cyprus, Acts xv. 39. we came to

[p] L. 3. cap. xi. §. 3. Massuet, al. cap. xi. et apud Grabe, p. 218. [q] Simon —— [illegible] discipulus et sectator Apostolorum Lucas ait: 'Vir quidam autem nomine 'Simon.' Act. viii. 9. et seq. Lib. i. cap. 23. §. 1. [al. cap. 20.] [r] L. 3. cap. 14. [illegible]

" Troas: and when Paul had ſeen in a dream a man of Mace-
" donia, ſaying: Come over into Macedonia, and help us,
" Paul: immediately," ſays he, " we endeavoured to go into
" Macedonia, aſſuredly gathering, that the Lord had called us
" for to preach the goſpel unto them: therefore looſing from
" Troas, we came in a ſtrait courſe to Samothracia," ch. xvi. 8,
' 9, 10, 11. And then he carefully relates the reſt of their
' courſe to Philippi, and how they began their preaching
' there. " And we ſat down," ſays he, " and ſpake to the
" women that reſorted thither [the place of prayer]," ver. 13.
' relating alſo who believed, and how many. And again he
' ſays: " And we ſailed away from Philippi after the days of
" unleavened bread, and came to Troas, where we abode ſeven
" days," ch. xx. 6. And the other things he relates, while he was
' with Paul, xxi. xxvii. xxviii. mentioning exactly the places, and
' cities, and number of days, until they went up to Jeruſalem;
' and what things happened there to Paul; how he was ſent
' bound to Rome, and the name of the centurion that took
' charge of him, and the ſigns of the ſhip, and how they were
' ſhipwrecked, and in what iſland they were ſaved, and how
' courteouſly they were received, Paul healing the chief man of
' the iſland; and how they ſailed from thence to Puteoli, and
' from thence arrived at Rome, and how long they ſtaid at
' Rome: at all which things he was preſent, and relates them
' with fidelity, and without oſtentation.——And that he was
' not only a companion, but alſo a fellow-labourer of the apo-
' ſtles, and eſpecially of Paul, Paul himſelf has declared in his
' epiſtles.' For this he quotes the words of 2 Tim. iv. 9, 10,
11. and Coloſ. iv. 14. and preſently after he quotes alſo Acts
xx. 17.

2. Beſide theſe, and many other things in behalf of Luke, he argues with thoſe who diſowned the authority of Paul, and yet owned Luke's goſpel, that they muſt of neceſſity own the Acts, and conſequently Paul's authority.

' Nor can [s] they,' ſays he, ' pretend that Paul is not an apo-
' ſtle, when he was choſen to this end: nor can they ſhew that
' Luke is not to be credited, who has related to us the truth
' with the greateſt exactneſs [He refers to Acts ix. 5. 15, 16.
' containing an account of Paul's converſion and vocation, which
' he had juſt before quoted expreſsly]. And poſſibly God has
' for this reaſon ſo ordered it, that many parts of the goſpel
' ſhould be declared to us (D) by Luke, which all are under a

[s] L. 3. cap. xv. in. (D) See the preface, p. 159—161.

[t] neceſſity

'neceſſity of receiving; that ſo all might receive likewiſe his 'ſubſequent teſtimony, which he has given concerning the 'acts and doctrine of the apoſtles, and might have a ſincere 'and uncorrupt rule of truth, and be ſaved. Therefore his 'teſtimony is true; and the doctrine of the apoſtles is manifeſt 'and uniform, without any deceit, hiding nothing from men, 'nor teaching one thing in private, and another in public.'

IV. Thirteen epiſtles of Paul are expreſsly quoted as his by Irenæus, and moſt of them frequently, except the epiſtle to Philemon, which is not quoted at all. The quotations of Paul's epiſtles are ſo numerous, that they muſt be acknowledged by all who but caſt an eye upon this father's writings. Nevertheleſs, perhaps it might be thought a defect, if, amidſt this plenty of paſſages concerning the other books of the New Teſtament, none ſhould appear in behalf of Paul's epiſtles. I ſhall therefore put down one quotation at leaſt of each of his epiſtles.

1. 'This ſame thing Paul [t] has explained, writing to the 'Romans: "Paul, an apoſtle of Jeſus Chriſt, ſeparated to the "goſpel of God," Rom. i. 1—4.——And again, writing to 'the Romans, of Iſrael, he ſays: ix. 5. "Whoſe are the fa-"thers, and of whom as concerning the fleſh Chriſt came, who "is God over all bleſſed for ever."

2. 'This alſo Paul [u] manifeſtly ſhews in his epiſtle to the 'Corinthians, ſaying: "Moreover, brethren, I would not that "ye ſhould be ignorant, how that all our fathers were under the "cloud." 1 Cor. x. 1—12.

3. 'Paul [x] in the ſecond to the Corinthians: iv. 4. "In "whom the God of this world has blinded the eyes of them "that believe not."

4. 'The apoſtle [y] Paul ſays: where he quotes the words of 'Gal. iv. 8, 9. and preſently after, the apoſtle [z] in the epiſtle to 'the Galatians: "Wherefore then ſerveth the law of works? "It was added, until the ſeed ſhould come, to whom the pro-"miſe was made." Gal. iii. 19.

5. 'As the bleſſed [a] Paul ſays in the epiſtle to the Epheſians: 'v. 30. "For we are members of his body, of his fleſh, and of "his bones." This epiſtle is often quoted by him, as written 'to the Epheſians.'

6. 'As alſo Paul [b] ſays to the Philippians: iv. 18. "I am "full, having received of Epaphroditus the things which were

[t] L. iii. cap. 16. §. 3. al. cap. 18. [u] L. iv. cap. 27. §. 3. al. cap. 45.
[x] L. iii. cap. 7. §. 1. [y] Lib. iii. cap. 6. §. 5. [z] Lib. iii. cap. 7. §. 2. [a] Lib. v. cap. 2. §. 3. [b] Lib. iv. cap. 18. §. 4. al. cap. 24.

"ſent

" sent from you, an odour of a sweet smell, a sacrifice accept-
" able, well-pleasing to God."

7. 'Again he [Paul] says in the [c] epistle to the Colossians:
[c] iv. 14. " Luke the beloved physician greets you."

8. 'The [d] apostle in the first epistle to the Thessalo-
[d] nians, v. 23. says: " And the God of peace sanctify you
" wholly."

9. 'And [e] again in the second epistle to the Thessalonians,
[e] ii. 8. speaking of Antichrist, he says: " And then shall that
" wicked one be revealed."

10. Irenæus thus begins his preface to his work, Against here-
sies: 'Whereas some, having rejected the truth, bring in lying
'words, and " vain genealogies, which minister questions," as
'the apostle says, " rather than godly edifying, which is in faith."
1 Tim. i. 4. This epistle is quoted several times.

11. 'Of this [f] Linus [who he there says was bishop of Rome]
'Paul makes mention in his epistle to Timothy.' See 2 Tim.
iv. 21. *Eubulus greeteth thee, and Pudens, and Linus.*

12. 'As [g] Paul says:' " A man that is an heretic, after the
" first and second admonition reject." Tit. iii. 10.

13. The epistle to Philemon is not quoted in any of the works of Irenæus now extant. But this may be very well owing to its brevity, and that he had not any particular occasion to make use of it.

14. We being now near to the conclusion of our collections relating to St. Paul's epistles, I shall here put down a critical observation of Irenæus upon his style: 'That [h] the apostle fre-
'quently uses *hyperbata* [or transpositions of words from
'their natural order], because of the rapidity of his words,
'and because of the mighty force of the Spirit in him.'

15. As for the Epistle to the Hebrews, Eusebius (E) has expressly assured us, that in a work now lost, Irenæus had alleged some passages out of that epistle and the Wisdom of Solomon: but he does not say, that he had quoted it as Paul's. And perhaps this observation of Eusebius may amount to an intimation, that he had not observed that epistle cited in any works of Irenæus, except that which he there mentions. We will however consider, what notice may appear to be taken of it in his remaining works.

[c] Lib. iii. cap. 14. §. 1. [d] Lib. v. cap. 6. §. 1. [e] Lib. iii. cap. 7. §. 2.
[f] Lib iii. cap. 3. §. 3. [g] Lib. iii. cap. 3. §. 4. [h] Quoniam autem hyperbata frequenter utitur apostolus propter velocitatem sermonum suorum, et propter impetum qui in ipso est Spiritus, ex multis quidem aliis est invenire. L. iii. cap. 7.

(E) See before, p. 155.

He

He says in one place, 'that [i] God made all things by the 'word of his power.' And in Heb. i. 3. we have these words: *Upholding* [k] *all things by the word of his power.* In another place, 'That Moses [l] is said by the Spirit to be a faithful steward and 'servant of God:' which character is given Moses, Heb. iii. 2. 5. but is also in the Old Testament, Numb. xii. 7. and from thence Irenæus might as well take it; and, from what there precedes, seems rather so to do.

Again: speaking of the external purifications appointed before the coming of Christ: 'which,' [m] says he, 'were ordained as 'a figure of things to come, the law making a draught of a 'certain shadow, and by temporal things delineating eternal, 'by earthly heavenly things.' Paul says, Colos. ii. 17. *Which are a shadow of things to come, but the body is of Christ.* It 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 which they offer continually make the comers thereunto perfect.* It may be proper to compare likewise Heb. viii. 5. *Who serve unto the example and shadow of heavenly things:* and ix. 23. *It was therefore necessary, that the patterns of things in the heavens should be purified with these; but the heavenly things themselves with better sacrifices than these.*

Once more, he says, '[n] Enoch was translated:' and in another place, 'That [o] Enoch having pleased God was translated in the body, foreshewing the translation of the just.' Heb. xi. 5. *By faith Enoch was translated, that he should not see death: and was not found, because God had translated him: for before his translation, he had this testimony, that he pleased God*; wherein is a reference to Gen. v. 24. and to the same text Irenæus likewise might refer.

I have thus carefully exhibited every thing which may be supposed in the works of Irenæus to have any allusion to this epistle.

Moreover by [p] Photius we are informed, that Stephen Gobarus says thus: 'Hippolytus and Irenæus say, the epistle of Paul 'to the Hebrews is not his:' by which perhaps we need not

[i] Οὐ [illegible] facientem omnia verbo virtutis [illegible] l. ii. c. p. 30. §. 9. [apud Grabe, p. 104. b.] [k] Φέρων τε τὰ [illegible] πάντα τῷ ῥήματι τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ. [l] Non [illegible] Deum appellatur, nec Deus [illegible] appellatur, sed indelis Moyses famulus Dei dicitur a spiritu, quod [illegible] l. iii. cap. 6. §. 4. [Grabe, p. [illegible]] [m] Quæ [inundutis est] [illegible] firmamentum temporalium rerum erant, [illegible] quædam descriptionem [illegible] dente lege, atque de terrenis de temporalibus æterna, de [illegible] cœlestia. Lib. iv. cap. xi. §. 4. [ap. Grabe, p. 511. b.]

[n] Et translatus est. l. iv. cap. 16. §. 2. [Grabe, p. 519. b.] [o] Ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ [illegible] εὐαρεστήσας τῷ θεῷ μετετέθη, τὸν μετὰ [illegible] τὴν μετάστασιν. l. v. c. 5. §. 1. [Grabe, p. 404.] [p] Οἱ Ἱππόλυτος καὶ Εἰρηναῖος τὴν πρὸς Ἑβραίους ἐπιστολὴ Παύλου, οὐκ εἶναι ταύτην φασί. Phot. Cod. 232. p. 904.

understand,

underſtand, that Irenæus had expreſsly ſaid ſo any where. If we are ſo to underſtand him, the queſtion is decided about the opinion of this father in this matter.

However, I think it may be fairly concluded with much probability from Euſebius, that, ſo far as he knew, Irenæus had never expreſsly aſcribed it to Paul; and from theſe very few, and ſome of them but obſcure, references to this epiſtle in the remaining works of Irenæus, it may be argued, he did not eſteem it to be written by Paul. Conſidering the length of this epiſtle, I think that, if Irenæus had eſteemed it a part of ſacred ſcripture, (as he certainly would, if he had ſuppoſed it to be Paul's), we ſhould have had many large quotations out of it.

St. Jerom [q] ſays, 'That all the Greeks receive the Epiſtle to 'the Hebrews:' and in 'another place, 'That it is received as 'the apoſtle Paul's, not only by all the churches of the Eaſt, 'but alſo by all the Greek eccleſiaſtical writers of former times.' But there are few general obſervations without exceptions. We are able to judge for ourſelves concerning the opinion of Irenæus in this matter. What we have ſeen in his remaining works, and in the teſtimony of Euſebius, and Stephen Gobar, concerning this writer in particular, is of more importance a great deal than the general obſervation of St. Jerom concerning the Greek writers: and Irenæus, on account of his reſiding chiefly in the weſtern part of the Roman empire, may be reckoned among the Latin writers of the church. Mill [s] ſeems to allow that Irenæus did not own this epiſtle for Paul's.

Upon the whole then, Irenæus affords proof, that the epiſtle to the Hebrews was in being in his time, and that he was acquainted with it; but he was not fully ſatisfied it was Paul's: and having ſome doubts about that matter, he was cautious of making much uſe of it as a book of ſcripture.

V. About the Catholic epiſtles we muſt be particular, taking almoſt every thing that has an appearance of a relation to them.

1. James i. 18. *Of his own will begat he us, by the word of truth, that we ſhould be a kind of firſt-fruits of his creatures.* 22. *But be ye doers of the word, and not hearers only.* Irenæus

[q] Præterea plenius eſſe tractatum in epiſtola ad Hebræos, quam omnes Græci recipiant, et nonnulli Latinorum. Epiſtol. ad Evangelium Presbyter. inter Epiſt. Crit. Hieron. Tom. 2. p. 571. Paris. 1699.

[r] Ibique noſtris dicendum eſt, hanc epiſtolam, quæ inſcribitur ad Hebræos, non ſolum ab eccleſiis Orientis, ſed ab omnibus retro eccleſiaſticis Græci ſermonis ſcriptoribus, quaſi apoſtoli Pauli ſuſcipi. Epiſt. ad Dardanum, ibid. p. 628. al. ep. 129.

[s] Prolegom. ad N. T. §. 117.

ſays:

ſays: 'That [t] we are taught by Chriſt to be imitators of his 'works, and are made doers of his words:' and preſently after, 'That [u] we are made the beginning of the creation.' But I confeſs, theſe can hardly be called alluſions to this epiſtle.

2. James ii. 23. *And the ſcripture was fulfilled, which ſaith: Abraham believed God, and it was imputed to him for righteouſneſs: and he was called the friend of God.* Irenæus ſays: 'And [x] that 'not by theſe [the Moſaical rites] a man is juſtified, but that 'they were given to the people for ſigns, is ſhewn, in that 'Abraham himſelf, without circumciſion, and without obſer-'vation of ſabbaths, believed God, and it was imputed to him 'for righteouſneſs, and he was called the friend of God.' Irenæus in [y] another place alſo obſerves, 'that Abraham was the 'friend of God.' The words of this paſſage do doubtleſs very much reſemble thoſe of St. James: but the ſame thing in a manner is ſaid Gen. xv. 6. Romans iii. at the end, and iv. beginning, and Gal. iii. 6.

There is nothing more to be alleged relating to this epiſtle, beſide a paſſage, which will be produced preſently, after the particular account of the reſt of theſe epiſtles.

3. The firſt epiſtle of Peter is quoted as his more than once. 'And [z] Peter ſays in his epiſtle: "Whom not ſeeing ye love." See 1 Pet. i. 8. Again: 'Peter [a] ſays: "Not uſing our li-"berty for a cloak of maliciouſneſs." See ch. ii. 16.

4. Relating to the ſecond epiſtle there is nothing in all the works of Irenæus, but this ſentence, twice [b] mentioned, 'that 'the day of the Lord is as a thouſand years.' See 2 Pet. iii. 8. *But beloved, be not ignorant of this one thing, that one day is with the Lord as a thouſand years, and a thouſand years as one day.* But beſide the words, there is nothing to determine us to think he had an eye to this epiſtle; nor are the words exactly the ſame.

5. The firſt and ſecond epiſtles of John are expreſsly cited as John's, the diſciple of the Lord. Having quoted his goſpel, he

[t] Uti imitatores quidem operum, factores autem ſermonum ejus facti. L. v. c. i. init. [Grabe, p. 393.] [u] Facti autem initium facturæ. Ibid. [x] Et quia non per hæc juſtificabatur homo, ſed in ſigno data ſunt populo, oſtendit, quod ipſe Abraham ſine circumciſione, et ſine obſervatione ſabbatorum, credidit Deo, et reputatum eſt illi ad juſtitiam, et amicus Dei vocatus eſt. L. iv. cap. 16. §. 2. [Grabe, p. 319. a.] [y] Amicus factus eſt Deo, p. 243. Maſſuet. [p. 315. Grabe.] [z] Et Petrus ait in epiſtola ſua: Quem non videntes diligitis. L. iv. cap. ix. §. 2. [Grabe, p. 307.] [a] L. iv. c. 16. fin. [Grabe, p. 320.] [b] Quoniam enim dies Domini ſicut mille anni. L. v. cap. 23. §. 2. [Grabe, p. 435.] Ηγεμονικὸς Κυριε ως α εν. cap. 28. §. 3. [Grabe, p. 445.]

adds:

adds: 'Wherefore [c] also in his epistle he says thus to us: "Little children, it is the last time." 1 John ii. 18. He quotes afterwards in the [d] same chapter, 1 John iv. 1, 2, 3. and v. 1.

Here also he says: 'And [e] in the forementioned epistle John 'the disciple of the Lord commands us to shun these persons, 'saying: "Many deceivers are entered into the world, who "confess not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh. This is a "deceiver and an Antichrist. Look to yourselves, that ye lose "not those things which ye have wrought." These are plainly the words of the second epistle. He seems to quote them as in the first, the same epistle he had before quoted. This is supposed owing to a slip of memory.

'And John [f] the disciple of the Lord does not so much as 'allow us to bid them God speed: "For," says he, "he that "biddeth them God speed, is partaker of their evil deeds." 2 John 10. 11.

The third epistle is no where quoted by him: but this omission can be of no moment, considering the shortness of the epistle.

6. Concerning the epistle of Jude, there is nothing material, or that so much as deserves our notice: he says indeed, 'that in 'the time of Lot there rained from heaven upon Sodom and 'Gomorrah fire and sulphur, as a token of the just judgment 'of God:' which possibly some may think a reference to Jude, ver. 7. But certainly the destruction of those cities might be as well learned from the book of Genesis; and the words, '[g] token of the just judgment of God,' are taken from 2 Thess. i. 5.

The omission of this epistle affords, I think, an argument, that either Irenæus knew nothing of it, or else, that he did not own it as a book of authority. Though the epistle is short, yet it seems to be so much to his purpose, who was writing against heretics, that he could not well avoid quoting it, if he knew it to be a book of canonical scripture, or universally received as of authority.

7. However, there is a passage of a general nature [which I promised above] which may dispose some to think, he knew of these epistles, which are not expressly quoted by him, particularly the epistles of James and Jude.

[c] L. iii. cap. 16. §. 5. [Grabe, p. 241.]

[d] §. 8.

[e] Et discipulus ejus Joannes in prædicta epistola fugere eos præcepit, dicens: Multi seductores. ibid. §. 8.

[f] Ἰωάννης δὲ ὁ τοῦ Κυρίου μαθητὴς —— ὁ γὰρ λέγων αὐτοῖς, φησί, χαίρειν, κοινωνεῖ τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ τοῖς πονηροῖς. l. i. cap. 16. §. 3. [Grabe, p. 79.]

[g] Exemplum justi judicii Dei. L. iv. cap. 36. §. 4. [Grabe, p. 371.]

Speaking

Speaking of the apostles who had written, as well as preached: 'For Peter, and [h] John, and Matthew, and Paul, and the rest of 'them, and their companions, have quoted the words of the 'prophets, according to the translation of the [seventy] elders.' Here it seems, that he supposed there were other apostles who had written, beside those he nameth. For he plainly distinguishes between apostles and their companions, by these last meaning Mark and Luke. By the rest, therefore, or others of them, he may be thought to mean James and Jude. Nevertheless [i] Grabe thinks, it may be conjectured from this passage, and the silence about James, while he mentions the other apostles who had written, that Irenæus had not seen the epistle of James, or that he did not own it. However, I think, few learned men are of his opinion; and I should be rather apt to suppose, it might afford an argument in favour of the epistles of James and Jude. But whether it be alone sufficient to outweigh the argument for the other side, taken from the total omission, or very obscure citations of these epistles, in so large a work as this, Against heresies, may be questioned. Every one is able to judge of this point, from the particular account I have given of the testimonies of this father.

VI. The Apocalypse, or Revelation, is often quoted by him as the Revelation of [k] John, the disciple of the Lord. And in one place he says: 'It was [l] seen no long time ago, but almost 'in our age, at the end of the reign of Domitian.' And in the place before cited (F) from Eusebius, he speaks of the exact and ancient copies of this book, confirmed likewise by the agreeing testimony of those who had seen John himself. The testimony of Irenæus in behalf of this book is certainly very considerable. However, he wrote no commentary upon the Revelation, as was before shewn (G).

VII. I have now shewn at large, what books of the New Testament are cited by Irenæus. I had much rather represent the truth (as I have often endeavoured to do), without a particular confutation of any mistakes which some learned men have made through inadvertence. By this method one may save

[h] Etenim Petrus, et Joannes, et Matthæus, et Paulus, et reliqui deinceps, et horum sectatores, prophetica omnia ita annuntiaverunt, quemadmodum seniorum interpretatio continet. L. iii. cap. 21. §. 3.

[i] Dum Irenæus apostolos, quorum scriptores habemus, justo ordine recensens, Jacobum principem eorum omisit, ejus epistolam non vidisse aut agnovisse haud vane conjicitur, præsertim cum nusquam eam disserte allegarit. Grabe, in loc. p. 156.

[k] Sed et Joannes Domini discipulus in Apocalypsi. L. iv. cap. 20. §. 11. lib. v. cap. 26. in.

[l] [illegible] L. v. cap. 30. §. 3. [Grabe, p. 449.] (F) See before, p. 155. (G) p. [illegible].

them

them the uneasiness which the detection of a mistake is apt to occasion, especially if they are named. Nevertheless, I think it not improper, in this place, to take notice of an observation in Le Clerc's [m] Ecclesiastical History: that Irenæus has cited all the books of the New Testament, except the third epistle of John; whereas it is manifest from what has been said, that beside the omission of the just mentioned epistle, Irenæus has not quoted at all, nor referred to, the epistle of Paul to Philemon. And there are likewise several other books, concerning which it is doubtful, whether he has so much as referred to them. I have mentioned this, as some justification of the strictness of our present inquiry into the evidence given by the primitive Christian writers to the books of the New Testament, if indeed it needs any. But no reasonable person, from this particular inaccuracy, will draw any general conclusion to the disadvantage of so learned and useful a writer as Le Clerc.

VIII. We have then in Irenæus full, and express, and abundant testimony to the four gospels, the Acts of the apostles, twelve of Paul's epistles. The omission of the epistle to Philemon may be well ascribed to its brevity. He knew the epistle to the Hebrews, but was not satisfied that it was Paul's. As for the Catholic epistles, we have express quotations of the first of Peter, and the first and second of John; and the reason of not quoting the third may be well allowed to be its brevity. But to the epistle of James, the second of Peter, and the epistle of Jude, there are none, or very obscure references, hardly any that can be reckoned material. Nevertheless, on account of a general passage concerning the writings of the apostles, it may be questioned, whether he did not also know the epistles of James and Jude. The book of the Revelation is expressly ascribed to John the disciple of the Lord. His testimony for this book is so strong and full, that, considering the age of Irenæus, he seems to put it beyond all question, that it is the work of John the apostle and evangelist.

IX. Having shewn what books of the New Testament are cited and owned by Irenæus, I shall observe some general titles and divisions made use of by him in his quotations.

'Concerning [n] which,' says he, 'the scriptures affirm, "that

[m] Recte Eusebius H. E. l. v. c. 8. pro more suo animadvertit, Irenæum diserte meminisse quatuor evangeliorum, quæ habemus, Apocalypseos, et 1 Joannis—— Verum et e citationibus ejus cæteros omnes N. T. libros, quos habemus, excepta una brevissima Joannis epistola, quæ tertia numeratur, admissos, et pro apostolicis habitos, ex indicibus locorum scripturæ, qui nuperis editionibus subjecti sunt, patet. H. E. A. D. 180. §. 3.

[n] Περὶ ὧν καὶ γράφαι διαβεβαίνονται. κ. λ. Lib. i. cap. 6. §. 3.

"they

"they which do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of "God." Gal. v. 21. He calls them also [o] divine scriptures, [p] divine oracles, [q] scriptures of the Lord.

Sometimes: It is said, [r] in the gospel: at other times, [s] in the gospels. The books of the New Testament are comprehended under these two divisions, of evangelic and apostolic writings. 'The Valentinians,' he [t] says, 'endeavour to fetch ar-'guments for their opinions, not only from the evangelic and 'apostolic writings, but also from the law and the prophets:' manifestly intending hereby a code or collection of gospels and apostolical epistles; though such general titles do not shew exactly what books are contained in each collection.

He speaks of the scriptures of the Old and New Testament in this manner: 'Since [u] all the scriptures, both prophecies and 'gospels, are open and clear, and may be heard of all.'——In another place: 'In [x] the law and the gospel, the first and 'greatest commandment is, to love the Lord with all the heart.' He has these several expressions together: 'With [y] our asser-'tions agree the preaching of the apostles, the doctrine of the 'Lord, the declaration of the prophets, the word of the apostles, 'the ministration of the law.'

X. His respect for the books of the New Testament has appeared in many passages here produced, particularly Numb. II. where he affirms the complete knowledge the apostles had of the doctrine of Christ; and that they did not preach, much less write, till after the descent of the Holy Ghost upon them: and that the gospel was 'committed to writing by the will of 'God, that it might be for time to come the foundation and 'pillar of our faith.'

Arguing from some texts of Paul to the Romans, he [z] says: 'For he foreseeing by the Spirit, that there would be divisions 'caused by evil teachers, and being desirous to prevent all oc-'casion of difference in these things, spake after this manner.'

[o] [illegible] γραφαις [illegible]. L. ii. c. [illegible] in. [p] Τα λογια τυ θευ. L. i. c. 8. [illegible] fin. [q] Et Dominicis scripturis [illegible]. L. v. c. 20. §. 2. Vid. et L. ii. [illegible] ad fin. [r] Ab hoc quod dictum [illegible] evangelio. L. ii. c. 26. Non legunt [illegible] evangelio. L. iv. c. 29. in. [s] Non [illegible] sunt in evangeliis. L. ii. c. 22. [illegible] [t] Και ου μονον εκ τας ευαγγελικας και [illegible] ποιουνται τας αποδειξεις [illegible]——[illegible] και εκ νομου και προφητων. L. i. c. 3. §. 6. Grabe, p. 19. [u] Cum itaque universæ scripturæ, et prophetiæ, et evangelia, in aperto sint, et sine ambiguitate, et similiter ab omnibus audiri possint, etsi non omnes credunt. L. ii. cap. 27. §. 2. al. cap. 46. [x] In lege igitur et in evangelio, cum sit primum et maximum præceptum, &c. L. iv. c. 12. §. 3.

[y] Quoniam autem dictis nostris consonat prædicatio apostolorum, et Domini magisterium, et prophetarum annuntiatio, et apostolorum dictatio, et legislationis ministratio. L. ii. cap. ult. ad fin.

[z] Prævidens enim et ipse per Spiritum subdivisiones malorum magistrorum——ait quæ prædicta sunt. L. iii. c. 16. §. 9.

And a [a] little before: 'But the Holy Spirit foreseeing there 'would be deceivers, and guarding beforehand against their de- 'ceit, says by Matthew: "Now the birth of Christ was in this "wise." See Matth. i. 18. where we read Jesus Christ. But it is likely, the copies of Irenæus had Christ only. Again: 'Well [b] knowing, that the scriptures are perfect, as being dic- 'tated [or spoken] by the Word of God and his Spirit.' And he says, 'That a heavy 'punishment awaits those who add 'to, or take from, the scriptures.' Lastly: 'But we,' says [d] he, 'following the one and only true God as our teacher, and hav- 'ing his words as a rule of truth, do all always speak the same 'things concerning the same things.'

Irenæus however does not slight reason. 'A sound mind,' says [e] he, 'that is sober, discreet, and a lover of truth, whatever 'things God has put in the power of men, and made knowable 'by us, these such a mind will study, and improve in them, 'rendering the knowledge of them easy by daily exercise. 'And the things knowable by us are those which fall under our 'sight, and whatsoever things are plainly, and clearly, and ex- 'pressly said in the divine scriptures.'

XI. We just now saw, that Irenæus declares, that the scriptures 'are open and clear, and may be read by all.' Nevertheless, in another place he expresses himself to this purpose: 'Such 'an one will be well satisfied about these things, if he 'also diligently read the scriptures with those who are presbyters 'in the church, with whom is the apostolical doctrine, as we 'have shewn.' By which, however, I think Irenæus does not intend to say, that Christian people should not read the scriptures without the leave of their presbyters; but that they ought to take care, that they use those copies of the scriptures that are uncorrupted, such as are in the hands of the presbyters of the catholic church. Or, perhaps he rather means, that they should

[a] Sed prævidens Spiritus Sanctus depravatores, et præmuniens contra fraudulentiam eorum, per Matthæum ait: Christi autem generatio sic erat. L. iii. c. 16. §. 2. al. cap. 17. [b] Rectissime scientes, quia scripturæ quidem perfectæ sunt, quippe a verbo Dei et Spiritu ejus dictæ. L. 2. c. 28. §. 2. [al. cap. 47.] [c] Ετσι δε των προφητων, η αφελειας τι των γεγραφων, επιμιαν η των τυχουσαι σχολης. κ. τ. λ. L. v. c. 30. §. 1. [ap. Grabe, p. 448.] [d] Nos autem unum et solum verum Deum doctorem sequentes, et regulam veritatis habentes ejus sermones, de iisdem semper eadem dicimus omnes. L. iv. c. 35. §. 4. [al. c. 69.]

[e] Ο υγιης νους, και ακινδυνος, και ευλαβης, και φιλαληθης, ουτος εν τη των αιθρωπων εξουσια δεδωκεν ο θεος, και υποβαλλει τη ημετερα γνωσει, τα δι' ημερης ενμελεσθαι, και εν αυτοις προκοπτειν, δια της καθ' ημερην ασκησεως ραδιαν την μαθησιν εργαζομενος. Εστι δε ταυτα, ταυτα υπ' οψιν πιπτοντα τη ημερα, και ουτα φανερως και σαφως και ευτολεκτα εν ταις θειαις γραφαις δεδηλωται. L. 2. c. 27. in. [al. cap. 46.] [f] Post deinde et omnis sermo ei constabit, si et scripturas diligenter legerit apud eos qui in ecclesia sunt presbyteri, apud quos est apostolica doctrina, quemadmodum demonstravimus. L. iv. c. 32. al. c. 52.

not only read the ſcriptures privately themſelves, but that, in caſe any difficulties appear, they ſhould likewiſe conſult the preſbyters in the church. Therefore he ſays: 'Such an one will be 'well ſatisfied of theſe things, if he ALSO diligently read the 'ſcriptures with thoſe who are preſbyters in the church.'

XII. It may be worth while to conſider, whether Irenæus quotes any other Chriſtian writings in the ſame manner, and with the ſame reſpect which he ſhews to theſe books of the New Teſtament, commonly received as canonical. Beſide the ſcriptures of the Old and the New Teſtament, and Joſephus, and ſome heathen authors, and perhaps ſome heretical writers, the only authors quoted in Irenæus by name are theſe following: Clement of Rome, Hermas, Polycarp, Papias, and Juſtin Martyr. For Ignatius is not ſo quoted by him.

1. We ſhall begin our conſiderations with Hermas, becauſe it is thought there is ſomewhat [g] ſingular in the quotation of his book. The paſſage is taken notice of by Euſebius. Having obſerved what Irenæus ſaid of the Apocalypſe of John, and that he had often cited the firſt epiſtle of John, and the firſt of Peter, he immediately adds: 'Nor did [h] he only know, but he 'alſo receives [or approves], the ſcripture of the Shepherd, 'ſaying: "Well therefore ſpake the ſcripture, which ſays: "Firſt of all believe that there is one God, who created and "formed all things," and what follows.'

Upon this paſſage I would briefly make theſe ſeveral remarks.

1.) This is the only Chriſtian writing quoted by Irenæus with an appearance of a like reſpect to what he has for the writings of the apoſtles, and their two diſciples and followers, Mark and Luke.

2.) By ſcripture we need not underſtand ſacred and inſpired ſcripture, but only writing. So the word is frequently uſed by the ancients. Mr. Richardſon [i] gives inſtances of it from Origen, Tertullian, Rufinus, and Auguſtine. Euſebius [k] uſeth it of the goſpel of Peter, which he abſolutely rejects. Epiphanius [l] likewiſe ſpeaks of the apocryphal ſcriptures or writings, which were uſed by the Encratites. Nor do the words of Euſebius imply, as I conceive, that he thought Irenæus reckoned that book a part of the ſacred ſcripture. Euſebius ſays, 'Irenæus re-

[g] Illud etiam non omittendum, quod Hermæ Paſtorem velut canonicam ſcripturam laudet Irenæus. L. iv. c. 20. n. 2. Meſſuet Diſſert. Præv. in Irenæ. iii. §. 7.

[h] Οὐ μόνον δὲ οἶδεν· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀποδέχεται τὴν τοῦ ποιμένος γραφὴν, λέγων· καλῶς οὖν εἶπεν ἡ γραφὴ ἡ λέγουσα, κ. λ. Euſ. H. E. p. 173. B.

[i] Canon of the New Teſtament vindicated, p. 26, 27.

[k] H. E. l. vi. c. 12. p. 213. C.

[l] Hær. 47. §. 1. p. 400. A.

'ceives,' that is, approves, or commends, 'the writing called the 'Shepherd.' He seems to take notice of this, because [m] that book was much despised by some. Nor is Eusebius speaking there only of the books of the New Testament cited by Irenæus; but he proceeds next to observe, that he had several times mentioned the sayings of a certain apostolical presbyter; and adds, that he had also cited Ignatius, and Justin Martyr, whose works certainly were never reckoned a part of sacred scripture.

When therefore Irenæus says here, 'Well spake the scrip-'ture,' his meaning is exactly this: 'Well spake that writing, 'work, or book, which says.'——It is certain, that Irenæus himself has so used this word γραφη, or scripture. Giving an account of the epistle of Clement, written to the Corinthians in the name of the church of Rome, he [n] says: 'The church of 'Rome sent a most excellent scripture,' that is, epistle, 'to the 'Corinthians.' And [o] afterwards: 'From that scripture,' or epistle, 'any one may learn the apostolical tradition of the 'church.' Massuet has [p] a good note to this purpose upon the place.

3.) There are numerous and long quotations of most of the books of the New Testament, received by Irenæus as sacred and divine scripture; and but one short single citation of this book of the Shepherd, though it is much larger than any book of the New Testament. Considering the largeness of this work of Hermas, it is probable it would have been often quoted by Irenæus, if he had esteemed it a part of sacred scripture.

2. The epistle of Clement, though so great a man, and a companion of the apostles, is but once quoted by Irenæus; and it is rather quoted as an epistle of the church of Rome than of Clement. The design of quoting it too, is only to shew what was the tradition or belief of the Christian churches. The heretics, with whom he argues, sometimes [q] cavilled against SCRIPTURE, and pretended that oral tradition was a more certain and complete rule of truth. Irenæus descends into this kind of argument likewise, and says, the belief and testimony of the apostolical

[m] H. E. p. 72. C. D. See before ch. iv. The history of Hermas, at the beginning. Vid. et Orig. de Princ. L. iv. in Philoc. cap. 1. p. 9. [n] Ἐπιστείλαν ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐκκλησία ἱκανοτάτην γραφὴν τοῖς Κορινθίοις. L. iii. cap. 3. Scripsit quæ est Romæ ecclesia potentissimas literas Corinthiis. Interp. L.

[o] Ex ipsa scriptura, qui velint, discere possunt. Ibid. [p] Scriptura.] Vocem γραφη, qua paulo ante usus est Irenæus, quamque recte vertit interpres, literas, et hic reddere debuisset, literæ seu epistolæ. nam de Clementis epistola sermo est. Massuet. [q] Cum enim ex SCRIPTURIS arguuntur, in accusationem convertuntur ipsarum SCRIPTURARUM, quasi non recte habeant, neque sint ex auctoritate, et quia varie sint dictæ, et quia, non possit ex his inveniri veritas ab his, qui nesciant traditionem. Non enim per literas traditam illam, sed per VIVAM VOCEM. L. iii. cap. 2. in.

churches

churches were on his ſide, as well as the SCRIPTURES of the apoſtles. 'And becauſe,' as he ſays, 'it was impoſſible to 'ſhew this at large of all the apoſtolical churches, he ſhould 'therefore inſtance in the greateſt, moſt ancient, and well 'known church of Rome, glorious on account of its being 'founded by two apoſtles, Peter and Paul. Theſe bleſſed 'apoſtles,' he ſays, 'having founded the church, gave the office 'of the biſhoprick to Linus, who was ſucceeded by Anencletus, 'and he by Clement. In the time of this Clement there being 'no ſmall diſſenſion among the brethren at Corinth, the church 'of Rome ſent a moſt excellent epiſtle to the Corinthians, con-'taining the doctrine lately received from the apoſtles, which 'declares, that there is one God Almighty.——And that [s] He 'is declared by the churches to be the Father of our Lord 'Jeſus Chriſt, they who will may learn from the epiſtle itſelf, 'and underſtand the apoſtolical tradition of the church, ſince 'that epiſtle is more ancient than the falſe teachers of the pre-'ſent time.' And he goes on to enumerate the ſeveral ſucceſ-ſors of Clement to Eleutherus, the twelfth biſhop of Rome. 'In this very order and ſucceſſion,' ſays he, 'has the tradition 'which is in the church, and the preaching [or doctrine] of the 'truth, come to us from the apoſtles.'

It is plain then, that he quotes this epiſtle of Clement, or the church of Rome, only as repreſenting the tradition of the church agreeable to the doctrine of the apoſtles.

3. The next writer we are to conſider is Polycarp; and it is of him that Irenæus likewiſe ſpeaks next, immediately after he had ſhewn the tradition of the true doctrine from the apoſtles in the church of Rome. It is the paſſage which we before tranſcribed from Irenæus at the beginning of the hiſtory of St. Polycarp; which paſſage concludes thus: 'There is alſo a moſt 'excellent epiſtle of Polycarp written to the Philippians; from 'which they who are willing, and are concerned for their own 'ſalvation, may learn both the character of his faith, and the 'doctrine of the truth. Moreover the church in Epheſus alſo, 'founded by Paul, and in which John reſided until the time of 'Trajan, is a true witneſs of the tradition of the apoſtles.'

[r] Traditionem itaque apoſtolorum in toto mundo manifeſtatam, in omni eccleſia adeſt reſpicere omnibus qui vera velint videre; et habemus annumerare eos qui ab apoſtolis inſti uti ſunt epiſcopi in eccleſiis, et ſucceſſores eorum uſque ad nos, qui nihil excogitaverunt, neque cognoverunt, quale ab illis delirantur.——Sed quoniam valde longum eſt omnium eccleſiarum enumerare ſucceſſiones; maximæ, et antiquiſſimæ—— eccleſiæ, eam quam habet ab apoſtolis traditionem indicantes, confundimus omnes eos, &c. Ibid. cap. 3. [s] Hunc Patrem Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti ab eccleſiis annunciari, ex ipſa ſcriptura qui velint diſcere poſſunt, et apoſtolicam eccleſiæ traditionem intelligere. Ibid.

It is plain then, that he alleges these epistles of the church of Rome, and Polycarp, and also the testimony of the church of Ephesus, as declaring the doctrine of the apostles agreeable to the sacred scriptures. But these epistles are manifestly distinguished from the gospels, and other books of the New Testament, which he had just before called scripture in the strictest and highest sense of the word.

Let me add here likewise, that though he has taken so many long passages from the gospels, and most of the other books of the New Testament, he recites none distinctly from the epistles of Clement, or Polycarp; but only gives a general description of those writings, and refers men to the reading of them.

4. Papias likewise is but 'once mentioned in the works of Irenæus by name. The passage is already transcribed at the beginning of the ninth chapter of this book.

5. Justin is quoted twice: 'Well [u] says Justin, in his treatise against Marcion;' and again, 'Well [x] said Justin:' in both which places he puts down a short saying, or sentence, of his.

I do not perceive then, that there is the least ground for supposing that Irenæus had the like respect for any other Christian writings, which he had for those books of the New Testament commonly received by us, which are quoted by him.

6. There is likewise a passage or two [y] in Irenæus, in which some words are ascribed to our Lord, which are a small matter different from those recorded in our gospels: from whence some have been disposed to think, they might possibly be taken out of apocryphal gospels. But certainly nothing more needs to be added to shew, that Irenæus received but four gospels, and that they are the same with ours; nor shall I stay to inquire particularly, whether his small variation from our gospels in those places be owing to his using his memory in those quotations, or to a difference of reading in the copies used by Irenæus. Moreover, as to one of those passages, it may be [z] questioned, whether Irenæus does not designedly put it down, as it was ex-

[t] L. v. c. 33. §. 4. Grabe, p. 455.

[u] Καὶ καλῶς Ἰσχύει ἐν τῷ πρὸς Μαρκίωνα συντάγματι φησίν. L. iv. c. 6. §. 2. al. c. 14. [Grabe, p. 300.] [x] L. v. c. 26. §. 2. [et ap. Grabe, p. 441.] [y] Et ideo Dominus dicebat ingratis existentibus in eum: si in modico fideles non fuistis, quod magnum est quis dabit vobis? Vid. Luc. xvi. 11. L. ii. c. 34. §. 3. al. cap. 64. Hæc [inquit Massuetus in l.] ex memoria citavit Irenæus. Nam paulo aliter habet evangelii textus, Luc. xvi. 11.——Unde ad sensum magis quam ad verba attendisse videtur auctor noster. Vid. et Irenæ. L. i. c. 20. §. 2. al. cap. 17. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ εἰρῆσθαι, πολλάκις ἐπεξέρχεται αὐτοῖς εἰπὼν τὸν λόγον τοῦτον, καὶ ἐν ἐσχάτῳ τῶν ἐμπροσθεν. Ad quem locum ait Massuetus: Hæc verba frustra quæsieris in scripturis sacris; nullibi extant. Ab hæreticis illis, vel male feriato quodam conficta sunt. Vid. et Grabe in loc. And Mr. Jones likewise may be consulted upon both these passages. New and Full Method, &c. V. i. p. 526. 547. [z] See, beside the learned men already referred to, Mill Prolog. n. 331.

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preſſed in ſome apocryphal writings of the heretics, againſt which he is there arguing; and not as found in any writing ſuppoſed by him to contain a true account of our Lord's words.

7. There is a paſſage among the Fragments of St. Irenæus, publiſhed by the learned Dr. Pfaff, profeſſor of divinity, and chancellor of the univerſity of Tubingen, from ſome manuſcripts in the king of Sardinia's library at Turin, which may be ſuppoſed by ſome people to mention, and give ſome authority to, the Apoſtolical Conſtitutions.

The ſecond of thoſe Fragments begins thus: 'They [a] who 'are acquainted with [or have underſtood] the latter conſtitu- 'tions of the apoſtles know, that the Lord in the New Teſta- 'ment has appointed a new offering, according to what is ſaid 'in the prophet Malachi, i. 11. "For from the riſing of the "ſun even unto the going down of the ſame, my name ſhall be "great among the Gentiles, and in every place incenſe ſhall be "offered to my name, and a pure offering." As alſo John in 'the Revelation, v. 8. ſays: "The incenſe is the prayers of the "ſaints." And Paul exhorts us, Rom. xii. 1. to "preſent our "bodies a living ſacrifice, holy, acceptable to God, which is our "reaſonable ſervice." And again, Hebr. xiii. 15. "Let us "offer the ſacrifice of praiſe, that is, the fruit of the lips." 'Theſe offerings indeed are not according to the law, the 'hand-writing of which the Lord having blotted out, has taken 'it out of the way, but according to the ſpirit.' Col. ii. 14. "For "God ought to be worſhipped in ſpirit and truth." John iv. 24.

Upon this paſſage I make only two remarks.

1. There is no good and ſufficient evidence, that this is a paſſage of Irenæus biſhop of Lyons. I learn from Dr. Pfaff's preface to his edition of the Fragments of St. Irenæus, that the learned marquis Scipio Maffei had propoſed in the Italian Literary Journal ſeveral objections againſt their genuineneſs. I have not ſeen that Journal. However, there can be no queſtion but Dr. Pfaff has fairly repreſented thoſe objections in his preface. But ſo far as I am able to judge, he has not fully anſwered them, eſpecially thoſe againſt this ſecond fragment, which is attended with ſome difficulties peculiar to itſelf. I

[a] Οἱ παῖς δευτέραις τῶν ἀποστόλων διατάξεσι παρηκολουθήκοτες ἴσασι, τὸν Κύριον νέαν προσφόραν ἐν τῇ κατὰ [illegible] κατὰ τὸ Μαλαχίου τοῦ [illegible] ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ Ἰωάννης ἐν τῇ Ἀποκαλ[illegible] τὰ θυμιάματα εἰσιν αἱ προσευχαὶ τῶν ἁγίων· καὶ ὁ Παῦλος παρακαλεῖ ἡμᾶς παραστῆσαι τὰ σώματα ἡμῶν θυσίαν ζῶσαν, ἁγίαν, εὐάρεστον τῷ Θεῷ, τὴν λογικὴν λατρείαν ἡμῶν, καὶ πάλιν· ἀναφέρωμεν θυσίαν αἰνέσεως, τουτέστι καρπὸν χειλέων. κ. λ. Irenæi Fragmenta Anecdota, p. 25. Hagæ comitum 1715.

perceive likewise by a note of the marquis Maffei upon [b] the Complexions of Caſſiodorus, or Caſſiodorius (as that learned man thinks his name ſhould be written), that he is not convinced by what Dr. Pfaff has ſaid. I add one objection againſt this ſecond fragment, which I do not ſee urged by the marquis Maffei: that the writer, whoever he is, ſeems to own the epiſtle to the Hebrews for St. Paul's; whereas, I ſuppoſe it has been [c] before ſhewn to be probable, that St. Irenæus, though he was acquainted with that epiſtle, did not know it to be St. Paul's, or own it as ſuch. It appears to me indiſcreet to admit the genuineneſs of a paſſage taken out of one of the Greek chains, as they are called, which is liable to ſeveral conſiderable difficulties.

2. The former part of this paſſage is obſcure. Nor is it any wonder that there ſhould be ſome obſcurity, when we know not what preceded in the place of the author whence it was originally taken. It is not eaſy to ſay, what is meant by the latter, or ſecond conſtitutions of the apoſtles. It is by no means plain, that the author intends any book with that title. He rather ſeems to mean only the conſtitutions, ordinances, or appointments of the apoſtles in the books of the New Teſtament, commonly received; and theſe he calls the later, in oppoſition to the more ancient ordinances of the law. This is the ſenſe that firſt offers itſelf to my mind, and appears to be the moſt natural and likely meaning of the words. I have tranſcribed more of this paſſage, that thoſe of my readers who have not the opportunity of conſulting the original may the better form their judgment of it. I ſhall only add, that in the third paſſage published by Dr. Pfaff as a fragment of St. Irenæus, the word *conſtitute, appoint*, or *ordain*, is uſed concerning the directions and precepts of the apoſtles in their epiſtles: 'The [d] apoſtles have ordained, that we "ſhould not judge any man in meat, or in drink, or in reſpect of an holy day, or of the new moon, or of the ſabbath days."

Perhaps he intends particularly the precepts of the apoſtles in their epiſtles: and theſe he calls the latter, or ſecond, with regard to the preceding doctrine and precepts of Chriſt himſelf in the goſpels. But we need not be much concerned about the meaning of a paſſage, of which we know neither the time nor the author.

XII. The laſt thing which we are to conſider is, upon what account Irenæus receives the goſpels of Mark and Luke, and

[b] Annot. ad Complexion. Caſſiodor. in 1 Ep. ad Corinth. §. xx. [c] See p. 164—166. [d] Ἐταξαν δὲ ἀποστολοι, μὴ δεῖν τινα κρίνειν ἐν βρώσει ἢ ἐν πόσει, ἢ ἐν μέρει ἑορτῆς, ἢ νουμηνίας, ἢ σαββάτων. Irenæi Fragmenta Anecd. p. 147.

the

the Acts of the apoſtles, written likewiſe by St. Luke; ſince theſe were not apoſtles, and he does not appear to have received any books as part of the ſacred ſcriptures of the New Teſtament, but ſuch as were written by apoſtles, excepting the writings of theſe two perſons: and, if I miſtake not, the ground upon which he receives the writings of theſe two evangeliſts is, that they were well informed of the doctrine of the apoſtles, and have faithfully recorded it.

This ſeems evident from the paſſage above (H) cited, where he ſays: 'Mark, the diſciple and interpreter of Peter, delivered 'to us in writing the things which had been preached by 'Peter; and Luke, the companion of Paul, put down in a 'book the goſpel preached by him.'

For this reaſon it is, that he calls all the goſpels, the goſpels of the apoſtles. The Valentinians ſeem to have written a new goſpel, of which Irenæus ſpeaks in this manner: 'They [c] have 'become ſo audacious,' ſays he, 'as to call that which has not 'been long ſince written by them, the goſpel of truth, though it 'agree in nothing with the goſpels of the apoſtles.' And he there ſpeaks ſeveral times of the things contained in the goſpels being delivered by the apoſtles, in a paſſage ſomewhat obſcure; for which reaſon I place the reſt of it only in the margin, as we have it in the Latin verſion. But there were two only of the goſpels written by apoſtles: the other two can be no otherwiſe the apoſtles', but as they contain the preaching or doctrine of the apoſtles; juſt as all the ſcriptures of the New Teſtament are the ſcriptures of the Lord, as containing his doctrine, whilſt he himſelf wrote nothing. I ſay, they can be no otherwiſe the goſpels of the apoſtles, but in the ſenſe before mentioned; unleſs it ſhould be ſuppoſed that, after they were written by thoſe evangeliſts, they were expreſsly approved and authoriſed by the apoſtles. But this is not the ground Irenæus goes upon (which is what we are now enquiring into); but the veracity of theſe evangeliſts, and their intimacy with the apoſtles, whoſe diſciples and inſeparable companions they were, and whoſe doctrine they have faithfully delivered in writing.

And that Irenæus could not proceed upon the ground of an expreſs approbation of the apoſtles, is evident, at leaſt as to

(H) p. 158. [c] Si quidem in tantum proceſſerunt audaciæ, uti quod ab Hi non olim conſcriptum eſt, veritatis evangelium titulent, in nihilo conveniens apoſtolorum evangeliis, ut neque evangelium quidem ſit apud eos ſine blaſphemia. Si enim quod ab eis profertur, veritatis eſt evangelium, diſſimile eſt autem hoc illis, quæ ab apoſtolis nobis tradita ſunt, qui volunt, poſſunt diſcere, quemadmodum ex ſcripturis oſtenditur, jam non eſſe id quod ab apoſtolis traditum eſt, veritatis evangelium, &c. L. iii. cap. xi. §. 9.

Mark's

Mark's goſpel; in that he ſays, it was 'after their exit,' that is, either death or departure of the apoſtles Peter and Paul, that Mark delivered to us in writing the things that had been preached by Peter.

Theſe two goſpels then, and the Acts, were received by him as faithful narratives of the apoſtles' doctrine, compoſed by perſons fully acquainted with it; with the guidance and aſſiſtance, undoubtedly, of the Holy Spirit.

This obſervation, if juſt, may be of uſe to us hereafter.

CHAP. XVIII.

ATHENAGORAS. His HISTORY.

WE have two pieces of Athenagoras, an Apology for the Chriſtians, and a treatiſe of the Reſurrection. The Apology has the title of an embaſſy; from whence ſome have concluded, that Athenagoras was deputed by the Chriſtians of the country in which he lived, and waited upon the Roman emperor with this Apology. Others [a] rather think, there is no reaſon to ſuppoſe it was ever preſented; and the Greek word tranſlated [b] embaſſy may as well ſignify a petition.

There is no mention of Athenagoras in Euſebius or Jerom; but he is quoted by Methodius in a paſſage of his preſerved in [c] Epiphanius and [d] Photius: and there is a particular account given of him by Philip Sidetes (who flouriſhed in the beginning of the fifth century), in a fragment of his Chriſtian Hiſtory publiſhed by [e] Dodwell. Philip ſays, Athenagoras was at firſt a Heathen, and that he intended to write againſt the Chriſtians; but when he was reading the ſcriptures, with a view of making his work the more complete, he was converted. He ſays, that Athenagoras flouriſhed under Adrian and Antoninus the Pious, to whom his Apology was preſented; and that he was the firſt preſident of the catechetical ſchool of Alexandria, and maſter of Clement, who wrote the Stromata. I think it not eaſy to rely upon this account of Philip. Baſnage [f] has made divers exceptions to it. It is certain the Hiſtory of Philip has

[a] See Bayle Dict. H. et Critic. Atheragoras, Note B. [b] πρεσβεια. [c] Hær. 64. §. 21. Vid. et Feav. not. p. 261. [d] Cod. 234. p. 908. [e] Append. ad Diſſ. Iren. p. 488. [f] Ann. P. F. 176. §. 6.

no great character given it by [g] Socrates, or [h] Photius, who had read it. As there is little ſaid of Athenagoras by the ancients that can be relied on, we can know little certain of him, but what may be collected from his works themſelves: nor will they afford much light into his hiſtory. In the title, however, of both theſe pieces he is ſtyled an Athenian, and a philoſopher.

The Apology is inſcribed to Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, and Lucius Aurelius Commodus; but learned men differ about the time of it. Pagi [i] is of opinion the Apology was written in 166: Dodwell, in [k] 168: Cave, [l] about 177: Du Pin, [m] in 178: Baſnage, [n] in 176: Tillemont, [o] not before 177, which is alſo the opinion of [p] Mr. Moſheim.

The chief ground of this difference is a doubt about one of the perſons to whom the Apology is addreſſed. Pagi and Dodwell ſuppoſe it was addreſſed to Marcus Antoninus, and his adopted brother and colleague in the empire, Lucius Verus, who died in 169. The learned men of the other opinion think it was inſcribed to Marcus Antoninus, and his ſon Commodus; and if to them, then after Commodus had the proconſular power: which is the opinion of Baſnage; who therefore places the Apology in 176, or elſe when Commodus had equal power with his father, which he did not receive till the year 177. This is the opinion of Tillemont and others, who place it in 177, or a little later. In behalf of this later date Tillemont [q] has a learned argument; to whom I refer the reader, and to Bayle's account of the controverſy in his Dictionary, in the article of Athenagoras. I ſhall only obſerve farther, that [r] Fabricius, who doubtleſs had ſeen and weighed the arguments on both ſides, ſays: 'Athenagoras ſeems to have written his Apology 'between the year of Chriſt 177 and 180, and to have pre-'ſented it (ſo he thinks) to M. Antoninus and Commodus, 'whoſe names are prefixed to it in all the manuſcripts:' and Mr. Moſheim has ſupported his opinion with divers arguments and conſiderations, omitted by others.

As this opinion appears to me much the more probable of the two, I therefore place Athenagoras at the year 177 or 178.

[g] L. vii. c. 27.
[h] Cod. 35. p. 21.
[i] Critic. in Baron. A. D. 165. §. vi. 177. §. viii. &c. [k] Diſſert. Cypr. xi. §. 37, 38. [l] Hiſt. Lit. [m] Bibl. des Auteurs Ecc. [n] Annal. Polit. Eccl. An. 176. §. 6, &c. [o] Memoires Eccl. Tom. ii. Perſecution de Marc Aurele, Art. 8. and Note x.
[p] Vid. ejuſd. Diſſ. de vera ætat. Apol. Athenag.
[q] In the place before referred to.
[r] Apologium videtur ſcripſiſſe Athenagoras intra annum Chriſti 177 et 180. obtuliſſeque M. Aurelio Antonino et L. Commodo, quorum nomen in MSS. codicibus conſtanter præfixum legitur. Bibl. Gr. vol. vi. p. 86.

It

It is likely the discourse 'Of the Resurrection of the Dead' was written after the Apology: because, as Tillemont observes, he seems to promise such a thing at the end of the Apology; where having fallen upon the subject of the resurrection, he defers a fuller discourse upon it to another time.

In this discourse he rather argues from reason than scripture. His two points are, the possibility and the fitness of a resurrection.

Though this author has been seldom mentioned in antiquity, there is no one doubts the genuineness of either of these pieces.

Athenagoras is a polite writer, and his Greek Attic. He has only rendered his style less agreeable by frequent parentheses.

His testimony to the books of the New Testament.

I. 'For' he that looks,' says he, 'on a woman, to lust 'after her, hath committed adultery in his heart.' See Matth. v. 28.

II. 'We can convince you,' says he to the emperors, 'that 'we are not atheists, by the principles we hold, which are not 'of human invention, but delivered and taught by God. What 'then are our maxims, in which we are instructed?' "I say unto "you: Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, pray for "them that persecute you, that ye may be the children of your "Father which is in heaven, who maketh his sun to rise on the "evil, and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just, and on the "unjust." See Matth. v. 44, 45.

These are so plain quotations of the words in St. Matthew's gospel, that I need not put down in the margin the Greek at length. I may however observe, that the originals of St. Matthew and Athenagoras agree, as they are represented to do by this translation.

There are likewise in the Apology some other passages [x] taken from St. Matthew's gospel, especially from our Saviour's sermon on the mount; and having recited some of those precepts of our Lord, he adds: that [y] he alleges but 'a few out 'of many.'

[s] Αλλ' απεχεισθω μεν ο περι της πολιτειας λογος. [t] Ο γαρ βλεπων, φησι, γυναικα προς το επιθυμησαι αυτης, ηδη μεμοιχευται εν τη καρδια αυτου. p. 36. B. Paris. 1663.

[u] Ταυτες ουν ημων αι δογμα, αις επιστεφομεθα; λεγω υμιν κ. λ. p. 11. B. C. [x] Vid. p. 2. D. 12. A. D. et 38. A. [y] Ταυτα μεν ουν, μικρα απο μυριων αλλων, και ολιγα απο πολλων, ινα μη επι πλειον υμας επεχλυνωμεν, p. 13. A.

III. Mark

N. T.

III. Mark x. 6. *But* [z] *from the beginning of the creation God made them male and female.*

ATHENAGORAS.

III. Becauſe [a] in the beginning God formed one man and one woman.

He mentions this obſervation with the ſame view with that of our Lord in St. Mark, as an argument againſt divorces; though, it muſt be owned, there are much the ſame words in Matth. xix. 4.

N. T.

IV. Luke xvi. 18. *Whoſoever* [b] *putteth away his wife, and marrieth another, committeth adultery.*

ATHENAGORAS.

IV. 'For [c] whoſoever,' ſays he, 'ſhall put away his wife, 'and ſhall marry another, com-'mitteth adultery.'

It may be queſtioned, whether he refers to St. Luke, or to St. Matth. v. 32. or rather xix. 9. It is however a quotation.

N. T.

V. John x. 30. *I* [d] *and my Father are one.*

Ver. 38.—*That ye may know, and believe, that the Father is in me, and I in him.*

ATHENAGORAS.

V. The [e] Father and the Son being one: and the Son being in the Father, and the Father in the Son.

It is undoubted, that he acknowledged the goſpel of St. John, from his [f] ſo often calling the Son the 'Word' or Reaſon of God.

N. T.

VI. John xvii. 3. *And* [g] *this is life eternal, that they might know thee the only true God, and Jeſus Chriſt whom thou haſt ſent.*

ATHENAGORAS.

VI. For this alone [h] concerned, to know the one God, and the Word [proceeding] from him——knowing, that the life we ſhall obtain hereafter is better than can be expreſſed in words, if we ſhall but go hence pure from all unrighteouſneſs.

[z] [illegible]

[a] Παρεδωκε γαρ τον γαμον του Θεου, ει εν αρχη ενα ανθρωπον και μιαν γυναικα. p. 37. B.

[b] Ος γαρ αν απολυση, φησι, την γυναικα αυτου, και γαμηση αλλην, μοιχαται. Legat. p. 37. B.

[c] [illegible]

[d] Εγω και ο Πατηρ εσμεν——και γινωσκητε, και πιστευσητε, οτι εν εμοι ο Πατηρ, καγω εν αυτω. p. 10. C.

[e] Ενος οντος του Πατρος και του Υιου· οντος δε του Υιου εν Πατρι, και Πατρος εν Υιω. p. 10. C.

[f] p. 10. B. C. 12. C. D. 17. D. 27. A. 34. D.

[g] [illegible]

[h] Το μονε δε παραπεμπομενον τουτω εστι Θεον και τον παρ' αυτου λογον ειδεναι——αυτην δε και κριτικην ειναι λεγω, την ακριβεστατην περι εκαστα. p. 12. C. D.

VII. Acts

VII. Acts xvii. 25. *Neither* [i] *is worshipped with men's hands, as though he needed any thing.*

VII. 'Since he [k] wanteth 'not, nor needeth any thing.' He there gives this character of the Deity upon the same account that St. Paul does: and much to the same purpose again: [l] 'Not as if God 'needed.'

VIII. Rom. i. 24. *Wherefore God also gave them up to uncleanness* —— [m] *to dishonour their own bodies between themselves.*

27. *Men with men working that which is unseemly.*

VIII. Men with [n] men working those things which are abominable, many ways abusing their comely and beautiful bodies, and dishonouring the excellent workmanship of God.

IX. Rom. xi. 36. *For* [o] *of him, and through him, and to him are all things.*

IX. 'For of [p] him, and 'through him were all things 'made.' Though perhaps he refers to John i. 3.

X. Rom. xii. 1. *I beseech you therefore, brethren,* —— *that ye* [q] *present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable to God, which is your reasonable service.*

X. But why should I be concerned about whole-burnt-offerings, which God does not need? It is much [r] better therefore to offer an unbloody sacrifice, and bring a reasonable service.

XI. 1 Cor. xv. 30. *And why stand we in jeopardy every hour?* 31. *I protest by your rejoicing, which I have in Christ Jesus our Lord, I die daily.* 32. *If after the manner of men, I have fought with beasts at Ephesus; what advantageth it me,*

XI. He had argued at length the disadvantages of virtue; that many of the best men endure in this life vexation and sorrow, reproaches and calumnies: 'that if there 'be no retribution [s],——vir-'tue is a senseless thing: to

[i] Οὐδὲ ὑπὸ χειρῶν ἀνθρωπίνων θεραπεύεσθαι, προσδεόμενός τινος.

[k] Ἀπροσδεὴς καὶ ἀπροσδεής. p. 13. B.

[l] Οὐχ ὡς προσδεόμενός του θεοῦ. p. 15. C.

[m] ——Τὸ ἀτιμάζεσθαι τὰ σώματα αὐτῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς——ἀρσένες ἐν ἄρσεσι τὴν ἀσχημοσύνην κατεργαζόμενοι.

[n] Ἄρσενες ἐν ἄρσεσι τὰ δεινὰ κατεργαζόμενοι, τῶν σωμάτων τὰ εὐπρεπῆ καὶ εὐειδῆ σώματα, ὡραιότητος αὐτοῦ ἀρίστου, ἀτιμάζοντες καὶ τὸ θαυμάσιον τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ κάλλος. p. 37. C.

[o] Ὅτι ἐξ αὐτοῦ, καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ, καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν τὰ πάντα.

[p] Πρὸς αὐτοῦ γὰρ, καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ πάντα ἐγένετο. p. 10. C.

[q] Παραστῆσαι τὰ σώματα ὑμῶν θυσίαν ζῶσαν——τὴν λογικὴν λατρείαν ὑμῶν.

[r] Καὶ τὸ προσφέρειν δὲν ἀναιμακτὶ θυσίαν, καὶ τὴν λογικὴν προσφέρειν λατρείαν. p. 13. D.

[s] De Return. p. 62. A. B.

if the dead rise not? Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die.

'follow pleasure is the greatest 'good: and that ought to be 'the common maxim and law 'of all, which is admired by 'the voluptuous and wicked: "Let us eat and drink, for to-"morrow we die."

Though these last words are also in Isa. xxii. 13. it seems from the conformity of his argument, that he refers to St. Paul.

N. T.

XII. 1 Cor. xv. 54. *So* [t] *when this corruptible shall have put on incorruption.*

2 Cor. v. 10. *For we must all appear before the judgment-seat of Christ, that* [x] *every one may receive the things done in his body, according to that he has done, whether it be good or bad.*

ATHENAGORAS.

XII. It is manifest therefore, that, according to the apostle, this [u] corruptible and dissipated must put on incorruption; that the dead being raised up to life, and the separated, and even consumed parts being again united, every [y] one may receive justly the things he has done in his body, whether they be good or bad.

XIII. Gal. iv. 9. *How* [z] *turn ye again to the weak and beggarly elements?*

XIII. And fall down to the beggarly and [a] weak elements.

These are the very words of Paul, which Athenagoras borrows, though he useth them upon a different account.

N. T.

XIV. 1 Tim. v. 1, 2. *Rebuke not an elder, but intreat him as a father, and the younger men as brethren: the elder women as mothers, the younger as sisters, with all purity.*

ATHENAGORAS.

XIV. Wherefore [b], according to the difference of age, some we count as sons and daughters, others we consider as brethren and sisters, and the aged we reverence as fathers and mothers.

[t] Ουκ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἁμαρτεῖν τοῦ σώματος ἀθάνατον. κ. λ.

[x] Ἵνα κομίσηται ἕκαστος τὰ διὰ τοῦ σώματος, ἢ κατεργάζεται, εἴτε ἀγαθὰ, εἴτε κακά.

[z] Πῶς ἐπιστρέφετε πάλιν ἐπὶ τὰ ἀσθενῆ καὶ πτωχὰ στοιχεῖα;

[u] Ἐπειδὴ τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ ἀποστολικὸν, τὸ δεῖν, φησὶ, τὸν φθαρτὸν τοῦτον, τὸ ἐξ ἀπωλείας καὶ διασπορᾶς ἐπιδυσάμενον ἀφθαρσίαν. De Resurr. p. 61. C.

[y] Ἵνα κομίσηται ἕκαστος ἃ διὰ τοῦ σώματος ἔπραξε, εἴτε ἀγαθὰ, εἴτε κακά. ibid.

[a] Ἐπὶ τὰ πτωχὰ καὶ ἀσθενῆ στοιχεῖα πάλιν ἐπιστρέφειν. Legat. p. 15. D.

[b] p. 36. C.

XV. 1 Tim.

XV. 1 Tim. vi. 16. *Who only has immortality, dwelling in* [c] *the light which no man can approach unto.*

XV. For God is [d] to himself all things, light inaccessible,——or, according to our translation, light which no man can approach unto.

XVI. James iii. 13. *Who is a wise man, and endued with knowledge amongst you? Let him shew out of a good conversation his works with meekness of wisdom.*

XVI. For our [e] excellence lies not in the structure of words, but in the demonstration and doctrine of works.

XVII. James v. 7. *Behold the husbandman waiteth for the precious fruit of the earth, and hath long patience for it, until he receive the early and later rain.*

XVII. For as the [f] husbandman, when he has cast the seeds into the earth, expecteth the time of the harvest, &c.

XVIII. 2 Pet. i. 21. *For* [g] *the prophecy came not in old time by the will of man: but holy men spake, as they were moved by the Holy Ghost.*

XVIII. Of Moses, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and the other prophets, he says: 'Who [h] according to the ecstasy of the 'thoughts in them, the Divine 'Spirit moving them, spoke 'out those things which were 'operated in them.'

XIX. Rev. xx. 13. *And the* [i] *sea gave up the dead which were in it: and death and hell delivered up the dead which were in them.*

XIX. He speaks of it as the general opinion of Christians, that [k] at the time of the resurrection, 'the earth shall 'deliver up her dead.'

XX. There is a particular passage in Athenagoras, which we may not omit. It follows what we have transcribed at Numb XIV. 'The aged we reverence as fathers and mothers. It is 'therefore our great concern, that the bodies of those whom we 'call sisters, or by any other name of kindred, should be pre-

[c] Φως οικων απροσιτον.

[d] Παντα γαρ ο Θεος εστι αυτος αυτω, φως απροσιτον. p. 15. C.

[e] Ου γαρ μελλη λογων, αλλ' επιδειξει και λογου τα ημετερα. p. 37. B.

[f] p. 37. A.

[g] Ου γαρ θελημασι ανθρωπων ηνεχθη ποτε προφητεια, αλλ' υπο πνευματος αγιου εξαρθεντες ελαλησαν οι αγιοι Θεου ανθρωποι.

[h] Και τον λογιαν προφητων, οι καθ' εκστασιν τα εν αυτοις λογισμων, κινησαντος αυτους του Θειου πνευματος, α ενηργησε εξεφηναν. p. 9. D.

[i] Και εδωκεν η θαλασσα τους εν αυτη νεκρους, και ο θανατος και ο αδης εδωκαν τους εν αυτοις νεκρους.

[k] Και αποδοσειν μεν ημιζειν τους γενους ιδιως ιερους. p. 39. A.

[c] served

'ſerved chaſte and unpolluted, the [1] Word again ſaying to us '[or our doctrine teaching us]: "If any one ſhall kiſs a ſe-"cond time, becauſe it pleaſeth him:" And afterwards: "A "kiſs is to be given ſo ſlightly, that it may be rather only a ſa-"lutation: for if the mind be in the leaſt polluted, it endangers "our enjoyment of eternal life."

I think we need not ſolicitouſly inquire, whence Athenagoras had theſe obſervations. There is no neceſſity of ſuppoſing he aſcribes them to Chriſt, or that he took them out of any copies of our goſpels, or from any apocryphal goſpel. They may be as well cited from ſome Chriſtian writer, whom Athenagoras thought to have expreſſed himſelf upon this ſubject agreeably to the ſtrict doctrine of Chriſt delivered in the goſpels. Mr. Jones [m] has ſome remarks upon this paſſage.

XXI. I have now repreſented very particularly the teſtimony which Athenagoras gives to the books of the New Teſtament: but all theſe paſſages are not equally material. It is plain, he owned the goſpels of St. Matthew and St. John: there do not appear ſo clear references to thoſe of St. Mark and St. Luke. Here are alſo plain references or alluſions to the epiſtle to the Romans, and the firſt to the Corinthians; words of which laſt are expreſsly cited by him, as the apoſtle's, meaning Paul: and there is a probable alluſion to the ſecond epiſtle to the Corinthians, and the epiſtle to the Galatians. The paſſages here alleged by me concerning the Acts of the apoſtles, the firſt to Timothy, the epiſtle of St. James, the ſecond of St. Peter, and the book of the Revelation, are doubtful, and are only propoſed to the reader's conſideration. And beſide theſe he has a paſſage, not found in any book of the New Teſtament, which might at firſt ſight ſeem to be taken out of ſome book of authority with him: but notwithſtanding, it may be as well ſuppoſed the paſſage of ſome Chriſtian writing, eſteemed by him only as an orthodox pious work.

Though we meet with no references in Athenagoras to the other books of the New Teſtament, they may have been all, or moſt of them, received by him as books of authority. It is not to be expected that, in two ſuch pieces as theſe, we ſhould find references to all the books eſteemed ſacred by the author.

[1] Γ[illegible] λεγοντος [illegible] δια τουτο τον διδασκαλον κεκωλυκεναι, δι ηδονην αυτο και επιθυμιαν [illegible] αφιλησασθαι το φιλημα, μαλλον δε πεπαυσθαι δει, ως, ειπερ μικρον τη διανοια [illegible], εξω ημας της αιωνιου ζωης. p. 36. C. D.

[m] New and Full Method of ſettling the canonical Authority of the New Teſtament. Vol. I. p. 551.

THE

PRINCIPAL FACTS

OF THE

NEW TESTAMENT

CONFIRMED, &c.

PART II.

[VOL. II. FIRST PUBLISHED IN MDCCXXXV.]

CHAP. XIX.

MILTIADES.

MILTIADES flourished, according to Cave, [a] in the beginning of the reign of Commodus, about the year 180: from whom Du Pin [b] does not much differ, who says he flourished under the emperor Commodus. We have no certain marks of his age. It is very probable, his Apology (of which we shall speak presently) was written in the latter part of the reign of M. Antoninus, or the beginning of that of Commodus. I proceed to the testimonies of the ancients.

Miltiades is called by Tertullian [c] the sophist of the churches: by which I see no reason to understand him to say, that Miltiades was a rhetorician, and taught that science, but only that he was a learned and elegant Christian writer. Tertullian places Miltiades between Justin Martyr and Irenæus; which affords a very good hint for settling his time in general, though not exactly. And it is upon the ground of this passage chiefly, that

[a] Hist. Lit. [b] Bibl. Miltiades. [c] Ut Justinus Philosophus et Martyr, ut Miltiades Ecclesiarum Sophista, ut Irenæus, &c. Adversf. Valent. cap. v.

Tillemont

Tillemont [d] concludes, Miltiades had appeared in the world before the middle of the second century, and died in the time of Commodus.

Eusebius [e] having mentioned a treatise of Miltiades, written against the Montanists, with this title, 'That it does not become 'prophets to speak in ecstasy,' adds: 'And [f] beside that work, 'Miltiades has left us other monuments of his zeal for the divine oracles, as well in his writings against the Gentiles as 'against the Jews: for he wrote against both distinctly in two 'treatises. Moreover [g], he made an Apology to the princes of 'this world for the philosophy which he followed:' that is, for the Christian religion.

Learned men are not agreed about the meaning of the words 'princes of this world.' Valesius [h], who supposes the Apology was written in the time of Commodus, when there was but one emperor, understands them of the governors of provinces; which meaning the words will well bear. Others [i] understand thereby the Roman emperors, which they suppose to have been either M. Antoninus and Lucius, or M. Antoninus and his son Commodus.

St. Jerom, in his book of [k] Illustrious Men, having recited the titles of this writer's works, says, he flourished in the time of M. Antoninus Commodus.

We have nothing to observe at present upon these works, except what Eusebius says of the 'monuments of his zeal for 'the divine oracles' in his books against both Jews and Gentiles. It is very likely here were many valuable testimonies concerning the books of the New, as well as the Old Testament; but we can only lament our loss of them.

However, it may not be improper to add another passage of St. Jerom: where having observed, that Miltiades [l] wrote an 'excellent book against the Gentiles;' he proceeds to mention Hippolytus, Africanus, and divers other Christian writers, and then concludes: 'The writings of all these persons are so full 'of passages of the philosophers and their sentiments, that it is 'not easy to say, which ought to be most admired in them; 'whether their polite literature, or their knowledge of the scriptures.'

[d] Mem. E. T. 3. P. 1. Miltiade.

[e] H. E. l. v. c. 17.

[f] Καὶ ἄλλας [illegible] τῆς ἰδίας περὶ τὰ θεῖα λόγια σπουδῆς μνημεῖς [illegible]. Ibid.

[g] Εἰ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς κοσμικοὺς ἀρχοντας, ὑπὲρ ἧς μεθηρμοσμένος φιλοσοφίας, [illegible]. Ibid.

[h] Vid. Annot. ad Euf. loc.

[i] Vid. Dodwell. Diss. Iren. iv. §. 38.

[k] Cap. 39.

[l] Scripsit et Miltiades contra Gentes volumen egregium.—— Qui omnes in tantum philosophorum doctrinis atque sententiis suos refarciunt libros, ut nescias, quid in illis primum admirari debeas, eruditionem seculi, an scientiam scripturarum. Ad Magnum Orat. Ep. 83. al. 84.

CHAP. XX.

THEOPHILUS of ANTIOCH.

THEOPHILUS, bishop of Antioch, was originally a Heathen, as he [a] has informed us himself. His works shew him to have been well acquainted with the Greek learning. He succeeded Eros in [b] the eighth year of Marcus Antoninus, of our Lord 168.

There is nothing remaining that can be depended on as his, beside three books to Autolycus, a learned [c] and studious heathen, who had provoked Theophilus by frequent discourses, if not also by writing, to make a defence of the Christian religion. These books were not finished, as is evident from [d] divers passages of them, until after the death of the fore-mentioned emperor. It is the [e] general opinion, that they were written by Theophilus a little before his own death, in the beginning of the reign of Commodus, A. D. 181.

Dodwell [f] indeed was willing to suppose that Theophilus, author of these books to Autolycus, was another Theophilus, different from the sixth bishop of Antioch, and that he wrote these books in the reign of Severus about the year 203. But this supposition has been well confuted by several [g] learned men: and every one may perceive, how contrary it is to the ancient testimonies concerning this bishop of Antioch; which I shall now put down, because they will not only determine his age, but also give us an account of his works, and his respect for the writings of the New Testament.

Eusebius [h] says, 'Theophilus was the sixth bishop of Antioch 'after the apostles.' His order is this: Euodius, Ignatius, Heros, Cornelius, Eros, Theophilus.

In another [i] place: 'There are,' says Eusebius, 'three 'books of Theophilus bishop of Antioch to Autolycus, con- 'taining the elements of religion. There is another book of 'his against the heresy of Hermogenes, in [k] which he has made 'use of testimonies from John's Apocalypse. There are also 'other books of his concerning the rudiments of our religion.'—

[a] Ad Autol. L. i. p. 78. C. D. Paris. [b] Vid. Euseb. Chron. [c] Ad Aut. L. 1. p. 69. A. B. l. 2. p. 116. C. D. l. 3. p. 119. A. B. 138. D. [d] p. 137, 138. [e] Vid. Fabric. Bib. Gr. T. v. p. 91, 92. [f] Vid. Pearson Op. Post. p. 11, 12. [g] Tillemont. Memoires, T. 3. P. 1. Theophile. Not. 2. Basnage, Ann. 188. §. 5, 6. Cave Hist. Lit. P. 2. p. 31. [h] H. E. l. iv. c. 20. [i] Ibid. cap. 24. [k] Εν ᾧ εκ της αποκαλυψεως Ιωαννου κεχρηται μαρτυριαις.

He likewiſe mentions another book of his againſt Marcion, which he ſays is well written, and was then extant, as well as the other before mentioned.

St. Jerom in his [l] book of Illuſtrious Men, agreeably to Euſebius, ſays: 'Theophilus, the ſixth biſhop of the church of 'Antioch, in the reign of Marcus Antoninus compoſed a book 'againſt Marcion, which is ſtill extant. His three volumes to 'Autolycus are alſo in being, and one book againſt the hereſy 'of Hermogenes, and other ſhort and elegant treatiſes conducive to the edification of the church. I have [m] read ſome commentaries upon the goſpel, and the Proverbs of Solomon, 'which go under his name; but they do not appear to me to 'anſwer the ſtyle and elegance of the fore-mentioned writings.'

In his preface [n] to St. Matthew, Jerom ſays again: 'I have 'alſo read the commentaries of Theophilus biſhop of Antioch.'

In another place: 'Theophilus (A) the ſeventh biſhop of 'the church of Antioch after Peter, who [o] collecting into one 'work the words of the four evangeliſts, ſpeaks thus in his 'commentaries upon this parable [Luke xvi. 1—14.]: "The "rich man who had a ſteward is God Almighty, than whom "no one is richer. His ſteward is Paul, who learned the holy "ſcriptures at the feet of Gamaliel, and had received the law "of God to manage; who, when he had begun to perſecute, "bind, kill thoſe that believed in Chriſt, and to waſte all his "Lord's ſubſtance, was called to an account by the Lord: "*Saul, Saul, why perſecuteſt thou me? It is hard for thee to kick "againſt the pricks.*" Acts xxii. 3. ix. 4. I ſhall not tranſcribe any more of this paſſage: only it ought to be obſerved, that afterwards ſome words of Philip. iii. 8. are there adapted, and put into the mouth of Paul.

There are ſtill remaining ſhort [p] 'commentaries,' or 'allego-'gories, upon the four holy goſpels,' in four books, which go under the name of our Theophilus; but they are now allowed

[l] Cap. 25. [m] Legi ſub nomine ejus in evangelium, et in proverbia Salomonis commentarios; qui mihi cum ſuperiorum voluminum elegantia et phraſi non videntur congruere. [n] Et Theophili Antiochenæ urbis epiſcopi commentarios. Prol. in Comm. ſup. Matth. (A) Here he counts Peter for the firſt biſhop.

[o] ——Qui quatuor evangeliſtarum in unum opus dicta compingens ingenii ſui nobis monumenta dimiſit, hæc ſuper hac parabola in ſuis commentariis eſt locutus: Dives qui habebat villicum, ſive diſpenſatorem, Deus omnipotens eſt, quo nihil ditius. Hujus diſpenſator eſt Paulus, qui ad pedes Gamalielis ſacras literas didicit, et legem Dei ſuſceperat diſpenſandam. Qui quum cœpiſſet credentes in Chriſto perſequi, ligare, occidere, et omnem domini ſui diſſipare ſubſtantiam, correptus a Domino eſt: Saule, Saule, quid me perſequeris? Durum eſt tibi contra ſtimulum calcitrare. Hieron. Ep. 151. Algaſiæ. Qu. vi.

[p] Apud Biblioth. Maxim. Patr. Lugd. T. ii. p. 166, &c.

[q] to be the work of a much later writer. And whether those commentaries, which St. Jerom quotes, were really composed by Theophilus, may be doubted; since they were unknown to Eusebius, and were observed by Jerom to differ in style and expression from his other works. However, if they are not his, they were the work of some anonymous ancient.

I now proceed to represent the quotations and allusions to the books of the New Testament, which are in his remaining, and undoubtedly genuine, books to Autolycus.

I. Having recited many precepts of piety and virtue from the Old Testament, he says: 'But [r] the evangelic voice teaches 'chastity in yet greater perfection: "Whosoever looks on "another man's wife, to lust after her, has committed adultery "with her already in his heart. And whosoever putteth away "his wife, saving for the cause of fornication, causeth her to "commit adultery."——'But the gospel [s] says: "Love your "enemies, and pray for them that despitefully use you. For if "ye love them that love you, what reward have ye? Even rob-"bers and publicans do the same." 'And it teaches those that 'do good, not to boast: For,' says he, "*Let not thy left hand* "*know what thy right hand doth.*" Matth. v. 28. 32. 44. 46. vi. 3.

N. T.	Theophilus.
II. Luke xviii. 27. *And he said: The*[t] *things which are impossible with men, are possible with God.*	II. For the things, [u] which with men are impossible, are possible with God.

The same sense is in Matth. xix. 26. Mark x. 27. But the words of Theophilus agree best with St. Luke.

N. T.	Theophilus.
III. Luke xx. 35, 36. *But they which shall be accounted worthy to obtain that world, and the resurrection from the dead, neither marry, nor are given in marriage. Neither can they die any more: for they are equal to*	III. For God has given us a law and holy precepts: which he that does may be saved, and [x] obtaining a resurrection may inherit incorruption. It seems to me somewhat likely, that he alludes to the

[q] Vid. Tillem. ubi supr. Not. 1. Fabr. Bib. Gr. Vol. v. p. 93, 94.

[r] Η δε ευαγγελικη φωνη επιδιδασκαλειαν διδασκει περι αγνειας, λεγουσα —— Lib. iii. p. 126. A.

[s] Το δε ευαγγελιον, αγαπαλε, φησι, τους εχθρους. Ibid. B. C.

[t] Τα αδυνατα παρα ανθρωποις, δυνατα εστι παρα τω Θεω.

[u] Τα γαρ παρα ανθρωποις αδυνατα, δυνατα εστι παρα Θεω. L. ii. p. 92. B.

[x] Και της αναστασεως τυχον αληρωμενοι την αφθαρσιαν. p. 104. A. L. ii.

the

the angels, and are the children of God, being the children of the resurrection.

words of St. Luke in the opposite column.

IV. Luke xxiv. 47. *And* [y] *that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name.*

IV. That this might be a sign, that [z] men should receive repentance and remission of sins through water.——See hereafter Numb. XXIV.

V. 'These things [a] the holy scriptures teach us, and all who 'were moved by the Holy Spirit, among whom John says: "*In* "*the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God:*" shew-'ing, that at the first God was alone, and in him was the Word. 'Then he says: "*And the Word was God. All things were made* "*by him, and without him was not any thing made.*" John i. 1. 3.

VI. Theophilus says: 'The [b] prophets have taught us to 'abstain from abominable idolatry and adultery, and murder, 'fornication, theft, covetousness, swearing, lying, anger, and 'all lasciviousness and impurity: and that whatever things a 'man would not have done to himself, those neither should he 'do to another.'

I should not have put down this passage here, if Mill [c] had not supposed, that in this place Theophilus refers to Acts xv. 20. which, it seems, in some manuscripts and some ancient fathers, is read with an additional clause to this purpose: 'But 'that we write to them to abstain from pollutions of idols, and 'from fornication, and from things strangled, and from blood; 'and that [d] whatever things they would not have done to 'themselves, they do not do to others.' Mill allows (and in my opinion justly), that this last clause is an interpolation. But admitting it to be genuine, there could be, I think, but slender ground for supposing, that Theophilus referred to this text; the like precept being recorded in some other texts of the New Testament, and represented there as the doctrine, or substance of the law and the prophets (agreeably to what Theophi-

[y] — Και κηρυχθηναι — μετανοιαν και αφεσιν αμαρτιων.

[z] Οπως η και τουτο ειν δειγμα του μελλειν λαμβανειν τους ανθρωπους μετανοιαν και αφεσιν αμαρτιων δια ὑδατος. κ. λ. L. ii. p. 95. B.

[a] Ὁθεν διδασκουσιν ἡμας αι αγιαι γραφαι, και παντες οι πνευματοφοροι, εξ ων Ιωαννης, λεγει· εν αρχῃ ην ο λογος· και ο λογος ην προς τον Θεον· δεικνυς ὁτι εν πρωτοις μονος ην ο Θεος, και εν αυτῳ ο λογος· επειτα λεγει. κ. λ. p. 100. C.

[b] Οι και εδιδαξαν απεχεσθαι απο της αθεμιτου ειδωλολατριας, και μοιχειας, και φονου, πορνειας, κλοπης, φιλαργυριας, ορκου, ψευδους, οργης, και πασης ασελγειας, και ακαθαρσιας· και παντα οσα αν μη βουλεται ανθρωπος εαυτῳ γινεσθαι, ινα μηδε αλλῳ ποιῃ. L. ii. p. 130. C.

[c] Fallor an huc respexerit Theophilus Antiochenus, Πρεφηται, inquit, εδιδαξαν απεχεσθαι, κ. λ. Mill. N.T. ad Act. xv. 20.

[d] Και οσα αν μη θελωσιν εαυτοις γινεσθαι, ἑτεροις μη ποιειν. Vid. Mill. ibid.

lus here writes), much more diſtinctly than in this place of the Acts: as Matth. vii. 12. See likewiſe xxii. 40. and Luke vi. 31. And the foregoing part of the paſſage of Theophilus has but little agreement with the 20th verſe of the xvth chapter of the Acts, as in our copies. But all this is ſubmitted to the conſideration of others.

I would only add, that two of the moſt remarkable expreſſions of this paſſage of Theophilus are found in 1 Pet. iv. 3. *For the time paſt of our life may ſuffice us, to have wrought the will of the Gentiles: when we walked in* [c] LASCIVIOUSNESS, *luſts*—— *and* ABOMINABLE IDOLATRIES.

VII. He ſays likewiſe: 'For [f] God, the father and former of 'all things, has not forſaken the human nature, but gave the 'law and ſent the holy prophets for to declare and ſhew the 'human kind, that every one of us might awake and acknow-'ledge, that there is one God.'

Theſe words immediately precede the paſſage laſt tranſcribed; and they are likewiſe preceded by the words which will be found at Numb. XXVIII. They are here put down, that it may be conſidered, whether there be in them any reference to Acts xiv. 15, 16, 17.——*and preach unto you, that ye ſhould turn from theſe vanities unto the living God, which made heaven, and earth, and the ſea, and all things that are therein. Who in times paſt ſuffered all nations to walk in their own ways. Nevertheleſs he left not himſelf without witneſs, in that he did good, and gave us rain from heaven, and fruitful ſeaſons*——or to Acts xvii. 27. *That they ſhould ſeek the Lord, if haply they might feel after him, and find him, though he be not far from every one of us.*

N. T.	THEOPHILUS.
VIII. Acts xvii. 25. *Neither is worſhipped with men's hands, as though* [g] *he needed any thing.*	VIII. He ſays of God, that he needeth [h] nothing. But this is ſo obvious a character of the Creator, that I think it cannot be hence concluded that he referred to Paul's diſcourſe at Athens. He likewiſe ſays
28. *For in him we live, and move, and have our being.*	

[c] Εν ασελγειαις,——και αθεμιτοις ειδωλολατρειαις.

[f] Ο μεν τοι γε Θεος, και πατηρ και κτιστης των ολων, ουκ εγκαταλιπε την ανθρωπινην φυσιν, αλλα εδωκε νομον, και επεμψε προφητας αγιους, ως το κηρυσσειν και δειξαι το γενος των ανθρωπων, ως το ενα εκαστον ημων αναστηναι, και επιγνωναι, ὁτι εις εστι Θεος. p. 110. C.

[g] Προσδεομενος τινος.

[h] Αλλ' αυτος εαυτω τυγχανει ων, και αιτιδεης ων, και υπερεχων ὡν των αιτωντων, βουλεται ανθρωπον ποιησαι ω χαριζηται—— ὁ γαρ γενητης και προσδεης εστιν· ὁ δε αγενητος ουδενος προσδεηται. Lib. ii. p. 88. B.

of

of God, that *he is his own place.*

IX. Rom. ii. 6, 7, 8, 9. *Who will render to every man according to his deeds. To them who by patient continuance in well-doing ſeek for glory, and honour, and immortality, eternal life: But unto them that are contentious, and do not obey the truth, but obey unrighteouſneſs, indignation and wrath; Tribulation and anguiſh, upon every ſoul of man that doth evil.*

IX. He will [i] ſearch out all things, and judge juſtly, rendering to all according to the deſert of their actions. To them that by patient continuance in well doing ſeek for immortality he will give eternal life, joy, peace, reſt, and many good things, which neither eye hath ſeen, nor ear heard, nor have entered into the heart of man. But to the unbelieving, and the deſpiſers, and them that obey not the truth, but obey unrighteouſneſs,——ſhall be wrath and indignation, tribulation and anguiſh. And in a word, eternal fire ſhall be the portion of ſuch.

X. Rom. xiii. 7, 8. *Render therefore to all their dues, tribute to whom tribute is due, cuſtom to whom cuſtom, fear to whom fear, honour to whom honour. Owe no man any thing, but to love one another.*

X. And it [the divine word] teacheth [k] us to render to all all things: honour to whom honour, fear to whom fear, tribute to whom tribute; to owe no man any thing, but only to love all men.

Theſe, with many other paſſages, afford full proof, that the ancient Chriſtian writers often quoted, or alluded to, texts of the N. T. by memory, without looking into the books themſelves.

There are, beſide theſe, ſome other alluſions [l] to words of the epiſtle to the Romans; but here is enough to ſhew that epiſtle was well known to Theophilus.

N. T.

XI. 1 Cor. ii. 7. *For we ſpeak the wiſdom of God in a myſtery, even the hidden wiſdom, which God ordained before the*

THEOPHILUS.

XI. Whence it is manifeſt, that all others are in error, and that Chriſtians only have attained to the truth. For we

[i] L. ii. p. 79. B. C. [k] Lib. iii. p. 126. C. [l] Thus, when Theophilus tells Autolycus, that if he does not believe there will be a reſurrection, 'till he ſees it, 'his 'faith will be counted for unbelief;' και η πιστις σου εις απιστιαν λογιζησεται, p. 74. C. it cannot be doubted, but he alludes to St. Paul's argument and words. Rom. iv. 3. 5.

world

world to our glory. 8. *Which none of the princes of this world knew.* 10. *But God has revealed them unto us by his Spirit: for* [m] *the Spirit ſearcheth all things, yea the deep things of God.* 11.——*even ſo the things of God knoweth no man, but the Spirit of God.*

are taught of the Holy Spirit, who ſpoke in the holy prophets, and foretold all things. It [n] remains therefore for you with a good diſpoſition to ſearch the things of God, I mean the things ſpoken by the prophets, that, comparing the things ſaid by you [perhaps it ſhould be us], and by others, you may find the truth.

XII. 1 Cor. vi. 9, 10, 11. *Be not deceived: neither fornicators, nor idolaters, nor adulterers, nor effeminate, nor abuſers of themſelves with mankind. Nor thieves, nor covetous, nor drunkards, nor revilers, nor extortioners, ſhall inherit the kingdom of God. And ſuch were ſome of you: but ye are waſhed,* &c.

XII. Let me [o] ſee therefore, whether you are not an adulterer, or a fornicator, or a thief, or an extortioner,—or one that abuſeth himſelf with mankind, or a reviler.——For to thoſe who do ſuch things God manifeſts not himſelf, unleſs they firſt purify themſelves from every defilement.

XIII. 1 Cor. xv. 36, 37.—*That which thou ſoweſt is not quickened, except it die. And that which thou ſoweſt, thou ſoweſt not that body that ſhall be, but* [p] *bare grain, it may chance of wheat, or of ſome other grain.*

XIII. Is there not a reſurrection of ſeeds and fruits, and that for the uſe of men? For inſtance a grain of wheat, or of other ſeeds, when it is caſt into the earth, firſt dies and is diſſolved, then it riſes, and becomes a ſtalk.

XIV. 2 Cor. v. 4. *Not* [r] *that we would be unclothed, but clothed upon, that mortality might be ſwallowed up of life.*

XIV. Then will you underſtand theſe things, when [s] you ſhall have laid aſide this mortal [or this mortality], and put on incorruption.

XV. 2 Cor. xi. 19. *For* [t] *ye*

XV. For ſeeing you [u] *ſuffer*

[m] Το γαρ πνευμα παντα ερευνα, και τα βαθη του Θεου——ειτε και τα του Θεου αδηλα αλλα. κ. λ.

[n] Και το λοιπον εστιν σοι φιλοπονειν εχοντι τα του Θεου. Lib. ii. p. 110. A.

[o] Lib. i. p. 70. C. D.

[p] Αλλα γυμνον κοκκον, ει τυχοι, σιτου, η τινος των λοιπων.

[q] Ει γαρ τυχοι εστιν κοκκος σιτου, η τινος των λοιπων σπερματων, επαν βληθη εις την γην, πρωτον αποθνησκει και λυεται, ειτα εγειρεται, και γινεται στελεχος. L. i. p. 77. D.

[r] Εφ' ω ου θελομεν εκδυσασθαι, αλλ' επενδυσασθαι, ινα καταποθη το θνητον υπο της ζωης.

[s] Οταν αποθη το θνητον, και ενδυση την αφθαρσιαν. L. i. p. 74. B.

[t] Ηδεως γαρ ανεχεσθε των αφρονων, φρονιμοι οντες.

[u] Φρονιμος γαρ ων ηδεως ανεχη. L. iii. p. 119. A.

ſuffer fools gladly, ſeeing ye yourſelves are wiſe.

XVI. Epheſ. ii. 2. *According to the prince of the power of the air, the* [x] *ſpirit that now worketh in the children of diſobedience.*

XVII. Epheſ. iii. 10. *Might* [c] *be known by the church the manifold wiſdom of God.*

XVIII. Philip. iii. 20. *Whoſe God is their belly, and whoſe glory is in their ſhame, who* [b] *mind earthly things.*

ſelf are wiſe, you may ſuffer ſimple people gladly.

XVI. Speaking of Satan, who deceived Eve, he ſays: 'For to this day [y] he worketh 'in them that are acted by 'him.'

XVII. On the fifth day were made living creatures out of the water. Wherefore [a] alſo in theſe is ſhewn the manifold wiſdom of God.

XVIII. But the four-footed creatures, and wild beaſts, are a lively image of ſome men, who know not God, and are wicked, who [c] mind earthly things, and repent not.

By 'repenting not,' he ſeems to mean the ſame thing as 'glorying in their ſhame.'

N. T.

XIX. Philip. i. 10. *That* [d] *ye may approve things that are excellent*, or try things that differ.

THEOPHILUS.

XIX. Perſuading Autolycus to employ the eyes of his mind in inquiring [e] after truth, he ſays, 'By the eyes of the body 'men try things that differ.'

But though theſe are the very words of the apoſtle, the agreement being in a very obvious thing, it may not be material.

N. T.

XX. Philip. iv. 8. *Whatſoever things* [f] *are true, whatſoever things are honeſt, whatſoever things are juſt, whatſoever things are pure, whatſoever*

THEOPHILUS.

XX. And that [g] theſe things are true, and profitable, and juſt, and lovely in the ſight of all men, is manifeſt.

[x] Του πνευματος του νυν ενεργουντος εν τοις υιοις της απειθειας.

[c] Ινα γνωρισθη——η πολυποικιλος σοφια Θεου.

[b] Οι τα επιγεια φρονουντες.

[c] Εις το διακρινειν ημας τα διαφεροντα.

[f] Οσα εστιν αληθη, οσα σεμνα, οσα δικαια, οσα αγνα, οσα προσφιλη——ταυτα λογιζεσθε,

[y] Της γαρ του διαβολου ενεργουσης εν τοις ειθισμενοις υπ' αυτου αιχμαλωτοις. L. ii. p. 104. D.

[a] Δι' ο και εν τουτοις δεικνυται η πολυποικιλος σοφια του Θεου. L. ii. p. 95. B.

[c] Και τα επιγεια φρονουντας, και μη μαθητευθεντας. L. ii. p. 95. D.

[e] Αμα διακρινοντες τα διαφεροντα. L. i. p. 70. A.

[g] Οι μεν τα ταυτα αληθη, και ωφελιμα, και δικαια, και προσφιλη πασιν ανθρωποις τυγχανει, δηλα εστιν. L. ii. p. 114. D.

things

things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report: if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise, think of these things.

XXI. Col. i. 15. *Who is the image of the invisible God, the* [h] *first born of every creature.* 16. *For by him were created all things that are in heaven, and that are in earth, visible and invisible.*——17. *And he is before all things, and by him all things consist.*

XXI. For before that any thing was made, he had him for his counsellor, being his understanding and wisdom. But when he determined to make those things about which he had taken counsel, he [i] brought forth from himself this Word, the first born of every creature.

XXII. 1 Tim. ii. 1, 2. *I exhort therefore, that supplications, prayers,——be made for all men: for kings, and all that are in authority, that* [l] *we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty.*

Tit. iii. 1. *Put them* [m] *in mind to be subject to principalities and powers.*

XXII. The divine word moreover commands us to be subject to principalities and powers, and to pray for them, that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life.

XXIII. Tit. ii. 11, 12. *For the grace of God—has appeared to all men,* [n] *teaching us, that denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly in this world.*

XXIII. He says, Christians have for their law-giver the true God: who [o] teaches us to act righteously, godly, and honestly.

XXIV. Tit. iii. 5, 6. *But according to his mercy he saved*

XXIV. That this might be a sign, that men should receive

[h] —πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως.

[i] Τοῦτον τὸν λόγον ἐγεννησε προφορικὸν, προβαλλόμενος πάσης κτίσεως. L. ii. p. 100. B.

[l] Ἵνα ἤρεμον καὶ ἡσύχιον βίον διάγωμεν ἐν πάσῃ εὐσεβείᾳ καὶ σεμνότητι.

[k] Ὅτι μὴν καὶ περὶ τοῦ ὑποτάσσεσθαι ἀρχαῖς καὶ ἐξουσίαις, καὶ εὐχεσθαι ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, λέγουσι τῷ Θεῷ ὁ λόγος, ὅπως ἤρεμον καὶ ἡσύχιον βίον διάγωμεν. L. iii. p. 126. C.

[m] Ὑπομιμνῄσκε αὐτοὺς ἀρχαῖς καὶ ἐξουσίαις ὑποτάσσεσθαι.

[n] Παιδεύουσα ἡμᾶς, ἵνα—σωφρόνως, καὶ δικαίως, καὶ εὐσεβῶς ζήσωμεν ἐν τῷ νῦν αἰῶνι.

[o] Ὃς διδάσκει ἡμᾶς δικαιοπραγεῖν, καὶ εὐσεβῶς καὶ καλοστομεῖν. L. iii. p. 123. A.

ss, by [p] *the waſhing of regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Ghoſt, which he ſhed on us abundantly, through Jeſus Chriſt our Saviour.*

repentance and remiſſion of ſins, through [q] water, and the waſhing of regeneration, even all that come to the truth, and are regenerated, and receive bleſſing from God. This bleſſing from God may alſo intend the renewing of the Holy Ghoſt, &c. See alſo 1 Tim. ii. 4.

XXV. There is a ſhort paſſage, ſaid to be [r] a fragment of the Commentary of Theophilus upon Solomon's Song, to this purpoſe.

'Our [s] Lord is of the Gentiles according to the fleſh, ſaving 'too the truth of what is ſaid, "that he is of Judah:" which is ſuppoſed to be a reference to Heb. vii. 14. *For it is evident, that our Lord ſprang out of Judah.*

In this fragment there is alſo a plain quotation of theſe words: *But the greateſt of theſe is charity.* 1 Cor. xiii. 13.

XXVI. He ſays: 'At [t] that time there was a righteous 'king, named Melchiſedec, in the city of Salem, now called 'Hieroſolyma. He was the firſt prieſt of the moſt high God. 'From him the city was called Jeruſalem, which before was 'called Hieroſolyma. From him there have been prieſts 'ſpread over all the earth.' This paſſage may be compared with Hebr. vii. 1, 2, 3. See likewiſe Gen. xiv. 18. and Joſeph. Antiq. L. i. cap. x.

N. T.

XXVII. Heb. xii. 9. *Furthermore, we have had fathers of our fleſh, who corrected us, and we gave them reverence. Shall we not much rather be in ſubjection to the Father of ſpirits, and live?*

THEOPHILUS.

XXVII. But if children ought to be in ſubjection to their parents, how [x] much rather [ſhould we be in ſubjection] to the God and Father of all?

[p] Διὰ λόγου παλιγγενεσίας, καὶ ἀνακαινώσεως πνεύματος ἁγίου· ὃ ἐξέχεεν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς πλουσίως.

[q] Διὰ ὕδατος καὶ λουτροῦ παλιγγενεσίας τουτέστιν τῆς ἀφέσεως τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν τῆς ἀληθείας. L. ii. p. 95. B.

[r] Fragmentum Commentarii Theophili in Cant. Canticorum. Ex Euſebii Expoſitione Cantici, &c. Apud Grabe Spicil. T. 2. p. 224.

[s] Ἐκ φύλου τοῦ καὶ σαρκὶ ὁ Κύριος, σωζόντων καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν. Ibid.

[t] L. ii. p. 108. C.

[x] Εἰ δὲ χρὴ τὰ τέκνα τοῖς γονεῦσιν ὑποτάσσεσθαι, πόσῳ μᾶλλον τῷ Θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ τῶν ὅλων; L. ii. p. 102. C.

This

This appears a more likely reference to the epiſtle to the Hebrews than the foregoing.

N. T.	THEOPHILUS.
XXVIII. 1 Pet. i. 18.—— *redeemed* [y] *from our vain converſation, received by tradition from your fathers.*	XXVIII. Theſe idols the multitude of vain men worſhips ;——[z] adhering to vain maxims, through the error of a fooliſh opinion, received by tradition from their fathers.
XXIX. 1 Pet. ii. 13. *Submit yourſelves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's ſake, whether it be to the king as ſupreme.* —15. *For ſo is the will of God, that with well-doing ye may put to ſilence the ignorance of fooliſh men.*—17. *Honour all men: love the brotherhood: fear God: honour the king.*	XXIX. But do [a] you honour the king, bearing him good will, being in ſubjection to him, praying for him. For ſo doing you do the will of God. For the law ſays: 'My 'ſon, honour God and the 'king,' &c. See Prov. xxiv. 21.
XXX. 2 Pet. i. 20, 21. *Knowing this firſt, that no prophecy of the ſcripture is of any private interpretation. For the prophecy came not in old time by the will of man: but holy men of God ſpake as they were moved by the Holy Ghoſt.*	XXX. But [b] men of God filled with the Holy Ghoſt, and becoming prophets, inſpired by God himſelf, and being enlightened, were taught of God, and were holy and righteous. Wherefore they obtained the honour to become the organs of God.

I cannot tell, whether this will be allowed to be a paraphraſe of the text in the ſecond of Peter.

N. T.	THEOPHILUS.
XXXI. Rev. xii. 9. *And the great dragon was caſt out, that old ſerpent, called the devil, and Satan, which deceiveth the whole world.*	XXXI. This Eve, [c] becauſe ſhe was deceived by the ſerpent,——the evil dæmon, who is alſo called Satan, who then ſpoke to her by the ſerpent—— does not ceaſe to accuſe: this

y Ελυτρωθητε εκ της ματαιας ημων αναστροφης παραδοτης.

z Πειθομενοι δογμασι ματαιοις, δια απλοτητα τα προγεγραμμενα χαιρειν ασκουσι. L. ii. p. 110. B.

a L. i. p. 77. A.

b L. ii. p. 87. D.

c L. ii. p. 104. D.

dæmon

dæmon is alſo called the dragon.

And Euſebius has aſſured us, that Theophilus, in his book againſt Hermogenes, brought teſtimonies from the Apocalypſe of John: it cannot therefore be doubted, but he owned that writing.

XXXII. If we now take a review of theſe paſſages, we ſhall find the amount to be this: Theophilus has quoted words of St. Matthew's goſpel, as plainly as if he had named him. It is probable, he had read St. Luke's alſo; and St. John is quoted by name. If the Commentaries upon the goſpels, mentioned by St. Jerom, are allowed to be written by Theophilus, it is evident he had the four goſpels before him.

In theſe books to Autolicus are no plain references to the book of the Acts; but in thoſe Commentaries we ſaw plain references to it.

In theſe books to Autolycus there are ſufficiently plain alluſions to the epiſtles of St. Paul to the Romans, firſt and ſecond to the Corinthians, Epheſians, Philippians, Coloſſians, firſt to Timothy, and to Titus. The references to the epiſtle to the Hebrews are doubtful, except that in the fragment. The paſſages that ſeem to bear a reſpect to the firſt and ſecond of Peter are of ſome moment, and may deſerve conſideration. That the book of the Revelation was owned by him, is undoubted from Euſebius; and our extracts afford a paſſage which ſeems to contain an alluſion to it.

XXXIII. Nothing more remains, but that we obſerve ſome general titles and forms of quotation uſed by Theophilus, and the reſpect he has expreſſed for the ſcriptures of the New Teſtament.

In the paſſage at Numb. I. after he had recited many precepts of virtue and piety out of the books of the Old Teſtament, he ſays: 'But the evangelic voice teaches chaſtity in yet 'greater perfection.' And afterwards, 'But the goſpel ſays: "Love your enemies."——At Numb. V. he reckons the goſpel of John among the holy ſcriptures, and John with thoſe who were 'moved by the Holy Spirit.' At Numb. XXII. quoting a precept out of the epiſtles of Paul, he ſays: 'The Divine 'Word commands.' And in another paſſage, not yet taken notice of, he ſays: 'Moreover, "concerning the righteouſneſs 'which the law teaches, the like things are to be found alſo in

[a] Ὁμοια και περι δικαιοσυνης, ἁ ὁ νομος διδωσι, ἀπαντα ευρισκεται και τα των προφητων, και των ευαγγελιων, διὰ τὸ τας πασας προφητικὰς και ἀποστολικὰς ἐπιπνοιας ἐκ μιᾶς ἁγιας ἐνεργεισθαι. L. iii. p. 124, 125.

'the

'the prophets, and the gospels, because that all being inspired 'spoke by one and the same Spirit of God.' And this passage may very much dispose us to think, he had before him the four gospels. Nor will any one imagine it likely, that in these books to Autolycus a heathen, we should have express references to all the writings which were esteemed sacred, and of authority, by Theophilus.

CHAP. XXI.

PANTÆNUS.

PANTÆNUS flourished, according [a] to Cave, about the year 181; which is not said altogether without reason, though St. Jerom [b] says, he lived to the time of Caracalla, who did not begin his reign after his father's death 'till 211. His native country is uncertain. Some have supposed him a Jew, others a Sicilian. Fabricius [c] says, he was an Athenian; relying, I suppose, upon the authority of Philip Sidetes. He is generally thought to be one of the masters of Clement [d] of Alexandria, of whom he speaks with great respect in his Stromata: and, as [e] Eusebius assures us, he expressly called Pantænus his master in his Institutions. He is also mentioned with great respect by Alexander bishop of Jerusalem, in a fragment of a letter to Origen, preserved by [f] Eusebius: in which he particularly says, Pantænus was the person who brought him into acquaintance with Origen; which also is another proof, that Pantænus did not die before the beginning of the third century. Origen [g] justifieth himself in the study of heathen learning by the example of Pantænus, who, he says, was a very useful person, and well furnished with that part of knowledge. Photius [h] speaks of him, as a hearer of some of those who had seen the apostles, and even of some of the apostles themselves; which last is admitted by very few moderns: nor does Photius speak positively in this matter.

The time, character, and employments of this great man will appear farther in the testimonies of Eusebius and Jerom.

[a] Hist. Liter. [b] De Vir. Ill. cap. 36. [c] Bibl. Gr. Tom. v. p. 193.
[d] Strom. l. 1. p. 274. D. Conf. Eus. H. E. l. v. cap. xi. in. [e] Eus. ibid.
[f] L. vi. cap. 14. p. 216. C. [g] Ap. Eus. H. E. l. vi. cap. 19. p. 221. B.
[h] Cod. 118. p. 297. Ver. 30.

Eusebius

Euſebius [l] having obſerved, that Julian received the biſhoprick of the church of Alexandria in the firſt year of Commodus, proceeds: 'At that time there preſided in the ſchool of 'the faithful at that place a man highly celebrated on account 'of his learning, by name Pantænus. For there had been from 'ancient time erected among them a ſchool of ſacred learning, 'which remains to this day; and we have underſtood, that it 'has been wont to be furniſhed with men eminent for their elo-'quence, and the ſtudy of divine things. And, [k] it is ſaid, the 'forementioned perſon excelled others of that time, having 'been brought up in the principles of the Stoic philoſophy. 'It is [l] ſaid, that he ſhewed ſuch ardour of affection for the di-'vine word, as to be nominated alſo a preacher of the goſpel of 'Chriſt to the nations of the Eaſt, and to have gone as far as 'India [or Ethiopia]. For there were yet at that time many 'evangeliſts of the word animated with a divine zeal of imitating 'the apoſtles by contributing to the enlargement of the goſpel, 'and building up of the church; of whom Pantænus alſo was 'one, who is [m] ſaid to have gone to the Indians; where [n] it is 'commonly ſaid he found the goſpel of Matthew, which before 'his arrival had been delivered to ſome in that country, who 'had the knowledge of Chriſt: to whom Bartholomew, one of 'the apoſtles, is ſaid to have preached, and to have left with 'them that writing of Matthew in Hebrew letters, and that it 'was preſerved among them to that time. This Pantænus 'therefore, for his many excellent performances, was at laſt [o] made 'preſident of the ſchool of Alexandria, where he ſet forth the 'treaſures of the divine principles both by word of mouth and 'by his writings.'

Certainly Euſebius is here inaccurate in ſaying, that Pantænus was at laſt made preſident of that ſchool, when he had before expreſsly ſaid, he preſided in it in the beginning of the reign of Commodus: not to inſiſt farther, that St. Clement of Alexandria [p] ſucceeded Pantænus in that ſchool about the year 190, and was ſucceeded by [q] Origen. It will be no vindication of Euſebius to ſay, there might be two ſchools at Alexandria, and that Pantænus was maſter of one of them. If Euſebius thought ſo, he ſhould have ſaid it. But let there be but one, or ever ſo many, it is improper to ſay, he was at laſt made preſident or

[l] H. E. l. v. cap. 9, 10. [k] Λεγεται. [l] Φασι. [m] Λεγεται. [n] Λεγεται, πριν αυτου παρουσιαν τισιν εν εκεινοις τοις μερεσι τοις απο της Ινδικης ευαγγελιον τοις παρ' αυτοις προηκοντισι, ως Βαρθολομαιον των αποστολων επιδημησαι αυτοις και Εβραικαις γραμμασι την κατα Ματθαιον παραδουναι γραφην· ην και σωζεσθαι εις τον δηλουμενον χρονον. [o] Τα κατ' Αλεξανδρειαν τελευτα την εκεινου διδασκαλιαν.

[p] Euſ. Hiſt. l. vi. c. 6. [q] Euſ. ib. c. 3.

maſter of the ſchool, when he had been ſo, according to his own account, long before. However, Euſebius ſeems to have thought, he was for ſome time after his return from Ethiopia employed in the ſame office he had before he went thither.

What Jerom ſays of this ancient Chriſtian is to this purpoſe: ‘ Pantænus, a philoſopher of the Stoic ſect, according to an ‘ ancient cuſtom of the city of Alexandria, where from the ‘ time of the evangeliſt Mark there had been always eccle- ‘ ſiaſtical maſters, was a man of ſo great prudence and learn- ‘ ing, both in the divine ſcripture and ſecular literature, that, at ‘ the requeſt of ambaſſadors from India, he was ſent into that ‘ country by Demetrius biſhop of Alexandria, where he found ‘ that Bartholomew [s], one of the twelve apoſtles, had preached ‘ the coming of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, according to the goſpel ‘ of Matthew, which he brought back with him to Alexandria, ‘ written in Hebrew letters. There are alſo extant many ‘ commentaries of this perſon upon the holy ſcripture; but he ‘ was more profitable to the churches by his diſcourſes. He ‘ taught under the reign of Severus, and Antoninus called ‘ Caracalla.’

I have placed Pantænus at the year 192, becauſe it is the ſooneſt that we can ſuppoſe him returned from Ethiopia.

St. Jerom ſays, the ſchool at Alexandria had been in being from the time of St. Mark; and Euſebius, from ancient time. Pantænus, however, is the firſt maſter of it of which there is any mention made in antiquity, unleſs we admit the account given by Philip Sidetes, of which we have [t] ſpoken before; who ſays, Athenagoras had this office. But it is ſomewhat ſtrange, that no notice ſhould be taken of this by Clement, nor Origen, nor Euſebius.

Jerom ſays, ‘ there were extant commentaries of Pantænus ‘ upon the ſcripture:’ but he gives no particular account of them, and ſays, he was more profitable by his diſcourſes than his writings. Nor has Euſebius mentioned the title of any work of Pantænus. There is nothing now remaining of him, except a ſhort paſſage in the Eclogæ, aſcribed to [u] Clement of Alexandria, containing a rule for the better underſtanding the ſtyle of the prophets. It might be taken out of a commentary upon the nineteenth pſalm.

[r] De Vir. Ill. c. 36. [s] Ubi reperit, Bartholomæum de duodecim apoſtolis, adventum Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti juxta Matthæi evangelium prædicaſſe, quod Hebraicis literis ſcriptum, revertens Alexandriam ſecum detulit. Huius multi quidem in ſanctas ſcripturas extant commentarii, ſed magis viva voce eccleſiis profuit. De Vir. Ill. cap. 36.

[t] Ch. xviii. p. 180. [u] p. 808.

Euſebius

Euſebius mentions no authority for what he relates of Pantænus, and throughout his account mixes ſuch phraſes as theſe, 'it is ſaid,' or 'reported,' and the like. It is ſaid, Bartholomew had preached the goſpel before in India, and that he found the goſpel of Matthew there in Hebrew. St. Jerom adds, that he brought it home with him to Alexandria, without any ground for it, ſo far as appears; and, as Richard Simon [x] thinks, miſtaking the words of Euſebius, who only ſays, that the Chriſtians of Ethiopia had preſerved that Hebrew goſpel till the arrival of Pantænus. And farther the ſame critic [y] ſays, that if this ſtory of Euſebius be true, theſe firſt Chriſtians of Ethiopia were deſcended from the Jews, and ſpake the ſame language with them that lived in Judea.

I think indeed, this ſtory is of no great importance, it not being ſupported by the authority of any ancient writer of that time; though it could not be quite omitted here.

And if any ſhould be therefore of opinion, that I have been too long in my account of Pantænus, I would obſerve, that, as I was obliged to mention him, it could not be amiſs to relate his hiſtory here at length. It is true, it affords not much concerning this part of our deſign; but it is very ſuitable to the general deſign of this work, the 'Credibility of the Goſpel Hiſtory,' to ſhew the merit of the profeſſors of Chriſtianity on account of learning, diligence, zeal, remarkable integrity, or any other laudable qualifications. And though we need ſome particular information concerning the journey into Ethiopia, and the goſpel which Pantænus is ſaid to have found there, it cannot be doubted but he was preſident of the catechetical ſchool of Alexandria, and a man of eminent learning. This is evident from the teſtimonies here alleged, ſeveral of which have no dependence at all upon this ſtory about the Hebrew goſpel.

[x] Hiſtoire Crit. du Texte du N. T. ch. iv. p. 41. [y] Ibid. See likewiſe Du Pin, who doubts of the truth of this relation. Biblioth. des Auteurs Ecc. Tom. i. Pantænus, et Reponſe aux Remarques ſur la Bibliotheque, &c. ch. vii. at the end of the ſixth century.

CHAP. XXII.

ST. CLEMENT of ALEXANDRIA.

I. *His hiſtory, time, works, and character.* II. *Three paſſages of Clement from Euſebius's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, concerning the four Goſpels, particularly St. Mark's Goſpel.* III. *Difficulties in theſe paſſages conſidered.* IV. *Remarks upon the ſame paſſages.* V. *More paſſages concerning the four Goſpels, from the remaining works of Clement.* VI. *Of the Acts of the Apoſtles.* VII. *St. Paul's Epiſtles.* VIII. *The Catholic Epiſtles.* IX. *The Revelation.* X. *A ſummary account of the books of the N. T. received by him.* XI. *General titles and diviſions of the Scriptures, and reſpect for them.* XII. *Whether he quotes other writings, as of authority. And firſt of eccleſiaſtical writings.* 1. *St. Barnabas.* 2. *Clement of Rome.* 3. *Hermas.* 4. *A general remark.* XIII. *Apocryphal writings quoted by him.* 1. *The Goſpels according to the Hebrews, and the Egyptians.* 2. *The preaching of Peter.* 3. *The Revelation of Peter.* 4. *Acts of Peter.* 5. *Traditions of Matthias.* 6. *Sayings of Chriſt.* XIV. *Of the Sibylline poems.*

I. TITUS (A) FLAVIUS CLEMENS, uſually called St. Clement of Alexandria, flouriſhed, according to [b] Cave, from the year 192 and onwards. He is ſaid by ſome [c] to be a native of Athens; by others, of Alexandria, where he certainly reſided a good while. Euſebius [d] intimates, that he was originally a heathen. We do not certainly know the time of his birth, or death. He flouriſhed plainly in the latter part of the ſecond, and beginning of the third century, in the reigns of Severus, and his ſon Antoninus Caracalla; that is, between 192 and 217. Du Pin [e] ſuppoſes he lived to the time of Heliogabalus, and that he did not die before the year 220; but moſt are of opinion his death happened ſooner.

He has the title of preſbyter given him by ſeveral of the ancients: he was likewiſe preſident of the catechetical ſchool of Alexandria. He ſeems to have ſucceeded Pantænus in that

(A) For a more particular account of this author, than I have room to give, may be ſeen Fabric. Bib. Gr. Tom. v. p. 102, &c. Du Pin Bibl. des Aut. Eccl. & Tillemont Memoires Eccl. Tom. iii. Le Clerc Bibl. Univ. Tom. x. p. 175. [b] Hiſt. Lit. [c] Epiphan. Hær. 32. c. 6. p. 213. B. [d] Præp. Ev. l. 2. cap. 2. p. 61. [e] Biblioth. in Clement d'Alex. at the beginning.

office,

office, upon his going into Ethiopia, about the year 190; and it is very [f] probable that, upon the publication of the edicts of Severus againſt the Chriſtians, in the tenth year of his reign, A. D. 202, Clement was obliged to lay down that office, and likewiſe to retire from Alexandria. We do not certainly know what eminent men proceeded from Clement's ſchool: but [g] Euſebius has expreſsly aſſured us, that Origen, when young, was his hearer; and it is probable that Alexander, biſhop of Jeruſalem, had been taught by him.

Clement wrote a great number of books: there are catalogues of his works in [h] Euſebius and [i] Jerom, which yet ſeem not to contain a complete enumeration of them.

The works of Clement now remaining are, an Exhortation to the Gentiles; The Pædagogue, or Inſtructor, in three books; and the Stromata, or Various Diſcourſes, in eight books; and a ſmall treatiſe entitled, Who is the rich Man that may be ſaved. The Stromata were written after the death of Commodus, in the reign of Severus, as Euſebius [k] has obſerved from a paſſage of the work itſelf. Dodwell [l] was of opinion, that all the works of Clement which are remaining, were written between the beginning of the year 193 and the end of the year 195.

Beſide theſe there is frequent mention in [m] Euſebius of another book of Clement, called Hypotupoſes, or Inſtitutions, which is loſt. But we have in Greek two ſmall pieces, one called an Epitome of the Writings of Theodotus, and the Oriental doctrine; the other, Extracts from the Prophets; both which are generally ſuppoſed to be collected out of the loſt book of Inſtitutions, or to be fragments of it. There is likewiſe in Latin a ſmall treatiſe or fragment, called Adumbrations on ſome of the Catholic epiſtles; which alſo, if it be Clement's, was probably tranſlated from the ſame work called Inſtitutions; which, as we know from [n] Euſebius and others, contained ſhort explications of many books both of the Old and New Teſtament.

There are great commendations of Clement in many of the ancients. I ſhall put down ſome of them. But firſt of all I would take a paſſage from himſelf, in part alſo cited by [o] Euſebius; becauſe it will be of uſe to inform us of his character, and his authority in the things we ſhall allege from him.

[f] See Tillemont, Mem. E. St. Clement d'A.—Article ii. & Euſeb. H. E. l. vi. p. 201. 203. [g] H. E. l. vi. cap. 6. [h] H. E. l. vi. c. 13. [i] De Vir. Ill. cap. 38. [k] H. E. l. vi. c. 6. [l] Diſſert. Iren. iii. §. 27. [m] H. E. l. i. c. 12. l. ii. cap. 1. p. 38. c. 9. & c. 15. l. vi. c. 13, 14. [n] H. E. l. vi. c. 14. [o] Ibid. l. v. cap. 11.

He [p] says in the first book of his Stromata: 'This work I 'have composed not for ostentation, but as an artless image 'and picture of the powerful and lively discourses of those 'blessed and truly worthy men, which I have had the happiness 'to hear.' The following part of the passage is somewhat obscure. But he speaks of one, by whom he had been taught in Greece; another in Italy; and two more, as it seems, in the East; and another in Egypt, supposed by Eusebius to be Pantænus, of whom he speaks in this manner: 'But the last whom 'I met with was the first in merit. After a long search I found 'him lying hid in Egypt, and in him I acquiesced. He was 'indeed a Sicilian bee, who gathered the flowers of the pro-'phetic and apostolic meadow, and filled the minds of his 'hearers with sincere knowledge. These [q] men [he intends his 'masters, of whom he had before spoken] having preserved the 'true tradition of the blessed doctrine in a direct succession 'from the holy apostles, Peter, James, John, and Paul, as from 'father to son (though few are like their fathers), have lived 'by the blessing of God to our time, to lodge in our minds the 'seeds of the ancient and apostolical doctrine.'

It appears from this passage, that our Clement had travelled, and was inquisitive; and that what he valued above all things was the pure, ancient, and apostolical doctrine.

I shall next put down some testimonies of the ancient writers concerning this father; and the first must be that of Alexander, bishop of Jerusalem, contemporary with Clement, and perhaps one of his scholars. Alexander, in a letter to the Antiochians, written before he was bishop of Jerusalem, in the heat of the persecution under Severus, speaks to them of Clement in this manner: 'This letter [r] I have sent you by Clement, a blessed 'presbyter, a virtuous and approved man, whom also ye know, 'and will know better; who having been brought hither by the 'divine disposal and providence, established and increased the 'church of the Lord.'

The same Alexander, in a letter to Origen, written after the death of Clement, speaks thus: 'For we [s] know those blessed 'fathers, who have gone before us, and with whom we shall 'shortly be; I mean Pantænus truly blessed, and my master; 'and the sacred Clement, who was my master, and profitable to 'me.' These two fragments are preserved in Eusebius.

[p] p. 274. B. C. [q] Οἱ μὲν τὴν ἀληθῆ τῆς μακαρίας σωζοντες διδασκαλίας παραδοσιν, εὐθὺς ἀπὸ Πέτρου τε καὶ Ἰακώβου, Ἰωάννου τε καὶ Παύλου, τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων, παῖς παρὰ πατρὸς ἐκδεχόμενος· ὀλίγοι δὲ οἱ πατρᾶσιν ὁμοιοι· ἧκον δὴ σὺν Θεῷ καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς τὰ προγονικὰ ἐκεῖνα καὶ ἀποστολικὰ καταθησόμενοι σπέρματα. Ibid. p. 274. D. 275. A. [r] H. E. l. vi. cap. xi. [s] Eus. l. vi. cap. 14. p. 216. C.

Eusebius in his [t] Chronicle, at the year 194, says: 'Clement, 'the author of the Stromata, presbyter of Alexandria, an excel- 'lent master of the Christian philosophy, was eminent [u] for his 'writings.' At this year therefore I place him.

In another work Eusebius calls him more than once the admirable [w] Clement.

St. Jerom, in his [x] book of Illustrious Men, assures us, he was presbyter of the church of Alexandria, a hearer of Pantænus, and his successor in the school of Alexandria; and says of his works, of which he there gives a catalogue, that they [y] are 'full of erudition and eloquence, borrowed from the treasures 'of the divine scripture and secular literature.' He concludes his account of him, that he 'flourished in the times of Severus, 'and his son Antoninus.'

And in another place: 'Clement, [z] presbyter of the church 'of Alexandria, in my opinion the most learned of all men [or 'perhaps, of all the Christian writers whom he there names], 'wrote eight books of Stromata, as many of Institutions, and 'another against the Gentiles; the Pædagogue also in three 'books. What is there in them unlearned? what not taken 'out of the very depths of philosophy?' This short passage shews what were Clement's chief works.

I omit many other testimonies, that may be seen prefixed to the Oxford edition of St. Clement's works; and shall content myself with adding, that there are divers passages of St. Cyril [a] of Alexandria, and another of Socrates [b], in his Ecclesiastical History, very much to his advantage.

Photius [c] indeed has severely censured Clement's Hypotuposes, or Institutions. We have not that work, to enable us to judge of the justness of his censure: but it seems, that in that work Clement collected and delivered a variety of opinions of the ancients before him, of heretics as well as the catholics. This is probably the reason of the blasphemies and fables, which Photius says there were in that book. This is an observation [d] of R. Simon. The more ancient writers, however, seem

[t] p. 216. [u] Συνιάτων διελάμπεν.

[w] Κλήμης ὁ θαυμάσιος. Præp. Ev. l. 2. p. 61. B. & l. 4. c. 16. p. 157. A.

[x] cap. 38. [y] Feruntur ejus insignia volumina, plenaque eruditionis & eloquentiæ, tam de scripturis divinis quam de sæcularis literaturæ instrumento. Ibid.

[z] Clemens Alexandrinæ ecclesiæ presbyter, meo judicio omnium eruditissimus.—— Quid in illis indoctum, imo quid non de media philosophia est? Ad Magnum Orat. Ep. 83. al. 84. [a] Contra Jul. l. 3. p. 87. E. l. 6. p. 205. B. l. 7. p. 231. E. l. 10. p. 342. D. ed. Lips. 1696.

[b] L. 2. c. 35. p. 130. [c] Cod. cix.

[d] En effet, il y a de l'apparence que cet ouvrage n'etoit autre chose, qu'un recueil des auteurs ecclesiastiques qui l'avoient precedé, & dont une partie étoient heretiques. Hist. Crit. des Commentat. du N. T. ch. 2. p. 18.

not to have taken any offence at it, who knew this work very well, and yet have beſtowed their praiſes on the author without heſitation.

There are ſome moderns likewiſe, who [e] have thought St. Clement's judgment not equal to his reading, which was certainly prodigious. I ſhall not make a particular apology for him; nor do I aſſert the infallibility of the fathers. I have ſaid enough to ſhew the age, and authority of St. Clement in thoſe things we ſhall allege from him.

II. I now proceed to obſerve what there is to our preſent purpoſe in his remaining works, or in the quotations made out of them, or others, by ancient writers.

Euſebius has ſeveral paſſages of St. Clement relating to his quotations of the books of ſcripture, or his hiſtory of them.

1. The firſt paſſage of Euſebius is in the fourteenth chapter of the ſecond book of his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory; where, having in the foregoing chapters given the hiſtory of the ſucceſs of St. Peter's preaching the goſpel at Rome, and his defeat of Simon Magus in that city, he proceeds: 'But [f] the luſtre of religion 'had ſo enlightened the minds of Peter's hearers [at Rome], 'that, not content with a ſingle hearing, nor with an unwritten 'inſtruction in the divine doctrine, they with many prayers 'intreated Mark, the follower of Peter, whoſe goſpel we have, 'that he would leave them in writing a memorial of the doc-'trine which had been delivered to them by word of mouth; 'nor did they deſiſt, till they had prevailed with him. And 'thus they were the means of writing the goſpel, which is called 'according to Mark.—It is ſaid, that [g] when the apoſtle knew 'what had been done, the Spirit having revealed it to him, he 'was pleaſed with the zeal of the men, and authorized that 'writing [or ſcripture] to be read in the churches. Clement 'gives this account in the ſixth book of his Inſtitutions; and 'herein agrees with him [h] Papias, biſhop of Hierapolis.'

2. The next paſſage of Euſebius to be here taken notice of is in the 13th chapter of the ſixth book of his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory; where mentioning divers of St. Clement's works, and particularly his Stromata, he ſays: 'Moreover [i] in theſe works 'he makes uſe of teſtimonies out of thoſe ſcriptures which are 'contradicted; as out of that which is called the Wiſdom of

[e] *Le Clerc Bibl. Univ.* T. x. p. 231. [f] Euſeb. H. E. l. 2. c. 14. [g] Τοῦτο δὲ τὸ πραχθὲν φασὶ τὸν ἀποστόλον, ἀποκαλυφθέντος αὐτῷ τοῦ πνεύματος, ἡσθῆναι τῇ τῶν ἀνδρῶν προθυμίᾳ, κ.τ.λ. [h] See before p. 111—113.

[i] Κεχρῆσθαι δ' ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀντιλεγομένων γραφῶν μαρτυρίαις.—καὶ τῆς πρὸς Ἑβραίους ἐπιγεγραμμένης τῆς τε Βαρνάβα καὶ Κλήμεντος τῆς καλ. Ἰούδα. L. vi. c. 13.

'Solomon,

'Solomon, and the book of Jeſus the ſon of Sirach; and the 'epiſtle to the Hebrews, and the epiſtle of Barnabas, and 'Clement, and Jude.'

3. The third paſſage of Euſebius is in the next chapter, the title of which is: What Scriptures are mentioned by Clement. It begins thus: 'But [k] in his Inſtitutions, to ſpeak briefly, 'he gives ſhort explications of all the canonical ſcripture [or, 'as Valeſius renders it, of the ſcriptures of each Teſtament], 'not omitting thoſe that are contradicted: I mean the epiſtle 'of Jude, and the other catholic epiſtles, and the epiſtle of 'Barnabas, and the book called the Revelation of Peter. 'And he ſays, that the epiſtle to the Hebrews is Paul's, and 'that it was written to the Hebrews in the Hebrew language: 'and that Luke, having carefully tranſlated it, publiſhed it for 'the uſe of the Greeks; which is the reaſon of that confor-'mity of ſtyle which is found in this epiſtle and the Acts of 'the apoſtles: but that he did not make uſe of that inſcrip-'tion, Paul the apoſtle, of which he aſſigns this reaſon: 'For, ſays he, writing to the Hebrews, who had conceived 'a prejudice againſt him, and were ſuſpicious of him, he wiſely 'declined ſetting his name at the beginning, leſt he ſhould 'offend them. And afterwards he ſays: Now as the bleſ-'ſed preſbyter ſaid: Foraſmuch as the Lord was ſent as the 'apoſtle of Almighty God to the Hebrews, Paul out of mo-'deſty, as being ſent to the Gentiles, does not ſtyle himſelf 'the apoſtle of the Hebrews: both out of reſpect to the Lord, 'and that, being the preacher and apoſtle of the Gentiles, he 'over and above wrote to the Hebrews. Moreover in the 'ſame books Clement has a tradition concerning the order of 'the goſpels, which he had received from preſbyters of more 'ancient times, and which is to this purpoſe: He ſays [l], that 'the goſpels containing the genealogies were firſt written: that 'the occaſion of writing the goſpel according to Mark was 'this: Peter having publickly preached the word at Rome, 'and having ſpoken the goſpel by the Spirit, many who were 'there intreated Mark to write the things that had been 'ſpoken, he having long accompanied him [Peter], and re-

[k] Euſeb. H. E. l. 6. cap. 14.

[l] Περιγεγραφέναι ελέγει τα ευαγγέλια τα περιέχοντα τας γενεαλογίας· το δε κατα Μαρκον τοιουτον εσχηκεναι οικονομιαν· τω Πέτρω δημοσία εν Ρώμη κηρύξαντι τον λογον, και πνευματι τα ευαγγέλια εἰπόντος, τους παρόντας πολλους ἱκανους παρακλεσαι τον Μαρκον, ως ακολουθησαντα αυτω πορρωθεν, και μνημονευσαντα των λεχθέντων, απογραψαι τα ειρημενα· πεποιησθαι δε το ευαγγέλιον, μαθοῦσι τοις δεομενοις αυτου· οπερ επιγνόντα τον Πέτρον, προτρεψασθαι μηδεν κωλυεσθαι· τους μεθ' Ιωαννην εσχατον συνιδόντα ὅτι τα σωματικα εν τοις ευαγγελιοις δεδηλωται· πνευματικην ετι την γραφην, παρεμαλε θεοφορησαι, σπουδασαι ευαγγελιον· τοιουτος ὁ λογος. Euſ. ib. p. 216. B.

" taining

'taining what he had ſaid; and that when he had compoſed 'the goſpel, he delivered it to them who had aſked it of him; 'which when Peter knew, he neither forbade it nor encou- 'raged it: and that laſt of all John, obſerving that in the 'other goſpels thoſe things were related that concerned the (B) 'body [of Chriſt], and being perſuaded by his friends, and alſo 'moved by the Spirit of God, wrote a ſpiritual goſpel. So far 'Clement.'

III. Theſe are the three paſſages of Euſebius. We muſt begin our remarks on them, with conſidering the difficulties in the two accounts which Euſebius has given concerning St. Mark's goſpel in the firſt and laſt of theſe paſſages. One difficulty concerns the interpretation of ſome words in the former of them: the other is the diſagreement which there ſeems to be between theſe two accounts.

1. The firſt difficulty relates to the interpretation of ſome expreſſions in the firſt of theſe paſſages, where, after the account of Mark's writing his goſpel at the deſire of the Romans, it is added: 'It is ſaid, that when the apoſtle knew what had been 'done, the Spirit having revealed it to him, he was pleaſed 'with the zeal of the men;' which is alſo the ſenſe of Valeſius's tranſlation. And yet one may be apt to ſuſpect this interpretation, though perfectly agreeable to the preſent text of Euſebius; becauſe the thing itſelf is unlikely, that Peter ſhould have a revelation of ſuch a thing made to him. I have ſometimes thought, that the meaning or deſign of theſe words might be taken without inconvenience from the latter account; wherein it is ſaid, that 'Peter had publickly preached the word, and 'ſpoken it by the Spirit.' The revelation of the Spirit to Peter, then, is not to be underſtood of the fact of Mark's having written a goſpel, or of his having been deſired by the Romans to do ſo, but only of the goſpel which had been preached by Peter.

But yet it muſt be owned, that theſe words in Euſebius ſeem to have been formerly underſtood of the fact, that Mark had written a goſpel; this paſſage having been tranſlated in that ſenſe [m] by Rufinus, as well as by learned [n] modern interpreters. And

(B) So the original words are rendered by Valeſius: quæ ad corpus Chriſti pertinent. Others may chooſe they ſhould be rendered, 'which appertained to Chriſt's 'humanity.' [m] Petrus vero, ut per Spiritum Sanctum religioſo ſe ſpoliatum comperit furto, delectatus eſt, fidem eorum per hæc devotionemque conſiderans: factumque confirmavit, et in perpetuum legendam ſcripturam eccleſiis tradidit. Rufinus. [n] Modern Interpreters. I chooſe to put down here ſome of their tranſlations. Aiunt autem apoſtolum, cum ex inſtinctu Spiritus Sancti factum hoc cognoviſſet, delectatum eſſe virorum iſtorum voluntate, & ſcriptum hoc evangelium eccleſiis ad legendum

And Theophylact, of the eleventh century, in his preface to St. Mark's goſpel writes to this purpoſe: 'That Mark uſually 'accompanied Peter, and particularly was with him at Rome. 'The faithful [o] therefore at Rome intreated him, not only to 'preach by word of mouth, but alſo to write out for them the 'hiſtory of the life of Chriſt. After much perſuaſion he wrote: 'and it was revealed to Peter from God, that Mark had writ-'ten a goſpel. Having ſeen it, and confirmed the truth of it, 'he ſent him away to be biſhop in Egypt.' This muſt weaken our ſuppoſition, that this ſentence may be interpreted by the latter account, and underſtood of the goſpel preached by Peter. But if we ſhould not quite remove this difficulty, we may be the leſs uneaſy, becauſe this part of the relation is introduced in Euſebius, with an 'it is ſaid:' of which more hereafter, when I hope we may likewiſe farther clear up this paſſage.

2. The other difficulty is the diſagreement between theſe accounts, one ſaying, that 'Peter authorized Mark's goſpel:' the other, that he 'neither forbade it nor encouraged it.'

The method which Valeſius takes to reconcile theſe accounts is this: 'The difficulty,' ſays he, 'is, that [p] in the latter paſ-'ſage Euſebius ſeems to make Clement ſpeak differently from 'what he had done in the former. But,' ſays he, 'if we con-'ſider theſe things carefully, there is no contradiction betwcen 'them. For Clement ſays, that when Peter knew that Mark's 'goſpel was written and publiſhed, he did not openly forbid 'it, or commend it: therefore he approved it by a tacit con-'ſent. Thus are theſe two places to be reconciled.—Moreover 'Rufinus took them in this ſenſe, tranſlating thus: "When

...ſua confirmaſſe. Wolf. Mercl. Basil. 1611. Cum ergo Petrus ...ta ac divina Spiritus Sancti revelatione ...gnoſcente id intelligeret, illud opus editum ...ſſe: tamen cum propenſo & acri hominum ſtudio magnopere fuiſſe delectatum, ...que ſcripturam authoritate ſua ratam ...ſſe, quo in eccleſiis paſſim perlegeretur. (ex interpretatione Chriſtophorſoni, & recognitione Suffridi Petri.) Quod cum Petrus per revelationem Sancti Spiritus cognoviſſet, delectatus ardenti hominum ſtudio, librum illum auctoritate ſua comprobaſſe dicitur, ut deinceps in eccleſiis legeretur. Henr. Valeſ.

[o] Ἡδυνάσθη ...ν ...ν Ῥώμῃ πίστει, μὴ μὴν ἀγράφως κηρυσσειν, ἀλλα καὶ ἐγγράφως αὐτοις ἐκθεσθαι τὴν καθ' Χριστον πολιτειαν· μολις οὖν πεισθεις συνεγραψατο τὸ δὲ βιβλιον ἀπενεχθὲν παρα Θεου, ὑπ' Μαρκου συγγραφὲν ἰδων ὁ, καὶ ἐπιβεβαιωσας ὡς ἀληθες, εἰς ἐπισκοπην αὐτον ἐξαπεστειλεν εἰς Αἰγυπτον. Theophyl. præfat. ad Marc.

[p] Hic vero Clementis verba ex eodem libro referens Euſebius aliter eum loquentem inducit. Verum ſi rem attentius conſideremus, hæc inter ſe non pugnant. Ait enim Clemens, Petrum cum evangelium a Marco ſcriptum editumque eſſe cognoviſſet, palam nec vetuiſſe nec laudaſſe. Rem igitur tacito conſenſu approbavit. Atque ita concilianda ſunt hæc duo loca, quæ Chriſtophorſonus inter ſe pugnare exiſtimavit. Sed & Rufinus eundem ſenſum ſecutus eſt, cum ita vertit: 'Cumque fac-'tum Petrus poſtmodum cognoviſſet, licet 'fieri ipſum non juſſerit, tamen factum 'non prohibuit.'——Fortaſſe autem Papias apertius locutus fuerat quam Clemens, & Marci evangelium a Petro confirmatum fuiſſe dixerat. Valeſ. ad L. vi. c. 14.

"Peter

" Peter afterwards knew what was done, although he had not " ordered it, yet, when it was done, he did not forbid it." 'But 'perhaps,' ſays Valeſius, 'Papias had ſpoken more plainly 'than Clement, and ſaid, that Mark's goſpel was confirmed by 'Peter.'

So then Valeſius abides by this laſt paſſage, as containing the juſteſt account of what Clement had written; in which I take him to be in the right. But neither had Papias ſaid expreſsly, that Mark's goſpel was confirmed by Peter, as I have [9] ſhewn formerly; in that theſe words of Euſebius concerning Papias do not neceſſarily imply any ſuch thing; and in that there is nothing like it in the very particular account which Euſebius has given us of the teſtimony of Papias to Mark's goſpel: to which I now add, that there is nothing like it in the account given of Mark's goſpel by Irenæus, who was ſo well acquainted with the books of Papias. As to Papias, therefore, the caſe appears to me very clear, that he had ſaid no ſuch thing.

I ſhall now endeavour to remove this difficulty in theſe ſeveral propoſitions.

1.) The laſt paſſage of Euſebius does probably contain the moſt exact and diſtinct account of what Clement had written concerning St. Mark's goſpel. In the firſt paſſage Euſebius writes in the quality of an hiſtorian, as from his memory, in a continued narration of the affairs of St. Peter; and mentions an opinion, which he introduces with a proper diſtinction: 'it is 'ſaid;' and then adds: 'Clement gives this account in the 'ſixth book of his Inſtitutions, and Papias agrees with him:' which words are plainly to be underſtood in a general way, that Clement writes 'to this purpoſe.' At the writing of the laſt paſſage, Euſebius has Clement before him, and he quotes and tranſcribes him word for word.

2.) It is Euſebius whom we are to reconcile, and not Clement, if there is any diſagreement between theſe two accounts.

3.) Theſe two accounts of Euſebius may be well reconciled in this manner.

(1.) Euſebius needs not be ſuppoſed to affirm in the firſt paſſage, that Clement, or Papias, had ſaid that Peter did expreſsly authorize Mark's Goſpel: all that Euſebius intends to aſcribe to them may be ſuppoſed to be in the former part of that paſſage. Then he adds: 'It is ſaid'—by which he may be reckoned to hint, that he there inſerts the opinion of ſome of his own time, or perhaps of ſome anonymous writers before

[9] Ch. ix. p. 111, 112.

him.

him. And thoſe words, 'it is ſaid,' and what follows in that ſentence, might be very well read in a parentheſis. This ſuppoſition is confirmed by the exact agreement of the full and particular accounts of the two teſtimonies of Clement and Papias with the former part of this paſſage of Euſebius.

(2.) And it may be ſaid, that this very account is in the main agreeable to that in the third and laſt paſſage, containing only ſome improvement of it. In this laſt paſſage it is ſaid: 'that 'Peter's hearers at Rome intreated Mark to write the things 'that had been ſpoken—and that when he had compoſed the 'goſpel, he delivered it to them who had aſked it of him: which 'when Peter knew, he neither forbade it nor encouraged it:' that is, as Valeſius well expreſſes it, he 'approved it by a tacit 'conſent.' For though Peter did not expreſsly authorize it, yet by permitting it to be delivered to his hearers, or publiſhed, as a hiſtory of his preaching, he allowed it to be a faithful and true narrative of what he had taught by word of mouth. This may have been underſtood and repreſented by ſome, as amounting to an authorizing of that goſpel, according to what Euſebius obſerves in the firſt paſſage: 'It is ſaid, that when the 'apoſtle knew what had been done—he was pleaſed with the 'zeal of the men, and authorized that writing to be read in the 'churches.'

I think theſe two accounts are thus well reconciled.

Nevertheleſs I intreat the reader's patience, whilſt I examine afreſh a part of this laſt paſſage, which appears ſomewhat obſcure, and which I have already thus tranſlated. Clement ſays: that [1] 'many of Peter's hearers intreated Mark to write the 'things which had been ſpoken'—and [2] 'that when he had com-'poſed the goſpel, he delivered it to them who had aſked it of 'him: which when Peter knew, he neither forbade it nor en-'couraged it.' I now propoſe another tranſlation to be conſidered. 'The occaſion of the writing the goſpel according to 'Mark was this: Peter [3] having publickly preached the word 'at Rome, and having ſpoken the goſpel by the Spirit; many 'who were there intreated Mark to write the things that had 'been ſpoken, he having long accompanied him [Peter], and re-

[1] The learned reader, if he thinks fit, is referred to the Greek before tranſcribed, p. 210. The verſion of Valeſius is thus: Marcus igitur evangelium compoſuit, iiſque qui illud ab ipſo rogabant impertiit. Quod cum Petrus comperiſſet, nec prohibuit omnino rem fieri, nec ut fieret incitavit.

[2] The tranſlation of Wolfgangus Muſculus is thus: Cum Petrus Romæ publice prædicaret verbum, & evangelium Spiritu promulgaret, multos præſentium Marcum, tanquam eum qui apoſtolo jam diu fuiſſet aſſectator, dictorumque illius adhuc recordaretur, rogaſſe, ut quæ dicta ab illo eſſent, conſcriberet, conſcriptumque evangelium illis daret, qui hoc ab ipſo peterent. Hoc ubi Petro innotuiſſet, illum nec prohibuiſſe, nec juſſiſſe.

'taining

'taining what he had ſaid; and when he had compoſed it, to 'deliver it to them that had aſked it of him: which when Peter 'knew, he neither forbade it nor adviſed it.'

According to the ſenſe of the firſt tranſlation, it ſeems that Peter knew nothing of this requeſt of his hearers, or the work of Mark, till that goſpel was both compoſed and delivered: and when he knew what had been done, he permitted the whole to paſs without any expreſs approbation or diſlike. According to the ſenſe of the ſecond tranſlation, St. Peter, by revelation of the Spirit, or ſome other information, knew of the requeſt of his hearers, to have a goſpel written and delivered to them, before they had actually received it from St. Mark. He might therefore have ſeen and read the goſpel, before it was delivered and publiſhed; and his 'not forbidding or adviſing' will relate chiefly to the publication of it. He therefore permitted it to be delivered; which amounts to a tacit approbation of that goſpel, as a faithful hiſtory of what he had ſaid. So Theophylact ſeems to have underſtood it, if he refers to this place. For he ſays: 'It was revealed to Peter by God, that Mark had written a goſpel. Having ſeen it, and confirmed it as true, he 'ſent him away to be biſhop in Egypt.' So the opinion, mentioned by Euſebius in his firſt paſſage, was, that 'when Peter 'knew what had been done [that the goſpel had been written], the Spirit revealing it to him, he authorized that writing to be read in the churches:' or, approved it by a tacit conſent.

In a word, according to each of theſe interpretations, this goſpel is repreſented to have a tacit or implicit approbation of Peter. If he did not know of it till after it was delivered by Mark; yet he owns it to be a faithful hiſtory, by not diſcountenancing or diſallowing it. If he ſaw it, and read it, before it was publiſhed; he alſo approves it, though he did not command or adviſe the publication, ſince he did not forbid it.

Perhaps it will be here obſerved by ſome, that this account does not agree with that given[t] by Irenæus, who ſays, that Mark wrote his goſpel after the 'exit of Peter and Paul.' But my preſent concern is to repreſent, as I am able, the teſtimony of Clement. If there are any differences between the teſtimonies of ſeveral writers, they may be better conſidered at ſome other time.

It may be likewiſe objected, that there are ſeveral things very ſtrange and unlikely in this account. The Chriſtians at Rome,

[t] See ch. xvii. p. 158.

hearers

hearers of St. Peter, are repreſented as applying in a clandeſtine manner to St. Mark, to afford them a written goſpel. St. Mark too is hardly perſuaded to undertake this work, and conſents not without much intreaty. And at laſt, when it is compoſed, the apoſtle Peter does not adviſe or command the publication.

To which I anſwer, that there is nothing improbable in this whole relation, excepting only the revelation given to Peter of the fact, that Mark had written a goſpel; which Euſebius has not delivered to us as a relation of Clement, but as a common report or doubtful opinion of ſome of his own time, or perhaps alſo of ſome before him. Every other part of this hiſtory may be accounted for from the great humility and modeſty of the apoſtle Peter. The Chriſtians then at Rome were deſirous of a written relation of the things they had heard, which might be a perpetual help to their memory, and of conſtant uſe among them. But conſidering the before-mentioned virtues of that apoſtle, which they were well acquainted with, they were afraid to petition him directly for ſuch a thing; and were even apprehenſive that, if they did, he might prohibit it. They therefore, in the moſt private manner, apply themſelves to St. Mark. And he, knowing the uncommon humility of St. Peter as well, or better than any man, is afraid to comply with the requeſt made to him, leſt he ſhould offend the perſon for whom he had the higheſt reſpect. At length he yields to perform what was deſired; but ſtill conceals his undertaking from St. Peter as much as poſſible. However, by ſome unforeſeen method, which ſcarce any man could account for, the thing was diſcovered to Peter; who, when he knew the writing had been compoſed, did not expreſsly direct the publication, nor yet forbid it.

This is the ſum of this relation; and theſe ſeem to be the grounds and reaſons of the conduct of the ſeveral perſons here mentioned. And the goſpel, called according to St. Mark, which in this account is repreſented as the ſubſtance of St. Peter's preaching, is a monument of the humility and modeſty here aſcribed to that apoſtle; 'there being in the Goſpel Hiſ-'tory ſeveral very remarkable circumſtances in favour of St. 'Peter, which are related by the other evangeliſts, and not ſo 'much as mentioned or hinted at by St. Mark.' This is an obſervation of Mr.[u] Jones, who has given a catalogue of the ſeveral places in the other goſpels, which relate things tending

[u] New and Full Method of ſettling the canonical Authority of the N. T. V. 3. p. 78—81.

to

to the honour of St. Peter, which are not mentioned by St. Mark in his goſpel: nor has he forgot to mention an obſervation of Eſtius to the like purpoſe, concerning the apoſtle Peter's modeſty.

IV. Having conſidered theſe difficulties, and removed them ſo far as I am able, we are now to make ſome remarks of another kind.

1. Here is a very valuable teſtimony to the four goſpels of St. Matthew, St. Mark, St. Luke, and St. John, all which were owned and received by Clement. Moreover, here is a tradition concerning the order in which theſe four goſpels were written, which he had received from preſbyters of more ancient times. It affords a proof of the curioſity and inquiſitiveneſs of the ancient Chriſtians concerning the ſacred books of the New Teſtament, which they had received.

2. We have here an aſſurance of the genuineneſs of the genealogies in the firſt chapter of St. Matthew, and the third chapter of St. Luke. This likewiſe Clement had received from more ancient preſbyters. This teſtimony to the firſt chapter of St. Matthew's goſpel is ſo ſtrong, that it ſeems to put the antiquity and genuineneſs of it out of queſtion.

3. Here is a particular account of the occaſion of writing St. Mark's goſpel; and it agrees with thoſe of Papias and Irenæus, in that this goſpel is ſaid to contain the ſubſtance of St. Peter's preaching, and to have been compoſed by one who had been long a companion or follower of Peter, and who retained in his memory the things that had been ſpoken by that apoſtle.

This then is (c) the third ancient father, who puts the authority of St. Mark's goſpel upon the foundation of its being a faithful and true narrative of the apoſtle Peter's public diſcourſes to his hearers. Nor let any therefore be in pain for the credit and authority of this goſpel, though not written nor expreſsly authorized by an apoſtle. The authority of it ſeems to be very well maintained by theſe writers, eſpecially by Clement in this account. Peter ſpoke the goſpel by the Spirit. Mark had long and often heard him at Rome, and at other places, and remembered the things he had ſpoken. He wrote his goſpel at the requeſt of many hearers of Peter at Rome, and then delivered it to them who aſked it of him. Theſe perſons, who ſet ſo great a value on Peter's diſcourſes, and were not contented with a ſingle hearing, and unwritten inſtruction, could not but know, whether the written goſpel, which they received

(c) Papias, ch. ix. p. 111, 112. Irenæus, ch. xvii. p. 158. 176.

from

from Mark, was agreeable to the words they had lately heard from Peter. It is by no means reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that Mark could form a deſign of deceiving or impoſing upon any. Here is, however, an additional argument for the truth and exactneſs of his narration, that it was delivered, when compoſed, to thoſe who had heard Peter preach, of which there was a conſiderable number. Laſtly, it is here intimated, that the apoſtle Peter himſelf knew of this goſpel, either before it was publiſhed, or ſoon after. And though he did not adviſe the publication, nor recommend the goſpel, when publiſhed, yet he did not forbid the publication, nor diſallow of it afterwards: which amounts to a tacit or implicit approbation of it, and a confirmation of the truth of it, as containing a juſt relation of his preaching. There is, according to this account, the fulleſt ſecurity given, that Mark's written goſpel contains the very goſpel which the apoſtle Peter had ſpoken by the Spirit.

It will be very proper to put down here a paſſage, or note, of the Adumbrations before-mentioned, which we have in a Latin tranſlation made by Caſſiodorius, or his order. "There [x] "ſaluteth you Mark my ſon." [1 Pet. v. 14.] 'Mark, the fol-'lower of Peter, (Peter preaching the goſpel at Rome before 'ſome of the emperor's knights, and giving many teſtimonies 'to Chriſt, that the things which had been ſpoken might be 'well fixed in their memory,) compoſed out of the things ſpoken 'by Peter the goſpel which is called according to Mark: as 'Luke alſo wrote the Acts of the apoſtles, and tranſlated the 'epiſtle of Paul to the Hebrews.' Or, poſſibly, theſe laſt words ſhould be thus underſtood: As Luke alſo 'wrote a goſpel,' and likewiſe the Acts of the apoſtles, and tranſlated the epiſtle of Paul to the Hebrews.

This likewiſe confirms the account, that St. Mark's goſpel is the ſubſtance of St. Peter's ſermons. And he ſays nothing of its having been afterwards authorized by Peter, nor ſo much as its having been ever ſeen by him. It is true, Caſſiodorius left out [y] ſome things of St. Clement, that might give offence. But

[x] 'Salutat vos Marcus filius meus.' [1 Pet. v. 14.] Marcus Petri ſectator, palam prædicante Petro evangelium Romæ coram quibusdam Cæſareanis equitibus, & multa Christi teſtimonia proferente, penitus ne quæ dicebantur memoriæ commendarentur, ſcripſit ex his quæ Petro dicta [illegible] quod ſecundum Marcum [illegible] Sicut Lucas quoque & Actus apoſtolorum ſtylo executus agnoſceret, & Pauli ad Hebræos interpretatus epiſtolam. Clement. Adumbr. in 1 Petr. Epiſt. Oxon. p. 1007. [y] Ubi multa quidem ſubtiliter, ſed aliqua incaute locutus eſt: quæ nos ita transferri fecimus in Latinum, ut exclusis quibuſdam offendiculis purificata doctrina ejus ſecurior poſſet haurini. Caſſiod. Divin. Lect. cap. viii.

certainly these things would not have offended, or hurt any man.

It is not very improbable, that Cassiodorius had here before him that very history in Clement, which Eusebius has preserved: wherein it is said, that 'Peter neither forbid, nor encouraged,' or recommended, what Mark had done in this affair: or some other account to the like purpose. But that did not thoroughly please Cassiodorius, and therefore he left it out. But whether we guess right here, or not, I cannot help wishing that we had entire the Institutions of Clement, a writer (D) near in time [z] to the immediate successors of the apostles. I do not believe that work would do us any harm.

4. Of St. John, he says, that he wrote last. He likewise supposes him to have seen and approved the other three gospels. St. John having observed what the other evangelists had written, added in his gospel some things omitted by the others. The occasion of his writing was the persuasion of his friends, and moreover he was moved by the Spirit.

5. The Acts of the apostles also is owned by him, and ascribed to Luke as the author, who likewise translated the epistle to the Hebrews.

6. The epistle to the Hebrews is owned for Paul's; and Clement had been informed, that it was written in Hebrew. He had received likewise a tradition, giving an account of the reason why that apostle did not set his name to this, as he did to his other epistles.

7. Clement was a commentator of the scriptures. Eusebius says, that in his Institutions he had given short explications of all the canonical scripture. Photius however seems to render this doubtful in the account he gives of the same work. He says, 'the [a] Institutions of Clement contain discourses on some 'passages of the Old and New Testament, which he also explains and interprets in a brief and summary manner.' This indeed does not restrain Clement's commentaries to any particular books of scripture; for he might explain some passages in every book, without explaining the whole of any one. But Photius says afterwards: 'The whole [b] scope of the work seems 'to be an interpretation of Genesis, Exodus, the Psalms, the

(D) See before p. 207.

[z] Ὧν ἐν τῷ πρῷ μέρει Εὐσέβιος δηλοῖ, ὡς ἐγγύτατα τῶν ἀποστόλων γενομένου διαδόχου. Euseb. H. E. l. vi. c. 13. p. 215. A.

[a] Αἱ μὲν οὖν ὑποτυπώσεις διαλαμβάνουσι περὶ ῥήσεων τινῶν τῆς τε παλαιᾶς καὶ νέας γραφῆς, ὧν καὶ κεφαλαιώδους, ὡς δηλοῖ, ἐξηγήσεις τε καὶ ἑρμηνείας ποιεῖται. Cod. cix.

[b] Ὁ δὲ ὅλος σκοπός, ἡσαΐου ἑρμηνείαι τυγχάνουσι τῆς Γενέσεως, τῆς Ἐξόδου, τῶν Ψαλμῶν, τοῦ θείου Παύλου τῶν ἐπιστολῶν, καὶ τῶν καθολικῶν, καὶ τοῦ Ἐκκλησιαστοῦ. ibid.

'epistles

'epiſtles of the divine Paul, and the catholic epiſtles, and Ec-'cleſiaſticus.' Which may well render it doubtful, whether Clement had commented upon all the books of ſcripture: or rather, it affords good ground to conclude, that Clement had explained only ſome books of the Old and of the New Teſtament. And ſo, it is likely, Euſebius ought to be underſtood: for Photius ſeems to have had before him entire the Hypotupoſes of Clement, in which theſe expoſitions were.

8. Laſtly, Euſebius ſays, Clement had 'given in that work 'ſhort explications of the ſcriptures, not omitting thoſe that are 'contradicted; as the epiſtle of Jude, and the other catholic 'epiſtles, and the epiſtle of Barnabas, and the book called the 'Revelation of Peter.' But I think it does not hence follow, that Clement paid a like, or equal reſpect to all theſe books. Le Clerc in our time has written notes upon the writings of the apoſtolical fathers, as well as upon the books of ſcripture commonly received as canonical, without having the ſame regard for the former as for theſe latter. But of this we ſhall ſee more hereafter: for having thus ſhewn what Euſebius, and ſome other ancients, have obſerved of St. Clement's method of quoting ſcripture, I ſhall briefly obſerve upon his remaining works.

V. In his Stromata, or Various Diſcourſes, he ſays in anſwer to an objection: 'We[c] have not this paſſage in the four go-'ſpels delivered to us, but in that according to Egyptians.'

The four goſpels are often quoted: I ſhall put down a particular or two of each.

1. 'In[d] the goſpel according to Matthew the genealogy from 'Abraham is brought down to Mary, the mother of the Lord.'

2. In the three larger works of Clement, the Exhortation to the Gentiles, the Pædagogue, and the Stromata, the goſpel of St. Mark is not quoted by name, though there are divers paſſages taken from it. But in the ſhort treatiſe, 'Who is the 'rich man that may be ſaved?' having quoted the words of Mark, x. 17—31, he adds: 'Theſe[e] things are written in the goſpel according to Mark.'

3. 'The[f] truth of this is evident. For thus it is written in 'the goſpel according to Luke:' "*Now in the fifteenth year 'of the reign of Tiberius Cæſar the word of the Lord came unto 'John the ſon of Zacharias.*" Ch. iii. 1, 2.

[c] Ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν, ἐν τοῖς παραδεδομένοις ἡμῖν τέσσαρσι εὐαγγελίοις οὐκ ἐχομεν τὸ ῥητόν, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ κατ' Αἰγυπτίους. Str. l. iii. p. 465. D.

[d] Ἐν τῷ κατὰ Ματθαῖον εὐαγγελίῳ ἡ ἀπὸ Ἀβραὰμ γενεαλογία, ἕως Μαρίας τῆς μητρὸς τοῦ Κυρίου. Str. l. i. p. 341. B.

[e] Ταῦτα μετὰ τοῦ κατὰ Μάρκον εὐαγγελίου γέγραπται. Quis div. &c. §. 5. p. 938. Oxon.

[f] Ὅτι δὲ τοῦτ' ἀληθές ἐστι, ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ τῷ κατὰ Λουκᾶν γέγραπται οὕτως· κ. λ. p. 340. A. Str. l. i.

4. 'The [g] Lord, in the goſpel according to John, ſpeaks figuratively:' "Eat my fleſh," ſaith he, "and drink my blood." Referring to ch. vi. 53, 54.

5. We ſhould here juſt take notice of an obſervation of Clement, That there were ſome who had written ſhort marginal notes or interlineary explications of texts of the New Teſtament, or at leaſt of the goſpels. This ſeems to be what he means, when he ſays: 'Bleſſed [h] are they which are perſecuted for 'righteouſneſs ſake, becauſe they ſhall be called the ſons of 'God [ſee Matth. v. 9, 10.]: or, as ſome of thoſe who ex-'plain [or paraphraſe] the goſpels,' "Bleſſed," ſays he, "are "they which are perſecuted by righteouſneſs, BECAUSE THEY "SHALL BE PERFECT." And, "Bleſſed are they which are "perſecuted for my ſake, BECAUSE THEY SHALL HAVE A PLACE "WHERE NO PERSECUTION REACHES." I only put down this paſſage. Mill, who is in every body's hands, may [i] be conſulted upon it.

VI. The book of the Acts of the apoſtles is often quoted in theſe works. It is aſcribed to St. Luke thus: 'As [k] Luke in 'the Acts of the apoſtles records Paul to have ſaid:' "*Ye men* "*of Athens, I perceive that in all things ye are too ſuperſti-*"*tious.*" Quoting ch. xvii. 22, 23.

VII. I ſhall give the following account of his quoting St. Paul's epiſtles:

1. 'The [l] apoſtle in the epiſtle to the Romans,' Ch. xvi. 19. "Behold" [m] therefore, ſaith Paul, "the goodneſs and ſeverity "of God, &c." Ch. xi. 22. 'In [n] like manner writes Paul in 'the epiſtle to the Romans,' Ch. vi. 2. 6—13.

2. 'The [o] bleſſed Paul, in the firſt epiſtle to the Corinthians:' "*Brethren, be not children in underſtanding: howbeit, in malice be* "*ye children, but in underſtanding be men.*" Ch. xiv. 20. And in like manner frequently.

3. He has alſo many paſſages out of the ſecond epiſtle to the Corinthians. 'The apoſtle calls [p] the common doctrine of the 'faith a' "ſavour of knowledge," 'in the ſecond to the Co-'rinthians.' [See ch. ii. 14.] where he alſo proceeds to quote

[g] Αλλαχοῦ δὲ καὶ Κύριος ἐν τῷ κατὰ Ἰωάννην εὐαγγελίῳ, κ. λ. Paed. l. i. p. 100. A.

[h] Ἢ ὡς τινες τῶν μεταλαβόντων τὰ εὐαγγέλια, κ. λ. Str. l. iv. p. 490. C. [i] Prolegom. ad N. T. n. 287. 640. [k] Καθὼς καὶ ὁ Λουκᾶς ἐν ταῖς Πράξεσι τῶν ἀποστόλων ἀπομνημονεύει τὸν Παῦλον λέγοντα· Ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, κ. λ. Strom. l. v. p. 588. B. [l] Ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἐπιστολῇ, χαίρειν ὁ ἀπόστολος ἐμπλήσει, κ. λ. Paed. l. i. p. 89. B. [m] Ἰδοὺ, φησὶ ὁ Παῦλος. κ. λ. p. 117. C.

[n] Ὁμοίως, δὲ καὶ ὁ Παῦλος ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἐπιστολῇ γράφει. Str. l. iii. p. 457. B.

[o] Σαφέστατα μὲν ὁ μακάριος Παῦλος ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ πρὸς Κορινθίους ἐπιστολῇ. Paed. l. i. p. 96. D. [p] Τὴν δὲ κοινὴν διδασκαλίαν τῆς πίστεως, σοφίαν γνώσεως εἶπεν, ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ πρὸς Κορινθίους. Strom. l. iv. p. 514. A.

2 Cor.

2 Cor. iii. 14. Again: 'Hence alſo [q] Paul:' "Ye have theſe "promiſes," ſays he, "dearly beloved: let us cleanſe our "hearts from all filthineſs of the fleſh and ſpirit, perfecting ho-"lineſs in the fear of God." 2 Cor. vii. 1.

4. 'Wherefore alſo [r] Paul writing to the Galatians ſays:' "My little children, of whom I travel in birth again, until "Chriſt be formed in you." This epiſtle is alſo frequently cited as the apoſtle's, as Paul's.

5. 'Wherefore [s] the bleſſed apoſtle:' "*I teſtify in the Lord,*" ſays he, "*that ye walk not as other Gentiles walk.*" Eph. iv. 17, 18, 19. in another place: 'Wherefore [t] in the epiſtle to the 'Epheſians he writes:' "*Submitting yourſelves one to another in* "*the fear of God*, &c." Eph. v. 21, 22.

6. 'When Paul [u] confeſſeth of himſelf:' "*Not as though I* "*had already attained, either were already perfect*, &c." Philip. iii. 12—14. He quotes [x] part of the firſt and ſecond chapters of this epiſtle, as expreſsly concerning the Philippians. He quotes it again in this manner: 'The [y] apoſtle alſo of the Lord 'exhorting the Macedonians, ſays:' "*The Lord is at hand,*" 'take heed that we be not found empty.' Philip. iv. 5.

7. The epiſtle [z] to the Coloſſians is often quoted by Clement, expreſsly with that title, as the apoſtle's, or as Paul's.

8. 'This the [a] bleſſed Paul plainly ſignified, ſaying: "*When* "*we might have been burdenſome, as the apoſtles of Chriſt, we were* "*gentle among you, even as a nurſe cheriſheth her children.*" 1 Theſſ. ii. 6, 7. Words of this epiſtle are quoted by him ſeveral times as the apoſtle's.

9. 'And the [b] apoſtle ſays: "*There is not in every man that* 'knowledge. [1 Cor. viii. 7.] But pray ye, that we may "be delivered from unreaſonable and wicked men: for all men "have not faith." 2 Theſſ. iii. 2. I think this is the only place in which this epiſtle is quoted by Clement.

10. 'Of which [c] the apoſtle writing, ſays: "*O Timothy, keep*

[q] Καὶ ὁ μακάριος Παῦλος· . . . Ταύτας οὖν ἐχόντες τὰς ἐπαγγελίας, ἀγαπητοί, καθαρίσωμεν ἑαυτοὺς ἀπὸ παντὸς μολυσμοῦ, κ. λ. Strom. l. iii. p. 456. D.

[r] Διὸ καὶ Παῦλος Γαλάταις ἐπιστέλλων, φησί· Τεκνία μου, κ. λ. Str. l. iv. p. 468. B.

[s] Διὸ τοι ὁ μακάριος ἀπόστολος· μαρτύρομαι ἐν Κυρίῳ φησί, κ. λ. Adm. ad. G. p. 54. A. B.

[t] Διὸ καὶ ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἐφεσίους γράφει, κ. λ. Str. l. iv. p. 499. C.

[u] Ἐκεῖνο γοῦν ἐρεῖ τὸν Παῦλον περὶ ἑαυτοῦ· οὐχ ὡς ἤδη ἔλαβον, κ. λ. Pæd. l. i. p. 107. D.

[x] Τὰς συλλήψεις συμμείξας τῆς χαρᾶς κατὰ . . . Str. l. iv. p. 511. A.

[y] Τοῦτο καὶ ὁ ἀπόστολος τοῦ Κυρίου παρακαλῶν τοὺς Μακεδόνας· . . . Ὁ Κύριος ἐγγύς, λέγει· μηδὲν μεριμνᾶτε μὴ κενοὶ εὑρεθῶμεν κ. τ. λ. Adm. ad Gent. p. 56. B.

[z] Καὶ τὴν πρὸς Κολοσσαεῖς ἐπιστολήν. Str. l. i. p. 277. B. Vid. l. iv. p. 499. D. l. v. p. 576. C. l. vi. p. 645. D.

[a] Τοῦτο τοι σαφέστατα ὁ μακάριος Παῦλος ὑπεσημήνατο, εἰπών· Δυνάμενοι ἐν βάρει εἶναι ὡς Χριστοῦ ἀπόστολοι, κ. λ. Pæd. l. i. p. 89. A.

[b] Καὶ οὐκ ἐν πᾶσι, φησὶν ὁ ἀπόστολος, ἡ γνῶσις· πεποιθέναι δὲ, κ. λ. Str. l. v. p. 554. A.

[c] Περὶ ἧς ἀπόστολος γράφων, Ὦ Τιμόθεε, φησὶν, ... ὑπὸ ταύτης ἐλεγχόμενοι τῆς γνώσεως οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν αἱρέσεων, τὰς πρὸς Τιμόθεον ἀθέσμους ἐπιστολάς. Str. l. ii. p. 383. C.

" *that which is committed to thy trust, avoiding profane* and *vain* " *babblings, and oppositions of science, falsely so called; which some* " *professing, have erred concerning the faith.*" [1 Tim. vi. 20, 21.] ' The heretics confuted by this saying, reject the epistles to ' Timothy.' This alone amounts to a strong assertion of the genuineness of two epistles of the apostle to Timothy. Moreover he has frequently quoted words of the second epistle, and mentions it [d] expressly as Paul's.

11. The epistle to Titus is also quoted several times. And he observes, ' that [e] Paul had cited Epimenides the Cretan in ' his epistle to Titus, after this manner: " One of themselves, " a poet of their own, said: *The Cretans are always liars*, &c." Tit. i. 12, 13.

12. The epistle to Philemon is no where quoted in the remaining works of Clement. This may be ascribed to its brevity.

13. We have already seen enough in a passage of Eusebius, taken chiefly from the Institutions of Clement, to satisfy us, that Clement received the epistle to the Hebrews as Paul's. Nevertheless it will not be improper to observe a passage or two in his remaining works, in confirmation of what has been said by Eusebius. ' Nor does [f] Paul (says Clement in his ' Stromata) appear to have blamed philosophy in his epistles, ' though he would not have the more perfect return to it.— ' Wherefore writing to the Hebrews, who were declining from ' the faith to the law:' " Have ye need," says he, " that one " teach you again, which be the first principles of the oracles of " God, and are become such as have need of milk, and not of " strong meat?" [Heb. v. 12.] ' In like manner to the Co- ' lossians, converted from Gentilism: " Beware, lest any spoil " you through philosophy and vain deceit." [Col. ii. 8.] Thus he expressly ascribes the epistle to the Hebrews to Paul, and to the same person who wrote that to the Colossians. And in many other places of these works he quotes [g] the epistle to ' the Hebrews as the apostle's, the divine apostle's, and Paul's.

VIII. Thus we have gone over the epistles of Paul. We proceed next to the seven epistles called Catholic. And I think it best to be very particular here, to see how far the remaining

[d] Εν τη ετερα προς Τιμοθεον επιστολη ο γενναιος διαλασσειαι Παυλος. Strom. l. iii. p. 448. C.

[e] Οι δε Επιμενιδην τον Κρητα . . . ου μεμνηται ο αποστολος Παυλος εν τη προς Τιτον επιστολη. κ. λ. Str. l. i. p. 299. B. C.

[f] Επει και Παυλος εν ταις επιστολαις ου φιλοσοφιαν διαβαλλων φαινεται . . . δις και τους Εβραιοις γραφων, τοις επανακαμπτουσιν εις νομον εκ πιστεως, Η παλιν, φησι, χρειαν εχετε του διδασκειν υμας——; αρα και τας εξ Ελληνων επιστρεφουσι Κολοσσαευσι. κ. λ. Str. l. vi. p. 645. C. D.

[g] Strom. l. ii. p. 362. B. p. 364. A. p. 420. B. C. l. iv. p. 514. C. D. 515. A. & alibi.

works

works of Clement confirm, or disagree with, the account given by Eusebius.

1. Having quoted Isa. xl. 6, 7, 8, *All flesh is as grass, the flower fadeth*—and Jer. xiii. 24—Clement proceeds: 'This [h] is 'the flower of the grass, and to walk according to the flesh, and 'to be carnal, according to the apostle, as they are who are in 'their sins.' Compare James, i. 10. "*But the rich, in that he is 'made low: because as the flower of the grass he shall pass away.*" But I perceive here no reference to St. James. It is an obvious comparison enough. Besides, it is also in Isaiah, whom Clement had quoted; and also in 1 Pet. i. 24. 'To be carnal, 'according to the apostle,' is a reference to St. Paul.

James, ii. 8. *If ye fulfil the royal law according to the scripture, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself, ye do well.* Clement having quoted Matth. v. 20. adds: 'That it is not sufficient to abstain 'from evil: for unless [i] ye become more perfect, so as to love 'your neighbour, and be able to do good, ye will not be royal.' This may be thought by some a reference to the above-mentioned text of St. James. But 'to love our neighbour' is a frequent precept of the New Testament: and in the phrase, being 'royal,' I rather think he refers to the Stoic maxim, that a wise man only is a king. The title of the sixth chapter of the third book of Clement's Pædagogue is, that a 'Christian only is 'a rich man.'

James, ii. 23, says: 'Abraham was called the friend of God.' Clement has the same observation [k] several times; but there is no evidence that he took it from St. James: it is more likely that he borrowed it from the Old Testament. See before in St. Clement of Rome, ch. ii. n. 38.

Clement has twice [l] observed, 'that the scripture says:' "God "resisteth the proud, and giveth grace to the humble:" which words are likewise in James, iv. 6. But they are also in 1 Pet. v. 5. and Prov. iii. 34.

James, v. 12. *But above all things, my brethren, swear not: ... but* [m] *let your yea be yea, and your nay, nay.* 'Again,' says [n] Clement, 'that is to be compared with the Lord's saying: "*Let your yea be yea, and your nay, nay.*" Which words are

[h] Τουτο γαρ το ανθος του χορτου, κ. λ. Str. l. iv. p. 540. B. [Oxon. p. 639.]

[i] Συν τῳ μετα της εν τουτοις τελειωσεως, και τα τον πλησιον αγαπαν, και ευεργετειν δυνασθαι ουκ εσεσθε βασιλικοι. Str. lib. vi. p. 696. B. [Oxon. p. 825.]

[k] Pæd. l. iii. p. 221. A. [Ox. p. 259.] ib. p. 238. C. [Ox. p. 279.] Str. l. ii. p. 367. C. [Ox. p. 439.]

[l] Str. l. iii. p. 446. C. [Ox. p. 533.] l. iv. p. 516. D. [Ox. p. 611.]

[m] Ητω δε υμων το ναι, ναι· και το ου, ου.

[n] Παλιν αυ το του Κυριου ρητῳ, Εστω υμων το ναι, ναι· και το ου, ου, εκεινο απεικαστεον. Str. l. v. p. 596. C. [Oxon. p. 707.]

indeed extremely agreeable to those in James. But he quotes them not as his, but Christ's, and must therefore be supposed to refer to [o] Matth. v. 37. In another place he says: 'It is the 'epitome of justice to say: "Your yea shall be yea, and your "nay, nay." He refers likewise [q] once more to the same precept; but without any particular intimation whence he takes it.

Clement has also this expression, that 'charity' covers a mul-'titude of sins.' But there is no reason to suppose he refers to James, v. 20. He takes it as from Clement of Rome's description of charity, the main part of which we before transcribed, ch. ii. numb. 13. and 41. And these words are also in 1 Pet. iv. 8.

Upon the whole, I perceive not in St. Clement any quotation of the epistle of St. James, or any allusion or reference to it, that can be depended upon.

Since the writing of this, I have observed, that Clement of Alexandria is not mentioned by Mr. [s] Richardson among those fathers who have quoted the epistle of St. James; nor by Huet [t], nor by Tillemont [u]. The same thing may be said, it is likely, of other learned moderns, if consulted.

2. The first epistle of Peter is often quoted by Clement: 'But [x] and if we suffer for righteousness sake, says Peter, we 'are happy: and be not afraid of their terror, neither be trou-'bled:'——1 Pet. iii. 14, 15, 16, 17. Again: 'And [y] Peter 'says the like things in his epistle.' I put down in the margin [z] a few more places, where this epistle is expressly quoted as Peter's.

3. 2 Pet. ii. 2. *And many shall follow their pernicious ways, by reason of whom the way of truth shall be evil spoken of.* Clement says: 'Cease [a] to obstruct the way of truth.' But this is also an Old Testament phrase. Ps. cxix. 30. Here is no sign of a reference to Peter. This is the only place in the remaining works of Clement, which I have observed to have any relation to the second epistle of Peter. In the Oxford edition of this father, by mistake, is put 2 Pet. iv. 8. for 1 Pet. iv. 8. both in the Index at the end, and in the work itself at p. 306.

[o] Τεγρ δε ο λογος υμων, Ναι ναι, Ου ου.

[p] Δικαιοσυνης γαρ ην επιφερων φησιν· Εσται υμων το ναι ναι, και ου ου. Str. l. vii. p. 729. A. [Ox. p. 872.] [q] Ibid. p. 729. A. [Oxon. p. 861.] [r] Str. l. iv. p. 518. [Oxon. p. 613.] [s] See the Canon of the N. T. vindicated, p. 42. the third edit. [t] Demonstr. Ev. Prop. i. § 12. p. 25. Paris. 1690. [u] Mem. Ec. T. i. S. Jaque le Mineur. not. xv. [x] Str. l. iv. p. 493. A. [y] Και ο Πετρος εν τη επιστολη τα ομοια λεγει. ib. l. iii. p. 473. B.

[z] Paed. l. i. p. 103. A. l. ii. p. 258. D. Δια και ο θειμεσιος Πετρος φησιν: Str. l. iv. p. 457. A. l. iv. p. 493. B. ο Πετρος εν τη επιστολη φησι. p. 525. C. [a] Και τη οδω της αληθειας εμποδιζοντες. Adm. ad Gent. p. 66. C.

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4. The first epistle of John is often quoted. 'This [b] *is the* 'love of God,' says John, 'that *we keep his commandments: and* 'his commandments *are not grievous.* 1 John, v. 3. It is quoted as John's [c] several times; and once in this manner: 'John [d] also 'in his larger epistle seems to shew the difference of sins: "*If* "*any man see his brother sin a sin, which is not unto death.*" 1 John, v. 16. It is plain therefore he knew and owned one more epistle of St. John, and possibly two more: which he ascribed not to John the elder, but to John the apostle; the same who is the author of the first, or larger epistle. But I do not perceive any reference to either of these two epistles in his works. It is without ground, as I apprehend, that in the Oxford edition there is [e] marked a reference to 3 John, ver. 15.; or, as in our English Bibles, ver. 14. 'Peace be to thee.'

5. The epistle of St. Jude is several times quoted as his: 'I will 'that ye [f] should know,' says Jude, 'that God having once saved 'the people out of the land of Egypt.' Jude, ver. 5, 6, and 11. But Clement quotes from his memory. Again: 'Of these [g] and 'the like heretics, I think, Jude spoke prophetically in his 'epistle: "Likewise also these dreamers. ver. 8—16."

In the Adumbrations upon the epistle of St. Jude, as we now have them in Latin, is an observation concerning the modesty of the writer: 'That * Jude did not style himself, at the begin-'ning of his epistle, brother of the Lord, though he was related 'to him, but "Jude the servant of Jesus Christ, and brother of James." Which observation may serve to shew, whom Clement took to be the writer of this epistle. See Matth. xiii. 55. Mark, xv. 40.

6. We have seen then, in St. Clement's remaining works, quotations of the first epistle of Peter; the first epistle of John, with an intimation that he had written another, if not also a third epistle; and of the epistle of Jude.

Suppose now we should compare this with the account which Eusebius has given of the books cited by St. Clement? Eusebius said, in the second passage quoted from him, that Clement had in his Stromata, and other books he there speaks of, 'taken 'testimonies out of those scriptures that are contradicted; as

[b] Pæd. l. iii. p. 257. B. [c] p. 264. D. 444. D. 445. A. 514. B. [d] Φασὶ [illegible] ἐν τῇ μείζονι ἐπιστολῇ, τὰς διαφορὰς τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν διδάσκων ἐν τούτοις. κ. λ. Str. l. ii. p. 389. B. [e] Pæd. l. ii. p. 203. [Paris. p. 173. C.] [f] Φάσκει [illegible] Ἰούδας, ἀδελφὸς, κ. λ. Pæd. l. iii. p. 239. C. [g] Περὶ τούτων, οἶμαι . . . προεφήτευσεν Ἰούδας ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ εἰρηκώς. Str. l. iii. p. 431. A. B. * Judas, qui catholicam scripsit epistolam, frater filiorum Josephi, extans valde religiosus, quum sciret propinquitatem Domini, non tamen dixit, se ipsum fratrem ejus esse. Sed quid dixit? 'Jacobus servus Jesu Christi,' utpote Domini, 'frater autem Jacobi.' Vid. Adumbr. in Ep. Judæ ep. Clem. A. p. 1007. Ed. Oxon.

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'the epistle to the Hebrews, and the epistle of Barnabas, and 'Clement and Jude.' And what we find in those works is agreeable to what Eusebius says: these scriptures are there quoted, as we have particularly seen concerning the epistle to the Hebrews, and the epistle of Jude. But in the third passage Eusebius says, that Clement had in his Institutions given 'short 'explications of all the canonical scriptures, not omitting those 'that are contradicted: I mean the epistle of Jude, and the 'other catholic epistles, and the epistle of Barnabas, and the 'book called the Revelation of Peter.' Photius likewise mentions Clement's explications of the catholic epistles. But yet in the remaining works of Clement we find no notice taken of the epistle of James, or the second of Peter. This seems to me somewhat strange: for if he had written short explications on them in his Institutions, one might reasonably expect to see them quoted in these remaining works. It is certain all the other books there mentioned by Eusebius are quoted in those works, which we still have; as the epistle of Jude, and Barnabas; excepting only the Revelation of Peter. Methinks this may justly create a suspicion, whether Clement had commented upon all the seven catholic epistles; particularly that of James, and the second of Peter. Besides, it is very observable, that Cassiodorius says: 'Clement, [h] presbyter of Alexandria, author of the 'Stromata, explained the canonical epistles; that is, the first 'epistle of St. Peter, the first and second of St. John, and the 'epistle of James;' it is probable it [i] should be Jude: and mentions no other. These likewise, Cassiodorius says, he ordered to be translated into Latin. And that he had no comment of Clement upon the other catholic epistles, is evident from what he there proceeds to say: 'That St. Augustine [k] had explained 'the epistle of James; but that he was still solicitous for a com-'ment upon the rest of the canonical epistles: and to his great 'satisfaction he met with a book of Didymus, containing an 'exposition of the seven canonical epistles.' And accordingly the Latin Adumbrations of Clement, supposed to be those translated by Cassiodorius, or by his procurement, are upon the first epistle of Peter, first and second of John, and the epistle of Jude. Nor is there any reason, that I know of, to question,

[h] In epistolis autem canonicis Clemens Alexandrinus presbyter, qui & Stromateus vocatur, id est in epistola Sancti Petri prima, Sancti Joannis prima & secunda, & Jacobi, Atticosermone declaravit. Divin. Lect. c. 8.

[i] Vid. Fell. not. edit. Op. Clem. Ox. p. 1006.

[k] Sanctus quoque Augustinus epistolam Jacobi apostoli solita diligentiæ suæ curiositate tractavit.—Sed cum reliquis canonicis epistolis magna nos cogitatio fatigaret, subito nobis codex D[illegible] Græco stylo conscriptus expositionem [illegible] canonicarum epistolarum, Domino [illegible] giente concessus est. ibid.

whether

whether Caſſiodorius had the Hypotupoſes, or Inſtitutions, of Clement entire: which ſeem to have been in being long after, in the time of Photius. In another place Caſſiodorius ſays: 'It is [l] reported that Clement of Alexandria explained in the 'Greek tongue all the divine ſcriptures of the Old and New 'Teſtament, from the beginning to the end.' Which manner of ſpeaking ſeems to ſhew, that this was more than he had certain proof of. It is likely, this common report he ſpeaks of was founded on the general expreſſions of Euſebius, which either are inaccurate, or ought to be interpreted in a general way, with an allowance for ſome exceptions.

Upon the whole, it appears to me probable, that St. Clement had not, even in his Inſtitutions, any comment, or ſhort expoſition, of the epiſtle of James, or the ſecond of Peter, or the third of John, notwithſtanding what Euſebius and Photius have ſaid of his ſhort explications of the catholic epiſtles; for they may be underſtood to ſpeak in a looſe and general manner only: juſt as Caſſiodorius ſays, that Clement had written of the canonical epiſtles; though at the ſame time he means only ſome, and not all of them. Nor can I ſee why Euſebius ſhould not have mentioned the epiſtle of James, and the ſecond of Peter, as well as that of Jude, when they were all, in the time of Euſebius, among the ſcriptures that were contradicted; but only that Jude was expounded by Clement, and the reſt not.

We have not then at preſent any ground to think, that the epiſtle of James, the ſecond of Peter, or the third of John, were received by Clement, or ſo much as known to him. However, as to the third epiſtle of John, conſidering the ſhortneſs of it, we have no good argument to conclude he was unacquainted with it.

IX. The book of the Revelation is ſeveral times quoted by Clement, and once in this manner: 'Such [n] an one, though here 'on earth he be not honoured with the firſt ſeat, ſhall ſit upon 'the four-and-twenty thrones, judging the people; as John ſays 'in the Revelation.' See Rev. iv. 4. xi. 16. But Clement [o] has together the words of ſeveral texts, and quotes by memory. See Matth. xix. 28. Luke, xxii. 30. And that he ſuppoſed this writer to be John the apoſtle, appears [p] from another

[l] Exstant itaque ſcripturæ divinæ Veteris & Novi Teſtamenti, abipſo principio uſque ad finem, Græco ſermone declaratæ Clementem Alexandrinum——cognomento Stromateum. Caſſiod. ad libr. de Inſtitutione Divin. Lectionum.

[m] Ἐν τοῖς ἄνω καὶ τέσσαρσι καὶ εἰκοσὶ θρόνοις, τὸν λαὸν κρίνων, ὡς φησιν ὁ Ἰωάννης. Strom. l. vi. p. 667. B.

[n] Vid. notas in h. l. edit. Oxon.

[o] Καὶ τοῦ Κυρίου, τοῦ ἀνοῖξαι τὸν, φησὶ, τὸν ἐμὸν ἀγγέλῳ ἐπιστόμῳ λόγῳ τὸ ἀκουστὸν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου φῶς ἀνατεῖλαι ψυχαῖς ἐθέλουσι. Pæd. l. ii. c. 12. p. 207. A.

place,

place, where he refers to Rev. xxi. 21. as the words of an † apostle.

X. I shall now immediately sum up the testimony given by Clement to the books of the New Testament. He has expressly owned the four gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, and the Acts of the apostles, which he also ascribes to Luke. He owns likewise all the fourteen epistles of Paul, except the epistle to Philemon, which he has no where mentioned, that we know of; but this omission may be very well supposed owing to no other reason but the brevity of that epistle. He has also quoted the first epistle of Peter, the first and second epistle of John, and the epistle of Jude, and the book of the Revelation; but we have not found any quotations of the epistle of James, the second of Peter, or the third of John, nor any evidences that these were owned by him.

XI. I shall in the next place observe some general names, titles, and divisions of the books of the N. T. and some expressions of high respect for them.

Quoting some of our gospels: 'For proof of this,' says [p] Clement, 'I need not use many words, but only to allege the 'evangelic voice of the Lord.' Again: 'The [q] Lord will 'confirm this by what he says in the gospel. And: 'The [r] 'Lord expressly in the gospel.' Again: 'It is said [s] in the 'gospels.'

He quotes the epistles of Paul and the other apostles in this manner: 'Wherefore [t] the blessed apostle: Admirably [u] the 'blessed Peter.' It should be Paul. He refers to words in 1 Tim. ii. 'Excellently [x] well the divine apostle directs us to 'put on Christ: The excellent * apostle: The [y] admirable 'Paul admonishes: The [z] Holy Spirit in the apostle says.'

'If there is one master in heaven, as the [a] scripture says: 'Therefore [b] also the scripture says.' He calls them 'Divine [c] 'scriptures, divinely inspired [d] scriptures.' Again: 'Which '[e] are written in the holy books.'

† However, see Lampe in Johan. Evang. t. i. p. 117. not. (d.) [p] Την ευαγγελιον του Κυριου παραθεμενω φωνην. Pæd. lib. i. p. 117. D. [q] Εν τω αυτω μαρτυρησει Κυριος ευαγγελιοις λεγων. p. 118. B. [r] Σαφως δε ο Κυριος, εν τοις ευαγγελιοις. Pæd. l. ii. p. 210. B. [s] Εν τοις ευαγγελιοις λεγεται. Strom. l. i. p. 325. C. [t] Δια τουτο ο μακαριος αποστολος. Adm. ad Gent. p. 54. A. B. [u] Πανυ ουν θαυμασιως ο Πετρος ο μακαριος. Pæd. l. ii. p. 211. B. [x] Παγκαλως ημιν θειος αποστολος συμβουλευει, κ. λ. Pæd. l. iii. p. 245. B. [y] Κατα τον γενναιον αποστολον. Str. l. ii. p. 420. [y] Ο θεοπνευστος παρηνεσε Παυλος. Str. l. v. p. 546. D. [z] Το εν τω αποστολω αγιον πνευμα λεγει. Pæd. l. i. p. 106. A. [a] Ως φησιν η γραφη. Pæd. l. i. p. 88. A. [b] Διο και φησιν η γραφη. p. 112. A. [c] Μετα μικρον δι και θειαις επιστυφω γραφαις. Pæd. l. iii. p. 219. A. [d] Κατα τας θεοπνευστους γραφας. Str. l. vi. p. 761. B. [e] Εγγεγραφεται ταις βιβλοις ταις αγιαις. Str. l. i. p. 264. C.

Clement

Clement obſerves, that there is a conſent and harmony between [f] the 'law and the prophets, the apoſtles and the goſpel.' This and other paſſages ſhew, the ſacred Chriſtian ſcriptures were divided into two parts, under the titles of apoſtolical epiſtles, and goſpels. Again: 'There is [g] one God, who is 'preached by the law, the prophets, and the goſpel.' Here, and in other places, the goſpel is the whole New Teſtament. 'That we ſhould do theſe things, both [h] the goſpel and the 'apoſtle command.' Having cited the words of Tit. iii. 3, he adds: 'As the [i] apoſtolical ſcripture ſays.' Here the apoſtle, and the apoſtolical ſcripture, mean the collection of epiſtles, and the goſpel is the collection of the goſpels. He ſays again: 'The law [k] and prophets, together with the goſpel, conduct to 'one and the ſame knowledge in the name of Chriſt.' And: 'There [l] are two ways ſpoken of by the goſpel, and the apo-'ſtles, and by all the prophets.' In the treatiſe, 'Who is the 'rich man that may be ſaved,' he uſes theſe terms: '[m] Pro-'phecies, goſpels, and apoſtolical words.'

He ſays: 'The [n] ſcriptures, which we believe have been con-'firmed by almighty authority;' and that 'one God, and Al-'mighty Lord, is taught by the law, and the prophets, and the 'bleſſed goſpel.' He calls the books of the New Teſtament, '[o] the true evangelical canon.' Finally, he [p] calls them the 'ſcriptures of the Lord,' and recommends the reading them, 'as uſeful and neceſſary for proving what we aſſert.'

XII. It remains only, that we now enquire whether Clement quotes any other writings as ſacred, or of authority, and with the ſame reſpect which he expreſſes for thoſe now commonly received as canonical, of which we have hitherto ſpoken. And it has been already obſerved, upon the third paſſage of Euſebius concerning this father, that his writing notes upon any book is no certain proof that he owned it for ſacred, or of authority.

But that we may the better judge of this queſtion, we ſhall conſider particularly Clement's quotations of two ſorts of writ-

[f] [illegible] Str. l. vi. p. 659. C.

[g] [illegible] Str. l. iv. p. 510. A.

[h] [illegible] κελευουσι.

[i] [illegible] γραφη. p. 4. A.

[k] [illegible] Str. l. iii. p. 455. C.

[l] Παλιν αυ [illegible] Str. l. v. p. 561. A.

[m] Πιστευτεω προφητειαις, ευαγγελιοις, λογοις αποστολικοις. Quis D. S. prope fin.

[n] Ως και τας γραφας, αις πεπιστευκαμεν, κυριας ουσας εκ αυθεντιας παντοκρατορικης επιδειξαντας, . . . ενα δεικνυναι Θεον, και Κυριον παντοκρατορα, τον δια νομου, και προφητων, προς δε και του μακαριου ευαγγελιου. Str. l. iv. p. 475. A.

[o] Τω κατα την αληθειαν ευαγγελικῳ στοιχησαντες κανονι. Str. l. iii. p. 453 D.

[p] Ητε των γραφων των κυριακων αναγνωσις εις αποδειξιν των λεγομενων ανωγκαια. Str. l. vi. p. 660. C.

ings;

ings; those which we call Christian and ecclesiastical writings, and some others which we generally call apocryphal.

Of the former sort there are several; the epistle of Barnabas, the epistle of Clement of Rome, and the Shepherd of Hermas. These are the books, of this sort, which seem to be quoted by Clement with higher marks of respect than others, as they are deserving of it on account of their early age, and their authors acquaintance with the apostles or apostolical men. We have no occasion to take notice here of Tatian, or any other writers beside these.

1. St. Barnabas is cited by Clement five or six times at least. I shall observe the manner of these quotations. 'Rightly 'therefore said the apostle Barnabas.' And soon after: 'And 'the apostle Barnabas: Thus says Barnabas: Truly 'Barnabas says mystically: For this I need not [u] use many words, 'but only to allege the testimony of the apostolic Barnabas, 'who was one of the seventy, and fellow-labourer of Paul.' In another [x] place Barnabas is mentioned, where his name seems to have been put by mistake for Clement.

Upon these citations I shall make but two remarks. First, that Clement, though he sometimes calls Barnabas apostle, does not hereby mean, that he was an apostle in the highest sense of the word; so as the twelve, and Paul, were apostles. The word is sometimes used in an inferior sense by the ancient Christians. I need not refer to particular places. However I will just observe, that [y] Tertullian calls all the seventy disciples apostles: and it is plain that Clement so uses the word; for at another time he calls Barnabas apostolical only, and says, he 'was one 'of the seventy, and fellow-labourer of Paul.' These are the highest characters which he really intends to give to Barnabas, and what he means when he styles him apostle: therefore he need not be supposed to ascribe to Barnabas that large measure of inspiration and high authority, which was peculiar to the apostles, strictly and properly so called.

Secondly, it has been observed by [z] Cotelerius, and by Mr. [a] Jones after him, that Clement contradicts an assertion of Bar-

[q] Γινώσκων ἐν ὁ ἀπόστολος Βαρνάβας. Str. l. ii. p. 373. B. [r] Καὶ Βαρνάβας ὁ ἀπόστολος. p. 375. B. [s] Τοῦτο μὲν ὁ Βαρνάβας. p. 389. D. φησὶν ὁ Βαρνάβας. Str. l. v. p. 571. D. [t] Ἀμελεῖ, μᾶλλον δὲ οὐκ ἐπίσταται Βαρνάβας. Str. l. ii. p. 396. D. [u] Οὐχ ἵνα πολλὰ ἐπάγω λόγους, παρεκβαίνων μᾶλλον τὸν τοῦ ἀποστολικοῦ Βαρνάβα· ὃς ἦν εἷς τῶν ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ συνεργὸς τοῦ Παύλου. p. 410. D. [x] Str. l. vi. p. 646. C.

[y] Adlegit & alios septuaginta apostolos super duodecim. Adv. Marcion. l. iv. c. 24. p. 540. D. [z] Quippe qui eum quod credidit esse Barnabæ, impugnat, non suppresso honoris causa nomine. Pseudo-Logi, l. ii. c. 10. Id porro nequaquam committit, si ad canonem pertinere sibi arbitretur. Cotelar. Judicium de Ep. S. Barnabæ. [a] The New and Full Method, &c. vol. ii. p. 537.

nabas in a place where he cites ſome of his expreſſions, without naming him; 'which,' ſays Cotelerius, 'he would not have 'done, if he had thought his epiſtle belonged to the canon.'

2. St. Clement of Rome is alſo ſeveral times quoted by our Clement. As, 'Clement [b] in the epiſtle to the Corinthians:' And, 'the [c] apoſtle Clement, in the epiſtle to the Corin-'thians.' In another place: 'It is [d] written in the epiſtle of 'the Romans to the Corinthians.' And in ſome other [e] places this epiſtle is quoted as Clement's.

Upon theſe citations we may obſerve, that when our author calls Clement apoſtle, he gives him that title in the inferior ſenſe of the word, as equivalent to apoſtolical, in the like manner that he had given it before to Barnabas: it cannot be here uſed by him otherwiſe. Clement was not an apoſtle in the ſtricteſt and higheſt ſenſe of the word. And farther it is to be obſerved, that he conſiders this epiſtle as the epiſtle alſo of the church of Rome.

3. Hermas too is frequently quoted by Clement. I ſhall take thoſe places which contain the ſtrongeſt expreſſions of reſpect, and refer the reader for the reſt to the teſtimonies in Le Clerc's Patres Apoſtolici. 'Divinely [f] therefore the power 'which ſpeaks to Hermas by revelation. For [g] the power that 'appeared in viſion to Hermas ſays.' And, 'The [h] ſhepherd, 'the angel of repentance, ſays to Hermas concerning the falſe 'prophet.' And in ſome other places: 'The [i] ſhepherd ſays: '[i] the ſhepherd ſays.'

Concerning theſe citations of Hermas, I think we may ſay, it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe that Clement could not aſcribe to Her- a higher character than that given to Barnabas and Cle- : which is that of apoſtolical, or apoſtle in the lower ſenſe the word.

4. And with regard to the citations of theſe three writers, I would obſerve in general, that it ſeems not very eaſy to deter- the exact meaſure or degree of reſpect which Clement had for them; but I do not perceive any plain evidence of his having the ſame reſpect for them which he had for the goſpels, and the epiſtles of the apoſtles. He might well eſteem them worthy of the higheſt reſpect, next to that given to apoſtles:

[b] Str. l. i. p. 280. A. [c] Str. l. iv. p. 516. A. [d] Str. l. v. p. 566 B. [e] Str. l. iv. p. 518. C. p. 563. B. [f] Str. l. i. p. 356. B. [g] Str. l. ii. p. 360. A. [h] Str. l. i. p. 311. D. [i] Str. l. ii. p. 384. D. l. iv. p. 503. C.

and,

and, in citing books of the next order to thoſe of the apoſtles, the forms of citation may poſſibly bear a reſemblance with thoſe uſed when their writings are cited. But ſtill there may be a ſuperior regard had to the writings of the apoſtles above all other; as I think there was by our Clement, and all catholic Chriſtians in general.

Mark and Luke, apoſtolical men, may write hiſtories of our Lord's and his apoſtles' preaching, and doctrine, and miracles, which ſhall be received as ſacred, and of authority; but no epiſtles, or other writings, delivering doctrines and precepts (except only in the way of hiſtorical narration) can be of authority, but thoſe written by apoſtles. Many of the ancient Chriſtian writers ſeem to have gone upon this ſuppoſition. Some inſtances of it muſt have been obſerved in the paſſages we have (E) already produced. But the more particular conſideration of this point is deferred till hereafter.

XIII. Beſide theſe, there are other books, called apocryphal, cited by Clement: and it has been thought that ſome of them are quoted by him as authentic ſcripture. Le Clerc [k], and ſome others, are of this opinion. On the contrary, Mill [l] ſays, 'That though Clement quotes apocryphal goſpels, he carefully 'diſtinguiſhes them from ours, where there is occaſion.' The nature of our deſign will not allow us to omit an enquiry into this matter; but I hope that, after all that has been already ſaid, it may be diſpatched in a few words.

The books of this ſort quoted by Clement are theſe following: The goſpels according to the Hebrews, and according to the Egyptians; the Preaching of Peter, the Revelation of Peter, the Acts of Peter; Traditions of Matthias: to which we may add ſome words of Chriſt, not in our goſpels.

1. We ſhall begin with the two before-mentioned goſpels. The goſpel according to the Hebrews is but once expreſsly quoted by him. Having juſt before quoted the traditions of

(E) I ſuppoſe particularly, that Papias, Irenæus, and our Clement himſelf, go upon this ground in receiving St. Mark's goſpel as a faithful narrative of St. Peter's preaching; though written after that apoſtle's death, or not expreſsly approved by him. For Papias ſee p. 111, 112; for Irenæus, p. 158. 179, 180; and for Clement, in this chapter, Numb. III. p. 212, &c. But yet they do not receive the Shepherd of Hermas, the epiſtles of Clement of Rome, Polycarp, no nor Barnabas, as ſacred ſcripture, and of authority. This I think has appeared plainly with regard to St. Irenæus, Ch. XVII. Numb. XII. And I ſuppoſe that it has been now ſhewn of our Clement, that there is no proof he was of a contrary opinion.

[k] See Bibliothèque Univ. tome x. p. 195 and 230, &c.

[l] Cum enim in omnigenis veterum monumentis ſpatiaretur [Clemens A.] ac re quidem apocrypha evangelia præteriret intacta (quæ tamen, ubi opus eſt, caute diſtinguit a τῶν τεσσάρων ἡμῶν, ſive quatuor noſtris canonicis) & quæ ſeq. Prol. n. 607, edit. Kuſt.

Matthias,

Matthias, he adds: 'And [m] to the ſame purpoſe it is written in 'the goſpel according to the Hebrews: "He who admires "ſhall reign, and he who has reigned ſhall be at reſt."

The goſpel according to the Egyptians is quoted ſeveral times. The fragments of it preſerved in Clement may be ſeen in Grabe [n], and [o] Jones, and others. With regard to theſe goſpels we need only to obſerve theſe two things.

1.) That Clement owned our four goſpels, and thoſe only. This is evident from the paſſages before cited from Clement, and from the numerous quotations of theſe goſpels in all his works.

2.) In ſeveral of the places where the goſpel according to the Egyptians is quoted there are expreſſions uſed by Clement, which ſhew that he did not own it as a genuine authentic hiſtory of Chriſt and his doctrine. 'But,' ſays he [p] in one place, 'they 'who oppoſe the creation of God by their ſpecious continence, 'urge alſo the things ſpoken to Salome, which I mentioned 'before: they are, I think, in the goſpel according to the 'Egyptians; for they ſay, that our Saviour himſelf ſaid:' which ſufficiently ſhews, that Clement was little acquainted with this goſpel, and had no regard to it, but when he was obliged to confute the falſe opinions which others endeavoured to ſupport by it. And it ſeems ſomewhat probable that he had never read the goſpel itſelf, but only the quotations of it which he had met with in heretical writers.

A little after: 'Well, [q] but do not they who chooſe to follow 'any thing, rather than the true evangelical canon, quote what 'follows there, as ſaid to Salome?' Again: 'Wherefore [r] Caſ- 'ſianus [an heretical writer of Clement's own time] ſays, that 'when Salome aſked, "When the things ſhould be known "concerning which ſhe enquired," the Lord anſwered——' To which Clement immediately replies: 'Firſt of all, we have 'not this paſſage in the four goſpels delivered to us, but in that 'according to the Egyptians.' See before, Numb. V. p. 221.

Mr. Jones has made ſeveral good remarks upon the paſſages of this goſpel in Clement. He aſſerts, that 'Clemens 'Alexandrinus never ſaw the goſpel of the Egyptians, nor

[m] Ἐπὶ τοῦτο καὶ γέγραπται ἐν τῷ καθ' Ἑβραίους εὐαγγελίῳ . . . ὁ θαυμάσας βασιλεύσει, καὶ ὁ βασιλεύσας ἀναπαήσεται. Str. l. ii. p. 380. A. [n] Spicil. t. i. p. 35. 36. [o] New and Full Method, Vol. i. p. 244—247.

[p] Οἱ δὲ ἀναίρεσιν ποιούμενοι τῆς κτίσεως τοῦ Θεοῦ διὰ τῆς ἐγκρατείας, καὶ τὰ πρὸς Σαλώμην λεχθέντα ἐπιφέρουσιν ἐπιτήδεια· φέρεται δὲ, οἶμαι, καὶ ταῦτα ἐν τῷ κατὰ Αἰγυπτίους εὐαγγελίῳ, φασὶ γάρ οἱ αὐτοὶ τοῦ Σωτῆρος εἰρηκέναι. κ.τ.λ. Str. l. iii. p. 452. C.

[q] Τί δὲ; οὐχὶ καὶ τὰ τῆς τοῦ πρὸς Σαλώμην ἐπιφερόμενα ἐπιζητοῦσι; ἔστιν μείζονα ἢ τὰ κατὰ τὸ ἀληθὲς εὐαγγέλιον τετράδα παραδεδομένα. Ibid. p. 453. D. [r] Str. l. iii. p. 465. C. D. [s] New and Full Method, &c. v. i. p. 253—257.

'made any citations out of it; but on the contrary rejected it, 'as an impious, heretical, and apocryphal book.'

I need ſay nothing more particularly about the goſpel according to the Hebrews, which is but once cited by Clement, and was probably unknown to him; for it being written in Hebrew, he could not read it in a language he was unacquainted with. It is likely, the ſingle paſſage cited out of it was taken at ſecond hand from ſome author who had made uſe of it.

I have but one thing to add: that what we have juſt ſeen in Clement ſeems to afford a convincing argument of the obſcurity of theſe goſpels at this time, and particularly of that according to the Egyptians. For if Clement, who lived at Alexandria, and was ſo well acquainted with almoſt all ſorts of books, had but a ſlight, or no knowledge at all of this goſpel, how obſcure muſt it have been at this time? how little regarded by catholic Chriſtians?

2. The next book of this ſort is, The Preaching of Peter, which is often quoted by this father. It is of this in particular that Le Clerc ſpeaks, when he ſays, Clement uſed apocryphal books. 'He [t] often cites,' ſays Le Clerc, 'ſuppoſitious books, 'as if they were owned by every body; as may be obſerved in 'the paſſage of the Preaching of St. Peter, which we before 'quoted; and in another of St. Paul, which ſeems to be taken 'out of the book of his Travels.' As to this paſſage of St. Paul, I think Le Clerc miſtaken about the book from whence Clement took it. It appears to be taken out of the ſame book, The Preaching of Peter.

In the place before referred to, [u] Le Clerc expreſſes himſelf thus: 'He cites alſo a book aſcribed to St. Peter, which was 'intitled, The Preaching of Peter. It is apparent that Clement 'had no doubt but the book was Peter's.' If this be ſo, it muſt be ſuppoſed Clement owned this as a book of ſcripture in the higheſt ſenſe: a writing of the apoſtle Peter would certainly be eſteemed by him of canonical authority. But herein I differ from Le Clerc.

1.) The firſt obſervation, therefore, upon Clement's citations of the book we are now examining, muſt be this: That I ſee no reaſon to think that this book was ſuppoſed by Clement, or any

[t] Il cite ſouvent des ecrits ſuppoſez, de même que s'ils avoient été reconnus de tout le monde, comme on le peut remarquer par le paſſage de la Predication de St. Pierre que l'on a rapporté, & par un autre de St. Paul, qui ſemble être tiré du livre de ſes Voyages. Bibl. Univ. as above, p. 231.

[u] Il cite ailleurs [Str. l. vi. p. 635.] un livre qu'on attribuoit a St. Pierre, & qui etoit intitulé Κηρυγμα Πετρου, La Predication de St. Pierre. Il paroit que Clement ne doutoit point que ce livre ne fut de St. Pierre. Ibid. p. 195.

one elſe, to be Peter's. The title of it imports no ſuch thing; nor do the forms of quotation uſed by Clement oblige us ſo to underſtand him. A book containing an account of Peter's diſcourſes may be called Peter's Preaching, whether written and compoſed by Peter, or another. If written by a diſciple of Peter, it is fitly called The Preaching of Peter: it is the ſubſtance of the book that gives it a right to that title. When Clement ſays: 'In the Preaching of Peter you may find the Lord called the Law and the Word:' or, 'Peter ſays in the 'Preaching,' or his Preaching; the plain meaning of theſe words is: Peter ſays this in the book intitled The Preaching of Peter; without determining, or ſo much as implying in the leaſt, that it was written and compoſed by that apoſtle. So Clement ſays: 'And [x] Peter ſays in the Acts: "*Of a truth I perceive that* "*God is no reſpecter of perſons.*" Ch. x. 34, 35. And it is common to ſay, that Peter, or Paul, ſays ſuch a thing in the Acts, without intending that the book of the Acts was written by either of thoſe apoſtles. There is a great uniformity in Clement's quotations of this book, the Preaching of Peter; and they none of them ſeem to imply any thing more than what I have ſaid. I have collected them for my own ſatisfaction, and ſhall put them in the [y] margin, becauſe they may be of uſe to others. Sometimes it is, 'Peter ſays in the Preaching:' ſometimes only, 'Peter ſays,' if he had but a little before expreſsly named the book: juſt as it is uſual to quote what Paul or Peter ſays in the Acts.

And that Clement did not ſuppoſe this book to be St. Peter's, may be argued from his quotation of a paſſage of St. Paul out of the ſame book, in this manner: 'This [z] the apoſtle Paul will 'manifeſt, ſaying in the Preaching of Peter.' This ſeems to ſhew, that Clement thought this book was compoſed by ſome perſon who wrote the hiſtory of Peter's preaching, inſerting alſo ſome diſcourſes of the apoſtle Paul, and perhaps of others likewiſe; but calling the whole, from the principal ſubject of it, The Preaching of Peter.

2.) I obſerve then farther, that Clement has no where men-

[x] Ῥαι μην και ο Πετρος εν ταις Πραξεσιν. Str. l. vi. p. 646. B. [y] Εν δε τῳ Πετρου κηρυγματι εὑρεις αν, κ. λ. Str. i. p. 357. A. ο Πετρος εν τῳ κηρυγματι. Str. ii. p. 390. A. Πετρος εν τῳ κηρυγματι λεγει. l. vi. p. 635. A. [illegible] διασαφησει Πετρος επιφερων. ibid. C. Δηλωσει προς τῳ Πετρου κηρυγματι ο αποστολος λεγων Παυλος. p. 636. C. Δια τουτο φησιν ο Πετρος [illegible] τον Κυριον τοις αποστολοις. κ. λ. ib. D. Αυτικα εν τῳ Πετρου κηρυγματι ο Κυριος φησι προς τους μαθητας μετα την αναστασιν. p. 639. B. οθεν και ο Πετρος εν τῳ κηρυγματι περι των αποστολων λεγων, φησιν. p. 678. A. [z] The Greek words are among the citations [y], and are thus juſtly rendered by Grabe: Declarabit in Petri Prædicatione apoſtolus Paulus dicens. Spic. T. i. p. 65. Whereas in the Latin verſion in St. Clement's works it is, præter Petri Prædicationem declarabit Paulus.

tioned the name of the author of this book, as he has done of the book of the Acts, containing the history of the preaching of Peter, and some others, though chiefly of Paul, which he has ascribed to St. Luke. Nor does it appear that he knew who was the author of the Preaching of Peter: if he had, it is likely he would have mentioned him. Of any book, to be received as of authority, one would be glad to know the name and character of the author; whether he was an apostle, or at least an apostolical man; a follower or disciple of apostles, and intimately acquainted with them.

3). Clement has no where called this book 'scripture,' or used any particular expression of high respect and veneration in his quotations of it.

4.) The testimony of Eusebius ought to be of considerable weight in this point. Having, in his Ecclesiastical History, spoken of the first and second epistle of Peter, he says: 'But[a] 'the book intitled his Acts, and the gospel named according 'to him, and that which is termed his Preaching, and that 'called his Revelation, we know that they have not been de-'livered (to us) as catholic writings; forasmuch as no eccle-'siastical writer of the ancients, or of our time, has made use of 'testimonies out of them.' It is very strange that Eusebius should so forget himself as to say this, if so great a man as Clement of Alexandria had quoted the Preaching of Peter, as a book of that apostle, or of an apostolical man. Or, if he had quoted it as a book of authority, we must suppose the stream of antiquity to have been strong against him; otherwise Eusebius could hardly have expressed himself in this manner.

5.) Nevertheless it seems that Clement, when he quotes any words of Peter, or Paul, out of this book, quotes them as if he thought them to be really theirs, and that they were there recorded in a credible manner. This seems to appear in these expressions: 'Peter says in the Preaching: This Peter himself 'will manifest, when he subjoins: Wherefore also Peter, in the 'Preaching, speaking of the apostles, says.' And yet perhaps it may be questioned, whether Clement has not so distinctly named this book, whenever he takes any thing out of it, with a design that every one may the better judge of the authority of what he produces from it: as much as to say, I take this out of the book intitled The Preaching of Peter; and let it avail

[a] Το τε μην των επικεκλημενων αυτου πραξεων, και το κατ' αυτον ωνομασμενον ευαγγελιον, το, τε λεγομενον αυτου κηρυγμα, και την καλουμενην αποκαλυψιν, ουδ' ολως εν καθολικοις ισμεν παραδεδομενα. ὁ μη τε αρχαιων μη τε των καθ' ημας τις εκκλησιαστικος συγγραφευς ταις εξ αυτων συνεχρησατο μαρτυριας. H. E. l. iii. §. 3. p. 72. A.

as

as much as it can. There may be ſome foundation for this conjecture, ſince Clement has never called this book Scripture, nor mentioned the name of the author or compoſer of it.

Upon the whole, it muſt be allowed to be difficult to decide, what authority Clement aſſigned to this book: but, at the ſame time, I ſee no proofs of his eſteeming it a book of ſacred ſcripture, in the higheſt meaning of theſe terms.

I would obſerve in general concerning the Preaching of Peter, which contained, as it ſeems, a hiſtory of the preaching of Peter chiefly, but alſo of the preaching of Paul, and perhaps of ſome others: that if it had been compoſed by an apoſtolical man, a diſciple of apoſtles, intimately acquainted with them, and there had been a credible tradition concerning the book, and the author of it; it might be a book of ſacred authority, like the Acts of the apoſtles, written by Luke, an apoſtolical man: provided alſo, that it had in it nothing manifeſtly falſe and abſurd; as I ſuppoſe it would not, if it had been written by ſuch a perſon, and credibly witneſſed to as ſuch. But hitherto we have not met with, as I apprehend, any teſtimony to this book, the Preaching of Peter, that it was written by an apoſtle, or an apoſtolical man.

No one, I hope, will be offended at the prolixity of the argument upon this queſtion, who conſiders the importance of it (F).

3. The

(F) I have diſcourſed largely of St. Clement's opinion of the authority of this book. I add a conjecture concerning the age of it. It was written before the end of the ſecond century, as appears from Clement's quotations of it: it was written after the Sibylline Verſes, becauſe it refers to them. If therefore they were compoſed about the middle of the ſecond century, this book was written ſomewhat later. That the Sibylline Verſes are referred to in this book, the Preaching of Peter, ſeems to me probable from two quotations of it in St. Clement, which I here put down. 'Firſt, as God deſired the ſalva-'tion of the Jews, giving them prophets; 'ſo likewiſe, raiſing up the moſt approved 'of the Greeks to be prophets to them in 'their own language, as they were able to 'receive the divine beneficence, he diſtin-'guiſhed them from the bulk of mankind, 'the apoſtle Paul will manifeſt in the 'Preaching of Peter, ſaying: "Take like-"wiſe the Greek books. Conſider the "Sibyl, how ſhe declares the one God, "and things future. Take alſo and read "Hyſtaſpes, and you will there find the "Son of God moſt clearly and evidently "deſcribed." Str. l. vi. p. 636. C. D. See Blondel Des Sibylles, l. i. c. 5. This ſuits our Sibylline Verſes; beſide that it alſo ſhews, that the Preaching of Peter was written after Hyſtaſpes, another forgery. In the other paſſage the Sibylline Verſes are plainly deſcribed: 'Whence alſo Pe-'ter in The Preaching, ſpeaking of the 'apoſtles, ſays: "But when we had pe-"ruſed the books which we had of the "prophets, mentioning Jeſus Chriſt ſome-"times in parables, ſometimes enigmati-"cally, ſometimes clearly and expreſsly; "we found his coming, and death, and "croſs, and all the other ſufferings which "the Jews inflicted on him, and his re-"ſurrection and aſſumption to heaven, be-"fore the building of Jeruſalem, as all "theſe things had been written, which he "was to ſuffer, and which ſhould be after "him." Str. l. vi. p. 678. A. B. [καθως εγεγραπτο παυλα παυλῳ, α δη και αυτα μαθοντες α εγραψαν. So I propoſe theſe words ſhould be pointed, and I have tranſlated them

3. The Revelation of Peter is to be next considered. Of this Eusebius has informed us, that Clement in his Institutions, where he had written notes upon divers books of scripture that were contradicted, had written notes also upon this. And it still appears quoted twice or thrice in the Extracts [b] of the Script. tures of the Prophets, supposed to be a fragment of Clement's Institutions, or collected out of them. But that this was not esteemed by Clement a book of authority, may be concluded from what Eusebius says in the passage lately cited from him, that it had not been delivered as a 'catholic writing' or scripture: and secondly, in that it is not quoted in any of the remaining works of Clement. If it had been reckoned by him a book of that character, it is very probable it would have been there quoted.

4. Clement has a passage too, which Grabe [c] supposes to have been in a book called the Acts of Peter: but if it was, it is plain this book was not owned by Clement, as a book of scripture; since he has never quoted it, and this passage is introduced by Clement as an uncertain report. 'They say [d] there-'fore of Peter,' and what follows: which shews, it is a matter of which he was not well assured.

5. Clement has likewise [e] cited a book called Traditions of Matthias, or Traditions in general, in which are some words ascribed to Matthias. But, from the places in which he mentions these Traditions, it is evident [f] he did not rely upon them, if he did not think them forged by some heretics. The passages of Clement, in which he mentions or refers to these Traditions,

them accordingly]. For the original words I must refer the more learned and inquisitive to St. Clement himself: but every one may judge of the probability of this argument from what we shall hereafter produce out of the Sibylline books. I would only observe farther at present, that whereas Peter in this second passage speaks of the 'books of the prophets;' in the style of the Christian writers about this time the Sibyl is often called a prophet or prophetess, particularly by St. Clement *himself*. Adm. ad Gent. p. 17. B. 32. D. 33. A. In the first of these quotations likewise he calls the Sibyls prophets. So also Theoph. ad Aut. l. ii. p. 112. A. B. Nor ought it to be reckoned any objection against this opinion, that this book was cited by Heracleon, a follower of Valentinus, as we learn from Origen. Comm. in Johan. T. xiv. p. 211. E. Indeed Heracleon is placed by Grabe at the year 123. Spicileg. T. i. p. 62. But his age is not certain. Vid. Massuet. Dissert. præv. in Irenæ. p. 52. §. 93. He might live much longer. He master Valentinus continued to the time of Anicetus, as we are assured by so good authority as that of St. Irenæus, l. iii. c. 4. §. 3. It is needless to guess at the writer of the Preaching of Peter; but possibly he is the author of the Sibylline Verses. He might well be fond of so curious a work, and recommend it in his following performances: it is very likely they were not his only forgery. See Jones, New and Full Method, v. i. p. 453—456.

[b] §. 41. 48, 49. [c] Vid. Spicileg. Patr. T. i. p. 79. [d] Φασι γουν τον μακαριον Πετρον, κ. λ. Str. l. vii. p. 736. B.

[e] Ματθιας εν ταις παραδοσεσι φησιν. Str. l. ii. p. 380. A. [f] Λεγουσι γαρ [Carpocratiani] και τον Ματθιαν εφας διδαξαι. Str. l. iii. p. 436. D. Vid. & Str. vii. p. 765. B.

are collected by Grabe [g], and [h] Jones, to whom the reader is referred. There is no need we should insist any longer upon them here.

But, beside the passages collected by those learned men from Clement's remaining Greek works, there [i] is another passage in the Latin Adumbrations upon the first epistle of St. John, taken from some traditions: which passage supposeth the genuineness of that epistle of St. John. Beausobre is of opinion, that [k] this passage was in a work of Leucius, called Travels of the Apostles, of which some account may be seen in the third volume of this work [l].

6. Clement has also a saying, which he is supposed to ascribe to our Lord: 'Ask,' [m] says he, 'great things, and the small 'shall be added to you.' These words are not exactly in any of our gospels, and it has been suspected that he took them out of some other gospel; but it has been sufficiently shewn that Clement owned only our four gospels. This passage may be allowed then to be a loose quotation of the sense of Matth. vi. 33. without confining himself exactly to the words of the text. Mr. Jones [n] was much of this opinion, when he says: 'Cle-'ment rather chose to expound the words [of Matth. vi. 33.], 'than literally to cite them. And this is most undeniably 'proved by another place, which I find in the same Clement, 'where he both produces the text, and these words as an ex-'position. Seek ye first the [o] kingdom of heaven and its righ-'teousness, "*for these are the great things; but the small things,*" 'and things relating to this life, these shall be added to you.' Perhaps this exposition was added to the 33d verse of the sixth chapter of Matthew, in some copies of that gospel. The curious may do well to consult Mill upon the place.

This is the only 'saying of Christ,' not in our gospels, taken

[g] Spicileg. Patr. T. ii. p. 117. 118.

[h] New and Full Method of settling the canonical Authority of the N. T. vol. i. p. 316, & seq.

[i] Fertur ergo in traditionibus, quoniam Joannes ipsum corpus quod erat extrinsecus tangens, manum suam in profunda misisse, et ei duritiam carnis nullo modo reluctatam esse, sed locum manui præbuisse discipuli. Propter quod et infert: Et manus nostræ contrectaverunt de verbo vitæ, &c. Adumbr. in 1 Joh. i. 1. p. 1009.

[k] Comme on opposoit aux Docetes la predication et les ecrits des apôtres, il y en eut d'assez hardis pour composer de faux Actes de ces saints hommes, ou ils les faisoient parler conformement à leurs erreurs. C'est ce que fit en particulier Leuce Carin, dans un livre, qu'il intitula Les Voyages des Apôtres. Clement d'Alexandrie l'a cité sous le nom de Traditions, dans un petit Commentaire sur la 1 Ep. de S. Jean.—Nous verrons tout à l'heure, que cette fable se trouvoit dans Les Voyages de S. Jean par Leuce. Beaus. Hist. de Manich. T. i. p. 383.

[l] See ch. 63. sect. vi. numb. ix.

[m] Αἰτεισθε γαρ, φησι, τα μεγαλα, και τα μικρα υμιν προστεθησεται. Str. l. i. p. 346. B.

[n] As before, p. 553.

[o] Ζητειτε δε πρωτον την βασιλειαν των ουρανων, και την δικαιοσυνην. ταυτα γαρ μεγαλα· τα δε μικρα, και περι τον βιον, ταυτα προστεθησεται υμιν. Str. l. iv. p. 488. A.

out of Clement, in Grabe's collection [p] of these things. As for any quotations of words of Christ from the gospel according to the Hebrews, or the gospel according to the Egyptians, we have sufficiently considered them already, in what has been said of those gospels.

I think, upon the whole, it appears that there is no good reason to suppose that St. Clement received as 'scripture,' in the highest sense of the word, any Christian writings beside the books of the New Testament, now commonly received by us.

XIV. I have as yet taken no particular notice of St. Clement's opinion of the Sibylline books: for, if they are genuine, they are not a Christian, but a Jewish or a Heathen writing, published long before the nativity of our Saviour. However, I think myself obliged to acknowledge, before I conclude this chapter, that St. Clement, St. Theophilus, and some other Greek fathers of the second century, had a much greater respect for the Sibyls than they deserved: for I am well satisfied that the Sibylline Verses quoted by them are the forgery of some Christian. The ancient Sibylline Verses did not recommend the worship of the one God alone, condemning all manner of idolatry, as these do which are cited by [q] Justin, [r] Theophilus, and [s] Clement; not to mention at present any other things. Nevertheless it must be owned, that Clement calls the Sybil a prophetess, and seems to quote her verses as scripture, in the strictest sense of the word [u], together with the scriptures of the Old Testament: so that if there be any books improperly advanced by him into the rank of sacred scripture, we may say that the Sibylline are the books. But yet, after all, I think it not likely that he did esteem them of equal authority with the books of the Jewish canon.

I shall observe but one thing more: That Clement himself affords us evidence, that those verses, which he quotes to the Greeks, were rejected by them in his time. For having pro-

[p] Spicileg. Patr. T. i. p. 14.

[q] Cohort. ad Gr. p. 16, 17. [r] Ad Autol. l. ii. p. 112, 113. [s] Admon. ad Gent. p. 32. D. 41. *a*. & alibi.

[t] Ὥρα τοινυν, . . . επι τας προφητικας ιεμαι γραφας· . . . γραφαι δε αι θειαι, και πολλαχοι σαφεσεις, ευρησεις σαφεστατας εδε· . . . αυτικα γουν η προφητις ημιν φησιν προϊν Σιβυλλα το φασμα το σαλπιγκτον . . . ενθεως ουδεν την μεν απαξ απεικαζεσα τον σαλπιγκτην. . . . Ιερεμιας δε ο προφητης, ο παιδοφυης, μαλλον δε εν Ιερεμια το αγιον πνευμα, κ. λ. Adm. ad G. p. 50. C. D. 51. A. [u] If the Sibylline Verses are the prophetical books recommended in the Preaching of Peter, as appears probable from what has been said at note (F), they seem to be represented also as ancient and divine scripture by the author of that work. I shall transcribe his words, to be considered by those who are so disposed. So Peter goes on in the place there cited: Καθως εγεγραπται παλαι παλιν, ινα δυο αυτων παθη, και μεσον αυτων α εστι. Τουτων ουν επιγνωσεις, επιγνωσομεθα τον Θεον δια του γεγραμμενου εις αυτον. Και μεσον ολιγα επιφερει παλιν, θελω προειπειν τας προφητειας γεγενησθαι παρ' ας ηκουσας αδε· Γεγραπται γαρ ότι ο Θεος αυτα προειδεν ουτως, και ουδεν εξω γραφης λεγομεν. Str. l. vi. p. 678. B.

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posed to them the 'Sybil [x] prophetess, as a mistress' to teach them, and quoted some verses from her, he adds: 'But [y] if you 'do not choose to hearken to a prophetess, hear your philoso-'pher, the Ephesian Heraclitus.' Why should they not hearken to a prophetess as readily as to a philosopher? Clement gives us the reason: the philosopher was theirs, the prophetess not. The heathen people therefore knew nothing of these verses till they were found out, or rather forged, by some Christian, and then incautiously and imprudently recommended by others.

CHAP. XXIII.

POLYCRATES. His HISTORY.

POLYCRATES [a] was bishop of the church of Ephesus, the latter part of the second century. He was the eighth Christian bishop of his family. About the year 196, he called a numerous synod of the bishops of Asia, upon occasion of the controversy about the time of celebrating Easter, which was then kept by the churches of Asia Minor on the fourteenth day of the moon, on whatever day of the week it happened; but by the Romans, and most other churches, on the Lord's day following. Victor, bishop of Rome, required the bishops of Asia to follow the custom of other churches. Polycrates, having consulted the bishops of Asia, wrote a letter with their approbation to Victor, and the church of Rome, declaring their resolution to keep Easter at the time they had hitherto observed it: whereupon Victor excommunicated [b] all the churches of Asia, and those in their neighbourhood. Of this epistle there are two fragments in Eusebius. This is in short the history of Polycrates. It will be confirmed by that part of his letter which I am now about to transcribe, so far as is suitable to our purpose.

Only I would first of all observe, that Jerom [c] confirms the account given by Eusebius; and farther speaks of Polycrates as

[x] Διδασκαλον δε ἐμιν παραθησομαι την προφη-[illegible]. Adm. ad G. p. 32. D.

[y] Ἐν δε, αλλ' ει μη προφητιδος επακουεις, του γε σου αλλοσον φιλοσοφου του Εφεσιου Ηρακλειτου. ib. p. 33. B.

[a] Vid. Eus. H. E. l. iii. c. 31. l. v. c. 24.

[b] Eus. l. v. c. 24. p. 192. B. C. & Socrat. H. E. l. v. c. 22. p. 284. B.

[c] Hæc propterea posui, ut ingenium & auctoritatem viri ex parvo opusculo demonstrarem. Floruit temporibus Severi principis. De Vir Ill. cap. 45.

a person

a perſon of conſiderable capacity and authority; and ſays, he flouriſhed in the time of the emperor Severus, who began his reign in 193.

'We therefore,' ſays [d] Polycrates, 'obſerve the true and genuine day, neither adding nor detracting any thing. For in Aſia there are great lights buried, which ſhall be raiſed up in the day of the Lord's advent, in which he ſhall come with glory from heaven, and ſhall raiſe up all his ſaints; as Philip, one of the twelve apoſtles; and moreover John, who leaned upon the Lord's breaſt. And what need I mention Melito, the eunuch, who conducted himſelf in all things by the Spirit; who reſts in Sardis, expecting the viſitation from heaven, at which he ſhall riſe from the dead? All [f] theſe have kept the day of Eaſter on the fourteenth day according to the goſpel; not tranſgreſſing in the leaſt, but following the rule [or canon] of faith. And ſo have I Polycrates, who am the leaſt of all, according to the tradition of my relations, ſome of whom alſo I have followed; for ſeven of my relations have been biſhops, and I am the eighth: and my relations always kept the day, when the people [of the Jews] caſt away their leaven. I therefore, brethren, who [g] am ſixty-five years of age in the Lord, and who have converſed with the brethren in many parts of the world, and have read over all the holy ſcripture, am not moved at what I am threatened with. For they who are greater than me have ſaid: "*We ought to obey God rather than men.*" Acts, v. 29.

We are at preſent to obſerve only what has a relation to any particular books of the New Teſtament, or to the collection of them in general.

When Polycrates calls Melito an eunuch, poſſibly he refers to Matth. xix. 12. where our Lord ſays: *There be eunuchs, which have made themſelves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's ſake.*

When he obſerves of John, that he 'leaned on the Lord's breaſt;' he very probably refers to thoſe places of St. John's goſpel where this particular is mentioned: as ch. xiii. 25. xxi. 20.

Where he ſays, that greater than he had ſaid: *We ought to obey God rather than men*, there is an undoubted reference to Acts, v. 29.

[d] Ap. Euſ. p. 191. [e] Και δε και επι τουτοις ο επι τω στηθει του Κυριου πεπτωκως Ιωαννης, ος εγενηθη ιερευς το πεταλον φορησας, μαρτυς και διδασκαλος, ουτος εν Εφεσω κεκοιμηται. p. 191. D.

[f] Ουτοι παντες εφηρμοσαν την ημεραν της τεσσαρεσκαιδεκατης κατα το ευαγγελιον, μηδεν παρεκβαινοντες, αλλα κατα τον κανονα της πιστεως πορευομενοι. p. 191. E.

[g] Εγω δε ουν, ω αδελφοι, εξηκοντα πεντε ετη εχων εν Κυριω και συμβεβληκως τοις κατα τας παροικιας αδελφοις πασαι ηλικιαι γραφην διελθουσιν, ου φοβιζομαι τα προκειμενα. Οι γαρ εμου μειζονες ειπαν, πειθαρχειν δει Θεω μαλλον η ανθρωποις. p. 192. A.

He

He moreover ſpeaks of many who had obſerved this feaſt on the fourteenth day, 'according to the goſpel;' probably meaning thereby the collection of goſpels, which he likewiſe calls 'the rule of faith.'

Laſtly, he ſays, he had 'read over the holy ſcripture;' meaning, it is likely, the ſcriptures of the Old and the New Teſtament, and perhaps thoſe of the New in particular.

This teſtimony needs not be ſummed up: it lies in a ſhort compaſs.

CHAP. XXIV.

HERACLITUS, *and ſeveral other writers near the end of the ſecond century.*

HERACLITUS, ſays [a] Cave, flouriſhed about the year 196. He is mentioned by Euſebius in his [b] Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, together with ſeveral other writers of the church, who lived in the reign of Commodus and Severus, or about that time.

'Moreover,' ſays he, 'there ſtill remain, in the hands of many, 'divers monuments of the laudable induſtry of thoſe ancient 'and eccleſiaſtical men. Of ſuch of them as have come to our 'knowledge [c] are the writings [or commentaries] of Heraclitus 'upon the apoſtle: and of Maximus, concerning the queſtion 'ſo much diſcourſed of among the heretics, Whence proceeds 'evil? and concerning the creation of matter: and of Candidus 'upon the ſix days work, and of Appion upon the ſame argu-'ment. Likewiſe the treatiſe of Sextus on the reſurrection, and 'a book of Arabianus, and innumerable other:' whoſe time, Euſebius ſays, he did not know. He goes on: 'There are 'beſides treatiſes of many others, whoſe names we have not 'been able to learn; [d] orthodox and eccleſiaſtical men, as the 'interpretations of the divine ſcripture given by each one of 'them manifeſt.'

St. Jerom has inſerted a ſhort account, in his book of Illuſtrious Men, of all theſe writers, whom Euſebius has mentioned by name: of [e] Heraclitus, [f] Maximus, [g] Candidus, [h] Appion, [i] Sextus, and [k] Arabianus. And Euſebius in another work [l] has

[a] Hiſt. Lit. p. 60. [b] L. v. c. 27. [c] Ων γε μην αυτοι διεγνημεν, ειη τα Ηρακλειτου [illegible] ib. [d] Ορθοδοξων μεν και εκκλησιαστικων, ως γε δη η εκαστου παραδοιλευσι της [illegible] ibid. [e] Cap. 46. [f] Cap. 47. [g] Cap. 48. [h] Cap. 49. [i] Cap. 50. [k] Cap. 51. [l] Præp. Evan. l. vii. p. 337. A. &c.

preſerved

preſerved a large fragment of Maximus, of whom he there gives a great encomium.

Of Heraclitus St. Jerom [m] ſays, agreeably to Euſebius: 'In 'the time of Commodus and Severus he wrote commentaries 'upon the apoſtle:' by which is generally underſtood, that Heraclitus wrote commentaries upon the epiſtles of St. Paul. It is pity, Euſebius, or Jerom, if they had read Heraclitus, did not give us a more particular account of his performance, and how many of the apoſtle's epiſtles he had explained.

I have nothing farther to add here, but that it may be probably concluded that all, or moſt, of thoſe writers, who, as Euſebius ſays, had manifeſted their orthodoxy by their 'interpre-'tations of the divine ſcriptures,' had taken ſome notice of the books of the New, as well as of the Old Teſtament.

CHAP. XXV.

HERMIAS.

HERMIAS has left us a ſhort, but elegant diſcourſe, called [a] A Deriſion, or banter, of the Gentile Philoſophers. In the inſcription of this work he has the title of Philoſopher; but who he was, and when he lived, is unknown. Some have thought him to be a writer [b] of the fourth or fifth century: Cave ſuppoſes that he wrote in the ſecond century; whoſe arguments appear to me ſufficient to render his opinion probable. The work itſelf ſeems to ſhew, as that learned author [c] obſerves, that Gentiliſm ſtill prevailed: and Du Pin [d] agrees with him, that it was written before the fall of Paganiſm. Tillemont [e] likewiſe thinks the argument of his book gives ground to ſuppoſe, it was written in the firſt ages of the church. I have therefore placed him here in the laſt year of the ſecond century.

[m] Heraclitus ſub Commodi Severique imperio in apoſtolum commentarios compoſuit. De Vir. Ill. c. 46. [a] Ερμιου φιλοσοφου διασυρμος των εξω φιλοσοφων.

[b] Vid. Cave Hiſt. Lit. P. i. p. 50. P. ii. p. 35, 36. Fabric. Bib. Gr. Tom. v. p. 96. [c] Ex toto opuſculi contextu conſtare videtur, vigente adhuc gentiliſmo ſcriptum fuiſſe. Hiſt. Lit. P. ii. p. 36.

[d] Il n'y a pas de doute, qu'il eſt ancien, & qu'il vivoit avant que la religion payenne fut détruit. Bibl. Ecc. Tom. i.

[e] Tout ce que nous en pouvons dire, c'eſt que ſon ſujet donne lieu de croire, qu'il écrivoit dans les premiers ſiecles de l'Egliſe, où l'on s'occupoit à détruire le paganiſme. Memoires Ecc. T. iii. p. i. en Hermogene.

I have

I have not obſerved, in this diſcourſe, any reference to the books of the New Teſtament, except a quotation at the very beginning of it, to this purpoſe: 'The [f] bleſſed apoſtle Paul, 'writing to the Corinthians in Laconic Greece, did not ſpeak 'beſide the purpoſe, when he ſaid: *The wiſdom of this world is 'foliſhneſs with God.*' 1 Cor. iii. 19.

CHAP. XXVI.

SERAPION.

WE have already ſeen the teſtimony of two biſhops of the church of Antioch, Ignatius and Theophilus; under which laſt we obſerved the ſucceſſion of the biſhops of that church from the time of the apoſtles. Theophilus was ſucceeded [a] by Maximin, about the year 181; and he by Serapion, the eighth in that ſucceſſion, who was biſhop from about [b] the year 190 to 211, or ſomewhat later. I may therefore well place him here, at the year 200.

Euſebius [c] ſays, Serapion wrote many pieces: but he had not ſeen any of them, beſide a letter to Caricus and Ponticus, concerning the Montaniſts; another to Domninus, who in the time of the perſecution [probably that of Severus] forſook the faith of Chriſt, and turned Jew; and ſome other epiſtles. 'There 'is alſo,' ſays Euſebius, 'another book of his concerning the 'Goſpel intitled according to Peter, wherein he confutes the 'falſities of that Goſpel; which book he compoſed for the ſake 'of ſome in the pariſh of Rhoſſus [in Cilicia], who by means of 'that writing were led into heterodox opinions. It cannot be 'improper to tranſcribe ſome ſhort paſſages, in which he de-'clares his ſentiment of that book.' "We, [d] brethren, receive "Peter, and the other apoſtles, as Chriſt: but, as ſkilful men, "we reject thoſe writings which are falſely aſcribed to them;

[f] Παυλος ὁ μακαριος απoστολος, τοις εν τη Ελλαδι τοις Λακωνικοις παρινεσι Κορινθιοις γραφων, ουκ εξω τoυ σκoπoυ ελεγεν· η σoφια τoυ κoσμoυ τoυτoυ μωρια παρα τω Θεω, και ασκοπως ειπων. P. 175. B. Pariſ. [a] Vid. Euſ. H. E. l. iv. c. 24. l. v. c. 19. [b] Vid. Cave Hiſt. Lit. p. 52. Du Pin. Bibl. Tillemont. Mem. Ec. T. ii. Les Montaniſtes, art. iv. & T. iii. Serapion. [c] H. E. l. vi. c. 12. [d] Ημεις γαρ αδελφοι, και Πετρον και τους αλλους απoστoλους απoδεχoμεθα· ως Χριστον· τα δε σκoμματα αυτων ψευδεπιγραφα, ως συγγραφων παραιτoυμεθα. Γινωσκoντες, ὁτι τα τοιαυτα ου παρελαβομεν. Εγω γαρ μεταξυ παρ' ὑμιν, υπoνoησας τινας τoυτων εξω πιπτειν σπoυδαζoντων. Και μη διαλαθειν τι εκ αυτων σπoυδαζoντα σκoμμα. Πετρoυ ευαγγελιον, ειτουν· Ὁτι ε. τουτο εστι μερoς τι δυνασθαι παρεχειν μικρολυχνια, σκανδαλιζoμενoις. κ. λ. ibid.

"well

" well knowing, that we have received no ſuch. When I was " with you, I ſuppoſed you had all held the right faith; and, " not having read the Goſpel offered to me under the name of " Peter, I ſaid, if that be the only thing that cauſeth a diffe- " rence among you, let it be read. But now having under- " ſtood, by what has been told me, that their minds are ſecretly " filled with ſome hereſy, I will do my endeavour to come to " you again: therefore, brethren, you may expect me ſhortly. " And we, brethren, have found what was the hereſy of Mar- " cianus, and that he contradicted himſelf, not underſtanding " what he ſaid: as you may perceive from what is here written " to you. For we have obtained the ſight of that Goſpel from " others that make uſe of it; that is, from the ſucceſſors of thoſe " who were the authors of that opinion, whom we call (A) Do- " cetæ, (for the chief ſentiments of it belong to that ſect). Hav- " ing [e] therefore obtained it of them to read it over, we have " found that the main part of the book is agreeable to the right " doctrine of our Saviour. Nevertheleſs there are ſome other " things added, which we have noted down, and ſent to you."

Jerom, in his book of Illuſtrious Men, [f] ſays: 'Serapion was 'ordained biſhop of Antioch in the eleventh year of Commo- 'dus,' or the year of our Lord 191. His catalogue of Serapion's works is agreeable to that in Euſebius. He ſays, particularly, 'That [g] he wrote a book concerning the 'Goſpel' that goes 'under the name of Peter, which he ſent to the church of 'Rhoſſus in Cilicia, which had been led into hereſy by reading 'of it.'

The fragment of this book deſerves ſome remarks.

1. We ſee the great reſpect paid by Chriſtians to the writings of the apoſtles. Serapion aſſures us, the church received the apoſtles as Chriſt; that is, their writings, as the very words and doctrine ſpoken and preached by Chriſt himſelf.

2. We ſee his method of judging of the genuineneſs and authority of any books of ſcripture: thoſe which had been delivered with an authentic tradition, as the apoſtles, he received; others he rejected.

3. The book called the Goſpel of Peter was no part of canonical ſcripture, nor any writing of Peter: it had not been delivered as ſuch.

(A) They denied that Jeſus Chriſt had a true human body. [e] Χρησαμενοι παρ' αυτων διελεξειν· και ευρομεν μεν τα πλειονα του σωζοντος τοις δε προσθεσαλμενα, α και υποτεταξαμεν υμιν. ibid. [f] C. 41. [g] Et alium de evangelio, quod ſub nomine Petri fertur, librum ad Rhoſſenſem Ciliciæ eccleſiam, quæ in hæreſim ejus lectione diverterat. ibid.

4. We

4. We learn the obſcurity of this book, called the Goſpel of Peter. Here is a biſhop of the large and celebrated church of Antioch, about the end of the ſecond century, who had never read it, or ſeen it; and who, as far as we are able to judge, was not unworthy of his high office. He ſeems to have been a learned man, and a vigilant paſtor. He wrote divers treatiſes and epiſtles. This book, concerning the Goſpel of Peter, which he compoſed for the benefit of the Chriſtians at Rhoſſus, is a good proof of his ability and diligence. Nothing could be more to the purpoſe, to demonſtrate the obſcurity and inſignificance of the book called the Goſpel of Peter, than this letter or treatiſe of Serapion. It is plain, it was in no repute with the catholic Chriſtians; nor could Serapion find a copy of it among them. In order to procure a ſight of it, he was obliged to ſend to ſome of thoſe called Docetæ, and borrow it of them.

5. It may at firſt appear ſomewhat ſtrange, that he ſhould conſent to the uſe of this writing: but really there is nothing at all ſtrange or improper in it. Serapion ſuppoſed the people of Rhoſſus had all held the right faith; and not having read the book complained of by ſome, he took it for granted, it was a pious orthodox book, which Chriſtians might read with edification. Being alſo a lover of peace, and unwilling to deliver unneceſſary precepts, he conſented to their uſe of it. However he prudently took an opportunity to procure and examine this writing: and having perceived there were in it ſome falſe and abſurd notions, mixed with thoſe which are true and right, he was at the pains of collecting the ſeveral errors of it in a diſtinct treatiſe, which he immediately ſent away to Rhoſſus; and promiſes them a ſecond viſit upon this occaſion, if needful. Thus acted this Chriſtian biſhop of Antioch.

Grabe[h], and Beauſobre[i], ſuppoſe this Goſpel of Peter to have been a compoſition of Leucius, the famous forger of apocryphal pieces.

[h] Evangelium Petri fuiſſe reor figmentum Leucii hæretici, ſeculo ii. plura ejuſmodi [illegible], eoque nominibus apoſtolorum ſupponentis. Grabe Spic. T. i. 58.
[i] Hiſt. de Manich. T. i. p. 349. 350. 358. 375. & 458.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVII.

TERTULLIAN.

I. *His hiſtory, works, time, and character.* II. *His teſtimony to the ſcriptures of the N. T. particularly the four goſpels.* III. *The integrity of St. Luke's goſpel.* IV. *Upon what grounds he receives the goſpels of St. Mark and St. Luke.* V. *More paſſages concerning the four goſpels.* VI. *Of the Acts of the apoſtles.* VII. *St. Paul's epiſtles.* VIII. *The meaning of authentic letters.* IX. *Of the epiſtle to the Hebrews.* X. *He received thirteen epiſtles of St. Paul.* XI. *Of the Catholic epiſtles.* XII. *The Revelation.* XIII. *A Summary of the books received by him.* XIV. *The integrity of the Scriptures.* XV. *Their authority.* XVI. *General titles and diviſions.* XVII. *The order of the books of the N. T.* XVIII. *Of chapters.* XIX. *A Latin tranſlation in his time.* XX. *The Scriptures of the N. T. open to all men.* XXI. *Whether he cites apocryphal books.* XXII. *A book forged in the name of St. Paul.* XXIII. *The concluſion.*

I. 'QUINTUS Septimius Florens Tertullianus,' or Tertullian, generally reckoned the moſt ancient Latin father now remaining, was born at Carthage, the capital city of Africa, not long after the middle of the ſecond century. His father [a] was a proconſular centurion, that is, a military officer under the proconſul of Africa, which is not reckoned to have been a poſt of any great conſideration. Tertullian was well acquainted with the Roman laws; but it does not appear that he went to the bar, or any other way practiſed the law as a profeſſion. He had beſides read the Greek and Roman poets, hiſtorians, orators, philoſophers, and other heathen writers of all ſorts, as his works ſhew abundantly. His ſkill in Greek was ſo conſiderable, that he [b] wrote ſeveral books in that language. From divers [c] ex-

[a] Vid. Tertull. Apol. c. 9. p. 10. A. & Hieron in Chron. & de Vir. Ill. cap. 53.

[b] Sed & huic materiæ propter ſuavi ludios noſtros Græco quoque ſtilo ſatisfecimus. De Corona, c. 6. ad fin. p. 123. D. Sed de iſto plenius jam nobis in Græco digeſtum eſt. De Baptiſmo, cap. 15. p. 262. D. At ego, ſi quid utriuſque linguæ præſcripſi. Adv. Praxeam, cap. 3. p. 636. A. Pariſ. 1634.

[c] Hæc & nos noſtris aliquando; de veſtris fuimus. Apol. cap. 18. Pœnitentiam, hoc genus hominum, quod & ipſi retro fuimus, cæci ſine Domini luce, natura tenus nôrunt, &c. De Pœnit. c. 1. Vid. & de Spectaculis, c. 19. p. 99. A. De Reſurrectione, cap. 49. p. 427. A.

preſſions

preſſions of Tertullian in his works, it is concluded by learned men that he was once a heathen: whether they afford full proof of this, may be diſputed. They may be however allowed, together with his father's profeſſion of a ſoldier, to be ſufficient to render it probable. We have no particular account of the time, or circumſtances, of his converſion. He was a man of a lively fancy, as well as extenſive knowledge, but of a ſevere temper. The character of his ſtyle given by [d] Lactantius may be allowed by all; that it is 'rugged and unpoliſhed, and very 'obſcure:' and yet, as [e] Cave obſerves, 'it is lofty and maſculine, 'and carries a kind of majeſtic eloquence along with it, that 'gives a pleaſant reliſh to the judicious and inquiſitive reader.' He wrote a multitude of books, ſome of which are loſt: but there ſtill remains a good number, ſome compoſed before, others after he embraced the errors of Montaniſm. His Apology is a maſter-piece; and his other performances are written with wit and force, and are edifying and inſtructive. Though he had a great deal of vehemence and poſitiveneſs in his conſtitution, there appear [f] in his writings frequent tokens of true unaffected humility and modeſty; virtues in which the primitive Chriſtians were generally ſo very eminent.

The eccleſiaſtical writers mentioned by him (not to inſiſt on any reputed heretical authors) are [g] Hermas, [h] Juſtin Martyr, Miltiades, Proculus, once a catholic, afterwards a montaniſt: of all whom (excepting Hermas) he ſpeaks together, with great reſpect. And in [i] another place he makes a general mention of divers Chriſtian authors who had written learned defences of their religion againſt the Gentiles.

[d] Septimius quoque Tertullianus fuit omne genere literarum peritus, ſed in eloquendo parum facilis, & minus comptus, & nonnihil obſcurus fuit. Divin. Inſtit. l. v. c. 1. [e] Lives of the Primitive Fathers, p. 211. [f] Literæ ad hoc ... eccleſiaſticæ: de ſuis enim inſtitutis ... ita probari neceſſe eſt. QUANTULUS ATTIGI, credo ſufficient. *De Cor.* cap. vii. Nec tantus ego ſum, ut ... *& quæ ſequuntur. Ad Scap.* cap. i. Confeſſor ad Domini ... Domi. ſatis tenere me, ſi non etiam ... de patientia componere audeam, præſtandæ idoneus non ſim, ut ... *De Patientia*, cap. i. It ſeems that Tertullian had convinced ... that he had been in an error, and ... him to a recantation; yet he expreſſes himſelf in this modeſt manner: ... hic [Cur-...] quoque ſuperfluitate, ... tradictæ de hinc PER QUEM DEUS VOLUIT, etiam avulſæ videbuntur. *Contr. Prax.* cap. i. p. 634. D. Vid. Tillemont, Mem. Ecc. Tertullien, artic. iii. Pagi Critic. in Baron. 171. § 3. Tho. Itig. de Hereſiarchis, ſæc. ii. cap. 16. p. 237.

[g] De Oratione, cap. 12. p. 154. A. De Pudicitia, cap. 10. p. 727. A. B. & cap. 20. p. 741. C. [h] Ut Juſtinus philoſophus & martyr, ut Miltiades ... eccleſiarum ſophiſta, ut Irenæus ... ominum doctrinarum curioſiſſimus explorator, ut Proculus ... , virginis ſenex, & Chriſtianæ eloquentiæ dignitas: quos in omni operis fide, ... contradictor in illis operavenim efficaci. Adv. Valent. cap. 5. p. 291. B. [i] Nec modi quidem ... quibus de priſcæ literaturæ ... Dor & ... ſcripſerunt, ... ſuſcitavit ... Tertullianus, Adamas, cap. i. p. ... B.

Having given this general account of Tertullian, I ſhall next put down ſome of the teſtimonies of the ancients, and then proceed to the obſervations of the moderns.

Lactantius, in the place juſt cited, where he cenſures Tertullian's ſtyle, ſays, he was 'well ſkilled in all parts of learning;' and, in another place, that '[k] he had fully defended the Chriſ-'tian cauſe in his Apology.' Euſebius ſays, in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, where he ſeveral times quotes Tertullian's Apology, that '[l] he was extremely well acquainted with the Roman laws; 'eminent likewiſe on other accounts, and eſpecially celebrated 'at Rome;' or, as Valeſius renders it, 'and moſt renowned 'among the Latin writers.'

I believe we may do well to take here entire St. Jerom's hiſtory of this father, in his book of Illuſtrious Men. 'Tertul-'lian, a [m] preſbyter, is now reckoned, after Victor and Apollo-'nius, the firſt of the Latins. He was born in the province of 'Africa, in the city of Carthage. His father was a proconſular 'centurion. He was a man of an [n] eager and vehement tem-'per; flouriſhed chiefly in the time of the emperors Severus and 'Antoninus Caracalla; and wrote a great number of books, 'which, becauſe they are generally known, I omit. I have 'ſeen one Paul of Concordia, which is a ſmall town in Italy, 'then an old man, who ſaid, that when he was very young, he 'had ſeen the ſecretary of the bleſſed Cyprian, then of a great 'age; and [o] that he was wont to tell him, that not a day paſſed 'but Cyprian read ſomething in Tertullian; and that he would 'often ſay to him, "Bring me my maſter," intending (A) Ter-'tullian. When he had continued a preſbyter of the church 'till about the middle part of his age, on account of the envy 'and reproaches of the clergy of the Roman church, he went 'over to the ſect of Montanus; and in many of his books makes 'mention of that new prophecy. Several books eſpecially were 'compoſed by him againſt the church, as theſe: Of Chaſtity, 'Of Perſecution, Of Faſts, Of Monogamy [or, againſt ſecond

[k] Quanquam Tertullianus eandem cauſam plene peroraverit in eo libro, cui Apologetico nomen eſt. Divin. Inſtit. lib. v. cap. 4. [l] Ταυτα τερτυλλιανος της ρωμαιων γλωσσης ητριβωκως· αλλως τε τα τε αλλα ενδοξος, και των μαλιστα επι ρωμης λαμπρων. H. E. l. ii. c. 2. p. 41. B. [m] Tertullianus preſbyter nunc demum primus poſt Victorem & Apollonium Latinorum ponitur.

[n] Hic acris & vehementis ingenii.

[o] Referreque ſibi ſolitum, nunquam Cyprianum abſque Tertulliani lectione unum diem præteriiſſe, ac ſibi crebro dicere, 'Da 'magiſtrum;' Tertullianum videlicet ſignificans. (A) It is obſerved by learned men, that Tertullian is not once quoted by Cyprian, in his works now extant. Nevertheleſs in another place Jerom ſays poſitively, that Cyprian's works ſhew he eſteemed Tertullian his maſter. Et beatus Cyprianus Tertulliano magiſtro utitur, ut ejus ſcripta probant. Hieron. ep. 69. And it is allowed, that he imitates Tertullian in ſome of his remaining works.

'marriages].

'marriages], Of Extaſy, in ſix books; to which he added a ſe-'venth, written againſt Apollonius. He is ſaid to have lived 'to an extreme [or decrepit] old age; and to have written 'many books beſide thoſe which are now extant.'

In his Chronicle, at the 15th of Severus, and 208th year of our Lord, Jerom ſays: 'Tertullian, [r] an African, ſon of a pro-'conſular centurion, is famous in all the churches.'

Jerom has in other places extolled Tertullian's wit and learning, and ſays: 'His Apology, [s] and his other books againſt the 'Gentiles, take in all the treaſures of human learning.'

The encomium of Tertullian, given by Vincentius Lirinenſis, a writer of the fifth century, is beautiful, but too long to be tranſcribed, and had better be read in himſelf. The ſum of it is in the very beginning: That, 'as [t] Origen had the firſt place 'among the Greeks, ſo Tertullian ought to be eſteemed with-'out diſpute the prince of all the Latin writers of the church.'

So far of teſtimonies from the ancients. I ſhall now repreſent the ſentiments of ſome learned moderns.

Cave [u] places Tertullian at the year 192. He ſuppoſes he might be born a little before the middle of the ſecond century, and that he embraced chriſtianity about the year 185, and was made a preſbyter of the church of Carthage about 192. What Jerom ſays of Tertullian's leaving the catholic church about the middle of his age, is underſtood by that learned writer not of his natural, but Chriſtian life: he therefore concludes, he became a Montaniſt about the year 199, and died, as may be conjectured, about 220.

Du Pin [x] ſays, Tertullian flouriſhed chiefly in the time of Severus and Antoninus Caracalla; that is, from about the year 194 to 216.

Tillemont [y] computes him to have been born in 160, under Antoninus Pius, or his ſucceſſor; to have left the church, and become an open Montaniſt, about 205; and to have died under Philip, about the year 245, when he was between 80 and 90 years of age.

[r] Tertullianus, Afer, centurionis proconſularis filius, omnium eccleſiarum ſermone celebratur. p. 172. Amſterd. 1658.

[s] Quid Tertulliano eruditius, quid acutius? Apologeticus ejus et contra gentes quinque ſeculi obtinuit diſciplinam. Ad Magnum Oratorem, ep. 84. [t] Sed & Tertulliani quoque eadem ratio eſt, nam ſicut ille apud Græcos, ita et hic apud Latinos noſtrorum omnium facile princeps judicandus eſt. Commonitorium adv. Hæreſ. cap. 24. init. [u] Hiſt. Lit.

[x] Nouv. Bib. des Aut. Ec. Tertullien.

[y] Mem. Ec. Tom. iii. Tertullien, article 13.

Many learned [x] men have employed their labour in settling the time of the several works of this author. They generally divide them into two periods, those written before, and those after his fall into Montanism. I shall only observe some of their opinions concerning the date of the Apology, the most celebrated of all his pieces. Cave reckons but three of his books, written whilst he was a catholic; Of Baptism, Of Penitence, and Of Prayer; and thinks the Apology to have been written about the year 202. Du Pin places his Apology in 200, before he became Montanist, which, according to him, happened in 202 or 203. Tillemont likewise places it at the year 200; Basnage [y] in 203; Pagi [z] in 205, but I think his arguments not sufficient to prove it so late; and Mr. Mosheim, after a very laborious examination of this point, concludes that [a] it was composed in the year 198. The Apology, as is now generally allowed by learned men, was not addressed to the senate of Rome, but to [b] the governors of provinces, or perhaps to the proconsul of Africa, and the chief magistrates residing at Carthage, where it was written.

I am desirous to speak of Tertullian about the time of his writing his Apology. He is often reckoned a writer of the second century; but a large part of his remaining works were written in the third century. I place him therefore at the year 200, which I take to be soon enough.

Tertullian's conversion to Montanism is a remarkable event in his life; but we know little of the causes of that change in him, beside what Jerom says, who ascribes it to the envy and reproaches of the Roman clergy. Divers other particular reasons have been assigned by some moderns; as, a disappointment of the bishoprick of Rome, or Carthage: but Tertullian is now generally acquitted by learned men of that charge. Some indeed do still conjecture, that the specious pretences of the Montanists to greater mortification in fasts and continence had an effect upon Tertullian, who was of a severe temper; which is not improbable.

[x] Joseph. Scal. Animadv. ad Euseb. Chron. p. 229. Cave, Hist. Lit. Adv., Disserta. de Vit. & Scriptis Tertulliani. Du Pin, Bibl. Tillemont, Mem. Ec. Basnage, Annal. P. E. 200. § 4. 5, 6, & seq. Pagi, vid. indicem Criticæ in Baron. V. Tertullianus. [y] Ibid. A. D. 200. § 8. [z] Critic. in Baron. A. D. 199. § 6. [a] Vid. quid. Diss. de Ætate Apolog. Tertull. n. xxix. xxx.

[b] The Apology begins: Si non licet vobis, Romani imperii antistites, in aperto credito, in ipso fere vertice civitatis præsidentibus ad judicandum, palam dispicere, &c. Apol. cap. 1. Hoc imperium, cuius ministri estis, civilis, non tyrannica dominatio est. Cap. 2. p. 3. D. Hoc agite, boni præsides. Cap. 30. p. 30. C. Vid. & cap. ult. p. 45. B.

However,

However, the principles of Montaniſm made ſo little alteration in this author, that there are ſeveral of his pieces, concerning which it is not eaſy to determine, whether they were written by Tertullian a Montaniſt, or Tertullian ſtill a Catholic. To uſe the words of [c] Daille: 'As for Tertullian, I muſt confeſs 'his very turning Montaniſt has taken off indeed very much of 'the repute which he before had in the church, both for the 'fervency of his piety, and alſo for his incomparable learning. 'But yet, beſide that a great part of his works were written 'while he was yet a catholic, we are alſo to take notice, that 'this his Montaniſm put no ſeparation at all betwixt him and 'other Chriſtians, ſave only in point of diſcipline; which he, 'according to the ſeverity of his nature, would have to be moſt 'harſh and rigorous. For as for his doctrine, it [d] is very evi-'dent that he conſtantly kept to the very ſame rule, and the 'ſame faith, that the catholics did: whence proceeded that tart 'ſpeech of his: That "[e] people rejected Montanus, Maximilla, "and Priſcilla, not becauſe they had any whit departed from "the rule of faith, but rather becauſe they would have us to faſt "oftener than to marry."

Tertullian nevertheleſs, from this time forward, believed [f] the ſpirit of God to have ſpoken in Montanus, and his two propheteſſes Priſcilla and Maximilla; and to have made by them ſome farther diſcoveries, for the greater perfection of Chriſtians, than had been made before. He approved of the longer, more ſtrict, and more frequent faſts of the Montaniſts: condemned ſecond marriages, [g] as unlawful in all; and denied the power of the church to pardon any great ſins committed after baptiſm; that is, to receive again to communion any [h] who had fallen into fornication, adultery, or any ſuch like offences after their baptiſm. He alſo often arrogantly calls his own people ſpiritual, and the catholics, as [i] contemptuouſly, animal or carnal.

II. We

[c] View of the Fathers, b. ii. ch. 4. [d] Ibid. [e] Vid. Tert. de Jejun. c. 12. &c. et D. Jerom, [f] Tertull. de Pudic. c. 21. Paraci to convert certain [g] Tertull. de Monog. c. 12. & ad. [h] Vid. D. Pudic. c. 19. p. 741. D. [i] Mosheim Pſychicos in tota hujus temporis vocabulo, qui [illegible] ſe ipſos nuncupant; & non immerito [illegible] ſuos, qui ſibi ſolos ſapere [illegible] Pudico autem [illegible] defendit, unum in [illegible] ſe matrimonium proſcribens. Adv. Marcion. l. i. p. 452. B. Hunc [illegible] Ezechiel novit, & apoſtolus Joannes vidit, & qui apud Ecclaſiam nostram eſt, novae prophetae [illegible] ſexto taſtatur, et cetera [illegible] ante quam [illegible] ſuſcepti fuerant [illegible] Adv. Marcion. l. iii. p. 499. B.

II. We proceed to conſider his teſtimony to the books of the New Teſtament.

I begin with a paſſage of Tertullian concerning the four goſpels, and their authors, taken out of his books againſt Marcion, written [k] in the year of Chriſt 207 or 208.

'In the firſt [l] place we lay this down for a certain truth, that 'the evangelic (B) ſcriptures [literally, evangelic inſtrument] 'have for their authors the apoſtles, to whom the work of pub- 'liſhing the goſpel was committed by the Lord himſelf. And 'if alſo [it have for authors] apoſtolical men, not them alone, 'but with the apoſtles, and after the apoſtles. [Which was 'very fit]. Foraſmuch as the preaching of the diſciples might 'have been ſuſpected as liable to the charge of a deſire of 'glory, if not ſupported by the authority of the maſters, yea, of 'Chriſt, who made the apoſtles maſters. To conclude, among 'the apoſtles John and Matthew [firſt] teach us the faith; 'among apoſtolical men Luke and Mark refreſh it, going 'upon the ſame principles, as concerning the one God the 'creator, and his Chriſt born of a virgin, the accompliſhment 'of the law and the prophets.' And ſoon after: 'But [m] Mar- 'cion having got the epiſtle of Paul to the Galatians, who 'blames the apoſtles themſelves, as not walking uprightly, ac- 'cording to the truth of the goſpel [ch. ii. 14.], and alſo 'charges ſome falſe apoſtles with perverting the goſpel of 'Chriſt, ſets himſelf to weaken the credit of thoſe goſpels (C) 'which

tota conſtat, tam multiverantiæ quam multitudinis pronam; ut merito ſpiritalem diſciplinam pro ſubſtantia æmulam, in hac quoque ſpecie continentiæ accuſet. De Jejuniis, c. 1. p. 701. A. B. Licet nec hoc Pſychici curent. De Monog. c. 11. p. 684. A. Evaſiſti, Pſychice, ſi velis, vincula diſciplinæ totius. Ib. c. 12. p. 685. B.

[k] Adv. Marcion. l. i. c. 15. p. 440. B.

[l] Conſtituimus in primis, evangelicum inſtrumentum apoſtolos auctores habere, quibus hoc munus evangelii promulgandi ab ipſo Domino ſit impoſitum. Si & apoſtolicos, non tamen ſolos, ſed cum apoſtolis, & poſt apoſtolos. Quoniam prædicatio diſcipulorum ſuſpecta fieri poſſet de gloriæ ſtudio, ſi non adſiſtat illi auctoritas magiſtrorum, immo Chriſti, qui magiſtros apoſtolos fecit. Denique nobis idem ex apoſtolis Joannes & Matthæus inſinuant; ex apoſtolicis, Lucas et Marcus inſtaurant, fidem regulis exorſi, quantum ad unicum Deum attinet creatorem, & Chriſtum ejus, natum ex virgine, ſupplementum legis & prophetarum. Adv. Marc. l. iv. c. 2. p. 502. D, 503. A.

(B) By the evangelic ſcriptures, in this place, Tertullian means the collection of the goſpels. 'Sed enim Marcion arctius epiſtolam Pauli ad Galatas, etiam ipſos apoſtolos ſugillavit, ut non recto pede incedentes ad veritatem evangelii, ſimul & accuſantis pſeudapoſtolos quosdam pervertentes evangelium Chriſti, committitur ad deſtruendum ſtatum totius evangeliorum, quæ propria, & ſub apoſtolorum nomine eduntur, vel etiam apoſtolicorum. Ibid. c. 3. p. 503. C.

(C) 'Which are their's,' or 'their own,' *quæ ſuopria*, I have tranſlated literally; but Tertullian hereby intends likewiſe to ſay 'the higheſt authority.' And becauſe all the four goſpels are not written by apoſtles, and therefore, ſtrictly ſpeaking, are not all their's; nor, according to Tertullian, in themſelves of the firſt and higheſt authority: after ſaying, they were 'their's, or 'publiſhed under the name of apoſtles,' he corrects himſelf, or repreſents the caſe more diſtinctly; adding, 'or likewiſe of apoſto- 'lical men;' that is, of apoſtles, or how-

ever

'which are theirs, and are publiſhed under the name of 'apoſtles, or likewiſe of apoſtolical men.' [That is, are publiſhed under the name of apoſtles, or however of apoſtles and apoſtolical men].

Theſe paſſages ſhew at once the number of the goſpels univerſally received, the names of the four evangeliſts, Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, and their proper characters; two of which were apoſtles, and companions of Chriſt himſelf; and the other two apoſtolical men, or companions of Chriſt's apoſtles.

III. In the next paſſage to be here taken, Tertullian aſſerts againſt Marcion the genuineneſs and integrity of the copies of St. Luke's goſpel, owned by himſelf and Chriſtians in general. For this he appeals to divers apoſtolical churches. He aſſerts at the ſame time the truth of the other three goſpels; and that Chriſtians had the fulleſt perſuaſion of the genuineneſs and authority of the goſpels which they had received, upon the ground of a very ſure and credible teſtimony of the churches, from the time of writing them to his own age.

'In [n] a word,' ſays he, 'if it be certain, that is moſt genuine 'which is moſt ancient, that moſt ancient which is from the be'ginning, and that from the beginning which is from the 'apoſtles; in like manner it will be alſo certain, that has been 'delivered from the apoſtles which is held ſacred in the churches of the apoſtles. Let us then ſee, what milk the Co'rinthians received from Paul; to what rule the Galatians 'were reduced; what the Philippians read; what the Theſſa'lonians, the Epheſians, and likewiſe what the Romans recite, 'who are near to us, with whom both Peter and Paul left the

[illegible] of apoſtles and apoſtolical men. That [illegible] what Tertullian means, is evident from [illegible] paſſage, where he joins together the words '[illegible]ly' and 'principally,' and aſcribes [illegible] and primary authority to apo[illegible] only: Diſciplina igitur apoſtolorum [illegible] quidem inſtruit ac determinat prin[illegible] ſanctitatis omnis erga templum [illegible], & ubique de eccleſia eradi[illegible] omne ſacrilegium pudicitiæ, ſine [illegible] mentione. Volo tamen ex [illegible] alicujus etiam comitis apoſto[illegible] teſtimonium ſuperducere idoneum [illegible] de proximo jure diſciplinam [illegible]. Exſtat enim & Barnabæ ti[illegible] ad Hebræos. De Pudicitia, c. 20. [illegible] B. C. [n] In ſumma, ſi con[illegible] verius quod prius, id prius quod et [illegible], id ab initio quod ab apoſtolis; [illegible] utique conſtabit, id eſſe ab apoſtolis traditum, quod apud eccleſias apoſtolorum fuerit ſacroſanctum. Videamus, quod lac a Paulo Corinthii hauſerint; ad quam regulam Galatæ ſint recorrecti; quid legant Philippenſes, Theſſalonicenſes, Epheſii; quid etiam Romani de proximo ſonent; quibus evangelium & Petrus & Paulus ſanguine quoque ſuo ſignatum reliquerunt. Habemus & Joannis alumnas eccleſias. Nam etſi Apocalypſin eius Marcion reſpuit, ordo tamen epiſcoporum ad originem recenſus in Joannem ſtabit auctorem. Sic & cæterarum generoſitas recognoſcitur. Dico itaque apud illas, nec ſolas iam apoſtolicas, ſed apud univerſas, quæ illis de ſocietate ſacramenti confœderantur, id evangelium Lucæ ab initio editionis ſuæ ſtare, quod cum maxime tuemur. Adv. Marcion. l. iv. c. 5. p. 505. B.

'goſpel ſealed with their blood. We have alſo churches 'which are the diſciples of John; for though Marcion 'rejects his Revelation, the ſucceſſion of biſhops traced up to 'the beginning will ſhew it to have John for its author. 'We know alſo the original of other churches [that is, 'that they are apoſtolical]. I ſay then, that with them, 'but not with them only which are apoſtolical, but with all 'who have fellowſhip with them in the ſame faith, is that go-'ſpel of Luke received from its firſt publication, which we ſo 'zealouſly maintain:' that is, the genuine entire goſpel of Luke, not that which had been curtailed and altered by Marcion. He adds preſently afterwards: 'The ſame [o] authority of 'the apoſtolical churches will ſupport the other goſpels, which 'we have from them, and according to them [that is, ac-'cording to their copies]: I mean John's and Matthew's; 'although that likewiſe, which Mark publiſhed, may be ſaid to 'be Peter's, whoſe interpreter Mark was. For Luke's Digeſt 'alſo is often aſcribed to Paul. And indeed it is eaſy to take 'that for the maſter's, which the diſciples have publiſhed.'

IV. It has been ſometimes ſaid, that Tertullian here ſuppoſes the goſpels of Mark and Luke to have been reviewed, and then approved and confirmed, by the apoſtles Peter and Paul; ſince he is willing to allow them to be the goſpels of thoſe apoſtles, though written by apoſtolical men. But I think that Tertullian means no more, than that they were the goſpels of theſe apoſtles, for the matter or ſubſtance of them. He had juſt before mentioned particularly the authority of the goſpels written by Matthew and John, who were apoſtles: he adds, that the other two, though written by apoſtolical men, were of the like authority; becauſe it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe that what the diſciples publiſhed is the ſame that was taught by their maſters, or perfectly agreeable to their doctrine: and therefore what they have publiſhed has in it the very authority of thoſe apoſtles.

He ſuppoſes, likewiſe, that the goſpels of Mark and Luke are confirmed and authorized by the goſpels of Matthew and John, without intimating in the leaſt that they were reviewed, and expreſsly approved, by either of theſe apoſtles. This is apparent from what he ſays at the beginning of the firſt paſſage here

[o] Eadem auctoritas eccleſiarum apoſtolicarum cæteris quoque patrocinabitur evangeliis, quæ proinde per illas, & ſecundum illas habemus; Joannis dico & Matthæi, licet & Marcus quod edidit, Petri adſignetur, cujus interpres Marcus: nam & Lucæ Digeſtum Paulo aſcribere ſolent magiſtrorum videri, quæ diſcipuli promulgarunt. Ib. c. 5. p. 595. C. D.

cited;

cited: 'If alſo apoſtolical men, not them alone, but with apoſtles, and after apoſtles. Foraſmuch as the preaching [or work] 'of the diſciples might have been ſuſpected as liable to the 'charge of a deſire of glory, if not ſupported by the authority of the maſters, yea of Chriſt, who made the apoſtles 'maſters.'

This is ſtill more apparent from what follows in the ſame book againſt Marcion, when he ſays, that if 'Marcion had introduced a goſpel under the name of Paul himſelf, that work 'alone would not be of ſufficient credit, if unſupported by his predeceſſors. For it would be reaſonable to conſider what 'was that goſpel which was in being before Paul.' He then inſiſts on Paul's journey to Jeruſalem, to confer with thoſe who were apoſtles before him, and ſays: 'If even Luke's inſtructor 'wiſhed to have the authority of his predeceſſors for his faith 'and preaching, how much more may I deſire it [their authority, the authority of the former apoſtles] for Luke's goſpel, 'which was neceſſary for the goſpel of his maſter?' And more follows there to the like purpoſe. That is, I may juſtly expect that Luke's goſpel be found agreeable to the goſpels written by apoſtles, or I cannot receive it as of authority.

And he ſuppoſes that the preaching and goſpels of apoſtles derive their authority from Chriſt himſelf, who made them maſters: not that their goſpels were reviewed and approved by Chriſt, but becauſe it is reaſonable to conclude, that what they have written is no other than the doctrine which they received from him, and which he commanded them to publiſh to the world. So in another place [q] he calls the whole collection of the goſpels, 'the goſpel of the Lord.' They are his goſpel for the matter and ſubſtance, not as written, or expreſsly approved by him after they were written.

Exactly in this manner had Juſtin Martyr ſpoke before, calling the goſpels 'the 'Commentaries,' or hiſtories, 'of the apoſtles

[p] [illegible] Pauli nomine evangelium [illegible] non tuto recepturus, ad [illegible] commenti, deſtituta patrocinatione. Exigeretur enim [illegible] quod Paulus invenisset edidit, cui mos forum congruebat. Sequitur propterea Hierosolymam ad cognoscendos apostolos [illegible] Igitur si ipse illum Lucæ [illegible] antecessorum [illegible] quanto magis Lucæ expostulam, [illegible] fuit necessitudo, si [illegible] Marcionem a discipulatu Lucæ cœpit religiosi Christianæ ferre primum. Ceterum, si & primo decucurrit, habuit utique authenticum paratum, per quem ad Lucam usque pervenit, cujus [illegible] humano adhibuerit, Lucæ quoque potuit admittere. Adv. Marcion. l. iv. c. 2. p. 5[illegible]. C.

[q] Unus omnino hæreticorum ad nos, tam ex Domini evangelio, quam ex apostolorum actis. De Baptismo, c. 15. p. 262. C. And ſee before, n. [illegible]. p. 256.

[r] [illegible] τῶν ἀπομνημονευμάτων αὐτῶν ἃ καλεῖται εὐαγγέλια. Juſtin, p. 55. C.

of

of Christ;' not that they were all written (D) by apostles, but because they contain the doctrines and sense of the apostles, as [s] Dodwell justly explains him. Justin also calls them 'His,' [t] that is, Christ's commentaries [not Peter's commentaries, meaning St. Mark's gospel, as Mr. Jones [u] supposed], as containing the doctrine preached by Christ during his ministry here upon earth.

Tertullian's opinion then was this: That the gospels of Mark and Luke are supported by the authority of the apostles; forasmuch as it is reasonable to think that they contain the very doctrine of the apostles Peter and Paul, whom they particularly attended; and are also agreeable to the gospels written by the apostles Matthew and John; and have the testimony of the churches that they are genuine: and all the gospels are authorized by Christ, as truly representing his doctrine. Or: It may be depended upon that the gospels were written by the persons whose names they bear. The apostles have truly preached and written the doctrine they received from Christ. The apostolical men have also faithfully published in writing what they received from apostles. All the gospels are therefore supported by the authority of apostles, yea of Jesus Christ.

It is likewise plain why this high authority is ascribed to the apostles above all others: they were immediately appointed by Christ to publish the gospel to the world; and [x] had the largest measure of the gifts of the Spirit, a measure peculiar to themselves.

V. In these passages we have seen the authority, genuineness, and sincerity of all the four gospels asserted with the fullest assurance, and upon the best ground. I shall nevertheless add a few more concerning the gospels of St. Matthew, St. Luke, and St. John.

(D) See before, ch. 10. n. iii. p. 122.

[s] Sic autem illa tribuit [Justinus] apostolis, quod apostolorum dogmata mentemque complecterentur, ut una tamen aliorum agnoscat in scriptione operam qui fuerint apostolos sectati. Dissert. Iren. i. § 40. p. 70.

[t] Και το ειπειν μετωνομακεναι αυτον Πετρον ενα των αποστολων, και γεγραφθαι εν τοις απομνημονευμασιν αυτου γεγενημενον και τουτο. Dialog. p. 333. D.

[u] New and Full Method, &c. v. iii. p. 92. If there be any difficulty in understanding this of Christ, it might be conjectured, that instead of αυτου Justin wrote αυτων, meaning the apostles: but I see no difficulty herein, as we find the scriptures of the New T. in general sometimes called the scriptures of the Lord [See ch. 12. p. 135], and the collection of gospels 'the gospel of the 'Lord.'

[x] Sequere admonitionem cui divinitas patrocinatur. Spiritum quidem Dei etiam fideles habent, sed non omnes fideles apostoli. Cum ergo qui se fidelem dixerat, adjecit postea, Spiritum Dei se habere, quod nemo dubitaret etiam de fide; idcirco id dixit, ut sibi apostoli fastigium redderet. Proprie enim apostoli Spiritum Sanctum habent in operibus prophetiæ & efficacia virtutum, documentisque linguarum, non ex parte, quod cæteri. De Exhort. Cast. c. 4. p. 667. B.

1. 'And

1. 'And [y] especially Matthew, the most faithful historian of 'the gospel, as being a companion of the Lord, for no other 'reason than that we might be informed of the origin of Christ 'according to the flesh, began in this manner:' "*The book of* "*the generation of Jesus Christ, the son of David, the son of* "*Abraham.*" He quotes likewise some of the last words of this gospel: 'Baptism [z] is appointed, and the form prescribed:' "Go ye," saith he, "teach the nations, *baptizing them in the* "*name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy* "*Ghost.*"

2. 'Moreover, Luke [a] was not an apostle, but apostolical; 'not a master, but a disciple; certainly less than his master; 'certainly so much later, as he is a follower of Paul, the last 'of the apostles.' I have put down this passage, as expressing again the true character of Luke: but Tertullian does not say this with a design to diminish St. Luke's testimony, whose gospel he just now said he and all Christians in general 'zea-'lously maintained;' but because Marcion, with whom he is here arguing, received Luke's gospel only, and [b] curtailed even that.

3. Having quoted many passages out of St. John's gospel, he adds: 'How 'these things were spoken, certainly so fa-'mous an evangelist and disciple as John knew better than 'Praxeas.'

VI. The Acts of the apostles are often quoted by Tertullian under that title.

1. 'So that [d] afterwards,' says he, 'we find, in the Acts of the 'apostles, that they who had John's baptism had not received 'the Holy Ghost, nor so much as heard whether there was 'any.' Acts, xix. 1, 2, 3. Once, and I think but once, he has expressly ascribed this book to St. Luke; calling it '[e] Luke's Commentary,' or history.

[y] Ipse in primis Matthæus, fidelissimus [illegible] commentator, ut comes Domini, non aliam ob causam quam ut nos [illegible] Christi carnalis compotes faceret, prænotatus est: Liber generationis Jesu Christi filii David, filii Abraham. De Carne Christi, cap. 22. p. 376. C.

[z] Lex enim tinguendi imposita est, & forma prescripta. Ite, inquit, docete nationes, tinguentes eas in nomen Patris & Filii & Spiritus Sancti. De Baptismo, cap. 13. p. 262. B. [a] Porro Lucas non apostolus, sed apostolicus; non magister, sed discipulus; utique magistro minor; certe tanto posterior, quanto posteris apostoli sectator Pauli sine dubio. Adv. Marc. l. iv. c. 2. p. 503. B.

[b] Nam ex iis commentatoribus quos habemus, Lucam videtur Marcion elegisse, quem caderet. Ibid. [c] Hæc quomodo acta sint, evangelizator, & utique tam clarus discipulus Joannes, magis quam Paraclytus novit. Adv. Praxeam, cap. 23. p. 655. D. [d] Adeo postea in Actis apostolorum invenimus, quoniam qui Joannis baptismum habebant, non accepissent Spiritum Sanctum, quem ne audita quidem noverant. De Baptismo, cap. 10. p. 260. B. [e] Porro, cum in eadem commentario Lucæ, & tertia hora orationis demonstretur, sub qua Spiritu Sancto initiati, pro ebrus habebantur; & sexta, qua Petrus ascendit in superiora, &c. De Jejuniis, c. 10. p. 708. B.

2. He

2. He had a great reſpect for this book. 'And truly [f] he '[Chriſt] fulfilled the promiſe he had made [of ſending the 'Spirit, who ſhould lead the diſciples into all truth]; the Acts 'of the apoſtles atteſting the deſcent of the Holy Spirit. 'Which ſcripture they who do not receive, cannot be of the 'Holy Spirit; nor can they prove the Holy Spirit to have been 'ſent to the diſciples, nor can they defend the church: foraſ-'much as they have nothing to ſhew, when, and with what be-'ginnings, this body was formed.'

This paſſage ſhews the great authority and uſefulneſs of this book; and that Chriſtians had then no authentic account of the firſt preaching and progreſs of the goſpel, after our Saviour's reſurrection, beſide this one book of the Acts of the apoſtles; out of which Tertullian has quoted ſo many paſſages, and which we ſtill have.

3. Moreover in another place, in a long argument from the epiſtle to the Galatians, ſpeaking of Paul, he ſays: 'Then [g] re-'lating his own converſion, how of a perſecutor he became an 'apoſtle, he confirms the ſcripture of the apoſtolical Acts; in 'which likewiſe the ſubſtance of that epiſtle is confirmed, that 'there were ſome who interpoſed, and ſaid, that men ought to 'be circumciſed, and keep the law of Moſes.' See Gal. i. 15, to the end; ch. ii. 1—5. Acts, xv. Tertullian proceeds in the hiſtory of that diſpute, and the deciſion of it, as recorded in the Acts; and calls it again the Acts of the apoſtles: and ſays likewiſe once more, 'that [h] the performance of the promiſe of the 'Holy Ghoſt cannot be otherwiſe proved, but from the inſtru-'ment of the Acts,' as he there calls it.

VII. Moſt of St. Paul's epiſtles are expreſsly and frequently quoted by Tertullian.

1. 'I will therefore by no means [i] ſay Gods, nor Lords; but I

[f] Et utique implevit repromiſſum, probantibus Actis apoſtolorum deſcendiſſe Spiritus Sancti. Quam ſcripturam qui non recipiunt, nec Spiritus Sancti eſſe poſſunt, qui necdum Spiritum poſſint agnoſcere diſcentibus miſſum, ſed nec eccleſiam defendere, qui quando, et quibus incunabulis inſtitutum eſt hoc corpus, probare non habent. De Præſcript. Haret. cap. 22. p. 209. A. Poſſumus et hic Acta apoſtolorum reprobantibus dicere .... Ib. B. [g] Exinde, deturbans ordinem converſionis ſuæ de perſecutore in apoſtolum, ſcripturam Actorum apoſtolorum confirmat, apud quem inde etiam epiſtolæ iſtius materia recognoſcitur, interceſſiſſe quoſdam, qui dicerent circumcidi oportere, et obſervandam eſſe Moyſi legem. Adv. Marcion. l. v. c. 2. p. 578. B. [h] Quod ſi et ex hoc ſacramento Paulo apoſtolorum Acta, quæ reſpuatis ſum arguere, ut Deum Patrem non alium prædicantia quam Chriſtum ... quando non promiſſio Spiritus Sancti aliunde probetur exhibita, quam de inſtrumento Actorum. Ibid. C.

[i] Itaque Deos omnino non dicam, nec Dominos; ſed apoſtolum ſequar, ut diverſum nominandi fuerint pater et filius, Deum patrem appellem, et Jeſum Chriſtum Dominum nominem. Solum autem Conſtitutum potero Deum dicere, ſicut idem apoſtolus: Ex quibus Chriſtus, qui eſt, inquit, Deus ſuper omnia benedictus in ſæcula omne. Adv. Praxeam, cap. 13. p. 615. D.

'will

'will follow the apoſtle, ſo that if the Father and the Son are 'to be mentioned together, I will ſay God the Father, and Jeſus 'Chriſt the Lord. But when I mention Chriſt only, I can call 'him God, as the apoſtle does:' "*Of whom Chriſt* came, "*who is*," ſays he, "*over all, God bleſſed for ever*," 'Rom. 'ix. 5.' This epiſtle is often quoted expreſsly, among other epiſtles of St. Paul,[k] as written 'to the Romans.'

2. 'Paul, in[l] the firſt epiſtle to the Corinthians, ſpeaks of them 'who denied or doubted of a reſurrection.' See 1 Cor. ch. xv.

Tertullian, in his book of Monogamy, computes[m] it to be about 160 years from St. Paul's writing this epiſtle to the time when he wrote that book.

3. 'For indeed[n] they ſuppoſe the apoſtle Paul, in the ſecond 'to the Corinthians, to have forgiven the ſame fornicator whom 'in the firſt he had declared ought to be' "delivered to Satan "for the deſtruction of the fleſh." Compare 2 Cor. ii. 6—10 with 1 Cor. v. 5.

4. 'But' of this no more needs to be ſaid, if it be the ſame 'Paul, who, writing to the Galatians, reckons "hereſies" 'among "the works of the fleſh;" and who directs Titus "to reject a man that is an heretic, after the firſt admo-"nition; knowing that he that is ſuch an one is ſubverted, and "ſinneth, being condemned of himſelf."

5. 'I paſs,' ſays[p] he, 'to another epiſtle, which we have in-'ſcribed to the Epheſians, but the heretics to the Laodiceans.' Afterwards: 'According to the true teſtimony of the church, 'we ſuppoſe that epiſtle to have been ſent to the Epheſians, not 'to the Laodiceans: but Marcion has endeavoured to alter the 'inſcription, upon a pretence of his having made a more dili-

[k] Romanos, rarum facere [illegible] quæ sunt Legis. De [illegible] c. 6. p. 123. C. Vide Scor-[illegible] p. 631. C. D. et alibi.

[l] [illegible] prima ad Cor[illegible] negat [illegible] dubitatores [illegible]. De [illegible] c. 33. p. 243. D.

[m] Quæ [illegible] temporis [illegible] [illegible] anni [illegible] [illegible]. De Monog. cap. 3 [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

ſ gent enquiry into that matter. But the inſcriptions are of
ſ no importance, ſince the apoſtle wrote to all, when he wrote
ſ to ſome.' There are ſome learned remarks upon the title of this epiſtle inſerted in [r] Mr. La Roche's Literary Journal, beſide what has been ſaid by [s] Mill and others.

6. ſ Of which hope [t] and expectation Paul to the Galatians:
" *For we, through the Spirit, wait for the hope of righteouſneſs by*
" *faith.*" Gal. v. 5. He does not ſay we have obtained it; but
ſ he ſpeaks of " the hope of the righteouſneſs" of God, in the
ſ day of judgment, when our reward ſhall be decided. Of which
ſ being himſelf in ſuſpenſe, when he writes to the Philippians,
" If by any means," ſays he, " I might attain to the reſurrection
" of the dead; not, as though I had already attained, or were
" perfect." Philip. iii. 11, 12.

7. ſ From [u] which things [endleſs genealogies and unprofita-
ſ ble queſtions] the apoſtle reſtraining us, expreſsly cautions us
ſ againſt philoſophy, writing to the Coloſſians:' " Beware leſt
" any man ſpoil you through philoſophy and vain deceit, after
" the tradition of men, not after the inſtruction of the Holy
" Spirit." Coloſſ. ii. 8.

8. ſ And in [x] the ſame epiſtle to the Theſſalonians, he [the
ſ apoſtle] adds:' " But of the times and the ſeaſons, brethren,
" there is no need that I write to you. For yourſelves know
" perfectly, that the day of the Lord ſo cometh as a thief in the
" night." .... [1 Theſſ. v. 1, 2, 3.] ſ And in the ſecond [epiſtle]
ſ to the ſame perſons he writes with greater ſolicitude:' " But I
" beſeech you, brethren, by the coming of our Lord Jeſus
" Chriſt, that ye be not ſoon ſhaken in mind, nor be troubled."
.... 2 Theſſ. ii. 1—7.

9. ſ And this [y] word Paul has uſed, writing to Timothy:'
" *O Timothy, keep*" [the depoſitum; or, according to our tranſ-
ſ lation] " *that which is committed to thy truſt.*" 1 Tim. vi.

[r] Vol. iii. p. 165. [s] Prolegom. N. 71—79. [t] De qua ſpe et expectatione Paulus ad Galatas: Nos enim ſpiritu ex fide ſpem juſtitiæ expectamus; non ait, tenemus. Juſtitiæ autem Dei dicit ex judicio, quo judicabimur de mercede. Ad quam pendens et ipſe, quum Philippenſibus ſcribit, ſi qua, inquit, concurram in reſurrectionem quæ eſt a mortuis; non, quia jam accepi, aut conſummatus ſum. De Reſurrectione Carnis, c. 23. p. 395. C. D.

[u] A quibus nos apoſtolus refrenans, nominatim philoſophiam conteſtatur caveri oportere, ſcribens ad Coloſſenſes: Videte ne quis vos circumveniat per philoſophiam et inanem ſeductionem, ſecundum traditionem hominum, præter providentiam Spiritus Sancti. De Præſcr. c. 7. p. 233. A.

[x] Et in ipſa ad Theſſalonicenſes epiſtola ſuggerit: De temporibus autem et temporum ſpatiis, fratres, non eſt neceſſitas ſcribendi vobis. .... Et in ſecunda, pleniore ſolicitudine, ad eoſdem: Obſecro autem vos, fratres, per adventum Domini. .... De Reſurrectione Carnis, cap. 24. p. 396. C. D. [y] Et hoc verbo uſus eſt Paulus ad Timotheum: O Timothee, depoſitum cuſtodi. Et rurſum: Bonum depoſitum ſerva. De Præſcr. H. c. 25. p. 240. A.

'20. And again: "*That good thing which was committed* "*to thee, keep.*" 2 Tim. i. 14.' He quotes there several other passages of both these epistles.

10. I need not put down here any passage concerning the epistle to Titus, it being quoted already as [z] Paul's, and will be mentioned again in the following passage.

11. Tertullian has no where, in his remaining works, quoted any thing from the epistle to Philemon, nor expressly named it. We may well ascribe this to its brevity. But yet there is a passage which must relate to this epistle, and where one may be apt to think it had been named by Tertullian, though it does not stand there in our present copies. He had quoted and argued from some texts out of the epistle to the Philippians, and then the words of 1 Thess. iv. 17. after this manner: "*But* "*we* [a]," says he, "*shall be caught up together with them in* "*the clouds, to meet the Lord.*" 'If taken up with them, then 'also changed with them. This epistle alone has had an advantage from its brevity, for hereby it has escaped the falsifying hands of Marcion. Nevertheless I wonder, that when he 'receives an epistle to one man, he should reject two to Timothy, and one to Titus, which treat of the government of 'the church. He had a mind, I suppose, to alter also the 'number of the epistles:' that is, as he had done of the gospels.

Here is a character of the epistle to Philemon: it is written to 'one person,' and it does not concern ecclesiastical matters, or relate to the 'government of the church,' as those to Timothy and Titus. And if the words, 'brevity of this epistle,' relate to the epistle afterwards spoken of, as written to 'one person,' here is another thing very suitable to it. Nor can those words relate to the first to the Thessalonians, just quoted before, which is longer than the second to the Thessalonians, and that to Titus: not to mention the second to Timothy, though it is also longer than that. Nor is there any reason to suspect a reference to the second or third of St. John, because here is no mention of any but St. Paul's epistles; beside that, as Mr. Richardson [b] observes, 'Marcion rejected all the canonical 'epistles, and consequently the second and third of St. John,

[z] See p. 263.

[a] Atquin, cum illis, [illegible] simul rapiemur in nubibus obviam Domino. Si cum illis sublati, utique cum illo et transfigurati. Soli huic epistolæ [illegible] tua profuit, ut falsarias manus [illegible] evaderet. Miror tamen, quum ad [illegible] hominum litteras facilius recepe-rit, quid ad Timotheum duas, et unam ad Titum, de ecclesiastico statu compositas, recusaverit. Affectavit, opinor, etiam numerum epistolarum interpolare. Adv. Marcion. l. v. cap. ult. p. 615. D.

[b] The Canon of the New Testament vindicated, § 4. p. 2. in the notes.

'which

'which alſo were not at that time generally embraced by the 'catholics.' And indeed it ſeems to me, as I have already hinted, that the epiſtle to Philemon was originally mentioned here by Tertullian, but has been dropped out of our copies. However here is ſtill enough to ſatisfy us the diſcourſe is about that epiſtle, and that it was received by Tertullian, and the catholic church, as a part of ſcripture.

If it were needful to ſay any thing more, to confirm this argument, I might add, that we are expreſsly aſſured by [c] Epiphanius, that the epiſtle to Philemon was one of the ten epiſtles of St. Paul, which Marcion received. Moreover there is a paſſage in [d] Jerom's works, which ſeems to ſhew that he alſo underſtood Tertullian's words as I have explained them.

VIII. There is a remarkable and well-known paſſage of Tertullian, which may be not improperly put down here. 'Well, if you [e] be willing to exerciſe your curioſity profitably 'in the buſineſs of your ſalvation, viſit the apoſtolical churches, 'in which the very chairs of the apoſtles ſtill preſide; in which 'their very authentic letters are recited, ſounding forth the 'voice, and repreſenting the countenance, of each one of them. 'Is Achaia near you? You have Corinth. If you are not far 'from Macedonia, you have Philippi, you have Theſſalonica. 'If you can go to Aſia, you have Epheſus. But if you are 'near to Italy, you have Rome, from whence we alſo may be 'eaſily ſatisfied.'

By 'authentic letters' ſome [f] underſtand the originals themſelves, ſent in the apoſtle's hand-writing, or that of the perſon who wrote for him, and ſigned at the concluſion by himſelf. Rigaltius [g], in his note upon this place, explains the word 'au-

[c] Epiph. H. 42. n. ix. p. 310. A.

[d] Et quoniam Marcionis fecimus mentionem, Pauli eſſe epiſtolam ad Philemonem, ſaltem Marcione auctore doceantur. Qui cum cæteras epiſtolas ejuſdem vel non ſuſceperit, vel quædam in his mutaverit atque corroſerit, in hanc ſolam manus non eſt auſus committere, quia ſua illam brevitas defendebat. Hieron. Procem. in Ep. ad Philem.

[e] Age jam qui voles curioſitatem melius exercere in negotio ſalutis tuæ, percurre eccleſias apoſtolicas, apud quas ipſæ adhuc cathedræ apoſtolorum ſuis locis præſident; apud quas ipſæ authenticæ litteræ eorum recitantur, ſonantes vocem, et repræſentantes faciem, uniuſcujuſque. Proxima eſt tibi Achaia? habes Corinthum. Si non longe es a Macedonia, habes Philippos, habes Theſſalonicenſes. Si potes Aſiam tendere, habes Epheſum. Si autem Italiæ adjaces, habes Romam, unde nobis quoque auctoritas præſto eſt. De Præſcrip. cap. 36. p. 245. B.

[f] Sequuntur epiſtolæ Paulinæ, quas a prima uſque ſcriptione celeberrimas fecere ipſius apoſtoli tam crebræ peregrinationes, et nota ejus in omni epiſtola manus, et autographa earum in illis quibus datæ eſſent eccleſiis diutiſſime ad Tertulliani uſque tempora conſervat. Dodwell, Diſſ. Iren. i. § 41. See Richardſon's Canon of the New Teſtament vindicated, p. 118. And to the like purpoſe others.

[g] 'Ipſæ authenticæ litteræ eorum].' Lingua ſcilicet eadem qua fuerunt ab apoſtolis conſcriptæ, ſonantes vocem cujuſque. Sic ipſe de Monogamia ad Græcum authenticum Pauli provocat. Rigalt.

'thentic' in the ſenſe of the original Greek language, in which the epiſtles were written: and ſupports his interpretation [h] by another place of Tertullian, where he uſes the phraſe, 'authen-'tic Greek;' appealing to that for the true meaning of St. Paul in one of his epiſtles. Richard [i] Simon, who embraces the ſame interpretation, has referred to a paſſage of St. Jerom, where he uſes the phraſe, 'authentic books,' for the ſcriptures of the Old Teſtament in the original Hebrew language, in oppoſition to Greek or other verſions; not for the books in the original hand-writing of the prophets. So Tertullian, the churches of Africa uſing only a Latin verſion of the New Teſtament, calls the Greek text 'authentic.'

I think this muſt be allowed to be a difficult paſſage; and I queſtion whether either of theſe interpretations repreſents to us the true meaning of it. Though Tertullian is an obſcure writer, I hope it will not be thought trifling to propoſe a few remarks, to determine, if poſſible, his preciſe meaning.

1. Tertullian, by 'authentic letters,' does not mean the original epiſtles. If that be his meaning, the perſons, whom he ſends to ſome one of theſe places, could have received ſatisfaction only concerning one or two, at the moſt, of St. Paul's epiſtles ſent thither. If they had gone to all theſe churches, they could have ſeen no more than the originals of ſeveral of St. Paul's epiſtles: whereas he ſuppoſes, that, by viſiting theſe apoſtolical churches, they might hear the authentic letters recited, 'found-'ing forth the voice, and repreſenting the countenance, of each 'one' of the apoſtles; that is, of thoſe of them who had written. It is very improbable that Tertullian meant no more than that they [of Africa] might be ſatisfied of the genuineneſs of St. Paul's epiſtle to the Romans, by ſending or going to Rome: *unde nobis quoque auctoritas præſto eſt.*

2. Nor does he mean letters in their original language. He ſpeaks of the language in which they were 'recited,' or read, 'ſounding forth the voice' of the apoſtles; and he ſends ſome to Rome: but it is probable that in that church the ſcriptures were read in the Latin tongue. Beſides, he propoſes a viſit to Co-

[h] Simmus plane non ſic eſſe in Græco authentico. De Monog. c. 11. p. 684. A.

[i] Comme on ne liſoit dans les Egliſes d'Afrique que la Verſion Latine du Nouveau Teſtament, il donne le nom d'authentique à celle-ci. St. Jerome ſe ſert auſſi d'une ſemblable expreſſion au regard de l'ancien Teſtament, quand il oppoſe le Texte Hebreu aux Verſions Grecque et Latine, qu'il appelle le premier, *veritatem Hebraicam*, 'la verité Ebraique;' voulant marquer par là les Originaux de l'Ecriture, qu'il nomme même, comme Tertullien, *Authenticos Libros*, dans ſon commentaire ſur le chap. 64. du prophete Iſaie. Il ne croyoit pour cela que ce fuſſent les premiers Originaux écrits de la main des prophetes. Hiſtoire Crit. du Texte du N. T. ch. 4. p. 40.

rinth, or Philippi, or Epheſus, to be made by thoſe who were near Achaia, or Macedonia, or Aſia: whereas it is probable that they who were near theſe countries had the ſcriptures read to them in their own churches in the original Greek language; and had no occaſion to go from home to ſee or hear a Greek epiſtle of St. Paul.

3. By 'authentic letters' Tertullian ſeems to mean certain, well atteſted; the Greek word is ſo uſed by [k] Cicero: and by *authenticæ literæ* we are not to underſtand 'authentic letters,' or epiſtles, but 'ſcriptures:' ſo the word ought in my 'opinion to [l] be rendered. This paſſage may be well reckoned parallel with another before tranſcribed, where he appeals to the apoſtolical churches for the genuineneſs and ſincerity of the goſpel of St. Luke, uſed by all Chriſtians in general; and afterwards for the genuineneſs likewiſe of the other three goſpels. He appeals there to almoſt the ſame churches that he does here; the Corinthians, Galatians, Philippians, Epheſians, and Romans. Of the laſt he ſpeaks to this purpoſe: 'Let us 'ſee likewiſe,' ſays he, 'what the Romans recite,' or ſound forth, 'who are near to us, with whom both Peter and Paul 'left the goſpel ſealed with their blood. We have alſo churches, 'which are diſciples of John. . . . . With all theſe is that goſpel 'of Luke received, which we ſo zealouſly maintain.' Juſt ſo here, after the mention of divers others: 'But if you are near 'to Italy, you have Rome, whence we alſo may be eaſily ſatisfied. How [m] happy is that church, to which the apoſtles de-'livered the whole evangelical doctrine together with their 'blood; where Peter ſuffered the ſame death which the Lord 'did; where Paul was crowned with the death of John; where '(E) the apoſtle John, after he had been caſt into a caldron of 'boiling

[k] Quid quæris? etiam illud erat perſuaſum, Pompeium cum magnis copiis iter in Germaniam per Illyricum feciſſe: id enim αὐθεντικὸς nuncupabatur. Ad Att. l. x. ep. 9. ad quem locum Urſinus. Videtur ſcribendum in Galliam, ex loco ſimili in ep. 6. 'Pompeium PRO CERTO 'habemus per Illyricum proficiſci in Gal-'liam.'

[l] Apud literas ſanctas ordine cognoſcitur. Ap. c. 22. p. 23. C. Ipſi literarum noſtrarum fidem accendunt. C. 23. p. 26. A. Inſpice Dei voces, literas noſtras. C. 30. p. 30. D. Coimus ad literarum divinarum commemorationem. C. 31. p. 34. D.

[m] Ita quam felix eccleſia! cui totam doctrinam apoſtoli cum ſanguine profuderunt; ubi Petrus paſſioni Dominicæ adæquatur; ubi Paulus Joannis exitu coronatur; ubi apoſtolus Joannes, poſteaquam in oleum igneum demerſus, nihil paſſus eſt, in inſulam relegatur. De Præſcr. Hær. c. 36. p. 245. B.

(E) That ſtory is received by ſome, by others it is reckoned to be doubtful, and by others rejected as a fiction. Authors, with references to them, may be ſeen in Lampe, Prolegom. de Vit. Joan. Ev. l. i. c. 4. n. iii. iv. v. who himſelf rejects it, and argues in this manner: Firſt, it relies almoſt entirely upon the ſole credit of Tertullian. Secondly, it is omitted by ſeveral ancient writers, who would have mentioned it if there had been any good ground for it, as Irenæus, Origen, and ſome others; who ſpeak of the ſufferings of

'boiling oil, without ſuffering any harm, was baniſhed into an 'iſland!'

As Tertullian before appealed to the apoſtolical churches for the integrity of St. Luke's goſpel, ſo here he propoſes, to ſuch perſons as were curious, a viſit to ſome apoſtolical church which was neareſt to them; where the 'very authentic,' well atteſted, genuine, and uncorrupted 'ſcriptures' of the apoſtles 'are re-'cited.' It is not then an appeal to theſe churches for the genuineneſs of one or more epiſtles of Paul, written to them in particular; but it is an appeal to each one of theſe churches for the certainty, genuineneſs, and integrity of all the ſcriptures of the New Teſtament, which they held ſacred, and conſtantly read in their aſſemblies; whether goſpels or epiſtles, written by Paul or other apoſtles, or by apoſtolical men. Though every church, which had communion with apoſtolical churches, had copies of the ſeveral books of the New Teſtament that might be relied on as genuine and ſincere; yet he ſuppoſes it to be a ſatisfaction to know, at the firſt hand, what was read in the churches planted by apoſtles; and that the labour of a viſit to ſome of them was not unbecoming men of curioſity. Here lies the ſtreſs of the argument: the ſcriptures received by apoſtolical churches are 'authentic;' the teſtimony [n] given by thoſe churches, according to Tertullian, is an authentic, original, certain teſtimony.

I am not poſitive in this interpretation, though it appears to me probable. If I underſtand this paſſage right, it would be more properly placed lower, after we have conſidered this author's particular teſtimonies to the reſt of the books of the New Teſtament. But I thought it might be too preſuming to defer a paſſage any longer, which has been ſo generally ſuppoſed to relate particularly to ſome epiſtles only of St. Paul.

IX. We are in the next place to obſerve how the epiſtle to the Hebrews is quoted by him, when he was plainly a Montaniſt. Having argued from the epiſtles of Paul, and the firſt of

of the apoſtles, and John's baniſhment into Patmos, and yet ſay nothing of this extraordinary miracle. And though Jerom has occaſionally mentioned it once or twice, he takes no notice of it in the hiſtory of this apoſtle, inſerted in his book of Illuſtrious Men. Thirdly, nor does this ſtory in its circumſtances ſuit the time in which it is placed; for it is not known that caſting into oil was a puniſhment then in uſe. That learned author thinks this ſtory might be invented, or at leaſt more readily received, as an accompliſhment of Chriſt's prophecy concerning the two ſons of Zebedee. Ego fabulam illam eo avidius acceptam eſſe cenſeo, ut ita eo clarior rederetur ſenſus prædictionis Chriſti de poculo paſſionum filiis Zebedæi propinando.

[n] Cæterum ſi et retro decucurrerit [evangelium], habuit utique authenticam paraturam, per quam ad Lucam uſque pervenit, cujus teſtimonio adſiſtente, Lucas quoque poſſit admitti. Adv. Marcion. l. iv. c. 2. p. 503. C. Thus the teſtimony of apoſtolical churches is authentic, and prior to that of others.

St. John, and proved his point sufficiently from apostles, as he supposeth, he proceeds: 'Nevertheless [o] I am willing, over and 'above, to allege the testimony of a companion of the apostles; 'a fit person to shew, at the next remove, what was the senti-'ment of the masters. For there is an epistle of Barnabas, in-'scribed "to the Hebrews," written by a man of such autho-'rity, that Paul has placed him with himself in the same course 'of abstinence: "*Or I only and Barnabas, have not we power* "*to forbear working?*" [or, of doing [p] this, that is, to carry 'about a sister]. 1 Cor. ix. 6. And certainly the epistle of 'Barnabas [he means the epistle to the Hebrews] is more ge-'nerally received by the churches than the apocryphal pastor of 'adulterers [that is, Hermas]. Admonishing then his disci-'ples, "Leaving all first principles, rather to go on to perfec-"tion, and not to lay again the foundation of repentance from "the works of the dead: for it is impossible, says he, 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 sweet word of God, if they fall away now at the end "of the world, to recal them again to repentance; since they "crucify again the Son of God to themselves, and put him to "an open shame." .... [Heb. vi. 1. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8.] He who 'learned this from the apostles, and taught with the apostles, 'never knew that a second repentance had been promised by 'the apostles to an adulterer and a fornicator. For he ex-'cellently interprets the law, and shews its figures in the 'truth.'

Here is enough to satisfy us, that he means the same epistle to the Hebrews which we have under that title; and that he supposed it to be written by Barnabas, an apostolical man, who

[o] Disciplina igitur apostolorum proprie quidem instruit ac determinat.——Volo tamen ex redundantia alicujus etiam comitis apostolorum testimonium superinducere, idoneum confirmandi de proximo jure disciplinam magistrorum. Exstat enim et Barnabæ titulus ad Hebræos, adeo satis auctoritatis viro, ut quem Paulus juxta se constituerit in abstinentiæ tenore: 'Aut ego 'solus et Barnabas non habemus hoc ope-'randi potestatem?' Et utique receptior apud ecclesias epistola Barnabæ illo apocrypho pastore mœchorum. Monens itaque discipulos, omissis omnibus initiis, ad perfectionem magis tendere, nec rursum fundamenta pœnitentiæ jacere operibus mortuorum; impossibile est enim, inquit, eos qui semel inluminati sunt, et donum cœleste gustaverunt, et participaverunt spiritum sanctum, et verbum Dei dulce gustaverunt, occidente jam ævo cum exciderint, rursus revocari in pœnitentiam, refigentes cruci in semetipsos filium Dei et dedecorantes. .... Hoc qui ab apostolis didicit, et cum apostolis docuit, nunquam mœcho et fornicatori secundam pœnitentiam promissam ab apostolis norat. Optime enim legem interpretabatur, et figuras ejus jam in ipsa veritate servabat. De Pudicitia, cap. 20. p. 741. C. D.

[p] So it is at present in Tertullian. Mill supposes this to be a corrupt reading of that text, 1 Cor. ix. 6. Prolegom. n. 552.

had

had been taught by apoſtles, and taught with them, but eſpecially with Paul.

This is the only paſſage of Tertullian, in which this epiſtle is expreſsly quoted: but I am willing to obſerve alſo the other places in which it may ſeem to be referred to, that we may the better judge of the reſpect he had for it, or what authority it was of with him.

We find then in him theſe following expreſſions: "That [q] "Word called his Son, ſeen of the patriarchs in divers man-"ners, in the name of God, always heard in the prophets," at 'laſt brought down by the ſpirit and power of God the Father 'into the Virgin Mary, &c.' See Heb. i. 1, 2. And preſently after he ſays: 'Being taken' up into heaven, he ſat "down on the right hand of the Father." See ver. 3. The expreſſions in another book, that have been thought to allude to the words of ver. 4, have a ſmall reſemblance with them. But in the ſame [s] place he obſerves: '*Who makes*, ſaith he, *his* '*angels ſpirits, and his miniſters a flame of fire.* Ver. 7. See Pſ. civ. 4. And likewiſe: 'That he had not *put in ſubjec-*'*tion* the world to man uncapable of governing, and not 'higher than the angels, to whom he has not put in ſubjection 'any ſuch thing:' where may be thought an alluſion to ch. ii. 5, 6, 7. He calls Melchiſedec '[t] 'Prieſt of the moſt High God' more than once. See Heb. vii. 1. Gen. xiv. 18. He ſpeaks of [u] Chriſt's being 'God's High Prieſt, a prieſt for ever,' and 'after the order of Melchiſedec:' which things are treated of in the epiſtle to the Hebrews; but Tertullian [x] ſeems to deduce them from Pſalm cx. 4. In another place he obſerves the enmity which there had been againſt virtue in this world, from the very beginning: 'That Abel [y] was murdered by his brother; 'and that not only righteous men, but prophets alſo, had been

[q] Verbum Filium ejus appellatum, in nomine Dei variis viſum a patriarchis, in prophetis semper auditum, poſtremo delatum, &c. De Præſcript. cap. 13. p. 205. C. [r] In cœlos ereptum ſedisse ad dexteram Patris. Ibid. [s] Sed et nubes et similitudo Dei, fortior angelo; et sublimitas Dei generoſior ſpiritu materiæ quo angeli conſtiterunt. Qui facit, inquit, spiritus angelos, et apparitores ejus ignem. Quia nec universitatem humanam ſubjecerat imitmo dominandi, et ne potiori angelis, quibus nihil tale ſubjecit. Adv. Marc. lib. ii. p. 459. D.

[t] Unde Melchiſedek ſacerdos Dei Summi nuncupatus? Adv. Judæos, c. 2. p. 206. D. Quid Ezechias ad Melchiſedek Altiſſimi ſacerdotem? [u] Adv. Marc. l. v. p. 593. B. [x] Sed Jeſus ille Chriſtus Dei patris ſummus ſacerdos. Adv. Jud. cap. 14. p. 229. A. Tu es ſacerdos in ævum. Adv. Marc. l. v. p. 593. B. At in Chriſtum convenit ordo Melchiſedek. Ibid. [y] Sed et hic pſalmus Salomoni canere dicitur. Ibid. C.

[z] Statim ut coli Deus cœpit, invidiam religio ſortita eſt. Qui Deo placuerat, occiditur, et quidem a fratre. . . . . Denique non modo juſtorum, verumetiam et prophetarum: David exagitatur, Helias fugatur, Heremias lapidatur, Eſaias ſecatur. Scorpiac. c. 8. p. 624. B. C.

'ill treated: that David was haraſſed, Elias baniſhed, Jeremy 'ſtoned, and Eſaias ſawn aſunder:' where may be thought a reference to Heb. xi. 4. 32. 37. In another place he ſays: 'If 'we [z] think ſome evils are laid upon us by the Lord, toward 'whom ſhould we behave ourſelves patiently, if not to him? 'Yea rather we are taught to rejoice and be glad of the favour 'of divine chaſtiſement: "I, ſays he, chaſtiſe whom I love." See Heb. xii. 5, 6. Prov. iii. 11, 12. Once more, he obſerves, that [a] 'Chriſt ſuffered without the city.' See Heb. xiii. 11, 12.

Whether in theſe paſſages there is an alluſion to this epiſtle to the Hebrews, is not eaſy to determine. But ſuppoſing that Tertullian borrowed theſe thoughts from it, or was led to them by reading it; we are however obliged, I think, to judge of his reſpect for it by the firſt paſſage, in which he has expreſsly quoted it. And upon that paſſage we may now make the following remarks.

1. That at that time it was received by a good number of Chriſtian churches; and thoſe, as we may reaſonably ſuppoſe, of the Latin communion, which had their place in thoſe parts of the Roman empire where the Latin tongue was uſed, with which churches Tertullian was moſt particularly acquainted. By many of theſe churches it was received, by more than the Shepherd of Hermas, but not by all.

2. Tertullian aſcribes this epiſtle to Barnabas: this muſt have been therefore a common opinion, at that time, in the churches with which he was acquainted. If he had had any good ground to aſcribe it to Paul, he would have done it here, where he eſteemed the ſentiments of that epiſtle favourable to him, and was willing to make the beſt advantage of it.

3. It does not appear that he gave the higheſt degree of reſpect to this epiſtle. He conſiders it only as written by an apoſtolical man, and of authority next to the apoſtles.

4. Nor does it plainly and certainly appear, from any thing which Tertullian has ſaid, what reſpect was paid to this epiſtle by thoſe churches which received it; or, whether they received it as of the higheſt authority or not.

X. I think it is now evident that Tertullian received thirteen epiſtles of St. Paul, and that they were received univerſally, or

[z] Quod ſi a Domino nonnulla credimus incuti, cui magis patientiam quam Domino præbeamus? Quin inſuper gratulari et gaudere nos docet, dignatione Divinæ caſtigationis. Ego, inquit, quos diligo, caſtigo. De Patientia, c. 11. p. 166. B.

[a] Extra civitatem crucifixus eſt. Adv. Judæos, cap. 14. p. 229. B.

generally, by the Chriſtians of his time. The epiſtle to the Hebrews he ſuppoſed to have been written by Barnabas.

XI. We proceed to the catholic epiſtles.

1. And here we are firſt to enquire, whether Tertullian received the epiſtle of St. James. In his expoſition of that petition of the Lord's prayer, 'Lead us not into temptation,' he ſays: 'But [b] far be it from us to ſuppoſe, that the Lord ſhould ſeem 'to tempt, as if he was ignorant of any man's faith, or had a 'deſire to overthrow it.' Which ſomewhat reſembles James, i. 13: *Let no man ſay, when he is tempted, I am tempted of God: for God cannot be tempted with evil, neither tempteth he any man.* But I believe few can be influenced by this to conclude he owned this epiſtle.

In another place he ſays: 'Whence [c] was Abraham accounted 'the friend of God, but for the practice of the equity and juſtice 'of the law of nature?' St. James ſays, ii. 23, *And the ſcripture was fulfilled which ſaith, Abraham believed God, and it was imputed unto him for righteouſneſs: and he was called the friend of God.* Abraham has this title, 2 Chron. xx. 7. Iſa. xli. 8. I think neither of theſe places ſufficient to prove, that Tertullian was acquainted with this epiſtle.

Once more: 'Who [d] now ſhould better know the marrow of 'the ſcriptures than the ſchool of Chriſt itſelf? ... To whom 'ſhould he rather reveal his mind than to whom he ſhewed his 'glory, Peter, James, John, and afterwards Paul?' And then he immediately quotes the firſt epiſtle of Peter, and firſt of John, and his Revelation, and ſeveral epiſtles of Paul; but nothing from the epiſtle of James, though it might have been ſo much to his purpoſe. The quotation from Peter is, 1 Ep. ii. 20, 21: *For what glory is it, if, when ye be buffeted for your faults, ye ſhall take it patiently?*—And again, iv. 12, 13. 15: *Beloved, think it not ſtrange concerning the fiery trial, which is to try you.* ... It would have been as much to his purpoſe to have cited alſo James, i. 2: *My brethren, count it all joy, when ye fall into divers temptations*; and ver. 3 and 12. ... Moreover, after the quotations from Peter, John, and Paul, he comes to the Acts; where, as he obſerves, are recorded the afflictions and ſufferings of Peter, Stephen, James, Paul, and others. Conſidering all theſe

[b] Cæterum abſit ut Dominus tentare videatur, quaſi ignoret fidem cujuſque, aut deſicere geſtiens. De Oratione, cap. 8. p. 152. B. [c] Unde Abraham amicus Dei deputatus, ſi non de æquitate et juſtitia legis naturalis? Adv. Judæos, cap. 2. p. 206. D. [d] Quis nunc medullas ſcripturarum magis noſſet, quam ipſa ſchola Chriſti? .... Cui potius figuram vocis ſuæ declaraſſet, quam cui effigiem gloriæ ſuæ revelavit, Petro, Jacobo, Joanni, et poſtea Paulo? Scorpiac. cap. 12. p. 630. B.

things, and that James, the author of the epiſtle which we have, could not be James who ſaw Chriſt's glory, but James the Juſt, or ſome other of that name; it ſeems to me very probable, that Tertullian knew nothing of any epiſtle of James.

Nor was he in the leaſt obliged to omit our epiſtle of James, becauſe it was not written by James who ſaw Chriſt's glory: foraſmuch as, after the quotations from Peter, John, and Paul, whom he at firſt expreſsly mentioned, he quotes alſo the Acts, and the goſpels.

And if we conſider that he knew, and has referred to, the ſhort epiſtles of Titus and Philemon, as has been ſhewn; his not citing the epiſtle of James in this remarkable place, nor in any other part of his remaining works, muſt amount to a kind of proof, that he knew nothing at all of this epiſtle; or, that he did not eſteem it a book of authority, if he did know it. But the former appears to me the more probable ſuppoſition of the two.

Mill [e] thinks it likely that Tertullian refers to St. James, when he obſerves, in the place before quoted, that 'Abraham was 'accounted the friend of God:' but that nevertheleſs he did not eſteem this epiſtle a book of authority, or a part of the canon.

2. The firſt epiſtle of Peter is expreſsly quoted as his. In the place juſt cited, having mentioned thoſe who ſaw Chriſt's glory, he adds: 'Peter [f] ſays to the people of Pontus: "How "great glory is it, if, when ye are puniſhed not for your faults, "ye take it patiently! For this is acceptable, and even here-"unto were ye called; becauſe Chriſt alſo ſuffered for us, leav-"ing you an example, that ye ſhould follow his ſteps." 1 Pet. ii. 20, 21: to which he adds the words of ch. iv. ver. 12, 13, 14, 15, 16. The words themſelves and the title aſſure us, he refers to our firſt epiſtle of St. Peter, which is inſcribed to the *ſtrangers ſcattered throughout Pontus, Galatia,* and other countries thereabout. Again, ſoon after: 'Peter [g] appointed 'that the king ſhould be honoured.' Referring to 1 Ep. ch. ii. 13. Theſe are the only places, I think, where this epiſtle is expreſsly quoted by him as Peter's.

[e] In ea [eccleſia Africana] enim licet jam ſeculo tertio Tertullianus ad verſum 23. cap. ii. hujus epiſtolæ digitum intendiſſe videatur, dum libr. contra Judæos, cap. 2. ſcribit Abrahamum 'amicum 'Dei deputatum eſſe;' non tamen auctoritate ejus ad probandum aliquod fidei dogma uſus eſt, aut diſerte ipſam canonicis ſcripturis accenſuit. Prolegom. n. xxv.

[f] Petrus quidem ad Ponticos: Quæ enim, inquit, gloria, ſi non ut delinquentes puniamini, ſuſtinetis! Hæc enim gratia eſt, in hoc et vocati eſtis, &c. Scorpiac. cap. 12. p. 630. C.

[g] Condixerat, ſcilicet Petrus, regem quidem honorandum. Ib. c. 14. p. 633. A.

3. There

3. There are in Tertullian no expreſs quotations of the ſecond epiſtle of Peter, or references to it.

Tertullian in his Apology aſſerts, that all the 'power of dæ-'mons and ſuch like ſpirits is ſubject to Chriſtians;' but yet he owns that they moleſt them, and excite perſecutions. He accounts for this ſeveral ways. One of his ſolutions is this: 'Be-'ſides, being [h] already condemned, it is a conſolation to them, 'in their deſperate condition, to do miſchief, during the delay 'of puniſhment.' Poſſibly ſome may think that here is an alluſion to 2 Pet. ii. 4: but there is a text to the ſame purpoſe in Jude, ver. 6. which epiſtle was owned by Tertullian, as we ſhall ſee preſently. But there is no good reaſon to ſuppoſe here an alluſion to either of thoſe texts. This was a common notion among the Jews, as may be concluded from what ſome dæmoniacs ſaid to Chriſt. Matth. viii. 29. See alſo Mark, v. 27. Luke, viii. 28. And it might be common likewiſe among the Chriſtians, who by this time had learned ſeveral things from the Jews. Lactantius has a [i] like thought.

4. The firſt epiſtle of John is often quoted. In the place juſt cited for the firſt of Peter, where he had mentioned the four apoſtles who ſaw Chriſt's glory, he ſays: 'John [k] exhorts us to 'lay "down our lives for the brethren," denying there is any "fear in love:" for "perfect love caſteth out fear," and what 'follows.' 1 John, iii. 16. and iv. 18. In another place: 'Laſt-'ly [l] let us conſider whom the apoſtles ſaw: "That which we "have ſeen," ſays John, "which we have heard, which we have "ſeen with our eyes, and our hands have handled of the word "of life: for the word of life was made fleſh." . . . And we 'ſaw his glory, as of the only begotten of the Father.' 1 John, i. 1. John, i. 14. Here is full proof that he aſcribed this firſt epiſtle to John the apoſtle and evangeliſt.

In another place: 'Whom [m] the apoſtle John calls anti-'chriſts, as denying Chriſt is come in the fleſh:' which is thought to be a reference to 2 John, 7; but is not deciſive, be-

[h] Præterque et deſperata conditio eorum ex præſumptione ſolatium reputat fruendi interim malignitatis de pœnæ mora. Apol. c. 27. p. 29. A.

[i] Ita diabolo fatellites facti, ut haberent ſolatium perſecutionis ſuæ, ad perdendos homines ſe converterunt, quos ut tuerentur advenerunt. Lactant. Epit. cap. 17. p. 42. edit. Praef. Conf. Orig. in Num. Hom. xiii. [illegible]

[k] Joannes vero, ut etiam pro fratribus noſtris animas ponamus, hortatur negans timorem eſſe in dilectione, &c. Sac. [illegible] c. 12. p. 630. D.

[l] Denique, inſpiciamus quem apoſtoli viderint. Quod vidimus, inquit Joannes, quod audivimus, oculis noſtris vidimus, et manus noſtræ contrectaverunt de ſermone vitæ. Sermo enim vitæ caro factus eſt . . . et vidimus gloriam ejus, tanquam unigeniti a patre, &c. Adv. Praxeam, cap. 15. p. 647. A. B.

[m] —— quos apoſtolus Joannes antichriſtos pronuntiavit, negantes Chriſtum in carne veniſſe. Adv. Marc. lib. iii. cap. 8. p. 483. B.

cauſe

cauſe he writes to the ſame purpoſe in the firſt epiſtle, ch. ii. 18. 22. but eſpecially iv. 3. Tertullian has more than once referred to theſe words,[n] as in an epiſtle of John. And farther, ſpeaking of heretics, he ſays, 'we[o] are forbid to converſe with 'them:' in which he has been ſuppoſed to refer to 2 John, 10: *Receive him not into your houſe, neither bid him God ſpeed.* But he may as well refer to Paul's advice, Tit. iii. 10: *A man that is an heretic, after the firſt and ſecond admonition, reject:* and probably does ſo.

There[p] is an expreſſion in Tertullian, which at firſt ſight may be underſtood as if he ſpoke of a 'former epiſtle of John:' but it means only 'the former part of the' ſame 'epiſtle.' Tertullian is ſhewing that ſomething ſaid by St. John, in that firſt epiſtle, is not inconſiſtent with what he had ſaid in the former part of it: as may appear to any one that conſults the place, and reads that whole chapter of our author. There is therefore no proof of Tertullian's owning, or knowing, the ſecond epiſtle of John. As for the third, there does not appear any the leaſt notice of it in Tertullian's remaining works.

It is ſuppoſed by ſome learned men, that[q] Tertullian has alluded to the diſputed text which we have in 1 John, v. 7, 8. I have put his words in the margin.

5. There is one plain quotation of the epiſtle of St. Jude, the only place in which it is mentioned: 'Hence[r] it is,' ſays he, 'that Enoch is quoted by the apoſtle Jude;' referring to Jude, ver. 14.

XII. The Revelation of John is often quoted. I put together two or three paſſages, which ſhew his full perſuaſion it was written by the apoſtle and evangeliſt of that name. 'John'

[n] At in epiſtola eos maxime antichriſtos vocat [Joannes] qui Chriſtum negarent in carne veniſſe, et qui non putarent Jeſum eſſe filium Dei. De Præſcript. cap. 33. p. 244. B. Certe, qui negat Chriſtum in carne veniſſe, hic antichriſtus eſt. De Carne Chriſti, cap. 24. p. 378. A.

[o] Apud hæreticos? ubi omnia extranea et adverſaria noſtræ veritati; ad quos vetamur accedere. De Præſcr. cap. 12. p. 235. B.

[p] Juxta eſt igitur ut exciderit ſibi dicamus Joannem in primore quidem epiſtola negantem nos ſine delicto eſſe; nunc vero præſcribentem non delinquere omnino. De Pudic. c. 19. p. 740. D. Ita Joanni ratio conſtabit diverſitatis, diſtinctionem delictorum diſponenti, cum delinquere filios Dei nunc adnuit, nunc abnuit. Proſpiciebat enim clauſulam litterarum ſuarum, et illi præſtruebat hos ſenſus, dicturus in fine manifeſtius: Si quis ſcit fratrem ſuum delinquere delictum non ad mortem, poſtulabit, &c. Ib. p. 741. A.

[q] Cæterum, de meo ſumet, inquit, ſicut ipſe de Patris. Ita connexus Patris in Filio, et Filii in Paracleto, tres efficit cohærentes, alterum ex altero. Qui tres unum ſunt, non unus. Quomodo dictum eſt, Ego et Pater unum ſumus: ad ſubſtantiæ unitatem, non ad numeri ſingularitatem. Adv. Prax. c. 25. p. 657. C.

[r] Eo accidit quod Enoch apud Judam apoſtolum teſtimonium poſſidet. De Cultu Fem. l. i. cap. 3. p. 172. A.

[s] Joannes vero in Apocalypſi idolothyta edentes et ſtupra committentes jubetur caſtigare. At in epiſtola eos maxime antichriſtos vocat, &c. De Præſcr. cap. 33. p. 244. A. B.

'in

'in his Apocalypſe is commanded to correct thoſe who "eat "things ſacrificed to idols, and commit fornication." [Rev. ii. 20.] 'But in his epiſtle he eſpecially calls them "antichriſts, "who deny that Chriſt is come in the fleſh, and who did not "think that Jeſus is the Son of God." 1 John, ii. 18. 22. iv. 2, 3. v. 5. In the place already referred to more than once, after the mention of the four who had ſeen Chriſt's glory, he takes a large quotation out of John's Revelation. 'Again: The 'apoſtle John in the Apocalypſe deſcribes a "ſharp two-edged "ſword coming out of the mouth of God." Laſtly, we [u] have 'churches, diſciples of John: for though Marcion rejects 'his Revelation, the ſucceſſion of biſhops traced to the original 'will aſſure us that John is the author.'

XIII. There are then in Tertullian plain teſtimonies to all the books of the New Teſtament, commonly received by Chriſtians at this time, except the epiſtle of James, the ſecond of Peter, the ſecond and third of John. The epiſtle to the Hebrews he ſuppoſed to have been written by Barnabas.

XIV. We have ſeen in the paſſages already tranſcribed ſeveral teſtimonies to the integrity and ſincerity of the goſpels, and other books of the New Teſtament in his time, as well as to their genuineneſs. We will nevertheleſs take a few more to the like purpoſe. He affirms, that [x] the three other goſpels were in the hands of the churches from the beginning, as well as Luke's: that [y] Luke's goſpel, as well as the reſt, had been 'preſerved entire,' till Marcion pretended to correct it. He ſays, he may [z] juſtly ſay (in the name of the Chriſtian church) to all heretics: 'Who are you? when and whence came you 'hither? what do you do in my ground, ſince you belong not to 'me? by what right, O Marcion, do you cut down my woods? 'what authority have you, Valentinus, to turn the courſe of 'my fountains? who gave you power, Apelles, to overthrow 'my ſenſes? what do you ſowing and feeding here at your 'pleaſures? The poſſeſſion is mine. I have enjoyed it a long 'time. I firſt enjoyed it. I derive a certain original from the

[t] Nam et apoſtolus Joannes in Apocalypſi enſem' deſcribit ex ore Dei prodeuntem, bis acutum, præacutum. Adv. Marc. lib. iii. cap. 14. p. 489. A. [u] Habemus et Joannis alumnas eccleſias. Nam etſi Apocalypſim ejus Marcion reſpuit, ordo tamen epiſcoporum ad originem recenſus in Joannem ſtabit auctorem. Adv. Marc. lib. . cap. 5. p. 505. B. [x] Itaque et de his Marcion flagitandus, quid omiſſis eis, Lucæ potius inſtiterit; quaſi non et hæc apud eccleſias a primordio fuerint, quemadmodum et Lucæ. Adv. Marcion. l. iv. c. 5. p. 505. D. [y] Denique emendavit, quod corruptum exiſtimavit. Sed nec hoc merito, quia non fuit corruptum. Si enim apoſtolica integra decucurrerunt; Lucæ autem quod eſt ſecundum nos, adeo congruit regulæ eorum, ut cum illis apud eccleſias maneat, jam et Lucæ conſtat integrum decucurriſſe uſque ad ſacrilegium Marcionis. p. 506. A.

[z] De Præſcript. c. 37.

'authors

'authors themſelves, whoſe it was. I am the heir of the apo-
'ſtles. As they ordained in their teſtament, as they commit-
'ted to my truſt, as they adjured, ſo I ſtill hold it.' A large part of this paſſage is tranſlated by [a] Mr. Richardſon: I have taken his tranſlation, as far as it goes. Tertullian ſoon after calls heretics 'foreigners, and enemies of the apoſtles.' 'They
'[b] who were reſolved to teach otherwiſe, were under a neceſſity
'of new modelling the records of the doctrine, that they might
'have ſome ground to go upon. As they could not ſucceed in
'corrupting the doctrine, without corrupting the records of it,
'ſo the true doctrine [of the apoſtles] could not have been with
'us, nor could it have been delivered by us to others, if we had
'not the records entire wherein it is taught. For what do we
'maintain contrary to them? what have we added of our own
'heads to the doctrine, that we ſhould be obliged to alter any
'thing in the ſcriptures, by adding to them, or taking from
'them, or tranſpoſing any parts of them? What [c] we are, that
'the ſcriptures were from the beginning: we agree with them,
'as they were before they were altered, before they were inter-
'polated, by you.' Then he ſeverely cenſures Marcion for altering the text of the ſcriptures, 'openly employing a knife,' as [d] he ſays, 'not a ſtile;' the better to render them agreeable to his erroneous opinions.

XV. In many of the paſſages already tranſcribed we have ſeen the great authority of the books of the New Teſtament, and the reſpect which was ſhewed to them: but it may be proper to obſerve a few more to this purpoſe.

In his diſputes [e] with Praxeas, and others, he plainly ſuppoſes the ſcriptures to be the rule of the Chriſtian faith. He greatly commends the church of Rome, that '[f] ſhe joins the law and
'the prophets with the evangelic and apoſtolic ſcriptures, and
'thence takes her faith.' He plainly ſuppoſeth them written by divine inſpiration, and calls them the words of God, in a paſſage to be tranſcribed preſently at length.

'The Spirit of the Lord,' ſays [ff] he, 'has declared by the

[a] The Canon of the N. T. vindicated, p. 119. [b] Ib. c. 38. [c] Quod ſumus, hoc ſunt ſcripturæ ab initio nro: ex illis ſumus, antequam aliter fuit; antequam a vobis interpolarentur. Ibid. p. 246. B. [d] Marcion enim exerte et palam machæra, non ſtilo, uſus eſt: quoniam ad materiam ſuam eadem ſcripturarum confecit. Ibid. 246. C.

[e] Probare autem tam aperte debebis ex ſcripturis, quam nos probamus illum ſibi Filium feciſſe ſermonem ſuum. . . . Aut exhibe probationem quam expoſtule meo ſimilem; id eſt, ſic ſcripturas eundem Filium et Patrem oſtendere, quemadmodum apud nos diſtincte Pater et Filius demonſtrantur. Adv. Prax. c. 11. p. 641. D.

[f] Legem et prophetas cum evangelicis et apoſtolicis literis miſcet, et inde potat fidem. De Præſcr. c. 36. p. 245. C.

[ff] Cupiditatem omnium malorum radicem Spiritus Domini per apoſtolum pronuntia, De Patientia it. cap. 7. p. 163. D.

'apoſtle,

'apoſtle, that covetouſneſs is the root of all evil.' 1 Tim. vi. 10. This is an obſervation which might be made by the human underſtanding; nevertheleſs he ſays, 'The Spirit of the 'Lord has declared it by the apoſtle:' which ſeems to imply, that the apoſtles, in their epiſtles written for the direction and edification of the churches, were under a ſpecial direction of the Holy Spirit. Afterwards he ſays, in the ſame book: 'The 'apoſtle [g] recommends charity with all the force of the Holy 'Spirit;' referring to 1 Cor. xiii. which chapter he there quotes largely. Having mentioned Matthew under the character of the companion of the Lord, and the moſt faithful hiſtorian of the goſpel, and referred particularly to his genealogy, he adds: 'And Paul [h] likewiſe, as being both a diſciple 'and a maſter, and alſo a witneſs of the ſame goſpel, inaſmuch 'as he was an apoſtle of the ſame Chriſt, confirms the account 'that Chriſt was of the ſeed of David, according to the fleſh.' And we may here recollect the paſſage before quoted, where he had equalled the apoſtle Paul with the chief of the apoſtles, thoſe three who ſaw Chriſt's glory on the mount. Another proof of the high reſpect which theſe writings were in with Chriſtians, is the reading them in their religious aſſemblies. In his deſcription of the Chriſtian worſhip, in his Apology, he ſays, among other things: 'We [i] come together to recollect the di-'vine ſcriptures. We nouriſh our faith, improve our hope, 'confirm our truſt, by the ſacred words.'

XVI. We ſhould next obſerve ſome forms of quotation, and general titles and diviſions of the books of the New Teſtament.

Juſtin Martyr often calls the goſpels commentaries, or ſhort hiſtories of Chriſt. In like manner, and poſſibly in imitation of him, Tertullian calls the evangeliſts [k] commentators, or hiſtorians of the goſpel; and their [l] writings commentaries, or ſhort hiſtories.

[g] Quam [delectionem] apoſtoles totis viribus Sancti Spiritus commendat. De Pud. c. 12. p. 167. B. [h] Sed et Paulus, utpote ejuſdem evangelii et diſcipulus, et magiſter, et teſtis, qua ejuſdem ipſius Chriſti apoſtolus, confirmat Chriſtum de ſemine David ſecundum carnem, utique ipſius. De Carne Chriſti, cap. 22. p. 376. C. [i] Coimus ad literarum divinarum commemorationem; ſi quid præſentium temporum qualitas aut præmonere cogit, aut recognoſcere, certe fidem ſanctis vocibus paſcimus, ſpem erigimus, fiduciam figimus. Apol. cap. 39. p. 34. D. [k] Ipſe in primis Matthæus, fideliſſimus evangelii commentator. De Carne Chriſti, c. 22. p. 376. C. Aut a commentatore evangelii illuminatam. De Reſurrect. Carn. p. 403. A. Nam ex iis commentatoribus quos habemus, Lucam videtur Marcion elegiſſe, quem cæderet. Adv. Marcion. l. iv. c. 2. p. 503. B.

[l] Porro, cum in eodem commentario Lucæ [libro nempe Actuum apoſtolorum]. De Jejun. c. x. p. 708. B.

'For

'For the [m] Lord in the goſpel admoniſhes Peter: "*Behold,*" 'ſays he, "*Satan has deſired to have you, that he may ſift you as* "*wheat.*" Luke, xxii. 31. And in [n] the goſpel the wedding 'garment may ſignify the holineſs of the fleſh.' 'He [o] re-'membered the evangelical maxim: "Bleſſed are they that "are perſecuted for righteouſneſs ſake." But [p] enough has 'been alleged from the prophets: I now appeal to the goſpels.' He preſently after ſpeaks of them by the name of ſcripture: 'But [pp] obſerve how the ſcripture relates this: "*He ſpake alſo a* "*parable unto them.*" Luke, v. 36.

The goſpels are diſtinguiſhed by the names of the writers, as we have already ſeen. One inſtance may not be amiſs here. 'We [q] have conſidered John's goſpel; .... and I ſhall not now,' ſays he, 'inſiſt on the other goſpels.'

He calls the goſpels [r] 'our Digeſta,' in alluſion, as it ſeems, to ſome collection of the Roman laws digeſted into order; as in a paſſage before cited he called Luke's goſpel 'his Digeſt.' Again: 'Juſtly [s] the evangeliſt: "The law and the prophets were "until John." He ſpeaks [t] at once of the 'ſayings of the pro-'phets, goſpels, and apoſtles.' Here 'apoſtles' ſeems to ſtand for the collection of the epiſtles of the apoſtles. In another book: 'What [u] patriarch, what prophet, ... what prieſt, or in later 'times what apoſtle, or evangeliſt, or biſhop, is found 'crowned?

'Let [x] us be mindful of the predictions of the Lord, and 'the epiſtles of the apoſtles.' He ſays: 'We [y] have one bap-'tiſm according to the goſpel of the Lord, and the epiſtles of 'the apoſtle.' 'Marcion,' he ſays, 'had two different Gods,

[m] Siquidem Dominus in evangelio ad Petrum: Ecce, inquit, poſtulavit vos Satanas, uti cerneret vos ſicut frumentum. De Fuga in Perſecu. c. 2. p. 690. C.

[n] Et in evangelio indumentum nuptiale ſanctitas carnis agnoſci poteſt. De Reſurrect. Carnis, cap. 27. p. 398. D.

[o] Meminerat evangelicæ definitionis: Beati qui perſecutionem patiuntur propter juſtitiam. De Reſurr. c. 41. p. 409. C.

[p] Satis hæc de prophetico inſtrumento, ad evangelia nunc provoco. De Reſurr. c. 33. p. 402. C. [pp] Sed quomodo referat ſcriptura, conſidera: Dicebat autem et parabolam ad eos. Ib. p. 402. D.

[q] Videmus Joannis evangelium decucurriſſe .... Cæterum ut alia evangelia non interponam. Adv. Prax. c. 26. p. 657. D. 658. A. [r] — et inde ſunt noſtra digeſta. Adv. Marc. l. iv. c. 3. p. 504. A. [s] Et merito evangeliſta: Lex et prophetæ uſque ad Joannem. Adv. Jud. cap. 8. p. 215. B. [t] Compendiis paucorum verborum, quot attinguntur edicta prophetarum, evangeliorum, apoſtolorum? De Oratione, cap. 9. p. 152. C.

[u] Quis denique patriarches, quis prophetes, — aut ſacerdos, — quis vel poſtea apoſtolus, aut evangelizator, aut epiſcopus, invenitur coronatus? De Corona, c. 9. p. 125. D. [x] Quin potius memores ſimus tam dominicarum prænuntiationum, quam apoſtolicarum literarum. De Præſcr. cap. 4. p. 231. C. [y] Unus omnino baptiſmus eſt nobis, tam ex Domini evangelio, quam ex literis apoſtoli. De Baptiſmo, cap. 15. p. 262. C.

'one

'one [z] of each Inſtrument, or (which is more commonly ſaid) 'Teſtament.' In another place: 'If [a] I do not clear this 'point from all the difficulties of the ancient ſcripture, I will 'take the proof of our interpretation from the New Teſtament. '... For behold, I perceive, both in the goſpels and the apo-'ſtles, God to be viſible and inviſible.' This plainly ſhews, that the collection of the ſacred Chriſtian books was called the New Teſtament; and that it was divided into two parts, one of which was called the 'goſpels,' the other the 'apoſtles.'

XVII. It is very likely that the Revelation was included in this latter part, and was joined with the epiſtles of the apoſtles. But it does not yet appear in which part the book of the Acts of the apoſtles was now placed. We will therefore ſee whether we can find any light into that queſtion. In his treatiſe 'Of the Reſurrection of the Fleſh,' having brought arguments for a reſurrection out of the goſpels, he adds: 'The [b] apoſtolical inſtru-'ments [or records] do alſo teach a reſurrection:' and ſhewing how the apoſtles preached a reſurrection, the firſt text in which he inſtances is out of the Acts: 'You find Paul, 'brought before the high prieſts by the chief captain, profeſſ-'ing his faith among ſadducees and phariſees: "Men and "brethren," ſays he, "of the hope and reſurrection am I "called in queſtion before you." He proceeds to obſerve Paul's diſcourſe to king Agrippa and the Athenians, recorded in the Acts. This ſeems at once to ſhew that the Acts were then placed in the Apoſtolicon, and the reaſon of it. The goſpels contained the hiſtory of Chriſt, and his preaching and miniſtry; all the other books contain the doctrine taught by the apoſtles, whether it be delivered in their own epiſtles, or recorded in the Acts by an hiſtorian.

There is another place in Tertullian, which very much confirms the ſuppoſition that this book was placed in the latter diviſion of the ſcriptures of the New Teſtament. He expreſſes himſelf thus: 'As [c] to the goſpel, the queſtion about the para-'bles has been diſcuſſed.' And then afterwards: 'Let [d] them

[z] Alterum alterius Inſtrumenti, vel (quod magis uſui eſt dicere) Teſtamenti. Adv. Marc. l. iv. c. 1. p. 501. B.

[a] Si hunc articulum quæſtionibus veteris ſcripturæ non expediam, de Novo Teſtamento ſumam confirmationem noſtræ interpretationis.... Ecce enim et in evangeliis et in apoſtolis viſibilem et inviſibilem Deum deprehendo. Adv. Praxeam, c. 10. p. 646. D. [b] Reſurrectionem apoſtolica quoque inſtrumenta teſtantur. Habes Paulum apud ſummos ſacerdotes ſub tribuno inter Sadducæos et Phariſæos fidei ſuæ profeſſorem. Viri, inquit, patres,... De ſpe nunc et de reſurrectione judicor apud vos.... De Reſurr. Carn. cap. 39. p. 407. C. D. [c] Exinde quod ad evangelium pertinet, parabolarum quidem diſcuſſa quæſtio eſt. De Pudicitia, c. 11. p. 727. C. [d] Age nunc vel de Apoſtolico Inſtrumento doceant maculas carnis poſt baptiſma reſperſæ pœnitentia dilui poſſe. Ibid. c. 12. p. 727. D.

'now

'now shew, at least out of the apostolical Instrument [or Testa-
'ment], that sins of the flesh, committed after baptism, may be
'washed away by repentance.' And what he thereupon immediately considers, is the decree of the council at Jerusalem in Acts, xv.; and then proceeds to the epistles.

Dodwell [e] supposes, that the Acts were originally the second part or discourse of one and the same work, of which St. Luke's gospel was the first discourse. This he infers from Acts, i. 1. If they were ever joined together as one book, it is plain they were now separated; St. Luke's gospel being placed undoubtedly in the Evangelicon, or with the other gospels; and the Acts probably in the Apostolicon, or with the epistles.

Which leads us likewise to observe the order of the several gospels. It seems that, in Tertullian's time, in the African churches at least, they were disposed according to the quality of the writers: in the first place those two which were written by apostles; then the other two, written by apostolical men. This I am willing to infer from the passage at Numb. II. where Tertullian says: 'Among the apostles, John and Mat-
'thew teach us the faith,' or instil the faith into our minds:
'among apostolical men, Luke and Mark refresh,' or revive
'it.' It is observable, that Tertullian here places John before Matthew; so likewise in the passage at the end of Numb. III. Possibly therefore we here see the exact order in which each gospel was placed in some churches of that time. Indeed, in the passage near the end of Numb. III. Mark is put before Luke; but the occasion of mentioning him there, next after John and Matthew, seems to be, that Luke's gospel had been largely discoursed of before in that place. The curious may consider of this, and consult Tertullian himself; for I do not affirm that in these passages we have plain proof of the order of each gospel: but it appears probable that the two gospels written by apostles were put before the two written by apostolical men. I shall only add, that, in some of [f] the most ancient manuscripts which we have, the order of the several evangelists is thus: Matthew, John, Luke, Mark.

XVIII. That the several books of the New Testament were now divided into any certain number of sections, or chapters, is not easily proved. However, I will observe a passage or two,

[e] Sunt enim Acta διήγησις ejusdem operis λόγος, cujus πρῶτον λόγον ipse [Lucas] suum agnoscit evangelium. Acts, i. 1. Diss. in Irenæ. i. § 39. [f] In N. T. evangelia hunc ordinem, Matt. Joan. Luc. Marc. in aliquibus Codd. Gr. obtinent; ut in Bezæ Cantabrigiensi, in Benedictinorum S. Germani Paris. et in alio quem testatur Druthmarus se vidisse, qui S. Hilarii dicebatur. Hodius de Bibl. Textib. Orig. p. 664.

which

which may seem to afford some ground to think they were so divided. 'Do [g] they flatter themselves,' says he, 'with that 'paragraph [literally 'short chapter'] of the first to the Corin-'thians, where it is written, *If any brother hath a wife that be-'lieveth not ....?*' Where he cites 1 Cor. vii. 12—14; from those words here transcribed to *else were your children unclean.* Again, in another work: 'But [h] this is the common 'way of perverse, and ignorant, and heretical men, and of all 'the Psychici [or 'carnal people:' so he calls the catholics who 'reject Montanism], to fortify themselves with some one am-'biguous paragraph [or 'short chapter'] against an army of 'sentences of the whole instrument;' that is, of the whole New Testament, both gospels and apostles.

But I think that these, and other [i] the like passages of Tertullian, will scarce amount to a full proof, that there were then marked in the copies of the New Testament any sections or chapters, either greater or smaller; for by 'paragraph,' or 'short chapter,' he may mean no more than a text or passage in these books.

XIX. Tertullian affords proof, that there was in his time a Latin version of some or all the books of the New Testament. It might be inferred from his quotations. In one place, arguing against the lawfulness of second marriages, and explaining in his way 1 Cor. vii. 39, he says: 'But [k] it is not so in the 'authentic Greek as we have it in the copies vulgarly used.'

XX. The scriptures of the New Testament were open to all, and well known in the world, in the time of Tertullian. In his Apology addressed to the Roman presidents, or to the magistrates at Carthage, as was before observed, he says: 'Whoever 'of you therefore think that we have no concern for the

[g] Nunquid, inquam, de illo capitulo sibi blandiuntur, primæ ad Corinthios, ubi scriptum est: 'Si quis fratrum infidelem 'habet uxorem.' Ad. Uxor. l. ii. c. 2. p. [illegible] D.

[h] Sed est hoc solenne perversis et idiotis et hæreticis, jam et Psychicis universis, alicujus capituli ancipitis occasione adversus exercitum sententiarum instrumenti totius armari. De Pudicitia, cap. 16. sub fin. p. 735. D.

[i] Sic ergo in eodem ipso capitulo, quo [illegible], Unumquemque, in qua vocatione vocabitur, in ea permanere debere. De Monogam. c. 11. p. 683. D.

[k] Sciamus plane non hic esse in Græco authentico, quomodo in usum exiit per quorundam syllabarum aut callidam aut simplicem eversionem. Si dormierit vir ejus, quasi de futuro sonet; ac per hoc videatur ad eam pertinere, quæ jam in fide virum amiserit. De Monog. c. 11. p. 684. A. Vid. Rigalt. in loc.

[l] Qui ergo putaveris nihil nos de salute Cæsarum curare, inspice Dei voces, literas nostras, quas neque ipsi supprimimus, et plerique casus ad extraneos transferunt. Scitote ex illis præceptum esse nobis, ad redundantiam benignitatis, etiam pro inimicis Deum orare, et persecutoribus nostris bona precari. Qui magis inimici et persecutores Christianorum, quam de quorum majestate convenimur in crimen? Sed etiam nominatim atque manifestè, orate, inquit, pro regibus, et pro principibus, et potestatibus, ut omnia tranquilla sint vobis. Apol. cap. 31. p. 30. D.

'ſafety of the emperors, look into the words of God, our ſcrip-
'tures, which we ourſelves do not conceal, and many accidents
'bring into the way of thoſe who are not of our religion.
'Know then that by theſe we are commanded, in abundance of
'goodneſs, to pray to God even for enemies, and to wiſh well
'to our perſecutors. [Matth. v. 44.] And who are more ene-
'mies and perſecutors of Chriſtians, than they againſt whom we
'are accuſed of treaſonable practices? But, beſide this, it is ex-
'preſsly and plainly ſaid: "Pray for kings, and for princes,
"and powers, that ye may live a quiet life." 1 Tim. ii. 1, 2.
Here are in a ſhort compaſs references to goſpels and epiſtles.
He lays them all before the Roman magiſtrates, and ſpeaks of
both parts of the New Teſtament with equal reſpect, as the
'words of God, their ſcriptures,' by which they were obliged to
regulate their behaviour.

XXI. There is little or no ſuſpicion of Tertullian's quoting any Chriſtian apocryphal book with the ſame reſpect as he has quoted thoſe now commonly received as canonical, unleſs it be that of Hermas. That he rejected, when a Montaniſt; as is evident from a paſſage already quoted out of a treatiſe written by him, after he had been for ſome time in thoſe notions, where he ſpeaks of this book with the utmoſt contempt, and even abhorrence; as he does likewiſe in another place of the ſame treatiſe: 'But I [m] would yield the point to you,' ſays he, 'if the ſcrip-
'ture [or book] of the Shepherd, which alone is favourable to
'adulterers, deſerved to be placed in the divine teſtament; if it
'were not reckoned apocryphal and ſpurious by every aſſembly
'(E) even of your own churches.'

We muſt however obſerve how he quoted it when a catholic. It is in this manner: 'That it [n] is a cuſtom with ſome to
'ſit down when prayer is over, I do not perceive the reaſon:
'unleſs, if that Hermas, whoſe ſcripture is uſually called the
'Shepherd, had not ſat down upon a bed after he had prayed,

[m] Sed cederem tibi, ſi ſcriptura Paſtoris, quæ ſola mœchos amat, divino inſtrumento meruiſſet incidi, ſi non ab omni concilio eccleſiarum veſtrarum inter apochrypha et falſa judicaretur. De Pudicitia, cap. 10. p. 727. A. (E) Some have underſtood the word *concilium* here in our ordinary ſenſe of 'council' or 'ſynod.' But any church-aſſembly for divine worſhip was ſometimes called a 'council' or ſynod by ancient writers, as has been ſhewn by Mr. Joſeph Bingham. Antiquities of the Chriſtian Church, book viii. ch. 1. § 7. [n] Item quod adſignata oratione aſſidendi mos eſt quibuſdam, non perſpicio rationem, niſi ſi Hermas ille, cujus ſcriptura fere Paſtor inſcribitur, tranſacta oratione non ſuper lectum aſſediſſet, verum aliud quid feciſſet, id quoque ad obſervationem vindicaremus. Utique non. Simpliciter enim et nunc poſitum eſt, 'Cum adoraſſem et aſſediſſem ſuper 'lectum,' ad ordinem narrationis, non ad inſtar diſciplinæ. Alioquin nuſquam erit adorandum, niſi ubi fuerit lectus. Immo contra ſcripturam fecerit, ſi quis in cathedra aut ſubſellio ſederit. De Oratione, c. 12. p. 154. A.

'but

'but had done ſomewhat elſe, we ſhould have made a precedent 'of that too: certainly not. And now it is but juſt men- 'tioned, "when I had prayed, and ſat down," in the courſe of 'the narration, not delivered as a rule; otherwiſe we may 'never worſhip but where there is a bed. Nay, he would act 'contrary to the ſcripture [or 'this ſcripture'] who would ſit 'upon a chair or a form.'

If there is any thing in this paſſage of a doubtful meaning, it muſt be interpreted by the foregoing. It cannot be ſuppoſed that Tertullian ever eſteemed any book a part of ſacred ſcripture, which was reckoned apocryphal by all the catholic churches he was acquainted with. But I ſee nothing in the paſſage itſelf to incline us to think that he now eſteemed this a ſacred book, and of authority. It is true, there is in it [o] what he refers to, of ſitting upon a bed after prayer: but if Tertullian had been well acquainted with the book, or had thought it worth the while, he might have argued [p] from divers places, where Hermas ſpeaks of his prayers, and makes no mention of ſitting after them, that he gave no authority to that cuſtom. He ſpeaks likewiſe contemptuouſly of the author, as an obſcure perſon: 'That Hermas.' Then he hardly knows the title of the book, or ridicules it: *fere Paſtor inſcribitur*. As for his calling it 'ſcripture,' it is of no moment: the word is continually uſed by eccleſiaſtical writers, as equivalent to writing, book, epiſtle, or treatiſe; by Tertullian particularly, who uſes the ſame word of this book, when he plainly and openly ſhews his contempt of it. He uſes likewiſe the ſame term ſpeaking of [q] heathen authors.

XXII. The only thing that remains to be taken notice of in this writer, is an early forgery of a book in the name of St. Paul. Tertullian is arguing againſt ſome who permitted women to baptize, and gives the hiſtory of this book, as what he was well informed of. 'But [r] if they think fit to make uſe of 'writings falſely aſcribed to Paul, to ſupport the right of women 'to teach and baptize; let them know that the preſbyter who 'compoſed that writing, as if he had been able to increaſe 'Paul's fame, being convicted of it, and having confeſſed that 'he did it out of love to Paul, was depoſed.'

[o] Lib. ii. in Prooem. [p] Vid. l. i. Vis. i. § 1. Viſ. ii. § 1. et alibi.

[q] Cum de ſecularibus quoque ſcripturis exemplum præſto ſit. De Præſcr. c. 39. p. 246. D.

[r] Quod ſi quæ Paulo falſo adſcripta ſunt, ad licentiam mulierum docendi tinguendique defendunt, ſciant in Aſia preſbyterum, qui eam ſcripturam conſtruxit, quaſi titulo Pauli de ſuo cumulans, convictum, atque confeſſum id ſe amore Pauli feciſſe, loco decefſiſſe. De Baptiſmo, cap. 17. p. 263. C.

I shall immediately put down what Jerom says of this affair, in his chapter concerning St. Luke, in the book of Illustrious Men; where, having spoken of St. Luke's gospel and the Acts, he says: 'Therefore [s] the Travels of Paul and Thecla, and the 'whole fable of the baptized lion, we reckon among the apocry- 'phal scriptures. For how should the constant companion of 'the apostle, who knew his other affairs so well, be ignorant of 'this alone? Moreover Tertullian, who lived near those times, 'relates that a certain presbyter in Asia, an admirer of the 'apostle Paul, was convicted before John to be the author of it: 'and that he confessed he had done it out of love to Paul, and 'that for that reason he was deposed.'

Jerom here ascribes to Tertullian more than we have in his treatise of Baptism, where this relation is; for Tertullian there makes no mention of the person before whom this presbyter was convicted. Ernestus Solomon Cyprianus, in his notes [t] upon the fore-cited place of Jerom, has an ingenious conjecture, that Jerom took his account of this matter from the Greek edition of Tertullian's treatise of Baptism. He thinks this supposition the more probable, because Jerom gives us a Greek title of that book forged by the presbyter, and uses a Greek word likewise when he calls him an admirer of Paul; neither of which Greek words is in our Latin text. And we know from [u] Tertullian himself, that, before he wrote the Latin treatise of Baptism which we have, he had treated the same argument in the Greek tongue.

However this be, it is plain the forgery was detected, and the author degraded; and the whole affair was notified to the churches, that they might be upon their guard: Tertullian, in Africa, was not ignorant of it. It is an argument of the vigilance and scrupulosity of the Christians about the writings which they received in the name of apostles.

XXIII. We have now seen a very valuable testimony to the scriptures of the New Testament in the remaining works of Tertullian, written in the latter part of the second, and the beginning of the third, century. It is considerable for the number of the books cited by him, almost all those which are now received by Christians as canonical, without so much as a suspicion of

[s] Igitur περιόδους Pauli et Theclæ, et totam baptizati leonis fabulam, inter apocryphas scripturas computamus. Quale enim est, ut individuus comes apostoli, inter cæteras ejus res, hoc solum ignoraverit? Sed et Tertullianus, vicinus eorum temporum, refert presbyterum quendam in Asia, convictum apostoli Pauli, convictum apud Joannem, quod auctor esset libri, et confessum se hoc Pauli amore fecisse, et loco id de loco excidisse. De Vir. i. c. 7.

[t] Apud Fabricii Bibliothecam Ecclesiasticam, p. 50. [u] De Baptismo, cap. 15.

placing

placing any other in the same rank with them, and for the large and numerous quotations of them. There are perhaps more and larger quotations of the small volume of the New Testament in this one Christian author, than of all the works of Cicero, though of so uncommon excellence for thought and style, in the writers of all characters for several ages. And there is a like number of quotations of the New Testament in St. Irenæus, and St. Clement of Alexandria, both writers of the second century. Tertullian's testimony is considerable too for the evident tokens of that high respect which was paid to these scriptures. Indeed they would not have been so much quoted, if they had not been greatly esteemed. Nor have the differing sentiments of those called heretics done us any lasting prejudice. The contest which they occasioned has increased our proofs of the genuineness, authority, and integrity of the evangelical and apostolical scriptures. It is easy for every one to observe the value of this testimony upon some other accounts, which I therefore need not mention. The whole which we have transcribed from Tertullian may afford satisfaction to a serious Christian, as confirming his faith in the holy scriptures; and enabling him, if there be occasion, to convince, or at least to confute and silence adversaries with abundance of evidence.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Several Writers of the second Century.

I. QUADRATUS. II. ARISTIDES. III. AGRIPPA CASTOR. IV. ARISTO *of* PELLA. V. SOTER. VI. DIONYSIUS. VII. PHILIP. VIII. PALMAS. IX. MODESTUS. X. MUSANUS. XI. CLAUDIUS APOLLINARIS. XII. BARDESANES. XIII. APOLLONIUS. XIV. RHODON. XV. VICTOR. XVI. BACCHYLUS. XVII. THEOPHILUS *and* NARCISSUS. XVIII. SYMMACHUS.

BESIDE those writers which I have quoted, there were many others in the second century, whose works are now lost. I choose to give here a short history of the chief of them, that my readers may have the clearer idea of the learning and labours of the Christians of that time; and may the better judge what disad-

vantage we lie under for want of their writings. It is a necessary part of our design, and will not take up a great deal of room.

I. QUADRATUS is first mentioned by Eusebius [a], in his Ecclesiastical History, in the reign of Trajan. He ascribes to him the gift of prophecy, and reckons him among the evangelists of that time, in a passage (A) which we have already transcribed. In his Chronicle [b] he gives Quadratus the title of a 'disciple of 'apostles.' Quadratus is also reckoned among the prophets of the New Testament, in a fragment of an anonymous author preserved [c] in Eusebius. We are farther informed, by the same [d] ecclesiastical historian, that Quadratus presented an Apology for the Christian religion to the emperor Adrian, which was then extant, 'containing evident marks of his ability, and of the 'true apostolical doctrine.' There is nothing now remaining of Quadratus, beside a short but very valuable fragment of his Apology, concerning the miracles of our Saviour; which we shall not fail to produce upon a proper occasion.

This writer is placed by [e] Cave at the year 123, about which time undoubtedly he flourished. We here choose to follow the Chronicle of Eusebius, according to which his Apology was presented [f] in the year 126. He seems to be the first Christian who presented a written Apology to any of the Roman emperors; in whose dominions the Christian religion had its rise, and in which it long struggled under difficulties, but continually prevailed, till it became the religion of the empire. According to [g] Jerom, this Apology had a good effect upon the emperor; which is also intimated by Eusebius in his Chronicle.

Dionysius, bishop of Corinth, who flourished about the year 170, in his letter to the Athenians, makes [h] mention of one Quadratus, who was bishop of that church after the martyrdom of Publius; and informs us, that 'by his care the Christians of that city, 'which had been scattered by the persecution, were 'brought together again, and the ardour of their faith was re-'vived.' But it is disputed whether this be the same person

[a] H. E. l. iii. c. 37. in. (A) Ch. 8. p. 105. [b] Κοδρατος ο ιερος των αποστολων κηρυσης. p. 81. Vid. et p. 211.

[c] H. E. l. v. c. 17. p. 183. C. D.

[d] Τουτῳ [Αδριανῳ] Κοδρατος λογον προσφωνησας αναδιδωσιν, απολογιαν συνταξας υπερ της καθ' ημας Θεοσεβειας . . . . . εξ ου [συγγραμματος] καθ' ἑαυτον εστι λαμπρα τεκμηρια. της τε του ανδρος διανοιας, και της αποστολικης ορθοτομιας. L. iv. c. 3. [e] Hist. Lit. [f] Tillemont, Mem. Ec. T. ii. La Persecution d'Adrien, note 6. Basnage, Ann. P. E. 126. § 3.

[g] Quadratus apostolorum discipulus, et Atheniensis pontifex ecclesiæ, nonne Adriano principi, Eleusinæ sacra invisenti, librum pro nostra religione tradidit? et tantæ admirationis omnibus fuit, ut persecutionem gravissimam illius sedaret ingenium. Ad Magnum, ep. 83. al. 84. [h] Lus. H. E. l. iv. c. 23. p. 143. D.

with

with Quadratus the apologiſt. It is plain that [l] Jerom ſuppoſed the apologiſt to have been biſhop of Athens. But Valeſius [k] ſuppoſing that the words of Dionyſius imply, that Quadratus, biſhop of Athens, was his contemporary; and obſerving that Euſebius has never called Quadratus, author of the Apology, 'biſhop;' nor Quadratus, biſhop of Athens, 'diſciple of the apoſtles,' concludes that they are different perſons: in which he is followed by divers learned men, as [l] Du Pin, [m] Tillemont, [n] Baſnage. Nevertheleſs Cave [o] is of opinion that Quadratus, biſhop of Athens after Publius, is the ſame with the apologiſt. Grabe [p] approves of his arguments for that opinion, and has ſupported it with ſome additional conſiderations.

It may be beſt not to be poſitive on either ſide. If the words of Dionyſius imply that Quadratus was then living, and lately made biſhop of Athens, we muſt needs ſuppoſe them two different perſons. But if he can be ſuppoſed to mean no more than that Quadratus had been ſome time biſhop of Athens; and it could be allowed that Publius ſuffered martyrdom ſo early as the time of Trajan or Adrian (which is not improbable); Quadratus the apologiſt might then be his ſucceſſor, but not otherwiſe; for the age of Quadratus the apologiſt is ſufficiently ſettled by Euſebius. He was an eminent man in the time of Trajan, and probably did not outlive the reign of Adrian, or however not long.

II. ARISTIDES is more than once mentioned, together with Quadratus, by Euſebius and Jerom. In his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory Euſebius adds to his account of the forementioned apologiſt: 'And [q] Ariſtides, a faithful man of our religion, left an 'Apology for our faith, as Quadratus did, addreſſed to Adrian:' which he ſays too was then extant. In his Chronicle he places this Apology in the ſame year with that of Quadratus; and informs [r] us of one particular more concerning Ariſtides, that he was an Athenian philoſopher. Jerom, [s] in his book of Illuſtrious

[l] Quadratus, apoſtolorum diſcipulus, Publio Atharatum epiſcopo ob Chriſti fidem capite coronato, in locum ejus ſubſtitutus . . . . Cumque Hadrianus Athenis [illegible] hyemem . . . porrexit ei librum [illegible] religione noſtra compoſitum, valde utilem, plenamque rationis et fidei, et apoſtolica doctrina dignum. De V. I. c. 19. Vid. ſupra 5.

[k] Annot. in Euſeb. p. 81. [l] Bibliothèque, Quadratus. [m] As before, p. 370. [n] Annal. 126. § 3.

[o] Hiſt. Lit. P. i. p. 32. [p] Spicil. Tom. i. p. 129, 121. [q] Και Αριστειδης ανηρ των καθ' ημας εγκριθεις τοις θεσεβεσιν, τον Κοδρατε παραπλησιος υπερ της πιστεως απολογιαν επιδοσιμον Αδριανω, κατελειπε. H. E. l. iv. c. 3. fin. [r] Τουτω και Αριστειδης Αθηναιος φιλοσοφος υπερ Χριστιανων ακριβεστερα τη αυτοκρατορι προσεφωνησεν Αδριανω. Chr. p. 81.

[s] Ariſtides, Athenienſis philoſophus eloquentiſſimus, et ſub priſtino habitu diſcipulus Chriſti, volumen noſtri dogmatis rationem continens, eodem tempore quo et Quadratus, Hadriano principi dedit, id eſt, Apologeticam pro Chriſtianis, &c. De V. I. c. 20.

Men, confirms this account; with the addition of another circumstance; that after his conversion he continued to wear his former habit of a philosopher: 'Aristides,' says he, 'a most eloquent 'Athenian philosopher, and in his former habit a disciple of 'Christ, presented to the emperor Adrian, at the same time with 'Quadratus, a book containing an account of our sect, that is, 'an Apology for the Christians, which is still extant, a monu-'ment with the learned of his ingenuity.' In another place, after he had spoken of Quadratus, he commends the learning of this Apology; and says, that afterwards 'Justin' imitated Ari-'stides in the book which he presented to Antoninus Pius, 'and his sons, and the Roman senate.' This is all we have to say of Aristides; for, to our great regret, there is nothing of him remaining.

III. Agrippa Castor flourished, according to Cave, about the year 132. Eusebius speaks of him in his account of things near the end of the reign of Adrian. He wrote against Basilides, who, as Eusebius informs us, was an 'Alexandrian, and erected schools 'of his impious doctrines in Egypt.' That ecclesiastical historian says, there were at that time a great many ecclesiastical men, defenders of the apostolical doctrine against the heresies of Saturninus, and Basilides, and others. He adds: 'Of these 'there [x] is come down to us an ample confutation of Basilides 'by Agrippa Castor, a most eminent writer of that time, where 'he discovers the subtilty of his imposture. Laying open his 'secret mysteries, he says that he composed four-and-twenty 'books upon the gospel; and that he taught it to be an indif-'ferent thing to eat meat offered to idols; and that, in time of 'persecution, men might without scruple abjure the faith.'

I need not transcribe at length Jerom's [y] account of Agrippa. He calls him a 'very learned man;' and places the rise of the heresy of Basilides at Alexandria in the time of Adrian; which is agreeable to what Eusebius writes in his Chronicle at the seventeenth year of Adrian, and 133d of our Lord, that [z] Basilides then dwelt at Alexandria. Agrippa must have written whilst Basilides was living. Theodoret [a] says that Agrippa wrote

[t] Aristides philosophus, vir eloquentissimus, eidem principi [illegible] pro Christianis obtulit, exstatque eum philosophorum sententiis; quem imitatus postea Justinus, et ipse philosophus, Antonino Pio, et filiis ejus senatuique, librum contra gentiles tradidit. Ad Magnum Or. ep. 84.

[u] H. E. l. iv. c. 7. p. 129. C. D.

[x] Ων εις ημας κατηλθεν ο τα κατα [illegible] Βασιλειδου της κατ' αυτον [illegible] γνωσεως ελεγχος. τον δε Βασιλειδην τινες τ' αυτης [illegible] γενεσθαι φασιν. εστι δ' ο και αυτος [illegible] ων τε αυτος συνεταξε περι του ευαγγελιου τεσσαρα και εικοσι συγγραμματα. Ib. p. 130. A. B.

[y] Agrippa, cognomento Castor, vir valde doctus, &c. De V. I. c. 21. [z] Basilides Hereseuches in Alexandria commoratur, a quo Gnostici. [a] Haer. Fab. l. i. c. 4. sub fin.

Likewise

likewiſe againſt Iſidorus, ſon of Baſilides: whether he means the forementioned work, is uncertain. When Agrippa ſays, that 'Baſilides compoſed four-and-twenty books upon the 'goſpel;' it is doubtful whether he intends any of our goſpels, or a goſpel written by Baſilides himſelf. We may have another opportunity to examine that point more particularly. There is nothing remaining of this learned man, except what is in the account given by Euſebius in the above-cited paſſage, of which I have tranſcribed a part.

IV. ARISTO, of Pella in Paleſtine, is cited by [b] Euſebius, as ſaying, that, after the conqueſt of 'Judea by Adrian, the 'Jews were prohibited by the edicts of that emperor to behold 'ſo much as afar off their native ſoil.' Ariſto is generally ſuppoſed [c] to be the author of a dialogue, intitled, 'A Diſpute of Papiſcus and Jaſon,' expreſsly mentioned by [d] Celſus the Epicurean in his books againſt the Chriſtian religion, written about the middle of the ſecond century, or ſome time after. Celſus ſays it was a book 'not ſo much worthy of laughter, as of pity and 'averſion.' Origen ſays, in anſwer to this, that 'whoever will 'read that little book, without prejudice, will find it not worthy 'of either hatred or laughter; in which a Chriſtian is introduced arguing with a Jew from the Jewiſh ſcriptures; and 'ſhewing that the prophecies concerning the Meſſiah agree to 'Jeſus, although the adverſary ſtrenuouſly maintained his point 'againſt him.'

This dialogue is twice quoted by [e] Jerom, but without mentioning the name of the author. It was tranſlated by one Celſus into Latin; but his tranſlation, as well as the original, is loſt. The Latin preface only of Celſus to his tranſlation is remaining, and is publiſhed at the end of St. Cyprian's works. There was a Celſus, biſhop of Iconium, in the third century, who is mentioned in [f] Euſebius; but there is no proof that he is the author of this tranſlation. All that we can be certain of, ſays [g] Cave, concerning him is, that he wrote in times of perſecution, and before the Roman emperors embraced the Chriſtian religion; as appears from ſeveral paſſages of the preface. Tillemont too thinks it very probable that he lived while the church was under perſecution, at leaſt before the council of Nice. Some place it about the time of St. Cyprian. But whenever the tranſ-

[b] [illegible], l. iv. c. 6. p. 118. D. [c] This is taken chiefly upon [illegible] of Maximus, a writer of the fourth century. Vid. Cav. Hiſt. Lit. P. 1. p. 34. [illegible] Ap. Orig. c. Celſ. l. iv. p. 199. [d] [illegible], Hiſt. in Geneſin, pr. et Comm. in Gal. iii. 13. [e] H. E. l. vi. c. 19. [illegible]. B. [g] Ubi ſupra.

lator

lator lived, we have sufficient assurance, from Celsus the Epicurean, that the dialogue itself was written before, or about, the year 140; or, as Cave says, 136. I shall only add, that the translator informs us, in his preface, that [h] Jason was a Hebrew Christian, Papiscus a Jew of Alexandria; that Papiscus was convinced by the arguments set before him, and desired of Jason to be baptized. They who desire to know more of this dispute may consult, beside [i] Cave, [k] Tillemont, [l] Grabe, [m] Fabricius, and the authors referred to by him.

V. SOTER, successor of [n] Anicetus in the see of Rome, flourished, according to Cave, about the year 164. Eusebius [o] has taken no notice of any writing of his, beside a letter to the Corinthians; written by him, as it seems, in the name of the church of Rome, as St. Clement's had been long before. He speaks of it in his account of the several letters of Dionysius, bishop of Corinth; one of which was to the church of Rome, addressed to Soter their bishop at that time: in which he informs them, that their late epistle had been read in the public assembly of the church of Corinth on the Lord's day, and that it should be so read often. The passage has been transcribed (B) already. Dionysius not only commends the letter of the church of Rome, but the church itself, and Soter their bishop, for an excellent custom, which had long since obtained among them, of sending relief to foreign churches in necessity, and to their brethren in the mines. This passage too we shall have occasion to produce hereafter, if we proceed in this work.

VI. I have already [q] mentioned the letter of Dionysius of Corinth to the church of Gnossus in Crete, and his admonition to PINYTUS their bishop. Eusebius [r] likewise informs us, that 'Pinytus wrote an answer to that letter, wherein he greatly 'commends Dionysius: but at the same time desires him to 'impart to them more solid food, and in some future letter to 'write more perfect instruction for the nourishment of the 'people under his care; lest, being ever accustomed to milky 'discourses, they grow old in a childish discipline.'

Jerom has likewise an article for Pinytus in his catalogue of

[h] Illud præclarum atque memorabile gloriosumque Jasonis Hebræi Christiani, et Papisci Alexandri Judæi disputationis occurrit, ... p. 31. E. [i] Hist. Lit. [k] Mem. Ec. T. ii. P. 1. Saint Luc. Evangeliste, p. 248—251. [l] Spicil. Patr. T. ii. p. 127. [m] Bibl. Gr. T. v. p. 187. [n] Eus. H. E. l. iv. c. 22. p. 142. C. [o] Ib. c. 23. p. 145. B. (B) Ch. 2. p. 26.

[q] Ch. 12. p. 133—136. [r] Πινυτος δε ο της Κνωσσων εκκλησιας επισκοπος, θαυμαζει μεν και αυτος την Διονυσιου επιστολην δε στερρωτερας ετι τροφης αξιοι μεταδοθηναι τοις ιδιοις, τελειοτερους γραμματων εσεσθαι προς των παρ' αυτω λαων υποθηκας, ας μη δι' ετους τοις γαλακτοδεσιν ενδιατριβουσης λογοις εν νηπιοδει αγωγη λαθωσιν γηραναντες. H. E. l. iv. c. 23. p. 144. D.

Illustrious

Illustrious Men; and gives much the same account of this answer to Dionysius, calling [s] it 'an elegant epistle.' He says, Pinytus flourished in the time of M. Antoninus and Commodus. As we have no account of any writing of his, beside this epistle, I make no scruple of placing him at the same year with Dionysius, his contemporary. It may be considered whether here be any allusion to 1 Cor. iii. 2. or to Heb. v. 12, 13. Pinytus is mentioned by Eusebius, in another place, [t] with Dionysius of Corinth, Philip, Apollinaris, Melito, Musanus, Modestus, and other eminent persons of that time.

VII. We formerly [u] mentioned also a letter of the same Dionysius to the church of Gortyna in Crete, of which PHILIP was bishop. Of him Eusebius [x] soon after says, that 'he composed 'a most elaborate work against Marcion.' St. Jerom has an article for [y] this writer, and commends his piece; and says he flourished in the times of Marcus Antoninus and Commodus.

VIII. One of the letters of Dionysius of Corinth was written to the church of Amastris, together with the other churches in Pontus. Eusebius [z] informs us, that in that letter Dionysius mentions by name PALMAS, their bishop. In another place, writing of the controversy about the time of keeping Easter, at the year 196, he says: 'There [a] is also a letter of the bishops in 'Pontus, over whom Palmas presided, as being the most an-'cient.' It may be supposed that this letter was composed by him.

IX. Eusebius having, in the forecited passage concerning Philip, said that 'he composed a most elaborate work against 'Marcion,' adds: 'As [b] did also Irenæus and MODESTUS; 'which last did most excellently, and beyond the others, detect 'his frauds, setting them in the fullest light before all the world.' St. Jerom [c] says, 'Modestus, who lived in the time of M. An-'toninus and Commodus, wrote a book against Marcion, which 'is still extant. There are likewise other works under his 'name, but they are rejected by the learned as supposititious." We know nothing more of them: there are no such now.

X. Soon after, [d] Eusebius says, that there was extant in his time a [e] very eloquent piece of MUSANUS, written to some bre-'thren who were gone over to the heresy of the Encratites,'

[s] Valde elegantem epistolam. De V. I. c. 28. [t] L. iv. c. 21. [u] Ch. 12. p. 133. [x] Φιλιππος γε μην, ον εκ των Διονυσιου φωνων της εν Γορτυνῃ παροικιας, επισκοπον ιγιμμεν, πανυ γε σπουδαιοτατον πεποιηται και αυτος κατα Μαρκιωνος λογον. L. iv. c. 25.

[y] De Vir. Ill. c. 30. [z] H. E. l. iv. c. 23. p. 144. B. [a] Τω τε κατα Ποντον επισκοπων, ων Παλμας, ως αρχαιοτατος προυτεταχτο. L. v. c. 23. p. 191. A.

[b] L. iv. c. 25. [c] De V. I. c. 32. [d] Ib. c. 28.

Jerom

Jerom [e] speaks to the same purpose of this work, and says it was written in the time of M. Antoninus. Theodoret [f] calls Musanus a 'defender of the truth,' and says he wrote against the Severians, which were a branch of the Encratites. Both these writers are placed by Cave at the year 176.

XI. Claudius Apollinaris was bishop of Hierapolis in Phrygia, of whom Eusebius in his Ecclesiastical History writes to this purpose: 'At [g] the same time flourished also Melito 'bishop of Sardis, and Apollinaris bishop of Hierapolis, 'men of great reputation: each of which severally presented 'apologetical discourses for the Christian religion to the fore-'mentioned emperor [M. Antoninus], who reigned at that 'time.' In the next chapter Eusebius speaks thus of his works: 'Although there are many books of Apollinaris still extant, 'and in the hands of many, I am acquainted with these follow-'ing only: An Oration to the forementioned emperor [this 'is his Apology]; Five books against the Gentiles; Two books 'of Truth; Two against the Jews; and the books which he af-'terwards wrote against the Phrygian heresy, which not long 'after gave great disturbance, but was then making as it were 'its first appearance, Montanus being as yet employed in lay-'ing the foundation of that error with his false prophetesses.' Serapion, not long after bishop of Antioch, styles him [h] the 'blessed Claudius Apollinaris, who was bishop of Hierapolis in 'Asia.' And it may be argued, from his expressions, that what Apollinaris had written against the Montanists was in the epistolary way. Eusebius [i] informs us, that Apollinaris had mentioned the extraordinary deliverance and victory which M. Antoninus obtained in the year 174. He does not say in which of his books this affair was mentioned, though his Apology may be reckoned as likely a place for it as any.

Jerom in his [k] Catalogue says, Apollinaris flourished in the time of M. Antoninus, 'to whom [l] he presented an excellent 'book for the Christian faith.' He reckons his works as Eusebius does, except that he omits the two works 'against the 'Jews,' which are wanting likewise in some manuscripts [m] of Eusebius. Apollinaris is mentioned again by Jerom, in another [n] place, together with Irenæus, and other the most eminent Christian writers; 'who,' he says, 'had shewn in their works the

[e] De V. I. c. 21. [f] Hær. Fab. l. i. c. 21. [g] L. iv. c. 26. in. [h] Πεπόμεθα ἡμῖν καὶ Κλαυδίου Ἀπολλιναρίου τοῦ μακαρίου ἐπισκόπου τῆς Ἀσίας ἐπισκοπεῖν γραμμαῖα. Ap. Eus. H. E. l. v. c. 19. p. 187. A. [i] L. v. c. 5. p. 169. C. D. [k] De V. I. c. 26. [l] Cui et insigne volumen pro fide Christianorum dedit. [m] Vid. Vales. Annot. in loc. Euseb. [n] Ad Magnum, ep. 83. al. 84.

'origin

'origin of the ſeveral hereſies, and from what ſects of the philo-
'ſophers they had ſprung.'

Theodoret has mentioned the writings of Apollinaris againſt the Montaniſts, and ſays, 'he [o] was a man worthy of praiſe, and 'that he had added to the knowledge of religion the ſtudy of po-'lite literature.' In another place [p] he ſpeaks of Apollinaris having written againſt thoſe Encratites which were called Severians, from Severus, who after Tatian made ſome additions to the peculiar notions of that ſect.

Photius ſpeaks of three [q] books of Apollinaris, which he had read; Againſt the Gentiles, Of Piety, and Of Truth; and commends his ſtyle. The ſecond, Of Piety, is mentioned no where elſe that I know of. Photius ſays likewiſe that there were other writings of his which deſerved to be taken notice of, but he had not ſeen them.

We have ſeen enough to ſatisfy us, that this author flouriſhed in the reign of Marcus Antoninus, about the ſame time with Melito. And Euſebius in his Chronicle, at the eleventh year of Marcus, of Chriſt 171, ſays: 'Then flouriſhed Apollinaris, 'biſhop of Hierapolis:' which is the year next after that in which he had placed the flouriſhing of Melito. Cave places him at the year 170. As Apollinaris has ſpoken of the victory of Marcus, which happened in the year 174, and of the legion which he ſays was from thence called the Thundering Legion, and written againſt the Montaniſts, and, according to Theodoret, againſt thoſe Encratites which were called Severians; I chooſe to place him with Melito at the year 176 or 177, though poſſibly he was then in the decline of life.

Nothing remains of theſe writings of Apollinaris. It is eaſy to gueſs we ſuffer a great deal in the loſs of the numerous works of ſo eminent a perſon.

There are however two fragments aſcribed to Apollinaris in the preface to the Paſchal, or, as it is often called, The Alexandrian Chronicle: which the author alleges to ſhew, 'that [r] at 'the time when our Lord ſuffered, he did not eat the typical 'paſſover.'

'And Apollinaris,' ſays he, 'the moſt holy biſhop of Hie-'rapolis in Aſia, who was near the times of the apoſtles, in 'his diſcourſe of Eaſter, teaches the ſame things, ſaying: "There are ſome, who through ignorance raiſe contentions

[o] Ἀνὴρ ἐπαινέσεως, καὶ περὶ τὴν γνῶσιν τῶν θείων καὶ τὴν ἔξωθεν παιδείαν σπουδάσας. Hær. Fab. l. 4. c. 2. [p] Ib. l. 1. c. 22. [q] Περὶ ἐλλήνων, καὶ περὶ Εὐσεβείας, καὶ περὶ ἀληθείας. Cod. 14. [r] p. 6, 7. Pariſ. 1688. [s] Ἐν τῷ περὶ τοῦ Πάσχα λόγῳ, κ. τ. λ. Ib.

" about

" about these things, which is a pardonable thing; for igno-
" rance is not to be blamed, but rather needs instruction:
" they say, that upon the fourteenth day the Lord eat the lamb
" with the disciples; and that on the great day of the feast of
" unleavened bread he himself suffered; and that Matthew says
" as much, as they understand him. Whence it is evident, that
" their interpretation is contrary to the law: and, according to
" them, the gospels disagree."

' Again [t] the same person writes in the same book: " The
" fourteenth is the day of the true passover, the Lord, [who is]
" the great sacrifice, instead of the lamb the Son of God, who
" was bound, who [u] bound the strong man, who though judged
" is [w] judge of the quick and the dead; and who was [x] deli-
" vered into the hands of sinners, that he might be crucified:
" who was exalted upon the horns of the unicorn, and whose
" sacred [y] side was pierced; who also poured out of his side two
" cleansers, water and blood, the word and the spirit; and who
" was burried on the day of the passover, a stone [z] being laid
" upon the sepulchre."

I think it may be questioned, whether these passages be taken out of a book of Apollinaris, or of some other person.

It is indeed possible that he might write a book about Easter, though it is not expressly mentioned by Eusebius: for he says, there were extant many writings of Apollinaris, beside those he was acquainted with. But the single testimony of a writer of the seventh century can hardly afford full satisfaction in this point. Tillemont [a] dares not rely upon their being taken out of any work of this father; he rather thinks they belong to Pierius, presbyter of Alexandria in the [b] third century: which may be reckoned a probable conjecture, since Photius has mentioned a book of Pierius intitled, A [c] Discourse on Easter.

Whoever is the author of this book, it appears, from these short passages, that he owned and respected St. Matthew's and the other gospels.

XII. I insist here chiefly on catholic authors. Nevertheless I am unwilling to omit BARDESANES THE SYRIAN, who flourished, according [d] to Cave, about the year of Christ 172, the

[t] Και παλιν ο αυτος εν τω αυτω λογω γεγρα-φει ουτως· Η δε του αληθους του Κυριου πασχα, η θυσια η μεγαλη, κ. λ. Ibid. [u] See Matth. xii. 29. Mark, iii. 27. Luke, xi. 21, 22. [w] Acts, x. 42, and other places. [x] Matth. xxvi. 45. Mark, xiv. 41, and other places. [y] John, xix. 34. [z] Matth. xxvii. 66, and all the other gospels. [a] Un auteur inconnu et assez nouveau cite deux passages tirez, dit il, d'un discours qu'il avoit fait sur la Paque. Mem. E. T. ii. P. 3. P. 91. ed Bruxelles. St. Apollinaire.

[b] He is placed by Cave at the year 233. H. L. P. i. p. 101. [c] Εχει δε και ετερον εις το πασχα και την Ωσπερ λογον, κ. λ. Cod. cxix. p. 299. [d] Histor. Lit. P. i. p. 47.

twelfth

twelfth of Marcus Antoninus. There can be no inconvenience in placing him a little lower, about 180, in which year Marcus died. I suppose we may hereafter see reason for so doing.

Eusebius speaks favourably of Bardesanes, though most later writers call him an heresiarch. 'Moreover,' says [e] that historian, 'in the reign of the same emperor [Marcus Antoninus], 'when there were many heresies in Mesopotamia, Bardesanes, a 'most eloquent writer in the Syriac language, and an excellent 'disputant, wrote several dialogues in his own language against 'Marcion, and other authors of different opinions; beside a 'great number of other pieces, which his disciples (for [f] he had 'many followers, because (A) he strenuously defended the faith) 'translated out of Syriac into Greek; among which is his excellent dialogue Of Fate, inscribed to Antoninus. It is said 'that he wrote several other books upon occasion of the persecution of that time. He was at first a follower of Valentinus; 'but afterwards disliking his doctrine, and having discovered 'several parts of it to be fabulous and without foundation, he 'seemed to himself to have attained to the right faith: but he 'did not get entirely clear of his former errors.' In another work Eusebius says, that [g] Bardesanes was a Syrian, but a complete master of the Chaldaic learning.

Jerom in his [h] Catalogue says: 'Bardesanes was famous in 'Mesopotamia, who, being first a follower of Valentinus, then 'a confuter of him, founded a new heresy. . . . He wrote a vast 'number of volumes against almost all the heresies that sprung 'up in his time; among all which his book about Fate, which 'he inscribed to Marcus Antoninus, is the most celebrated, and 'most excellent. He wrote many other books upon occasion 'of the persecution; which his disciples translated out of Syriac 'into Greek. But if there be such force and beauty in a translation, how much may we suppose there must be in the original?'

Jerom says, the dialogue about Fate was inscribed to Marcus Antoninus, meaning the emperor, in which he is followed by many learned moderns. But [i] Valesius, and [k] divers others, think this to be said without good ground: because Eusebius, in his Ecclesiastical History, does not call Antoninus, to whom

[e] H. E. l. iv. cap. 30. [f] Πλειστοι δε [illegible] δυναιως τω λογῳ παρισταμενῳ. Ibid.

(A) Some may choose to understand the original words, as expressive of the eloquence of Bardesanes. [g] Εξ ανδρος Συρου μεν το γενος, επ' ακρον δε της Χαλδαϊκης επιστημης ελληλακοτος. Præp. Evang. l. vi. p. 273. B.

[h] Cap. 33. [i] Annot. in Euseb. H. E. l. iv. c. 30. [k] Tillemont, Mem. Ec. T. ii. Bardesane. Ernest. Sal. Cyprian. ad Hieron. De V. I. cap. 33.

the

the book Of Fate was inscribed, 'emperor.' And when he quotes that book, in another place, he calls it [l] 'a Dialogue with his 'friends;' or, as Valesius understands it, inscribed to his friends. Nor is it very likely, they say, that this book, written in the Syriac language, should be dedicated to the Roman emperor. But these arguments are not conclusive.

The abilities of Bardesanes, and his writings against heretics, are commended by Jerom in some [m] of his other works: and he says that he [n] was admired by heathen philosophers.

Epiphanius [o] says, that Bardesanes was a native of Edessa in Mesopotamia; and that he was very intimate with Abgarus, prince of Edessa, whom he commends as a zealous Christian. Bardesanes is supposed to have been the adviser of a law published by that prince, and mentioned by himself in the fragment of the book Of Fate in [p] Eusebius.

Epiphanius, as well as Jerom, counts him the author of a new heresy, which he calls that of the Bardesianists. As Epiphanius cannot be relied on, I shall not take all he says of this writer. It may be justly argued that he is mistaken, when he affirms that Bardesanes was skilful in Greek, as well as Syriac; this not having been mentioned by Eusebius, or any other authors; and they having considered his works in the Greek language as translations. He says too, that Bardesanes was [q] originally a catholic; whereas Eusebius and Jerom suppose him to have been first a Valentinian. He mentions his book Of Fate; and allows that there are other [r] works of his agreeable to the right faith. He tells likewise a story very honourable to Bardesanes: 'When (B) Apollonius, a friend of the emperor 'Antoninus, p rsuaded him to deny that he was a Christian, 'he almost deserved to be reckoned a confessor for the pious 'and resolute answer which he made, saying: That he was not 'afraid of death, which he could not escape, though he should 'not disobey the emperor.' But yet, he says, this great genius afterwards went into several great errors. However, 'he'

[l] Ὁς ἐν τοῖς Περὶ εἱμαρμένης διαλόγοις. Præp. Evan. l. vi. cap. 9. p. 273. A.

[m] Quid de Apollinario Hierapolitanæ ecclesiæ sacerdote, Dionysiique Corinthiorum episcopo, et Melitone, et Bardesane, et Irenæo Pholandi Martyre, sacerdote, qui origines hæreseon ingeniosum, et exquisitum philosophorum torrentem in arenam, multis voluminibus explicant? Ad Magnum, ep. 83. [n] Talis Bardesanes, cujus etiam philosophi admirantur ingenium. Comment. in Ofee, cap. 10.

[o] Har. 56. [p] Præp. Ev. l. vi. cap. x. p. 279. D. [q] Ἐξ ἀρχῆς μὲν ἦν τῶν θείων ἐκκλησιῶν ἐρασής. Har. 56. p. 476. D. [r] Καὶ ἄλλα δὲ τοῦτου συγγράμματα ἔστιν ἃ πρὸς ὑγιῆ ἀφορᾷ πίστιν. Epiph. ibid. p. 477. A. (B) Of this Apollonius, see Tillemont. Mem. E. above; and Basnage. Annal. P. E. 173. S. & H. Casaub. ad Jul. Capitolin. Antoninum Pium, cap. 10. [s] Ὃς ἐπὶ τῷ πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα τὸν Ἀντωνῖνον τὸν εὐσεβῆ ἐλθεῖν τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ἐκεῖνον τὸν ἀπαράδεκτον. Ibid. § 2. p. 477. C.

[t] continued

'continued to use the Law and the Prophets, both the Old and 'the New Testament, joining with them likewise some apo-'cryphal books.' For this last Bardesanes is not to be commended: but I wish that Epiphanius had informed us what were these apocryphal books; whether ancient or modern, Jewish or Christian.

Theodoret says, that Bardesanes was a Syrian, born at Edessa, and that he 'flourished under Marcus Verus;' that is, 'Marcus 'Antoninus the philosopher.' He adds, ''Bardesanes wrote 'many books in the Syriac language, which were translated into 'Greek.' He says likewise, that 'he himself had seen his 'book of Fate, against the heresy of Marcion, and not a few 'other.'

According to the anonymous author of the Edessen Chronicle, who is supposed [u] to have written about the middle of the sixth century, Bardesanes [w] was born in the year of Christ 154.

There is extant a noble fragment of the Dialogue about Fate in [x] the Evangelical Preparation of Eusebius; in which is a passage, which may be of good use to us upon another occasion where he expressly calls himself a Christian.

Ephrem the Syrian made [y] good use of that Dialogue of Bardesanes. The same Ephrem assures us, that [z] our author composed a hundred and fifty psalms in elegant verse, in imitation of David's Psalter.

Bardesanes [a] had a son named Harmonius, who was an ingenious and learned man: but differed little from his father, according to Sozomen, as to his peculiar sentiments.

There is a Bardesanes twice mentioned in the remaining works of Porphyry. It has been generally [b] thought that there were two of this name; Bardesanes the Syrian, of whom we have spoken, who lived in the second century; and Bardesanes the Babylonian, author of a book concerning the Indian philosophers, called by the Greeks Gymnosophists, who lived at the beginning of the third century, and is cited by Porphyry. But

[u] Πῶλα δὲ καὶ τῇ Σύρων συνέγραψε γλώττῃ, [illegible] μετεφράσαν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα φωνήν. [illegible] λόγοις αὐτοῦ, καὶ κατὰ εἰμαρμένης [illegible], καὶ πρὸς τὴν Μαρκίωνος αἵρεσιν, καὶ [illegible]. Hæret. Fab. l. i. cap. 22.

[v] Vid. Asseman. Biblioth. Oriental. T. i. p. 387. [w] Apud Asseman. ibid. p. 389. [x] p. 279. D.

[y] Vid. Asseman. Bib. Or. T. i. p. 124, 125. [z] Varia Bardesanis scripta hoc loco commemorat S. Doctor, quæ ex Sozomeno et Theodoreto supra indicavimus: et addit, ab eodem centum et quinquaginta psalmos eleganti carmine fuisse elaboratos, ad imitationem Psalterii Davidici. Assem. ibid. p. 132. n. 53.

[a] Vid. Sozomen, H. E. l. iii. c. 16. p. 526. Theodoret. Hæret. Fab. l. i. cap. 22. et H. E. l. iv. cap. 29. [b] Vid. Voss. de Historicis Græcis; Morery's Dictionary, and the Supplement.

Tillemont [c] makes no scruple of allowing Bardesanes the Babylonian to be same with him who is usually called the Syrian. Upon this supposition Dodwell [d] has formed an argument against the common opinion of the age of Bardesanes, which is, that he flourished in the time of M. Antoninus the philosopher. Perhaps that learned man would not have insisted on this argument, if he had seen the Edessen Chronicle, since published by Dr. Asseman. However we will consider the difficulty, without pretending to set it aside upon the Chronicle alone, though its authority may be justly reckoned to be of weight in this question.

In one place Porphyry quotes 'Bardesanes the Babylonian, 'who,' says he [e], 'lived in the time of our fathers.' In the other [f] he speaks of some, 'who waited on Bardesanes of Meso-'potamia, at the time that the emperor Antoninus, who was of 'Emesa, came into Syria.' He means the emperor Antoninus Heliogabalus, whose [g] reign is computed from the year 218 to 222.

Dodwell [h] therefore suspects that Eusebius has mistaken the emperor under whom Bardesanes flourished. Finding the book Of Fate inscribed to Antoninus, he concluded Marcus Antoninus the philosopher to be thereby intended; whereas it was probably the emperor Heliogabalus, who was of Emesa, and had also the name of Antoninus. And Eusebius, being himself deceived, has deceived and misled all following historians: so that learned man. Grabe [i] too was of opinion, that Bardesanes flourished in the time of Heliogabalus.

And it is obvious, that Porphyry's Bardesanes is of the same country with him mentioned by Christian writers; that is, of Mesopotamia: and as Porphyry calls him a Babylonian, so

[c] Bardesane étoit Syrien d'extraction, originaire d'Edesse en la Mesopotamie. Et comme ce pays n' étoit pas loin de celui de Babylone, c'est lui sans doute, que l'on appelle quelque fois Bardesane le Babylonien. Mem. Eccl. Bardesane, T. ii. P. iii. p. 93. [d] Dissert. Iren. iv. cap. 35.

[e] ὡς Βαρδησανης, ανηρ Βαβυλωνιος, επι των πατερων ημων γεγονως. και εξηγειτο τοις περι Αντωνιον [al. Δαυλιαν] πεπεμμενος ὑπο της προς τω Καισαρι, ανεγραφεν. Porphyr. de Abstin. l. iv. § 17. p. 167. Cantabrigiæ, 1655.

[f] ἰδον οι επι της βασιλειας του Αντωνινου του εξ Εμισων εις την Συριαν αφικομενου Βαρδησανη τον εκ Μεσοποταμιας εις λογους αφικομενοι εξηγουντο, ως ο Βαρδησανης ανεγραφεν. κ. λ. De Styge, p. 282. περι ὁ Βαρδησανης τεθεωρηται. Ib. p. 283. [g] Vid. Pagi Critic. in Baron. 222. § 2. [h] Sed veteres recentioribus Eusebio historicis omnes imposuerit Eusebius, qui Marco libro suo ilium 'de Fato' putat a Bardesane dictum. Eusebium autem ipsum, ni fallor, fefellit Homonymia in voce Antonini. Sub Antonino enim, non Marco, sed Emesæ oriundo, Elagabalo, floruit Bardesanes, scriptor celeberrimus, e Syria etiam eadem qua et Hæreticus, Mesopotamia, teste certissimo Porphyrio de Styge. . . . . Dissert. Iren. iv. § 35. [i] Spicileg. T. i. p. 317.

doth

does [k] Jerom likewiſe, in a place not yet referred to, cite 'Bardeſanes the Babylonian:' the quotation too is a part of one of the paſſages alleged by [l] Porphyry. We before obſerved, that Jerom aſſures us, Bardeſanes was admired by philoſophers: accordingly we find one of that name cited by Porphyry with reſpect. Theſe particulars ſeem to render it probable, that one and the ſame perſon is every where intended. And, if ſo, Porphyry has determined his age, about which all our authors are miſtaken.

Let us however conſider their teſtimony, and whether it is likely that they ſhould be in the wrong. Dodwell allows, that Euſebius, both in his Hiſtory and Chronicle, places Bardeſanes near Tatian. This uniformity of computation ſeems to ſhew, that Euſebius had no doubt of the truth of it. All our Chriſtian writers agree together about the age of Bardeſanes, and they had every one of them ſome knowledge of his writings. Euſebius knew very well the book Of Fate. He was not wholly unacquainted with his other performances, as appears from his obſervation, that Bardeſanes did not get entirely clear of his former errors. Jerom too commends his ſtyle and learning. Epiphanius paſſes his judgment upon the writings of this author, approving ſome, and condemning others. And Theodoret ſays expreſsly, that he had ſeen a great many of them: which acquaintance with his works may be reaſonably ſuppoſed to have enabled them to judge of his age, without depending upon the authority of Euſebius. Then Epiphanius relates ſome converſation between Bardeſanes and Apollonius, a friend of the emperor Antoninus. And there was, beſide others, a Stoic philoſopher of that name, of Chalcis too, a city in Syria, who was [m] firſt a maſter, and afterwards an intimate friend, of Marcus Antoninus. Finally, Euſebius informs us, that it was generally ſaid (he was not certain of this) that Bardeſanes wrote ſome books concerning the perſecution of that time, meaning the reign of Marcus. And Epiphanius informs us of the perſuaſions or threatenings of Apollonius, to induce Bardeſanes to renounce the Chriſtian religion. Theſe particulars concur in deſcribing the reign of Marcus, not that of Heliogabalus, or his immediate predeceſſors, which Dodwell allows not to have been times of remarkable rigour againſt the Chriſtians.

I think then that we may allow, that Porphyry, and the Chriſ-

[k] Bardeſanes, vir Babylonius, in duo dogmata apud Indos Gymnoſophiſtas dividit, &c. Adv. Jovin. l. ii. T. iv. col. 296. Ed Marrian. [l] Vid. Porphyr. de Abſtin. l. iv. [m] Vid. Jul. Capitolin. in Antonino Pio, cap. 10. et M. Antonino Philoſ. c. 2, 3.

tian writers, ſpeak of one and the ſame perſon: and that we need not diſpute either his or their authority, concerning the age of Bardeſanes, but may reconcile them together. The viſit to Bardeſanes of which Porphyry makes mention, when Antoninus Heliogabalus came into Syria, was made, we may ſuppoſe, in the year 218, before Heliogabalus ſet out from Antioch to go to Rome. And it is likely that Bardeſanes did not live long after this, he having died before the time of Porphyry, who was born about the year 232. For ſo Porphyry ſays: 'He lived in 'the time of our fathers.'

Probably at the year 218 Bardeſanes was of a great age. His extenſive knowledge, vaſt reputation, the great number of his books, and of his followers, and his change of ſentiments, are indications of no ſhort, but rather of a long life. Poſſibly too he was an author in the early part of his life. Great men are uſually, firſt of all, illuſtrious youths. There are many men who have flouriſhed, as authors, thirty or forty years, and more. Tertullian, about the ſame time, flouriſhed as long; Libanius, of the ſame country, longer. I perceive not any abſurdity in ſuppoſing Bardeſanes to have been a writer of repute in the reign of Marcus Antoninus, and his being alive, and greatly reſpected, in the year 218 or 220.

If, according to the Edeſſen Chronicle, Bardeſanes was born in 154, he was not yet ſeventy years of age in 220; and he would be twenty-ſix years of age complete in 180, the year in which Marcus died, before which time he might have written ſeveral books.

Thus Porphyry and our Chriſtian writers are reconciled, even allowing them all to ſpeak of one and the ſame perſon. It happens, that Porphyry has ſpoken of ſome things near the concluſion of Bardeſanes's life; whilſt our authors have chiefly mentioned him about the time when he began to be famous in the world, without (c) denying him to have continued much longer.

[c] 'Without denying him to have 'continued much longer.'] We muſt however except Ephraimus, according to the common reading and interpretation of his words, Hær. 56. § 1. Ἀφ' οὗ καὶ ἕως τοῦ θανάτου Ἀγβάρου καὶ ἕως τῶν χρόνων Ἀντωνίνου τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ Ῥωμαίων. 'That he continued after the 'death of Agbarus until the times of the 'emperor Antoninus, not him who is 'called Pius, but Verus; that is, Marcus Antoninus the philoſopher.' Which words muſt be allowed to imply, that Bardeſanes did not outlive the reign of Marcus. But on the other hand, if we could ſuppoſe Epiphanius to mean Heliogabalus, who was often called Varius [vid. Lampridii Antonin. Heliogab. cap. 1.] he would afford an argument, not that Bardeſanes flouriſhed in the time of Heliogabalus, as Grabe ſays [Spicileg. T. 2. p. 317.], but that he continued till the reign of that emperor, after having been eminent for a conſiderable time before, which may be the truth. But I think it in vain to criticiſe upon the words of Epiphanius, whoſe chronology is not always exact.

All

All this is propoſed to be conſidered, upon the ſuppoſition that Porphyry and the Chriſtian writers ſpeak of one and the ſame Bardeſanes. But I do not allow that to be certain, and out of doubt: for methinks it may be very well queſtioned, whether Jerom, when he quotes Bardeſanes the Babylonian, means the ſame whom he has ſeveral times mentioned as a Chriſtian, or a heretic. However I maintain that our Chriſtian writers are not miſtaken about the time of Bardeſanes, whom they ſpeak of as living, and being an author, in the reign of Marcus Antoninus. And I take it for granted that I have ſaid enough to clear them from all ſuſpicion of miſtake in this matter.

XIII. Euſebius has given a ſhort account of APOLLONIUS, who ſuffered martyrdom at Rome in the time of Commodus; probably in the year 186 or 187. He ſays, that 'n Apollonius 'was celebrated for learning and philoſophy.' Being accuſed before Perennis [præfect of the Prætorium], 'Perennis deſired 'him to give an account of himſelf before the ſenate, which he 'did, in a moſt eloquent apology for the faith, pronounced in 'that aſſembly: and was then ſentenced to loſe his head, as by 'a decree of the ſenate.' Euſebius adds: 'They who are de-'ſirous to read what apollonius ſaid before the judge, his an-'ſwers to the interrogatories of Perennis, and o his whole apo-'logy in the ſenate, may find them in the collection which I 'have made of the ancient martyrdoms.' Which collection is loſt.

Jerom has given Apollonius a place in his Catalogue p of Eccleſiaſtical Writers. He calls him a 'ſenator of Rome.' 'Being commanded to give an account of his faith, he com-'poſed an excellent piece, which he read in the ſenate. But 'nevertheleſs he was beheaded for Chriſt, by order of the ſe-'nate.'

There are difficulties attending ſome parts of the hiſtory of Apollonius, which I paſs over, conſidering him at preſent chiefly as an author. Jerom ſays, he read his Apology in the ſenate, which is not ſaid by Euſebius in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory. However he deſerves to be reckoned an author. If he only pronounced the apology, it might be taken down from him in writing. Euſebius is expreſs, that this 'whole apology' might be read in his collection of the Acts of Martyrs.

n [illegible]. H. E. l. v. c. 21. o Ibid. C. p De V. I. c. 42.

Jerom,[q] in another work, mentions Apollonius among some of the most eminent Christian writers. He is there placed with Greek authors: but in his Catalogue, in the article of Tertullian, he says, that father was then reckoned the 'first of 'the Latin writers, after Victor and Apollonius;' where he seems to mean the same person. Possibly the reason of this different way of reckoning may be, that Apollonius delivered his apology to the senate in Latin; but in Jerom's time it was extant only in Greek, in the Acts of the ancient Martyrs, collected by Eusebius.

XIV. Rhodon is spoken of by Eusebius, in his Ecclesiastical History, under the reign of Commodus. Jerom[r] says, he flourished in the times of Commodus and Severus: they both say, he was a native of Asia. I shall confine myself to the account which Eusebius gives of his works. He says, that Rhodon wrote several books; among others one against the heresy of Marcion, which he assures us was then divided into several parties. He relates a conference which he had with Apelles, one of them, then an old man, whom he confuted and exposed. 'In the same book,' says[s] Eusebius, 'which he in-'scribes to Callistion, he informs us, that he had been instructed 'by Tatian at Rome, and says that Tatian had composed a 'book of difficult questions, for the explication of several ob-'scure places of scripture: Rhodon at the same time promises 'to put out a distinct work, containing a solution of those que-'tions. There is extant a commentary of his upon the six 'days work of the creation.'

XV. Victor, as we are informed by[t] Eusebius, succeeded Eleutherus, bishop of Rome, in the reign of the emperor Commodus. He says, that upon occasion of a difference about keeping the time of Easter, 'Victor endeavoured to cut off 'from the common unity all the churches of Asia, together 'with the churches in their neighbourhood, as holding things 'contrary to the right faith: and[u] by letters proscribed, and 'declared excommunicated, all the brethren in those parts:' for which he was reproved[x] by Irenæus, and other bishops, as acting contrary to the laws of peace and charity.

There was before this a synodical letter, upon the same ques-

q Scripsit et Miltiades contra gentes volumen egregium. Hippolytus quoque et Apollonius, Romanæ urbis senator, propria opuscula condiderunt. Ad Magn. ep. [illegible] al. 84. r De V. I. c. 37. s L. v. c. 13. t H. E. l. v. c. 22. [illegible]

u Και ςηλιτευει γε δια γραμματων, ακοινωνητως αρδην παντας τους εκεισε ανακηρυττων αδελφους. L. v. c. 24. p. 192. B. C. x Ibid. p. 192, 193.

tion, written [y] by the bishops assembled at Rome, which had Victor's name prefixed.

Jerom in his [z] Catalogue says: 'Victor, the thirteenth bi-'shop of the city of Rome, wrote about the question of Easter, 'and other small pieces. He governed the church ten years 'under the emperor Severus.' In his Chronicle Jerom says, that in his time there were extant [a] some books of 'Victor con-'cerning religion, which were tolerably well written:' though perhaps he speaks rather of the bulk than of the merit of his books: they are not in being now. There are extant, however, some letters ascribed to him, but [b] without ground, as is generally allowed.

XVI. Bacchylus, bishop of Corinth, successor of the forementioned Dionysius, is mentioned by Eusebius, with Polycrates bishop of Ephesus, Serapion bishop of Antioch, and others, 'who [c] had left testimonies of the orthodoxy of their 'faith in writing.' He afterwards speaks of a letter written [d] by Bacchylus, about the time of celebrating Easter. Jerom in his Catalogue says: 'Bacchylus, bishop of Corinth, who flou-'rished in the time of the emperor Severus, wrote [e] an elegant 'book about Easter in the name of all the bishops in Achaia.' I suppose he means the epistle mentioned by Eusebius.

XVII. Theophilus, bishop of Cæsarea, and Narcissus, bishop of Jerusalem, are likewise mentioned by [f] Eusebius in the forecited place, together with those who had testified the orthodoxy of their faith by their writings. Afterwards he [g] says, 'that there is extant an epistle [about the question of Easter] 'in the name of the bishops of Palestine assembled in council, 'over whom presided Theophilus, bishop of Cæsarea, and Nar-'cissus, bishop of Jerusalem.' Eusebius [h] has mentioned some particulars of this letter, and transcribed a passage out of it.

Jerom [i] says, 'that Theophilus, bishop of Cæsarea in Pale-'stine, in the time of Severus, composed, together with the 'other bishops of that country, a very useful synodical epistle 'against those who kept Easter, with the Jews, on the fourteenth 'day of the moon.'

Jerom has no particular article in his Catalogue for Narcissus.

[y] [illegible] Ρωμης δε [illegible] αλλη περι [illegible] [illegible], επισκοπον Βικτορα δηλουσα. L. v. [illegible] p. 190. D. [z] Cap. 34.

[a] [illegible] mediocria de religione extant [illegible] p. 171. [b] Vid. Basnage, Annal. 192. § 8. Pagi Critic. in Baron. 196. § 3. Tillemont, Mem. Ec. T. iii. St. Victor, Article viii. [c] H. E. l. v. c. 22. p. 190. A. B. [d] Ib. c. 23. p. 291. A. [e] Elegantem librum scripsit. De V. I. c. 44. [f] H. E. l. v. c. 22. [g] Ibid. c. 23. [h] Ibid. c. 25. [i] De V. I. c. 43.

He ſpeaks of him, however, in the chapter of [k] Alexander, who was afterwards colleague or coadjutor of Narciſſus in the church of Jeruſalem. Narciſſus lived to [l] a great age. There are ſeveral remarkable ſtories concerning him in [m] Euſebius, which we may have occaſion to take notice of ſome other time.

There have been publiſhed 'Acts of the Council of Cæſarea, 'concerning the Queſtion of keeping Eaſter.' But they are with good reaſon ſuſpected, and rejected, by [n] ſeveral learned men, as not genuine.

XVIII. Having given, beſide catholic writers, a ſhort hiſtory of Bardeſanes, whom Euſebius does not allow to have been completely orthodox, and others call an hereſiarch, I ſhall conclude this chapter with SYMMACHUS.

Before the nativity of our Saviour there was no other Greek verſion of the books of the Old Teſtament, but that called the Verſion of the Seventy. In the time of Origen there were, beſide that, the verſions of Aquila (who lived in the reign of Adrian), Theodotion, Symmachus, and two or three others which are anonymous: though theſe laſt ſeem not to have contained a tranſlation of all the Old Teſtament, but of ſome particular books only.

The exact age of Symmachus is not certain, ſome reckoning him a writer of the ſecond, others of the third century. It is likewiſe diſputed, which verſion of the Old Teſtament was firſt made; that of Theodotion, or Symmachus. Petavius thinks Theodotion's was firſt in the order of time: Hody, [p] and [q] moſt other learned men, are of a different opinion. I ſhall put down here only an obſervation of [r] Hody: It is not eaſy to determine the year, or the reign, in which either Theodotion or Symmachus made their verſions; but it is certain that Theodotion's was publiſhed before Irenæus wrote his work 'Againſt Hereſies,' becauſe he is there cited. And it is probable that Symmachus had not then publiſhed his verſion; becauſe, when [s] Irenæus quotes Aquila and Theodotion, he makes no mention of Symmachus, though there was the ſame reaſon for mentioning him as the other two. This argument ſeems to me ſufficient to ſhew

[k] Epiph. c. 62. [l] Vid. Hieron. Euſeb. et Epiph. H. E. l. vi. c. 11.
[m] Ibid. c. 9. 11. [n] Vid. Fabric. Bibl. Gr. T. v. p. 194. Tillemont, Mem. Ecc. T. iii. P. i. p. 177 and 479. Bruxelles. [o] Annotat. ad Epiphan. de Menſuris et Ponderibus, cap. 16.
[p] De Biblior. Text. Orig. l. iv. p. 570.
[q] This point may be ſeen argued in Du Pin, Diſſertation Prelim. l. i. c. vi. § 6. Huet Origeniana, p. 256. Montfaucon Prælim. in Hexapla Origenis. Fabric. Bib. Gr. T. v. p. 336, &c. Tillemont, Mem. Ec. T. iii. Origene, viii. et note x. beſide Hody as cited above.
[r] Ibid. p. 580. m. [s] Lib. iii. c. 21. al. 24.

at leaſt, that Irenæus was not acquainted with the verſion of Symmachus, if it was then publiſhed.

I ſpeak of Symmachus at the end of the ſecond century, which is very little different from [s] Cave's computation, who has fixed the time of his flouriſhing at the firſt year of the third century.

Epiphanius [t] ſays, that Symmachus was a Samaritan, and one of thoſe whom they call 'Wiſe Men:' but meeting with ſome diſappointment in his ambitious views among his own people, he turned Jew. He muſt have been converted afterwards to Chriſtianity, for Euſebius [x] and others [y] call him an Ebionite: and it is not improbable, that this is what Epiphanius [z] means, when he ſays Symmachus turned Jew; he conſidering Ebioniti ſm as a ſort of Judaiſm. According to ſome [a] ancient authors, the Ebionites, or ſome branch of them, were called Symmachians from him.

I enlarge no farther on the hiſtory of Symmachus, which may be ſeen in [b] Hody, who has likewiſe collected a great number of ancient teſtimonies relating to him. Our chief concern at preſent is with a paſſage of Euſebius in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory.

Having given an account of Origen's labours in the Old Teſtament, and particularly of the editions of his Tetrapla and Hexapla; in the former of which were the verſions only of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, together with that of the Seventy; Euſebius proceeds in the following chapter: 'Moreover it ought to be obſerved, that Symmachus, one of thoſe 'interpreters, was an Ebionite. Theſe Ebionites are ſuch as 'ſay, Chriſt was born of Joſeph and Mary, and ſuppoſe him to 'have been a mere man: and contend that the law ought to 'be kept after the manner of the Jews, as we have before ſhewn. 'And [c] to this day there are extant commentaries of Symma'chus, in which [d] he endeavours to ſupport the foremention'ed 'hereſy,

[s] H. l. p. 64. [t] Σύμμαχος τις ... Ref. Pond. c. 16. p. 172. B. Vid. Scripsin Scriptur. apud Athanaſ. T. ii. [x] Euſeb. H. E. l. vi. c. 17. [y] Euſeb. l. vii. cap. 1. p. 316. C. Hieronym. De Vir. Ill. cap. 54. Theodoret. Hær. [z] Vid. Montfaucon. Prolimin. in Origenis Hexapla, [a] Ambroſius ſin quis alius ... Auguſtinus in lib. ii. contra Crescon. cap. 31. Vid. Valeſ. ad Euſeb. vi. 17. [b] Ubi ſupra, l. iv. c. 1. § 7. [c] Καὶ τοίνυν χρὴ δὲ τὸν Σύμμαχον εἰσέτι νῦν φέρεσθαι ἐξηγούμενον κατὰ τὸν Ματθαῖον ἀποδεικνύντα ἐναγγελίαν, τὴν δοκοῦσαν αὐτῶν χρῆσθαι. Ταῦτα δὲ ὁ ἱστορικὸς φησὶ καὶ ἄλλα τις τῶν γεγραφότων ἐξηγήσεις τοῦ Συμμάχου, σημαίνει παρ' ἑκάστοις τῶν ἐπιφερομένων τὸν καιρὸν παρ' αὐτοῦ Σύμμαχον τῶν Ἐβιωναίων ἱστορεῖσθαι. Euſ. H. E. l. vi. c. 17. [d] The original words are, ... ἐρμηνεῖαι: which have been generally underſtood by modern interpreters, as if Euſebius only ſaid, that Symmachus

'hereſy, from the goſpel according to Matthew. Theſe, toge-
'ther with Symmachus's other tranſlations of the ſcriptures,
'Origen had, as he informs us, from one Juliana: who, he ſays
'likewiſe, received thoſe books from Symmachus himſelf.'

Valeſius [e] contends, that the words above cited ought to be thus tranſlated: 'There are ſtill extant commentaries of Sym-
'machus, in which, diſputing ſtrongly againſt Matthew's go-
'ſpel, he ſeems to confirm the foreſaid hereſy.' He does not deny that the Ebionites received St. Matthew's goſpel: but he ſays, their goſpel of Matthew was corrupted and mutilated; and he ſuppoſes, therefore, that in this work Symmachus diſputed againſt our authentic genuine goſpel of St. Matthew.

But Valeſius has made few converts to this opinion; moſt other learned men underſtanding this paſſage agreeably to the verſion which I have given of it. And in favour of this ſenſe it has been alleged, that this paſſage was ſo tranſlated by [g] Ruffinus, and was underſtood in the ſame manner [h] by Jerom: not to inſiſt here on Nicephorus Calliſti, Suidas, or others, who have taken it in this ſenſe. It is poſſible, indeed, that the goſpel according to Matthew, uſed by Symmachus, varied in ſome things from our goſpel; but how far, or in what particulars, we cannot ſo much as pretend to make a conjecture: though if Symmachus was of that branch of the Ebionites, which ſaid that Jeſus was born of Joſeph and Mary (as Euſebius ſeems to hint, and Theodoret [i] expreſsly ſays), it might be ſuſpected that he did not receive the firſt chapter of St. Matthew's goſpel. If this work of Symmachus were now extant, it would be a curioſity. It would, in all probability, give us a great deal of light into the notions of the Ebionites, and ſatisfy us how far the goſpel of Matthew, which they uſed, was genuine or corrupted; and what reſpect they had for the other goſpels; and how far

chus 'ſeems to confirm the foreſaid here-
'ſy,' *ſupradictam hæreſin adſtruere vi-
tur.* Montfaucon has a learned obſerva-
tion upon the force of the Greek word;
and corrects this interpretation: Cum ſex-
centis exemplis probetur το δοκει, maxime
apud ſcriptores eccleſiaſticos, non minuere
affirmationem; qua de re vide onomaſti-
cum noſtrum ad Athanaſii opera, in voce
δοκει. Prælimin. in Origenis Hexapla,
p. 83. [e] Ad locum Euſebii.

[f] Vid. Hody, ibid. 585, 586. Fabric. Bibl. Gr. T. ii. p. 338, 339. Ittigius in Diſſert. de Hæreſiarchis, p. 72. Tillemont, Mem. Ec. T. ii. P. i. Les Ebionites, p. 198; and note 2. Montfaucon, Prælimi-
naria in Origenis Hexapla, p. 15.

[g] Euſebii verba ſic vertit Ruffinus: Et
et commentarios quoſdam Symmachi
conſcripſit, in quibus conatur de evange-
lio ſecundum Matthæum auctoritatem
ſuæ hæreſeos confirmare. Apud Hodium
ibid. [h] Aquilæ ſcilicet Ponti
Proſelyti, et Theodotionis Ebionæi, et
Symmachi ejuſdem dogmatis, qui in evan-
gelium quoque κατα Ματθαιον ſcripſit com-
mentarios, de quo et ſuum dogma co
mare conatur. De V. I. Origen, cap. 5.

[i] De Hær. Fab. l. ii. c. 1.

they

they owned the authority of Paul, or the other twelve apostles of Christ.

Eusebius adds: 'These [commentaries], together with 'Symmachus's other translations [or interpretations] of the 'scriptures, Origen had, as he informs us, from Juliana.' By these 'other translations' Hody [k] understands some comments, or expositions of the scripture, different from the Greek version of the Old Testament made by Symmachus: but he owns, at the same time, that Rufinus understood these words of the version. They are so understood likewise by [l] Cave, and [m] Dodwell, and others. I think this sense cannot be well disputed; especially, if we consider that there were two [n] editions of the version of Symmachus: though, if there were but one edition of that version, the words of Eusebius, taken in connection with what precedes, could not be understood, in my opinion, of any thing but the version which Symmachus had made of the Old Testament.

Hody thinks that Symmachus was not only an interpreter of the Old Testament, but likewise an expositor of the New: and that not barely on account of his commentaries upon the gospel of St. Matthew, mentioned by Eusebius, but for some exposition of St. Paul's epistles. This supposition is founded upon a passage of Agobardus, bishop of Lyons in the beginning of the ninth century. I shall put the passage in [o] the margin; but I apprehend no certain conclusion can be founded upon it. Fabricius [p] thinks that Agobardus refers to nothing else but the version of the Old Testament.

Hody [q] supposes likewise, that [r] Jerom speaks of some work

[k] Cum dicit μετὰ πολλῶν ἐρμηνειῶν, 'cum 'interpretationibus,' perspicuum est [illegible] 'translationem,' quod putavit [illegible], sed expositiones quasdam scriptorum. Rufinus postrema ea sic vertit: 'Hæc ipse Origenes cum interpretatione [illegible] Symmachi scribit se apud Julianam [illegible] reperisse.' Hod. ibid. p. 587.

[l] Hist. Lit. P. i. p. 64. [m] Dissert. [illegible] c. 40. Vid. et Fabric. Bibl. Gr. [illegible] p. 339. [n] Sic Hieronymus [illegible] 32. et in Nahum, cap. 3. ab Hodio [illegible] ibid. p. 586. [o] Symmachum [illegible] modo ut interpretem V. Testamenti, verum etiam ut expositorem Novi, [illegible] memorare videtur Agobardus. Epist. [illegible] Fredegisum, cap. xi. [conferatur [illegible]] 'Hæc omnia idcirco dicimus, ut [illegible], quia quam injuste a vobis cri[illegible]namur, cum dicitis nos reprehensores 'apostolorum et divinarum scripturarum esse 'tam injuste; vel potius, multo injustius, 'quoscunque interpretes atque expositores 'coæquatis apostolis et evangelistis; cum 'Symmachum, et Paulum, et Didymum, et 'Joannem una defensione indifferentique 'laude dignos ducitis.' Respicere videtur ad expositionem epistolarum Paulinarum ab eo conscriptam. Hodius, ibid. p. 587.

[p] Neque Agobardum vel catenarum compositores aliud opus Symmachi quam versionem Bibliorum respicere existimo, quemadmodum Hodius ipse probe animadvertit Symmachum inter Latinos Patres quandoque referri, quod Latini ecclesiæ doctores ejus translatione usi fuerunt. Fabric. Bibl. Gr. l. iii. cap. 12. T. ii. p. 349.

[q] Ibid. p. 587. [r] Symmachus igitur pro eo quod [Ps. cxxxv.] est in Græco περιουσιον, in Hebræo *Segula*, expressit ἐξαιρέτη,

work of Symmachus written in the Latin tongue. Fabricius [a] apprehends, that Jerom's words are not to be understood of Symmachus. This is a matter of no great consequence; but Hody's seems to be the most natural interpretation of Jerom. If this were a clear point, it would be an additional argument of the abilities and diligence of this Ebionite; who then would be reckoned a master of more languages, than the most learned generally were at that time.

CHAP. XXIX.

Supposititious Writings of the second Century.

I. *The* ACTS *of* PAUL *and* THECLA. II. *The* SIBYLLINE ORACLES. III. *The* TESTAMENTS *of the* XII PATRIARCHS. IV. *The* RECOGNITIONS. V. *The* CLEMENTINE HOMILIES. VI. *The* CLEMENTINE EPITOME. VII. REMARKS *upon the three last pieces.* VIII. *The* CONCLUSION *of the second Century.*

THERE were, before the end of the second century, several writings composed and published under the names of eminent persons, to whom they do not really belong; as is generally allowed. I need not enquire what were the views of the authors of these works. Some might design thereby the advancement of the Christian religion in general; others might intend to recommend, together with that, some particular notions and sentiments which they had entertained. Whatever were the views of the authors, I have thought the writings themselves might be of some use to us at this time. If in these pieces, published under borrowed names, the main facts and principles of the New Testament are asserted; this may be esteemed an additional confirmation of the truth of the Christian doctrine, beside what is afforded in the genuine writings of this early age. For this reason I have made some extracts out of divers supposititious pieces, and here propose them to the reader's consideration.

ἐξαιρέτον, id est, 'egregium' vel 'præcipuum:' pro quo verbo, in alio volumine, Latino sermone utens, 'peculiarem' interpretatus est. Hieron. Comm. in Ep. ad Tit. cap. 2. [illegible] videtur Hieronymus loqui de Latino veteri [illegible] qui 'in alio volumine,' h. e. non in [illegible] mis, sed in alio libro Biblico [illegible] diderit 'peculiarem,' Fabric. ibid. [illegible] 559.

I. THE ACTS, or Travels, of PAUL AND THECLA have been (A) already ſhewn not to be a work of the apoſtle Paul, but of ſome weak preſbyter of Aſia, and never to have had any authority in the church of Chriſt. It is not certainly known when they were compoſed: it may be however reckoned probable, that they were written in the latter part of the firſt, or the beginning of the ſecond century.

There is ſtill extant a book with that title, both in Greek and Latin, publiſhed by the late Dr. Grabe from manuſcripts in the Bodleian Library. That learned man ſuppoſes it to be the work itſelf of the forementioned preſbyter, with only ſome [a] few interpolations. That there are interpolations, cannot be well diſputed; even allowing it to be, for the main part, the ancient piece publiſhed under this title. The old Latin verſion appears to me more ſincere and uncorrupt than the Greek copy; but I think them both to have been oftener interpolated than Grabe ſuppoſed, and in things of great conſequence.

I ſhall take a few paſſages of this book, containing, as I ſuppoſe, alluſions, or imitations of ſome parts of the New Teſtament.

1. And in the firſt place I obſerve, that in this book Oneſiphorus and Titus are introduced, as admirers and friends of the apoſtle Paul; and Demas, Hermogenes, Alexander the coppersmith (B), are repreſented as his pretended friends, but real enemies: and, whereas St. Paul, 2 Tim. ii. 17, ſpeaks of ſome, particularly Hymenæus and Philetus, '*who concerning the truth* '*have erred, ſaying, That the reſurrection is paſt already, and over-*'*throw the faith of ſome*;' ſo here theſe enemies of the apoſtle, Demas and Hermogenes, are brought in ſaying, 'That [b] they 'will ſhew that the reſurrection, which Paul ſays is to be, is al-'ready paſt [or 'made'] in the children which they have, and 'that they have riſen by knowing the truth.' I put down now two or three other paſſages.

2. Paul is ſaid to have preached at Iconium, in the houſe of

(A) See p. 97, n. xxii. [a] Tandem [illegible] interpolata ſit, nihilominus [illegible] pretiſſima ſunt quæ in [illegible] corruptionis trahi queunt, [illegible] momenta. Grabe, Spicil. [illegible] (B) At the beginning of the Acts, in the Greek copy, [illegible] and Hermogenes only are mentioned: but in the Latin Alexander the coppersmith' is joined with the other two: 'Facti ſunt 'mihi comites Demas, Hermogenes, Alexander ærarius, repleti ſimulatione. Ibid. p. 120. [b] [illegible] p. 121. Lat. Conſer. Ver. Lat. p. 122.

Oneſiphorus,

Onesiphorus, in this manner: 'Blessed [c] are the pure in heart, 'for they shall see God. Matth. v. 8. Blessed are they who 'keep the flesh undefiled, for they shall be the temples of God. '.... Blessed are they who have wives, as though they had 'none, for they shall become angels of God. 1 Cor. vii. 29. '... Blessed are they that receive the wisdom of Jesus Christ, 'for they shall be called the sons of the Highest. Luke, vi. 35. '... Blessed are they who for the love of Christ forsake the 'fashion of this world, for they shall judge angels, and shall be 'placed at the right hand of Christ, and shall not see a severe 'day of judgment.' 1 Cor. vii. 31. vi. 3.

In the old Latin version this last sentence is divided, as it were, into two; for after the 'sitting at the right hand of 'Christ,' or God, it is added, 'Blessed [d] are the merciful, for 'they shall not see a severe day of judgment:' which is equivalent to those words, Matth. v. 7, '*they shall obtain mercy.*' And divers other expressions are here put into the mouth of Paul, which, though different from our Lord's Beatitudes in St. Matthew and St. Luke, are a plain imitation of them; as some of these, which I have here put down, are exactly the same.

3. Paul is brought before the Roman governor at Iconium, who asks him: 'Who are [e] you? what do you teach? for they 'grievously accuse you. And Paul lift up his voice, saying: 'If I this day be called in question what I teach, hear, pro-'consul: God is jealous, a God of vengeance: God, that need-'eth nothing but the salvation of men, has sent me to deliver 'men from vice and impurity, ... that they may not sin. 'Therefore God has sent his Son Jesus Christ, whom I preach, 'and teach men to have their hope in him, who alone has had 'compassion on an ignorant erring world, that they may be no 'longer exposed to condemnation, O proconsul, but might 'have faith, and the fear of God, and a knowledge of virtue, 'and a love of truth. If therefore I speak those things which 'have been revealed to me by God, proconsul, what crime am 'I guilty of? But the proconsul, having heard these things, 'commanded Paul to be bound, and to be cast into prison, till 'he should be at leisure to hear him more carefully.'

[c] Μακαριοι οι καθαροι τη καρδια, ὁτι αυτοι τον Θεον οψονται. Μακαριοι οι αγνην την σαρκα τηρησαντες, ὁτι αυτοι ναοι Θεου γενησονται ... Μακαριοι οι εχοντες γυναικας ως μη εχοντες, ὁτι αυτοι αγγελοι Θεου γενησονται. ... Μακαριοι οι σοφιαν λαβοντες Ιησου Χριστου, ὁτι αυτοι υιοι υψιστου κληθησονται. ... Μακαριοι οι δι' αγαπην Χριστου εξελθοντες του σχηματος του κοσμου, ὁτι αυτοι αγγελους κρινουσιν, και εν δεξια του Χριστου σταθησονται, και ουκ [illegible] ημεραν κρισεως πικραν. Ibid. p. 97.

[d] Beati misericordes, quoniam ipsi non videbunt diem judicii amarum. p. 121.

[e] Ibid. p. 101, 102.

I sup-

I ſuppoſe that here are references, or alluſions, to ſeveral things in the Acts of the apoſtles [Acts, xxiv. 21. xxiii. 6. xvii. 3. 25. 30, 31.]; and that in ſome other places of this work the author refers to other things in the New Teſtament. But I ſhall not detain the reader any longer in this book, which really is of no great importance; though Dr. Grabe does undoubtedly deſerve commendation, for publiſhing it in the greateſt perfection he was able.

II. That the SIBYLLINE VERSES, or Oracles, which we now have in eight books, are not the ſame which were kept at Rome with ſo much care and veneration, nor any other heathen collection of Sibylline Oracles, but a Chriſtian forgery; has been ſo often and ſo clearly ſhewn, and is ſo generally allowed by learned men, that I ſhall here take it for granted. However, I may have another opportunity, in the courſe of this work, of ſhewing this particularly, if it ſhould be needful.

We may take a general account of this collection of pretended Oracles in the words of Mr. Turner. 'We there find,' ſays he, 'an account of the creation of the world, the fall of our 'firſt parents, the ark of Noah, the deluge of waters, the tower 'of Babel, and other matters, all undoubtedly taken from the 'book of Geneſis. The hiſtorical books of the New Teſta'ment have alſo furniſhed the forger of theſe Oracles with ſe'veral pretended prophecies concerning our Saviour. The 'manner of our Lord's nativity, his life and actions, his trial 'and ſufferings, his reſurrection and aſcenſion, are deſcribed 'with much plainneſs and particularity: which makes it more 'than probable, that ſeveral of thoſe Oracles, relating to our 'bleſſed Saviour, are not predictions of future events, but hiſ'torical narrations of facts that were already paſt and gone. 'The author, in order to diſguiſe the impoſture, is ſomewhat 'enigmatical in his account of the Roman emperors. He de'ſcribes them all, from Julius to Adrian, chiefly by the initial 'letters of their names.' So far Mr. Turner. But the author has made uſe of more than one artifice to diſguiſe the impoſture. It may be juſtly ſuppoſed, that with this view he inſerted in his work ſeveral things taken[5] from the ancient heathen oracles, and from Orpheus, Homer, and other poets.

I ſhall add little more preliminary to my extracts, but to ſhew when theſe Oracles were compoſed.

[4] 'The Calumnies upon the Primitive Chriſtians accounted for.' Chap. 11. p. 201. [illegible] 1727. [5] Sunt nonnulla in hac collectione, quæ auctor de induſtria inſerit antiquis oraculis Ethnicis, ex Orpheo, Homero, et aliis poetis. Fabric. Bib. Gr. l. i. lib. 1. c. 33. p. 217. Vid. et quæ ſequuntur.

Cave,

Cave, who is well satisfied [h] of their being a forgery, supposes that a large part of them were composed in the time of Adrian, about the year 130, they being quoted by Justin Martyr; that others were added in the time of the Antonines; and the whole work completed in the reign of Commodus.

Prideaux [i] says, 'This collection must have been made between the year of our Lord 138 and the year 167. It could not be earlier, for therein is mention made of the next successor of Adrian, that is, Antoninus Pius, who did not succeed him till the year 138: and it could not be later, because Justin Martyr in his writings several times quotes it, and appeals to it, who did not outlive the year 167.'

Fabricius [k] is of opinion, that this collection does not contain all the Sibylline Oracles which were used by the ancient fathers; but that, nevertheless, it contains a great part of them. He supposes, likewise, that several parts of the collection have been transposed, and placed in a wrong order by transcribers. He farther thinks, that the most ancient Christian writers, who have quoted the Sibylline Oracles, had not the whole collection which we have, but only a part; which, together with additions made afterwards, compose the collection which we have.

These, and other observations of Fabricius, in his judgment upon this collection, have a great appearance of probability. We have good reason, I think, to conclude, that our collection contains a great part of the Sibylline books used by the fathers; because it has in it almost all the verses particularly quoted by them, and answers the character which they give of theirs. Justin Martyr, toward the end of his 'Exhortation to the Greeks' (if that piece be his), says: 'The [l] Sibyl expressly and clearly 'foretels the coming of our Saviour Jesus Christ.' And again, a little after: 'That she [m] not only expressly and clearly 'foretels the future coming of our Saviour Jesus Christ, but 'also all things that should be done by him.' So do ours, as will appear presently. Whether that work be Justin's, as is generally supposed, or not, is not very material in this case: it appearing from what he says in his [n] first Apology, an undisputed work, that he had in his hands some Sibylline books, which were very favourable to the Christian cause. St. Au-

[h] Consicta esse, idque in gratiam Christianæ fidei, nemo non videt. Hist. Lit. P. i. p. 34. [i] Connection, &c. Part ii. book ix. p. 626. first ed.

[k] Bibl. Gr. ut supra, p. 219—221.

[l] Τὴν τοῦ Σιβύλλης φησὶν ἡμῖν λόγοις ἀφελῶς καὶ φανερῶς προαγορεύουσα. Ad. Gr. Cohort. p. 36. [m] Περὶ δὲ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ἐπὶ πᾶσι παρουσίας οὐ μόνον ἡμῖν Χριστὸν μαθηταῖς ἐπιστᾶσι καὶ πείθουσι, καὶ παρ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἐπ' ἀδίκοις ἐλθεῖν μελλόντων, σαφῶς καὶ φανερῶς προειρήκασιν. Ib. p. 37. A. [n] p. 82.

gustine

guſtine [o] too ſays, 'that the Sibyl has nothing in her whole poem 'favourable to the worſhip of falſe gods; but on the contrary 'ſhe ſo ſpeaks againſt them, and their worſhippers, that ſhe may 'be reckoned to belong to the city of God.'

However, ſome things contained in our preſent collection may have been added to thoſe Sibylline writings which were in the hands of the firſt fathers. There may be ſome reaſon to ſuſpect that the Acroſtic, in particular, has been ſince added; it being firſt quoted [p] by Conſtantine, and no where clearly referred to by Juſtin Martyr, Athenagoras, or Theophilus; whereas, had they known of it, it is likely we ſhould have found in them ſome hint of it. Nor is there [q] any good ground to think that Tertullian has alluded to it, as ſome have ſuppoſed.

I ſhall make no uſe therefore of that Acroſtic in my extracts here, which ought to be confined to writings of the ſecond century: and that the main part of this collection was made within that time, I ſhall ſhew briefly in two or three obſervations.

1. Juſtin Martyr is the firſt (c) Chriſtian writer who appears to have quoted this collection of Sibylline Oracles, or any Sibylline verſes whatever, containing the peculiar doctrines of Chriſtianity. The more ancient writers preceding him, who have mentioned the Sibyls, have quoted nothing but what might be found in Sibylline writings among the heathen. This is an obſervation of [r] Fabricius, to whom I refer for the particular proof of it.

2. Celſus, who wrote before the end of the ſecond century, gives the Chriſtians the name [s] of Sibylliſts; and ſays, 'that [t] 'ſome of them had a great value for the Sibyl, and had interpolated her writings with many blaſphemous things.' I ſhall not need to put down here Origen's anſwer to this charge, his anſwer being allowed by [u] many learned men not to be ſufficient.

[o] Hæc autem Sibylla, ſive Erythræa, [illegible] magis credunt Cumana, ita [illegible] in toto carmine ſuo, cujus exigua [illegible] particula eſt, quod ad deorum [illegible] ſive fictorum cultum pertineat, [illegible] ita etiam contra eos et contra [illegible] eorum loquitur, ut in eorum numero deputanda videatur, qui pertinent ad civitatem Dei. De Civ. Dei, l. xviii. cap. 23.

[p] Ora. ad Sanctor. Cœt. cap. 18. ap. Euſ. H. E. p. 592.

[q] See Mr. Rob. Turner, as before, p. 207, 208; and Fabricius, p. 214.

(c) They are quoted likewiſe, or referred to, by the anonymous author of the Preaching of Peter, who probably lived about the ſame time with Juſtin Martyr. See before, ch. 22, note (F), p. 239.

[r] Fab. Bib. Gr. l. i. cap. 33. § xi.

[s] Ειτε δε τινας ειναι και Σιβυλλιστας. Orig. c. Celſ. l. v. p. 272.

[t] Υμεις δε κ'αι Σιβυλλαν, ῃ χρωνται τινες υμων, εικοτως αν μαλλον προεστησασθε ως του θεου παιδα· νυν δε παρεγγραφειν μεν εις τα εκεινης πολλα και βλασφημα εικη δυνασθε. Ib. l. vii. p. 368.

[u] Fabric. Bib. Gr. l. i. c. 31. § 13. Blondel des Sibylles, l. i. ch. 20. p. 86—88. See alſo Du Pin, Diſſert. Prælim. l. ii.

cient. Celsus then may be reckoned to be a good evidence, that there were in his time Sibylline verses, which were more Christian than heathen.

3. The author betrays his age by several things in this collection. He says, at the conclusion of the eighth book, that he [w] is a Christian. In the fifth book he says, he had [x] 'seen the 'second ruin of the desired house;' most [y] probably meaning the destruction of Jerusalem in the time of Vespasian. In the beginning of the fifth book he describes the Roman emperors to Adrian, and says, that 'after [z] him three shall reign' [that is, Antoninus, Marcus, and Lucius]: and that the 'third of these 'shall obtain the power of all things,' and in his time shall come the end of the world. This must have been written before 169, in which year Lucius died. He being the youngest, the author guessed he would have the longest reign. But Marcus survived him, and obtained 'the power of all,' or became sole emperor.

So this is generally understood: but possibly by 'the third' the author means Marcus. Lucius indeed, while he lived, was the third and last, in point of rank and dignity, as well as age: but, after his death, Marcus might be spoken of as the third and last. I suspect that he is the person here intended: and the author prophesies of his sole empire, after it obtained. If Marcus is the person whom the author calls 'the third,' then the passages, in which the 'universal power' of one of the three is mentioned, were written after the death of Lucius in 169.

He speaks to the like purpose again in the eighth book: That after him who shall take his name from the Adriatic Sea, that is, Adrian, 'three [a] shall reign in the last day,' and then comes the end of the world. But first of all Rome shall be destroyed 'in the 948th year from her foundation,' which is the year of Christ 195. The event not answering this prediction, it is reasonable to conclude, that this is only a vain conjecture delivered before the time here mentioned. It is not easy to suppose that any one should publish such a false prediction after the time fixed for its accomplishment.

l. ii. c. 7. p. 115, 116. Amst. 1701. Johan. Richardson Prælectiones Ecclesiasticæ, v. i. p. 161, 162. Jer. Jones, New and Full Method, &c. v. i. p. 457.

[w] Τοιαυτ' αρ ηλθεις και εσομαι Χριστου θεοβλητος
Οφρανιης ψυχας, επιλειψασθα συναιμους
Μητρην ευφρουνης επι θρησκειην καλεχουσης.

[x] Κουρης παρα σειο. παλαι πεπυσμενος αιων,
Ηνικα δευτερον ειδον εγω ριπτουμενον οικον.

L. v. p. 332. Paris.

[y] Vid. Fabr. Bib. Gr. l. i. c. 37. [illegible] and Blondel des Sibylles, l. i. c. 4. p. 12.

[z] Τρεις αρξουσ', ο δε τριτος οφ' ηελιος παντα
L. v. p. 304. Paris.

[a] Τρεις μεν τοις αρξουσι φαεσφορα τηρεσ[illegible]
L. viii. p. 367. Paris.

[b] Τρις δε τριηκοστις και τετρατεσσαρακοστα και [illegible]
Πληρασας χιλιαδας, δον σε διεσημηνε [illegible]
Μουνα, διαξομενη σεων αυτου σπερματος.
L. viii. p. 375. Paris.

I forbear to infiſt now on the ſentiments of the author concerning the Millennium, and other matters, which might ſhew the collection to be ancient, but do not prove it to be written in the ſecond century.

4. Theſe are things which have been already often urged by learned men in the diſpute about the Sibyls. I ſhall add one obſervation more, though perhaps not very material. The firſt Chriſtians lay under the calumny of practiſing promiſcuous lewdneſs, and other crimes, in their aſſemblies. It has been often ſuppoſed, that theſe calumnies aroſe from the licentious manners of thoſe called heretics. Euſebius [a] expreſsly ſays, that the impurities practiſed by the Valentinians, and other heretics, gave occaſion to the infidel Gentiles to reproach the Chriſtian religion, and all Chriſtians in general. But this was not ſo commonly ſaid, by the moſt early Chriſtian writers, to be the ground of theſe calumnies. Juſtin Martyr [d] freely owns, in his firſt Apology, that he 'did not know whether thoſe ſcandalous 'things, which the true Chriſtians were ſo commonly charged 'with, were done by the heretics or not:' and ſays it 'was the wickedneſs of the heathen which diſpoſed them to believe ſuch things of other people which they practiſed themſelves.' Tatian [e] and Theophilus [f] ſpeak of thoſe calumnies, without making the heretics the occaſion of them. Athenagoras [h], as well as Juſtin, ſays, the general wickedneſs of the heathen was the reaſon of their charging the Chriſtians as they did, though they were exemplarily virtuous. Juſt ſo the pretended Sibyl. The author deſcribing, as I apprehend, the ſect of the Chriſtians, writes to this purpoſe: Happy [i] are thoſe men, who praiſe 'the great God before they eat or drink, who ſhun temples and 'altars defiled with the blood of four-footed beaſts and other 'animals, and worſhip the one God; who commit no murder, 'nor theft, nor adultery, nor unnatural uncleanneſs: but the 'reſt of the world will not imitate their virtuous behaviour, but 'will ſcorn and jeer them, and falſely impute to them the 'crimes which they commit themſelves.' This is all he ſays of that matter, in perfect agreement with the forementioned early eccleſiaſtical writers.

[a] H. E. l. iv. c. 7. p. 100. D.
[b] . . . . . p. 70. B. C.
[c] . . . . . p. 71. A.
[d] p. 100. D.
[e] Apud Euſeb. hb. iii. p. 119. B. C.
[f] p. 127. A. [h] . . . . . ; . . . . . Legat. p. 310. C. D.
[i] . . . . . Καὶ μάλα μακρὸς ἀνὴρ
Ὃς τοῦ μακροτάτου, πάντων τε ἄνακτος,
Ἀθάνατον κλέος ἐσθλὸν ἔχει μετὰ μακρὸν ὄλεθρον,
Ὃς πρὶν μὲν γεύσασθαι ἐπιστήσῃ τε ποτοῖο,
Ὅσσα τε ἔρδουσι θνητοὶ ἀπὸ καὶ κακὰ ἔργα.
Lib. iv. p. 257. Paris. 1599. p. 1494. Orthodoxogr. Baſil. 1555.

Having shewn this collection to be, for the main part, a work of the second century, we are now to observe what use the author appears to have made of the books of the New Testament.

1.) In the first book, the Sibyl, or the author under her name, foretels the coming of Christ in this manner: 'Then 'shall come the Son of the great God, clothed in flesh, made 'like to men on earth. He hath in his name four vowels and 'two consonants;' that is, he shall be called IESOUS, according to the Greek writing of that name. Here is a reference to Matth. i. 21. The author says, Christ shall be 'clothed in 'flesh, and made like to men on earth.' There are so many texts of the New Testament to this purpose, that it is not easy to determine a particular reference to any of them; as John, i. 14. Rom. viii. 3. Gal. iv. 4. Heb. ii. 17. and many others.

2.) Afterwards: 'But [1] do you remember [that this is] Christ, 'the Son of the most high eternal God. He will fulfil the law of 'God, and not destroy it, bearing a complete resemblance, and 'will teach all things. To him shall come priests offering 'gold, and myrrh, and frankincense; for he will perform all 'these things. But when a certain voice shall come in the de-'sert, teaching men, and shall call to all to make straight paths, 'and to cleanse their hearts from all wickedness, and to be bap-'tized in water, that, being born again, they may no more 'practise unrighteousness; a man of a barbarous disposition 'shall cut it off, for the reward of a dance by which he has been 'ensnared. Then shall suddenly appear to men a great sign, 'when a fair stone shall come safely preserved from the land of 'Egypt. The Hebrew people shall stumble at him; but the 'Gentiles shall come to his doctrine, and through him know 'the most high God.'

Here is a reference to Matth. v. 17, '*Think not that I am come* '*to destroy the law or the prophets; I am not come to destroy, but* '*to fulfil*:' and to Matth. ii. 11, in what is said of the offering which should be brought to Christ. It is plain the author was acquainted with the first two chapters of St. Matthew. He afterwards seems to refer to our Saviour's flight into Egypt, and his preservation there from the designs of Herod, recorded like-

[1] Δὲ τὸν καὶ μεγάλου Θεοῦ παῖς ἐνθρωπίσας
Ἔσται σαρκοφόρος, θνητοῖς ὁμοιούμενος ἐπὶ γῆς.
Ἔστιν δ' ἐν πάσῃ φωνῇ τὰ δὶ ἀρχαῖα δὲ αὐτοῦ.

L. i. p. 184. Paris. p. 1473.

[1] L. i. Paris. p. 187. Orthod. p. 1474.

wise

wiſe in the ſecond chapter of the ſame goſpel. He alſo confirms the hiſtory of John the Baptiſt's preaching and death, which we have in our goſpels.

3.) He preſently proceeds to foretel or relate many of our Saviour's miracles, in this manner:

'And [m] then he will heal the diſeaſed and infirm, all whoſo-'ever believe in him: then the blind ſhall ſee, and the lame 'walk, and the deaf hear, and the dumb ſpeak. He will expel 'dæmons, and raiſe the dead; he will walk upon the waves; 'and, in a deſert place, with five loaves and ſea-fiſh abundantly 'ſatisfy five thouſand, and the fragments will fill five baſkets 'for the chaſte virgin.' But the people of Iſrael, he ſays, will not underſtand; 'but will ſtrike him with the hand, and ſpit 'upon him moſt offenſively, and give him impiouſly gall for his 'meat, and vinegar to drink..... But when he ſhall have 'ſtretched out his hands, and bore a crown of thorns, and his 'ſide has been pierced with a ſpear, for his ſake there will be 'the diſmal darkneſs of the night for three hours in the middle 'of the day. And then the temple of Solomon ſhall give to 'men a great ſign, when he ſhall go down to the grave, declar-'ing a reſurrection for the dead. Then ſhall he, in three days, 'return to the light, and ſhew to men that death is but a ſleep: 'and, having taught all things, he will aſcend to heaven upon 'the clouds.'

We ought to obſerve here, that where we read, in our collection, 'ſea-fiſh;' Lactantius ſeems [n] to have had in his copy 'two fiſh;' for ſo it is in his quotation from the Sibyl. And whereas afterwards, in our copies, we have 'for the chaſte virgin;' in Lactantius [o] it is 'for the hope' or encouragement 'of many.' And much to the ſame purpoſe, in the eighth book of our collection, where the ſame miracle is ſpoken of, it is 'for the hope 'of the people.' I do not ſtay to enquire the diſtinct meaning of this writer's obſcure expreſſions; but poſſibly in thoſe words 'for the hope of the people,' or 'of many,' he refers to the great ſatisfaction the people had in this miracle, which ſuited their deſire and expectation of a temporal kingdom: which is more particularly related by St. John than any other of the evangeliſts; inſomuch that they were coming to '*take him by force*, '*to make him a king*.' John, vi. 14, 15.

It is not neceſſary for me to refer here particularly to the ſeveral places of the goſpels, in which all theſe matters are related. Certainly what I have tranſcribed is ſufficient to ſatisfy every

[m] L. i. p. 187, 188. 191. Pariſ. [n] Και τχθυσσι δυσιν. Lact. Div. Inſt. l. iv. c. 15. p. 393. [o] Δαβιδικη σωτηριαν κηρυσσ' εις ελπιδα πολλων. Lact. ibid.

one, that it is from our goſpels theſe pretended prophecies are taken. Beſide the many miracles of our Saviour, here is an atteſtation of the wonders and ſigns attending our Saviour's crucifixion, recorded in our goſpels; as the rending of the vail of the temple, and the three hours darkneſs. The account of our Saviour's aſcenſion he could not take from St. Matthew or St. John, becauſe it is not mentioned by them; but probably from Mark, xvi. 19. or Luke, xxiv. 51.; and likewiſe from Acts, i. 9. where alone is mentioned the 'cloud, which received him out 'of their ſight.'

4.) This author has divers other expreſſions plainly taken from our goſpels. 'O bleſſed [p] ſervants,' ſays he, 'whom the 'Lord, when he comes, ſhall find watching; who always watch, 'expecting him with waking eyes; for he will come in the 'morning, or in the evening, or at noon.' He has here joined the texts of two evangeliſts, but it was not neceſſary for him to take the words exactly: '*Bleſſed are thoſe ſervants, whom* [illegible] '*Lord, when he cometh, ſhall find watching.* Luke, xii. 37. *Watch* '*ye therefore, for ye know not when the maſter of the houſe cometh,* '*at even, or at midnight, or at the cock crowing, or in the morn-*'*ing.*' Mark, xiii. 35.

5.) And ſoon after: 'Woe [q] to them who are with child in 'that day, and who give ſuck to infants, and that dwell near 'the ſea.' The two former of theſe expreſſions are in Matth. xxiv. 19. Mark, xiii. 17. Luke, xxi. 23. The laſt woe may be taken from Rev. xii. 12. '*Woe to the inhabitants of the earth* '*and of the ſea.*'

I ſhall put down an abſtract of ſome other paſſages, where he writes of our Saviour, as he has already done, with ſome additional particulars.

6.) In the ſixth book, which is very ſhort, he ſays: 'I ſing 'the great Son of the Eternal, waſhed in the river Jordan, on 'whom the gentle Spirit deſcended with the wings of a white 'dove..... He will teach men righteouſneſs; he will walk on 'the waves, deliver men from their diſeaſes, and raiſe the dead.' The writer then denounces ruin to the Jews, for having put on

p Ω μακαρες θεραποντες, οσους ελθων αγρυπνους
Ευρει ο δεσποζων τοι δ' αγρυπνοισιν οπαζες
Παντα παρεσδοκοωντες ακοιμητοις βλεφαροισιν.
Ηξει γαρ τ' ορθρου, η δειλης, η μεσου ημαρ.
L. ii. Pariſ. p. 199, 200. Orth. p. 1[illegible]

q Αι σποτιαι χειρι επι γηϊδι φοξηφιγγται
Ναιεμεν φωξ-βασιν, οσαι δε τε νηπια τεκνα
Γαλαδλιοισιν, οσαι δ' επι ρηγμασι ναιεσσιν.
L. ii. Pariſ. p. 200. Orth. p. 1[illegible]

him

him a 'crown of thorns,' and 'giving him gall to drink,' and crucifying him.

Fabricius [1] ought to be conſulted upon the beginning of this book, who has offered an emendation of the ordinary copies of our collection; and ſuppoſeth that to this place of the Sibyl Lactantius had an eye, when he ſays, 'The Spirit of God de-'ſcended upon him, in the ſhape of a white dove:' which ought, I think, to be reckoned an argument of the genuineneſs or antiquity of this part of our collection, and that it is, in the main, the ſame which was uſed by the fathers. The author took the baptiſm of our Saviour in Jordan, and the deſcent of the Spirit, from our goſpels; but the colour of the dove is an invention of his own. A man of his fancy could eaſily add a circumſtance for which there was no foundation, and he would make no ſcruple of ſo doing. It makes his work a little more poetical.

7.) In the eighth book, near the end, the author expreſsly names Mary the mother of our Lord, and the angel Gabriel; relates or foretels his viſit to her, her ſurprize and joy, and the nativity of our Lord at Bethlehem of a virgin mother: all manifeſtly taken from the firſt and ſecond chapters of St. Matthew, and the firſt of St. Luke.

8.) He goes on: 'When [2] this child was born, heaven, and 'earth, and the whole world rejoiced. The wondrous new ſtar 'that appeared was revered by the wiſe men; and the child, 'wrapped in ſwaddling clothes, was ſhewn to them in a manger, 'for their obedience to God. Bethlehem, the place of the na'tivity of the Word, is told to neatherds, goatherds, and ſhep'herds.' See Matth. ii. Luke, i. ii. St. Luke ſpeaks only of 'ſhepherds abiding in the field, keeping watch over their flocks 'by night.' It was eaſy to add to them the keepers of other ſorts of cattle.

9.) In the ſame eighth book is the largeſt and moſt particular account of our Saviour's miracles, and the extraordinary ſigns at his death, of which I ſhall alſo give ſome account.

'He [3] will do all things by his word, and heal every diſeaſe. He 'will calm the winds by a word, and compoſe the tempeſtuous

[1] Fabricius perbrevis, ſed in quo clariſſime agitur de Filii Dei baptiſmo ad Jordanem, Spiritu ei ſuperveniente. Locus corruptus forte ita reſtituendus:

Ἐν ποταμῷ ἐκ πηγῆς ἁγνῆς ἐπὶ σοῦ ἐμὲ καὶ τόδε
Πνεῦμα θεοπρεπὲς λευκῆς περιστερῆς εἴδει ἐπ' ἐμοί.

Huc videtur locus Lactantius, l. iv. cap. 15. 'Spiritus Dei defendit ſuper eum, 'ſpecie columbæ candidæ.' Fabr. ibid. p. 209.

[2] Καινοφανὴς δὲ μεγάλοις σέβας ἐστεφάνωτο ἀστήρ.
Σπαργανίοις δὲ βρέφος λευκοῖς ἐν τεύχεσι φάνη.
Καὶ ἀγέλαι καὶ βουκόλια ποίμνης θεσπεσίης ἐπέχθη
Βηθλεὲμ τε καὶ ποιμένας καὶ ποίμνιον ἄρσαι. L. viii. p. 400. Paris.

[3] L. viii. p. 384, 387, 388.

'sea, and by faith walk upon it. He will give his cheek to enve-
'nomed spittle, and his sacred back to stripes. . . . . He will be
'silent, when smitten on the cheek . . . . and will bear a crown
'of thorns. . . . He will feed, with five loaves and two fishes,
'five thousand in a desert place; and the fragments taken up
'will fill twelve baskets, for the hope of the people. And he will
'pronounce the souls blessed, that, when derided, return good
'for evil, who are beaten, whipped, and endure poverty. Know-
'ing all things, seeing and hearing all things, he will lay open
'the breasts of men. . . . . He who raised the dead, and healed
'all manner of diseases, will at last come into the hands of
'wicked and infidel men: and with impure hands they will
'strike God, and give him gall for his meat, and vinegar to
'drink. The vail of the temple will be rent, and at mid-day
'be the horrid darkness of the night for three hours.' He then says, he will be three days in the grave, and return to the light:
'and will be the first who shall shew to the called the begin-
'ning of the resurrection. . . . Then the Lord will first of all ap-
'pear to his own in the body, as he was before, and shew the
'four marks imprinted in his hands and his feet.'

10.) These things must be reckoned a confirmation of our gospels, and satisfy us that they were books used by Christian people, as containing an authentic history of Jesus Christ, his birth, preaching, miracles, sufferings, and resurrection.

The author has borrowed very little from the epistles; but he may be supposed indebted to the book of the Revelation for several things. However I shall not transcribe any thing of that kind: I content myself with having shewn a constant respect to our gospels, in these pretended predictions concerning Christ.

11.) But many of these things being so plainly taken from the books of the New Testament, perhaps some may suspect our present collection of Sibylline Oracles not to be genuine; that is, the same which was used by the ancient fathers: for how could any men take these for ancient predictions of the Sibyl, written before our Saviour's coming?

To which I answer, that the general character of the Sibylline Oracles, before taken from the fathers, gave us ground to expect as much. And a good part of these oracles, some of the plainest and most particular, those taken above from the eighth book of our collection, are still extant in [a] Lactantius, who flourished at the end of the third, and the beginning of the fourth century, quoted by him from the Sibyl in the original Greek. As it

[a] Vid. in primis, l. iv. c. 15. p. 397, 398, 399, et c. 18. p. 417. 419.

may

may be a ſatisfaction to ſome, I ſhall place in the margin a valuable paſſage of [w] St. Auguſtine, in which he gives at once a ſummary account (though it is not complete) of the teſtimonies alleged by Lactantius from the Sibyl. And that the Sibylline books, quoted by the ancient Chriſtian writers, contained plain and full teſtimonies to the Chriſtian ſentiments, may be concluded from the exceptions made to them all along by the heathen, as not being a genuine production of the ancient Sibyl. We have already taken notice of the paſſages of Celſus preſerved in Origen. We have likewiſe obſerved in (B) another place, from St. Clement of Alexandria, that theſe oracles were not then received by the heathen people.

Lactantius alſo, Conſtantine [x], St. [y] Auguſtine, and others, are witneſſes of this exception being made by the heathens of their times. I ſhall tranſlate only a ſhort paſſage of Lactantius. Having quoted the ſame oracles, before tranſlated by me from the eighth book of our collection, repreſenting Chriſt doing all things by his word, healing diſeaſes, calming the winds and the ſeas, feeding five thouſand in the deſert, and other miracles, he preſently adds: 'Confuted [z] by theſe teſtimonies, ſome are wont 'to take refuge by ſaying, that thoſe are not Sibylline Oracles, 'but forged and compoſed by our people.' He expected that this objection would be made to his quotations; and he knew it

[w] Inſerit etiam Lactantius operi ſuo quædam de Chriſto vaticinia Sibyllæ, quamvis non exprimat cujus. Sed quæ ſingillatim ipſe poſuit, ego arbitratus ſum conjunctim eſſe ponenda, tanquam unum carmen [carmen], quæ ille plura commemoravit et brevia.

'In manus iniquas,' inquit, 'infidelium 'perveniet, et dabunt Deo alapas ma'nibus inceſtis, et impurato ore expuent 'venenatos ſputus. Dabit vero ad ver'bera ſimpliciter ſanctum dorſum.'

'Et colaphos accipiens tacebit, ne quis 'cognoſcat quod verbum, vel unde venit 'ineffabilis loquatur; et corona ſpinea co'ronabitur.'

'Ad cibum autem fel, et ad ſitim ace'tum dederunt; inhoſpitalitatis hanc mon'ſtrabunt menſam.'

'Ipſe enim inſipiens gens tuum Deum 'non intellexiſti ludentem mortalium men'tes, ſed et ſpinis coronati, et horridum 'ad miſcuiſti.'

'Templi vero velum ſcindetur, et medio 'die nox erit tenebroſa nimis in tribus 'horis.'

'Et morte morietur tribus diebus ſom'nus occupato, et tunc ab inferis regreſſus 'ad lucem lætam veniet primus, reſur'rectionis principio vocatis oblenſo.'—Ita Lactantius carptim per intervalla diſputationis ſuæ, ſicut ea poſcere videbantur quæ probare intenderat, adhibuit teſtimonia Sibyllina; quæ nos, nihil interponentes, ſed in unam ſeriem connexa ponentes, ſolis capitibus diſtinguenda curavimus. Aug. de Civ. Dei, l. xviii. c. 23. Vid. Fabricius, ubi ſupra, p. 227. (B) p. 242, 243.

[x] Ad Sanctorum Cœtum, cap. 19.

[y] Niſi forte quis dixerit illas prophetias Chriſtianos finxiſſe de Chriſto, quæ Sibyllæ nomine, vel aliorum, proferuntur. Aug. de Civ. Dei, l. xviii. c. 46. Sed quæcunque aliorum prophetiæ de Dei per Chriſtum Jeſum gratia proferuntur, poſſunt putari a Chriſtianis eſſe confictæ. Ideo nihil eſt firmius ad convincendos quoſlibet alienos, ſi de hac re contenderint, noſtroſque fulciendos, ſi recte ſapuerint, quam ut divina prædicta ea proferantur, quæ in Judæorum ſcripta ſint codicibus. Ib. c. 47.

[z] His teſtimoniis quidam victi, ſolent eo confugere, ut dicant, non eſſe illa carmina Sibyllina, ſed a noſtris conficta atque compoſita. Lact. l. iv. c. 15.

to

to have been made before. 'They are wont,' he says, to betake themselves to this refuge.

These things are well known to the learned: I mention them only for the sake of those of my readers who need information, and may be glad of it.

Mr. Whiston, who [a] asserts that 'the present copy of the 'Sibylline Oracles, as they are now extant, in eight entire books, 'is not, in general, the same with that which was extant before, 'and at the first times of Christianity, but very different from 'it,' says [b] likewise: 'The present spurious additions to the ge-'nuine Sibylline Oracles may be in some measure traced up to 'the middle of the second century itself.' This is granting all we want at present.

We have then probable evidence that the whole, or a large part, of our present collection was in being in the second century; and certain evidence from Lactantius of its being composed before the end of the third century.

12.) Whatever was the particular view of the author in composing this work, and however improperly some ancient writers have produced testimonies from it in their defences of the Christian religion, it is now of use to us, as it affords an argument that our gospels were extant, and in much repute, in the author's time. He is to be blamed for assuming the character of a Sibyl. However, intending to compose a work in a prophetical style, and therein to represent, among other things, many particulars relating to our Saviour and his doctrine; he takes for his guides the historical books of the New Testament, and follows them throughout, with very little variation; excepting only what was needful, or agreeable, when they were to be turned into verse. And if he had been pleased to write a pretended prophecy, describing enigmatically the several books of the New Testament received in his time, as he has described the Roman emperors from Julius Cæsar to Adrian, it might be very acceptable.

III. There is also a book called THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS, 'the sons of Jacob, delivered to their 'sons;' in which those patriarchs are introduced speaking their last dying words, containing predictions of things future, and rules of virtue and piety; which they deliver to their sons as a choice treasure, to be carefully preserved, and to be delivered by them to their children.

There have been long since several editions of these Testa-

[a] A Vindication of the Sibylline Oracles, p. 36. [b] Ib. p. 49.

ments

ments in Latin: but Grabe [c] first published them in Greek from [d] some manuscripts in our Universities; and from his edition they have been re-published by [e] Fabricius. Since which [f] Mr. Whiston has given the public (A) an English translation of them.

Cave, in the first part [g] of his Historia Literaria, places the anonymous author of this book at the year 192; but in the second part of [h] that work he appears inclined to think, he wrote nearer the beginning of the second century. It is generally concluded, that these Testaments were composed before the time of Origen; because he quotes a book with that title in one of his Homilies upon the book of Joshua, which we now have only in a Latin version. 'We [i] find also,' says he, 'the like sentiment in 'a little book called the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, 'though it is not in the canon.' It has been thought that this book was cited by Origen more than once; but Grabe [k] has shewn this to be the only quotation of it in that father. And there are scarce two or three [l] other quotations of this work, in all the Christian writers, for the space of seven or eight hundred years. Jerom seems to intend it among others, when he says, 'there [m] had been forged revelations of all the patriarchs and 'prophets.'

Cave thinks it not unlikely that the author was a Judaizing Christian. Dodwell was of the same opinion, as we are assured by Grabe; but he supposed them composed before the end of the first century. Grabe thinks [n] rather, that they were written by some Jew before our Saviour's coming, and were afterwards interpolated in some places by a Christian. But Mr. Whiston asserts, that 'the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs are really

[c] Spicil. Patr. T. i. p. 129.
[d] Ibid. p. 144, 336. [e] Cod. Apocr. V. T. 1713. p. 496.
[f] Authentic Records, P. i. p. 294, &c.
(A) I have made considerable use of his translation in my extracts, though I have not always followed it exactly.
[g] p. 52. [h] p. 29. [i] Sed et in quodam libello, qui appellatur Testamentum Duodecim Patriarcharum, qui non habeatur in canone, talem quoque sensum invenimus, quod peccantes singuli Satanæ instigent. Homil. xv. in Josuam, p. 151. Vid. Testamentum Ruben. § 3.
[k] Spicil. ib. p. 131, 132.
[l] Vid. Grabe, ib. p. 134, &c. 335. 336. Whiston's Authentic Records, vol. i. p. 439—441.
[m] Et si tibi placuerit, legito fictas revelationes omnium patriarcharum et prophetarum. Adv. Vigilantium. Hieron. Op. T. iv. P. 2. p. 284.
[n] Judæus an Christianus fuerit auctor, haud liquido constat; Judæum tamen Christianus, quales illo avo non pauci extiterunt. Hist. Lit. P. 1. p. 52. Quin opus sit cujusdam Judaizantis Christiani dubitari nequit, cum omni fere pagina ineptissatis aliquid de Christo ingerit. Hist. L. P. 2. p. 29. [o] Spicil. ib. p. 132, 133. [p] Atque hæc fere sunt, quæ cuipiam persuadere possent, Testamenta XII. Patriarcharum a Judæo ante Christum natum literis consignata, posthæc autem a Christiano hinc inde interpolata esse. Ib. p. 140. [q] Authentic Records, p. 410.

'genuine,

'genuine, and one of the ſacred apocryphal or concealed books 'of the Old Teſtament.'

Grabe ſuppoſes that this book was written in Hebrew. But of this there is no credible teſtimony: for that learned man does not [r] rely upon the ſtory, that it was tranſlated into Greek by St. Chryſoſtom. I think it might be written in Greek, though the author was a Jew.

I do not very well know what Cave means, when he ſays this book was written by a Judaizing Chriſtian. If thereby he means only a Jew converted to Chriſtianity, I am not unwilling to aſſent to him, though I do not look upon that as a clear point. But if he means an imperfect Chriſtian, or one who joins the law with the goſpel, as neceſſary to men's acceptance with God, I ſee no ſigns of it in this work. For here is very frequent mention of the ſhare which the Gentiles ſhould have in the ſalvation by the Meſſiah, without any hints of their complying with the law of Moſes. The diſperſion and captivity of the Jews, as puniſhments of their unrighteous treatment of Chriſt, are much inſiſted upon. And St. Paul's is a favourite character in this book, who is ſuppoſed to have been quite rejected by thoſe Chriſtians that judaized. I ſhall have occaſion to take paſſages enough to ſet this matter in a full light.

Henry Wharton, who thought [s] this work an impoſture, and that the author was a Chriſtian, is not poſitive that he was a Jew.

Beauſobre, in his late learned [t] work, 'The Critical Hiſtory of Mani and Manichæiſm,' delivers his judgment on this book, and the author, after this manner: That it was forged at the end of the firſt, or the beginning of the ſecond century, by ſome Chriſtian converted from Judaiſm: and he ſuſpects that the author of the Twelve Teſtaments was an Ebionite, and that he believed Jeſus to be the ſon of Joſeph and Mary—one of the tribe of Judah, and the other of the tribe of Levi; which he thought neceſſary to entitle him to the prieſthood and the kingdom. It is true, ſays he, that the titles of 'God' and the 'Great God,' which are given to Chriſt in this book, are not agreeable to the ſtyle nor the faith of the Ebionites. But it can hardly be doubted, that they have been added by the Greek tranſlator; for there is good reaſon to believe that the original was Hebrew.

[r] Vid. Spicileg. p. 143. [s] Chriſtianum fuiſſe compertum eſt . . . . quidem Judaicam præ ſe fert impoſtor, ut exinde Judæis fucum pia fraude faceret . . . . Auctarium Uſſerii de Scripturis et ſacris Vernaculis, cap. ii. p. 321, 322.

[t] L. ii. ch. 2. § 5. T. i. p. 354, 355.

I have ſpoken already to ſeveral of theſe points. But I do not ſee how it is conſiſtent with Ebionitiſm to ſpeak of St. Paul as this writer does, not to mention other things. Whether the author thought Jeſus to be the ſon of Joſeph and Mary, may be queſtioned. The following extracts may be of uſe to clear up this difficulty. I ſee no good reaſon to think that the titles of 'God' and 'Great God,' given to Chriſt, have been interpolated. The work is all of a piece, and the ſame ſtyle runs through the ſeveral Teſtaments. But yet it may be queſtioned, whether the author did not ſo far agree with the Ebionites, as to be an Unitarian. I ſhall put down likewiſe paſſages enough of this book concerning our Lord's deity and humanity, or the preſence of the Divine Being with the Meſſiah, to enable every one to judge of this matter. And if in theſe places the author appears an Unitarian, there will be the leſs reaſon to ſuppoſe them interpolations.

It appears to me very evident, that theſe Teſtaments are not the real laſt words of the Twelve Patriarchs. The clear knowledge of Chriſtian affairs and principles, ſhews this book to have been written, or elſe very much interpolated, after the publication of the Chriſtian religion. But, ſetting aſide for the preſent the conſideration of that matter, if theſe Teſtaments are not really genuine, they are an impoſture. Some apocryphal books of the Jews might be written after thoſe in their canon, without being liable to ſuch a charge. But theſe are genuine, or they are forged with a view of impoſing on mankind: for the author frequently alludes to the books of the Jewiſh canon, or takes thence expreſſions and paſſages without ever acknowledging it. And the better to ſupport the character of that early age, the time of theſe patriarchs, though he knows every thing in the Old Teſtament as well as they who have that whole volume before them, he quotes only 'the Scripture of Enoch, the Ta-'bles of Heaven' [if [a] thereby he means any book at all], and 'the [b] Scripture of our Fathers;' intending probably the forementioned ſcripture or prophecy of Enoch.

I ſhall give ſome inſtances of this proceeding. Teſtament of Zabulon, § 3. 'For which cauſe it was written in the ſcrip-'ture of the law of Enoch, that he who will not raiſe up ſeed 'to his brother, his ſhoe ſhall be looſed, and they ſhall ſpit in 'his face.' Which expreſſions ſeem to be taken from Deut.

[a] Vid. Grabe Spicileg. T. i. p. 338, &c. Fabric. Cod. Pſeud. pigr. V. T. p. 559. and Mr. Whiſton's Collection of Authentic Records, vol. i. p. 293.

[b] Ἐν γραφαῖς πατέρων ἡμῶν. Zabulon. Test. § 9.

xxv. 7, 8, 9. Levi, § 18. 'The Lord will raise up a new priest, 'to whom all the words of the Lord shall be revealed, and he shall 'make the judgment of truth in the fulness of days .... and the 'earth shall be glad, and the clouds shall rejoice, and the know-'ledge of the Lord shall be poured out upon the earth, as the 'water of the seas.' These things appear to me plainly borrowed from Isa. xi. 2—9. See also Habak. ii. 14. Reuben says, § 1. 'I drank no wine, nor strong drink, and no flesh came within 'my mouth. I tasted not any pleasant bread, but mourned for 'my sin.' Which are the words of Daniel, a little transposed, according to the custom of allusions or loose quotations. See Daniel, ch. x. 2, 3. Judah, § 24. 'And a man shall be raised 'up of thy seed, as a son of righteousness.' Zabulon, § 9. 'And after these things, the Lord himself, the light of right-'eousness, will arise to you, and there will be healing and com-'miseration under his wings.' Which expressions, and characters of the Messiah, are plainly taken from Malachi, iv. 2. In the Testament of Judah, § 24, the Messiah is spoken of as the 'Branch of the Most High God;' as in Zacharias, iii. 8. vi. 12.

And when the author delivers somewhat very unlikely to be known but from the books of the Old Testament; that he may the better prevent the suspicion of his borrowing from them, he usually takes care to mention particularly the prophecy of Enoch, or some such writing. Thus Test. Naphthali, § 4. 'I say this, my sons, because I know, by the holy 'scripture of Enoch, that you will yourselves also depart from 'the Lord.' And Levi, § 10. 'For the house which the 'Lord will choose shall be called Jerusalem, as is contained in 'the book of Enoch the righteous.' This is more than Moses appears to have known: and it is very unlikely that Levi should be acquainted, so long beforehand, with the name of the place which God would choose. The author undoubtedly knew this the same way that we do; but, the better to blind the eyes of men, Levi is made to say, that this is 'contained in the book 'of Enoch.'

Indeed Mr. Whiston[y] says: 'Though it be usually taken 'for granted, that the author of these Testaments wrote after the 'known books of the Old and New Testament, and so took 'these notions and language thence; yet, since all the real evi-'dence is on the other side, that these Testaments are the older, 'it is most reasonable to suppose that the writers of the Old

[y] Authentic Records, P. i. p. 432.

'and

'and New Teſtament did, *vice verſâ*, allude to theſe Teſta-'ments of the Twelve Patriarchs.' How can any man ſay this, that 'all the real evidence is on the other ſide?' Not to inſiſt now on the New Teſtament, how can any man ſay this with regard to the Old? Are there as many ancient teſtimonies to theſe Teſtaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, that they were written before the coming of Chriſt, as there are to the books of the Jewiſh canon? There is no evidence of that early age, worth conſidering, beſide the pretenſions of the book itſelf; which are of little moment, unleſs they were better ſupported by external evidence than they are.

Again, Mr. Whiſton [z] ſays: 'Nor are the particulars thus 'declared, eſpecially thoſe in the Teſtament of Levi, at all 'unworthy either of Abraham, Iſaac, or Jacob; nor indeed at 'all inferior, in their importance, to any parallel parts of the 'canonical ſcriptures of the Old Teſtament.' I perceive nothing of importance in this obſervation. All this is very likely, upon the common ſuppoſition of learned men, that this book was compoſed after the coming of Chriſt. A man acquainted with all the revelations of God in the Old Teſtament, may well write ſome things not unworthy of thoſe three ancient patriarchs; and may rehearſe, if he thinks fit, in a prophetical ſtyle, every thing contained in the canonical ſcriptures of the Old Teſtament, and put it in the mouth of whom he pleaſes. A man inſtructed in the goſpel revelation may eaſily write in the like manner: and if he ſhould take advantage from later events and diſcoveries, and ſhould clothe all his knowledge of facts and principles in prophetical language, he may declare things which thoſe holy men never knew; ſuch things as many prophets and righteous men deſired indeed to ſee, but did not ſee them; and to hear, but did not hear them.

But though here are many things not unworthy of thoſe patriarchs, and a knowledge of future events vaſtly beyond what they really had, and ſeveral [a] fine paſſages which it would be a pleaſure to me to tranſcribe, if I had room; yet here are alſo ſome things [b] unſuitable to the ſolemnity of a dying hour, and laſting admonitions: particularly, in the Teſtament of Joſeph, whom we know to have been a wiſe and excellent man, there are ſome things not [c] altogether becoming the gravity of that patriarch. However, this is not mentioned as a matter of any great conſequence: for I do not ſuppoſe that the virtue of any

[z] P. 412. [a] See the Teſtament of Gad, § 4. Aſher, § 2. [b] Reuben, § 12. [c] Joſeph, § 9.

of

of those ancient Hebrews was complete, according to the Christian rule.

Upon the whole, I see nothing in this work but what might be written by a learned Jew of the second century, or later; though whether the author was a Jew, or a Gentile, I cannot say: I think he was a Christian, and well versed in the Jewish learning. Nor do I pretend to determine the age of the anonymous author of the Twelve Testaments. I am of opinion, however, that he is placed early enough by Cave, in the first part of his Historia Literaria, at the year 192.

As I do not intend to take any farther notice of this book in any other part of this work, if I can avoid it, I shall now transcribe, beside allusions to the books of the New Testament, several passages relating to some material facts of the gospel history; and likewise concerning our blessed Lord, the promised Messiah; containing this author's character of his person, and description of his circumstances in this world. If any are pleased to consider them as real prophecies of the Messiah, delivered before his coming, they will be a confirmation of the Christian religion, so far as our Lord answered those prophetical characters. Take them to be representations of things already done, composed afterwards in a prophetical style, and they shew the belief and sentiments of Christians, of some at least.

1. The Testament of Simeon, § 7. 'For [d] the Lord shall 'raise up out of Levi an high priest, and out of Judah a king, 'God and man. So he will save all the Gentiles, and the stock 'of Israel.'

By the 'high priest' may be intended John the Baptist, who was of the tribe of Levi, and of the race of the Jewish priests. Luke, i. The 'king out of Judah' is plainly our blessed Saviour. So this place is understood by Mr. Whiston. Some [e] other learned men think, the 'high priest out of Levi,' and the 'king 'out of Judah,' to be one and the same person, Jesus the Messiah, in whom the priesthood and the kingdom were united: and that it was this author's opinion, that Jesus was of the tribe of Levi by Mary, and of the tribe of Judah by Joseph. I cannot determine what is the intention of this passage; though I rather incline to the sense last mentioned, so far as to think one person only is spoken of. And there are several other passages, that may induce us to suppose the author reckoned the Messiah

d Ἀναστήσει γὰρ Κύριος ἐκ τοῦ Λευὶ ἀρχιερέα, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Ἰούδα βασιλέα, Θεὸν καὶ ἄνθρωπον.

e Vid Henric. Wharton. Auctar. Usserii, p. 322. Beausobre, Histoire de Manichée, [illegible] ch. 2. § 5.

to

to be of both theſe tribes. But yet I think it does not follow, that he believed Jeſus to be the ſon of Joſeph and Mary: for he might ſuppoſe him to be of the tribe of Levi by his mother Mary, and of the tribe of Judah by his legal and reputed father Joſeph.

2. Gad, § 8. 'But do you yourſelves tell this to your ſons, 'that they are to honour Judah and Levi: for out of them the 'Lord will ariſe to you a Saviour to Iſrael.' See, to the like purpoſe, Teſt. of Dan, § 5.

3. Joſeph, § 19. 'Do you therefore, my ſons, keep the commandments of the Lord, and honour Judah and Levi: for 'out of them ſhall ariſe to you the Lamb of God, by grace 'ſaving all the Gentiles and Iſrael.'

I ſhall put in the margin [c] a paſſage, ſuppoſed to be Origen's. The learned reader will be pleaſed to conſider whether it ſerves to give light to theſe, or any other paſſages of our Teſtaments.

4. Levi, § 2. Levi ſays, he had been told by an angel: 'For 'thou ſhalt ſtand near to the Lord, and ſhalt be his miniſter, 'and thou ſhalt declare his myſteries to men, and ſhalt preach 'concerning the future redemption of Iſrael [this may be 'John the Baptiſt]; and by thee and Judah the Lord ſhall be 'ſeen among men, ſaving by them [that is, by John the Baptiſt and Chriſt] all mankind.'

If here is no reference to John the Baptiſt, but only to our Saviour, the author may be ſuppoſed to ſay, that God would ſave mankind by thoſe two tribes, inaſmuch as the Meſſiah would be of both of them, or ſome way in a more eſpecial manner allied to them. However, it does by no means appear plain to me, that the writer believed Jeſus Chriſt to be born of Joſeph and Mary. The expreſſions are ambiguous, and capable of other ſenſes, and therefore the meaning of them muſt be doubtful. Perhaps one reaſon of inſiſting ſo much on theſe two tribes was, becauſe, at the time of the coming of the Meſſiah, the land of Judea was chiefly inhabited by them, together with the tribe of Benjamin. It is obſervable, that in the Old Teſtament the intereſts of the family of David (out of which the Meſſiah was to ariſe), and the tribe of Levi, are cloſely conjoined. Jer. xxxiii. 20, 21, 22. Nay, it may be queſtioned whether this author does not mean Mary by the (B) 'Virgin born

[c] ... ἐκ τῶν δύο τούτων φυλῶν γεγεννῆσθαι.] Ἡ μητρὸς αὐτοῦ ἔφασκε, ἐκ τῆς Ἰούδα καὶ ... ἐπιδημίαν, ἀπὸ τῆς φυλῆς τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ ἐπόνθει, ... ἐκ τῶν ... ἐρχόμενον, ... ἐκ τῆς ... ἀπὸ τῆς ταχθείσης γενεαλογίας. Orig. Scholia in Num. ... 6. T. II. ... Ed. Bened. (B) See Num. 3.

of Judah,' in a place to be produced hereafter. In the mean time I put down in the margin ſome (c) other paſſages, which may be of uſe in this enquiry.

5. Levi, § 4. The angel proceeds in his diſcoveries to Levi; 'Know ye, therefore, that the Lord will execute judgment upon the ſons of men, when the rocks ſhall be rent, and the ſun be extinguiſhed, and the waters be dried up, and the fire ſhall make a trembling, and the inviſible ſpirits ſhall melt away, and Hades [g] be deſpoiled at the paſſion of the Moſt High; and men ſhall ſtill be unbelieving, and continue in their unrighteouſneſs. For this reaſon ſhall they be adjudged to puniſhment.'

Surely here is a reference to Matth. xxvii. 51—53, and to the following conduct of the unbelieving Jews, as deſcribed in the New Teſtament. The author mentions ſome things not particularly related in the goſpels, 'the drying up of waters,' and 'the trembling of the fire:' but ſuch things may be well ſuppoſed concomitants of an earthquake, and an extinction, or extraordinary eclipſe, of the ſun.

6. Levi, § 4. The angel preſently adds: 'Thou ſhalt be a luminary to illuminate the poſterity of Jacob.... until the Lord viſit all the Gentiles in the bowels of his Son for ever. However, thy ſons [h] will lay hands upon him to crucify him.'

This is not a real prophecy, that the Jewiſh prieſts would be

(c) Teſtament of Reuben, § 6. 'For the Lord has given the principality to Levi and to Judah.' Levi is preferred to Judah, Teſt. Iſachar, § 5. Dan, § 5. And in Judah, § 21, are theſe words: 'And now, my ſons, love Levi.... for the Lord has given the kingdom to me, and to him the prieſthood, and has ſubjected the kingdom to the prieſthood. To me he has given the things on the earth, to him the things in heaven. As heaven is ſuperior to the earth, ſo is the prieſthood of God ſuperior to the earthly kingdom [or kingdom upon earth]. In Judah, § 25, Levi is preferred to Judah. Once more Naphtali, § 5. 'For in the fortieth year of my life I ſaw in a dream, in the Mountains of Olives, on the eaſt of Jeruſalem [by the way, this is not likely to have been ſpoken by Naphtali] that the ſun and the moon ſtood ſtill. And behold, I, and my father's father ſaid to us, Run, every one of you, and catch them according to your abilities, and the ſun and the moon ſhall be to him that catcheth them. And we all ran together; and Levi caught the ſun, and Judah made haſte and caught the moon. And Levi appeared as the ſun.... Judah was ſplendid as the moon.' In this preference be given by the writer to the [illegible] of Levi above that of Judah, upon [illegible] of Chriſt's birth of Mary, whom he ſuppoſed to be of the tribe of Levi, to whom tribe therefore heavenly things appertained; it is an argument that he did not ſuppoſe Joſeph, who was certainly of the tribe of Judah, to be the real father of Chriſt: for if ſo, Judah would have been at leaſt equal to Levi. I would juſt obſerve, that whatever is the deſign of this preference of Levi, the author ſuppoſes the eternal kingdom to belong to Judah. Teſtament of Judah, § 22. and in Levi, § 8, it is ſaid: 'A king ſhall be raiſed out of Judah, and ſhall ordain a new prieſthood.'

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the chief inſtruments of the crucifixion of the Meſſiah, before the manifeſtation of God's gracious purpoſes to the Gentile world; but it is a juſt and true repreſentation of matters of fact.

7. Levi, § 10. Beſide other things relating to the goſpel diſpenſation, Levi ſays to his ſons: 'I am innocent of all your 'impiety and tranſgreſſion, which you will be guilty of in the 'conſummation of the ages, in dealing impiouſly with the Sa-'viour of the world. . . . And you will tranſgreſs together with 'Iſrael, inſomuch that Jeruſalem will not be able to ſupport 'itſelf before the face of your wickedneſs. Nay, the veil of 'the temple will be rent, and will not cover your ſhame. And 'you ſhall be ſcattered among the Gentiles, and you ſhall be for 'a reproach, and a curſe, and a conculcation.'

This is no real prophecy, at leaſt not delivered before the building of Jeruſalem, as is pretended, but probably written after the deſtruction of it by Titus. Nor is the compoſer of this book, whenever he lived, a Judaizer.

8. Levi, § 14. Still Levi ſays: 'And now, my ſons, I know, 'from the ſcripture of Enoch, that in the end you will act im-'piouſly, laying hands upon the Lord in all wickedneſs. And 'your brethren will be aſhamed of you, and you will be a de-'riſion to all the Gentiles. But our father Iſrael [1] is pure from 'the impiety of the high prieſts, who will lay their hands upon 'the Saviour of the world.' At § 15, he declares, 'For theſe 'cauſes that very temple which the Lord ſhall chuſe ſhall be-'come deſolate.

9. I ſhall take one paſſage more, repreſenting ſtrongly the ſtate of the Jews and the Gentiles under the Meſſiah. Levi, § 18. 'And under his prieſthood the Gentiles ſhall be multiplied in 'knowledge upon the earth, and ſhall be illuminated by the 'grace of the Lord. But Iſrael ſhall be made little by their 'ignorance, and ſhall be darkened by their ſorrow.'

The character of the Meſſiah, together with ſome other matters, is repreſented in the following paſſages.

10. Levi, § 18. 'And then will the Lord raiſe up a new 'prieſt, to whom all the words of the Lord will be revealed. 'And he ſhall make the judgment of truth upon the earth in 'the fulneſs of days. And his ſtar ſhall ariſe in heaven as a 'king, affording light, the light of knowledge, above the ſun in 'the day time: and he ſhall be magnified in the whole world, until his aſſumption.'

[1] Καθαρος εστιν απο της ασεβειας των αρχιερεων, οιτινες επιβαλουσι τας χειρας [illegible] επι τον Σωτηρα [illegible].

Here seems to be a reference to Matth. ii. 2, as well as a general description of our Lord's ministry.

11. Levi, § 18. 'The heavens shall be opened, and out of 'the temple of glory shall the sanctification come upon him, 'with the voice of the Father, as [it came] unto Abraham, 'the father of Isaac.' See Matth. iii. 16, 17.

12. Judah, § 24. 'And after this,' says Judah to his sons, 'a star shall arise to you out of Jacob, in peace: and a man shall 'be raised up out of thy seed, as a sun of righteousness, 'conversing with the sons of men in meekness and righteousness, 'and no sin shall be found in him. And the heaven shall be 'opened upon him, to pour out the spirit, the blessing of 'his Holy Father. And he himself shall pour the spirit of 'grace upon you, and ye shall be to him sons in truth.' Numb. xxiv. 17. See again, Matth. iii. 16, 17. and Acts, ii.

13. Zabulon, § 9. 'And [k] after these things * the Lord 'himself, the light of righteousness, will arise to you, and the 'will be healing and commiseration under his wings. He 'himself will redeem all the captivity of the sons of men 'from Beliar. And every spirit of error shall be trodden down. 'And he shall convert all the Gentiles to have a zeal for him. 'and ye [l] shall see God in the form of man, in Jerusalem, which 'the Lord will so name. And again you will provoke 'him to anger with the wickedness of your words, and 'ye shall be cast away till the time of the consummation.' Mal. iv. 2.

14. Naphtali, § 8. 'Do you therefore also charge your 'sons that they be united to Levi, and to Judah; for through 'Judah shall salvation arise to Israel, and in him shall Jacob 'be blessed. For by his [m] tribe [or 'sceptre'] shall God ap- 'pear inhabiting among men upon the earth, to save the flock 'of Israel. And he will gather together the righteous of the 'Gentiles.'

15. Benjamin, § 10. 'Then shall we also rise again, every 'one upon our sceptre, adoring [n] the King of the heavens, 'who appeared upon earth in the form of man's humiliation '[or, 'in the form of a man of humiliation']. And as many 'as have believed on him upon earth, shall rejoice together 'with him. At which time all men shall rise again, some to 'glory, and others to disgrace. And the Lord will judge Is-

[k] Και μετα ταυτα ανατελει υμιν αυτος Κυριος ο Δικαιοσυνη. * Or, 'The Lord 'will raise up the light of righteousness.' So Mr. Whiston. [l] Και οψεσθε τον θεον εν σχηματι ανθρωπου. [m] Δια γαρ του σκηπτρου αυτου εφανη ο θεος, ανθρωπινως συν- αγελων. [n] Μετανοησαντες τον θεον του ουρανου, τον επι γης ανθρωπινα ταπεινωσαντα.

'in the firſt place, on [o] account of their injuſtice to him; be-
'cauſe they did not believe in God, when he came as their de-
'liverer in the fleſh.'

16. Simeon, § 6. 'Then ſhall Sem be glorified, when [p] the
'Lord, the great God of Iſrael, ſhall appear upon earth as a
'man, and ſhall ſave Adam by himſelf.... Then ſhall I riſe
'again with gladneſs, and ſhall bleſs the Moſt High for his
'wonderful works, becauſe [q] God, taking a body, and eating
'with them, hath ſaved them.'

17. Aſer, § 7. '... until [r] the Moſt High ſhall viſit the
'earth, and he himſelf ſhall come as a man, eating and drinking
'with men, and in ſilence bruiſing the head of the dragon by
'water. He ſhall ſave Iſrael and all the Gentiles.'

18. Levi, § 16. 'And now I know, by the book of Enoch,
'.... that you will deſpiſe the words of the prophets, and in
'your perverſeneſs you will perſecute righteous man, and hate
'the holy: you will abominate the words of thoſe that ſpeak
'truth; and [s] you will declare that man, who renews the law in
'the power of the Moſt High, a deceiver: and in the end, as
'you ſuppoſe, you will kill him, not knowing his reſurrection,
'and by malice will bring innocent blood upon your heads.
'And for his ſake your holy places will become deſolate, being
'profaned to the foundation.' And more to the ſame purpoſe.
One can hardly help thinking, that this pretended ancient
prophecy is founded upon the event, and Matth. xxiii. 34, to
the end.

The following paſſages I put down, as containing alluſions or
references to the books of the New Teſtament.

19. Dan, § 6. 'His name in every place of Iſrael, and
'among the Gentiles, ſhall be the Saviour.' See Matth. i. 21.

20. Joſeph, § 3. 'I therefore called to mind the words of
'the fathers of my father Jacob: and [t] entering into my cloſet,
'I prayed to the Lord.' Matth. vi. 6.

One would think that the author, when he wrote this, was
afraid he ſhould be ſuſpected of borrowing from St. Matthew's
goſpel, or ſome late direction conformable to it. Joſeph
therefore is made to ſay, he recollected 'the words of his
'fathers.'

21. Joſeph, § 1, ſays to his ſons: 'I was ſold for a ſervant,

[o] Ὅτι ἐν τῇ ἀδικίᾳ αὐτῶν, ὅτι ἐπίστευσαν τῷ Θεῷ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ἐπιστρέφοντι τὴν ἀπείθειαν αὐτῶν, ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ αὐτῶν.

[p] Ὅτε ἔσται ὁ κύριος ὁ μέγας τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ, ὀφθήσεται ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ὡς ἄνθρωπος, καὶ σώσει πάντας ἀνθρώπους, καὶ ἀναστήσω ἐγὼ ἐν εὐφροσύνῃ, καὶ εὐλογήσω τὸν ὕψιστον ἐπὶ τοῖς θαυμασίοις αὐτοῦ, ὅτι θεὸς ἐν σώματι, καὶ συνεσθίων αὐτοῖς, ἔσωσεν αὐτούς.

[q] Ὅτε ἔσται ὁ ὕψιστος ἐπισκοπὴ τῆς γῆς, καὶ αὐτὸς ἔσται ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ὡς ἄνθρωπος, συνεσθίων καὶ συμπίνων μετὰ ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ συντρίβων τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ δράκοντος ἐν τῷ ὕδατι. Αὐτὸς σώσει τὸν Ἰσραὴλ καὶ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη.

[r] Ἕως ὁ ὕψιστος

'and God made me free; I was taken as a captive, and his 'ſtrong hand helped me . . . . . I was in weakneſs, and the Moſt 'High viſited me: I was in priſon, and my Saviour dealt gra- 'ciouſly with me; under falſe accuſations, and he pleaded for 'me.' See Matth. xxv. 35, 36.

In ſeveral of the paſſages before alleged are references to ſome parts of this goſpel. See Numb. 5. 11, 12. 18.

22. Judah, § 25, propheſying of Chriſt, ſays: 'And they that 'died in ſorrow ſhall riſe again in joy; and they that were in 'poverty for the Lord's ſake ſhall be made rich; and they that 'were in want ſhall be filled; and they that were in weakneſs 'ſhall be made ſtrong; and they that have died for the Lord 'ſhall be awakened in life. . . . . But the impious ſhall mourn, 'and the ſinner ſhall weep.'

I ſuppoſe that theſe things are borrowed chiefly from Matth. v. at the beginning; and Luke, vi. 20—25.

23. Levi, § 18, propheſying of Chriſt, ſays: 'And Beliar 'ſhall be bound by him, and he [u] ſhall give power to his chil- 'dren to tread upon the wicked ſpirits.' See Luke, x. 18, 19.

24. Gad, § 6. 'And if any one ſin againſt thee, ſpeak to 'him peaceably; . . . . . and [x] if he confeſs his fault, forgive 'him.' See Luke, xvii. 3, 4.

25. Joſeph, § 17, ſays to his ſons: 'Nor did I arrogantly ex- 'alt myſelf among them [my brethren] on account of my 'worldly glory, but I was among them as one of the leaſt of 'them.' See Luke, xxii. 27.

26. Levi, § 5. 'And the angel opened to me the gate 'of heaven, and I ſaw the holy temple, and the Moſt High 'upon the throne of glory. And he ſaid unto me, Levi, to thee 'have I given the bleſſings of prieſthood, until I come 'and inhabit in the midſt of Iſrael.' See John, i. 11. 14.

27. Benjamin, § 3, ſays, that Joſeph entreated Jacob to pray for his brethren, that the Lord would not impute to them what they had wickedly contrived againſt him. 'Whereupon Jacob 'cried out, O my good ſon Joſeph, ... the prophecy of 'heaven, concerning the Lamb of God and Saviour of the 'World, ſhall be fulfilled in thee: for the ſpotleſs one ſhall be 'delivered up for tranſgreſſors, and the ſinleſs one ſhall die for 'the impious, in the blood of the covenant, for the ſalvation of 'Iſrael and of all the Gentiles. And he ſhall deſtroy Beliar, 'and thoſe that miniſter unto him.' See John, i. 29. '*Behold! 'the Lamb of God, which taketh away the ſin of the world.*' See likewiſe Rom. v. 6. 8. Heb. ix. 14. 1 Pet. i. 19.

[u] Και δωσει εξουσιαν τοις τεκνοις αυτου πατειν επι τα πνευματα πονηρα. [x] Και εαν ομολογηση και μετανοηση, αφες αυτω.

28. Ben-

28. Benjamin, § 9. 'And the twelve tribes ſhall be gathered 'there [at Jeruſalem], and all nations, until the Moſt High 'ſend his ſalvation, in the viſitation of the only begotten. And 'he ſhall come to the firſt temple, and there the Lord ſhall be 'ill treated, and ſhall be lifted up upon a tree, and the veil of 'the temple ſhall be rent: and [y] the ſpirit of God ſhall de-'ſcend upon [or 'remove to'] the Gentiles, as fire poured out 'upon them. And, coming up out of hell, he ſhall aſcend from 'earth to heaven. Now I know how low he ſhall be upon 'earth, and how glorious in heaven.'

This paſſage confirms, beſide other things, the hiſtory of the book of the Acts, and of the epiſtles. See particularly Acts, i. 1—11. ii. 30—33. x. 44. It likewiſe affords good evidence, that the author is not a Judaizer. See hereafter, Numb. 35.

29. Naphtali, § 4. 'Until the compaſſion of the Lord come, 'a man doing righteouſneſs, and [z] exerciſing mercy to all that 'are afar off, and that are nigh.' See Eph. ii. 17.

30. Dan, § 5. 'But [a] depart from anger, and hate lying, 'that the Lord may dwell in you. Speak every one truth to 'his neighbour.' See Eph. iv. 25, 26. There is a like exhortation in the Teſtament of Reuben, § 6.

31. Levi, § 6. 'And [b] the wrath of the Lord came upon 'them to the uttermoſt.' See 1 Theſſ. ii. 16.

Mr. Whiſton [c] thinks that St. Paul alludes to this place of our Twelve Teſtaments; and Grabe [d] is of much the ſame opinion. I do not affirm that this expreſſion of the apoſtle was never uſed by any one before him; for that is more than we can be ſure of. On the other hand, I know of no proof that St. Paul was acquainted with this book: whereas, I think it will appear plain to every one preſently, that this author was acquainted with St. Paul's epiſtles, and therefore might borrow this expreſſion, as well as other things, from them.

32. Dan, § 6. 'But draw near to God, and the angel that 'pleads for you, for [e] he is the mediator between God and men 'for the peace of Iſrael.' See 1 Tim. ii. 5. Here alſo God is ſtyled the [f] 'Father of the Gentiles;' as he is called their God by Paul, Rom. iii. 29.

33. Reuben, § 6. 'I charge you to hearken to Levi, for he

[y] [illegible] [al. [illegible]] το πνευμα του [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].

[z] Και [illegible] ελεος εις [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].

[a] Αποστητε απο θυμου, και [illegible] το ψευδος, ινα Κυριος κατοικησῃ εν υμιν. [illegible] λαλειτε εκαστος προς τον πλησιον αυτου.

[b] [illegible] εις τελος.

[c] Authentic Records, p. 313.

[d] Spicileg. T. i. p. 13[illegible].

[e] Οτι αυτος εστι [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].

[f] Ινα δεξηται υμας ο Πατηρ [illegible].

'shall know the law of the Lord, . . . till [g] the completion of the 'times of the high priest Christ, of whom the Lord has spoken.'

This is a character of the Messiah much insisted on in these Testaments, as well as in the epistle to the Hebrews: whether this author learned it thence, I cannot say. In the Testament of Naphtali, § 2, is somewhat resembling Hebr. iv. 12, 13.

34. Levi, § 18. 'And after vengeance shall be taken of 'these by the Lord, and the priesthood shall fail, the Lord will 'raise up a new priest, . . . and there [h] shall be none to succeed 'him, from one generation to another, for ever.' This passage should be compared with Hebr. vii. 22, 23, 24.

35. Benjamin, § 11. 'Moreover,' says Benjamin, 'I shall 'be no longer called a ravening wolf, on account of your ra- 'vages; but the Lord's labourer, distributing food to those 'who work that which is good. And in the last days shall be 'raised up out of my seed one beloved of the Lord, who shall 'hear his voice, and enlighten all the Gentiles with new know- 'ledge, affording [them] the light of knowledge in the salva- 'tion of Israel; snatching it like a wolf from them, and giving 'it to the congregation of the Gentiles: and until the consum- 'mation of the world he shall be in the congregation of the 'Gentiles, and among their princes, as a musical song in the 'mouth of all. And [i] in the holy books he shall be written, 'both his work and his word; and he shall be the elect of God 'for ever. And on his account it was that Jacob, my father, in- 'structed me, saying, he shall fill up the defects of thy tribe.'

Every one perceives that the person here spoken of is the apostle Paul: and I should think that every one might perceive also, that this is not a real genuine prophecy, but an allusion, or representation of matters of fact already done, artfully put into the form of a prediction; with a design, probably, to gain some people, whom the author had in his eye, to acknowledge the Christian religion, and the authority of Paul in particular. But a few remarks may be of use.

1.) The writer alludes to Gen. xlix. 27. which, according to the Septuagint Version, is thus: 'Benjamin [k] is a ravening wolf, 'which devours in the morning still, and till the evening he 'gives food.' This prophecy is applied to St. Paul [l] by Tertullian,

[g] Μεχρι τελειωσεως χρονων αρχιερεως Χριστου, ον ελαλησε Κυριος. [h] Και ουκ εστιν διαδοχη αυτου εις γενος και γενος, εις αιωνα.

[i] Και εν βιβλοις των αγιων εσται αυτου η προφορα, και το εργον, και ο λογος αυτου, και εσται εκλεκτος Θεου εις τον αιωνα. [k] Benjamin

lupus rapax, et prospectus dictus super filios tuos benedictionem, Jacob cum ad Benjamin pervenisset: Benjamin, inquit, lupus rapax ad matutinum comedet adhuc, et ad vespe-

[l] Inter has figuras, et prospectus dictus super filios tuos benedictiones, Jacob cum ad Benjamin pervenisset: Benjamin, inquit, lupus rapax ad matutinum comedet adhuc, et ad ves-

tullian, in two places of his remaining works, as has been observed by Grabe. I do not mention this as an argument that the book we are considering, 'the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs,' was not written till after the time of Tertullian; but only as a proof that this was a Christian interpretation of the prophecy in Genesis. It may have been thought of by many before Tertullian. It was natural enough for Christians to understand this text of Paul, who was of the tribe of Benjamin; who in the former part of his life, and in the early days of Christianity, while it yet began to dawn upon mankind, fiercely persecuted the church of God, and afterwards became a diligent and successful labourer in confirming and increasing it.

It will not be disagreeable to the reader to see, without the trouble of looking for them, a few passages of ancient Christian writers, who apply that text of Genesis to St. Paul. I therefore put in the margin one passage of [m] Origen, and another of [n] Theodoret, and refer to a third in [o] Augustine; all which are very much to our purpose.

2.) It is somewhat doubtful, what the author means by those expressions: 'He shall be in the congregation of the Gentiles, 'and among their princes, as a musical song in the mouth of 'all.' If hereby he intends Gentile princes that were become Christian, it would afford a strong argument that this book was not composed before the third or fourth century. But herein may be only a reference to St. Paul's appearance before Felix and Festus, and other Gentile rulers, and his discourses in their presence; which are not only recorded in the Acts, as matters of fact, but were also foretold by the Lord to Ananias, in this manner: '*For he is a chosen vessel unto me, to bear my* '*name before the Gentiles, and kings, and the children of Israel.*' Acts, ix. 15.

3.) When it is said, 'And in the holy books he shall be

[illegible] eseam. Ex tribu enim Ben[illegible] Paulum providebat, lupum [illegible] ad matutinum comedentem, id [illegible] aetate vastaturum pecora Domi[illegible] persecutorem ecclesiarum; dehinc [illegible] eseam daturum, id est, dever[illegible] aetate oves Christi educaturum, [illegible] nationum. Adv. Marcion, [illegible] c. 1. Vid. et Scorpiace, c. 13. initio.

[illegible] Beniamin ille nunquam fuit lupus ra[illegible] Benjamin ille nunquam ad vesperam [illegible] eseam. Hebræus ex Hebræis, juxta [illegible] pharisæus, circumcisus octavo die, Beniamin prædicabatur, lupus rapax ad matutinum comedens, quando juvenis fuit: et in vesperam dans escam, quando credens spiritalem præbuit cibum a se ecclesiis institutis. Orig. in Ezech. Hom. iv. T. iii. p. 731. A. B.

[illegible] Theod. in Gen. Qu. [illegible] opp. T. i. p. 77. B.

[o] Vid. Aug. Serm. 279. Tom. v. ed. Bened. et passim.

'written,

'written, both his work, and his word;' there [p] is a plain reference to the Acts of the apostles, in which are recorded Paul's actions for and against the Christian religion, and his discourses and preaching in several places; as also to his epistles, all which are parts of the holy scriptures. But the author has not given sufficient hints to satisfy us, how many epistles of this apostle he received.

36. Issachar, § 7. 'I am a hundred and twenty-two years of 'age, and I never was conscious of any sin unto death in me.' See 1 John, v. 16, 17.

I shall transcribe here part of a fine passage in the Testament of Gad, § 4, which bears a reference likewise to some things in the first epistle of St. John. 'For hatred co-operates to mur-'der: and when any do well, and are in prosperity, and he 'either hears it or sees it, he is grieved. For, as love would 'revive those that are dead, and recal them back that are under 'the sentence of death; so would hatred slay those that are 'alive, and would not have them that have committed a small 'offence to live any longer. . . . But the spirit of love, by long 'suffering, co-operates with the law of God to the salvation of 'men.'

37. Levi, § 18. 'For he shall open the gates of paradise, 'and shall stop the threatening sword that was placed against 'Adam: and [q] shall give to his holy ones to eat of the tree of 'life, and the spirit of holiness shall be upon them. See Rev. ii. 7.

38. Joseph, § 19, acquaints his sons with a dream which he had: 'And [r] I saw,' says he, 'that a virgin (D) was born of 'Judah, that had on a fine linen garment, and from her pro-'ceeded a spotless Lamb. And on its left hand there was a 'lion, and all the wild beasts ran against him, and the Lamb 'overcame them and destroyed them, till they were utterly 'trodden down. And in him did angels, and men, and all the 'earth rejoice. These things shall be fulfilled in their season, 'in the last days.' Rev. xvii. 14.

39. Dan, § 5. 'And to them that call upon him shall he

[p] Pauli epistolæ vero et Lucæ Acta apostolorum a Benjamin hisce indigitantur verbis: Et in libris sacris erit inscriptus, et opus et sermo ejus: opus quidem in Actis apostolorum, sermo autem et in his, et in ipsius Pauli epistolis. Grabe, Spic. T. i. p. 140. [q] Και δωσει τοις αγιοις φαγειν εκ του ξυλου της ζωης. [r] Και ειδον εκ του Ιουδα παρθενον, ... και επ' αυτης αρνιον αμωμον, κ. λ.

(D) Grabe has no doubt, but that 'virgin' by is intended the nativity of the Messiah of a virgin mother. Hæc nativitas Messiæ ex virgine spectare quilibet videt. Spicileg. T. i. p. 361.

'give eternal peace. And the righteous ſhall rejoice in the 'New Jeruſalem, which ſhall be for the glory of God for ever. 'And Jeruſalem ſhall no more undergo deſolation, nor ſhall 'Iſrael be carried away captive; for the Lord ſhall be in the 'midſt of her, converſing with men; and the holy one of Iſrael 'ſhall reign over them in humility and poverty. And he that 'believeth in him ſhall reign in truth, in the heavens.' It is probable that here is a reference to Rev. xxi. 2, 3, 4, and other parts of that book.

40. This writer is juſtly alleged by [s] Henry Wharton, as delivering his opinion, and the ſentiment of Chriſtians in his time, that the holy ſcriptures ſhould be read by all ſorts of men. 'And now, my ſons,' ſays Levi, § 13, 'I charge you to fear 'the Lord your God out of your whole heart, and walk in ſim-'plicity of heart according to all his law. Do 'you alſo teach 'your children learning, that they may have underſtanding in 'all their life, reading continually the law of God.'

41. Thus this author, in an indirect manner, and a pretended prophetical ſtyle, bears a large teſtimony to the Chriſtian religion; to the facts, principles, and books of the New Teſtament. He ſpeaks of the nativity of Chriſt, the meekneſs and unblameableneſs of his life, his crucifixion at the inſtigation of the Jewiſh prieſts, the wonderful concomitants of his death, his reſurrection, and aſcenſion. He repreſents the character of the Meſſiah as God and man, the Moſt High God with men, eating and drinking with them, the Son of God, the Saviour of the world, of the Gentiles and Iſrael, as eternal high prieſt and king. He likewiſe ſpeaks of the effuſion of the Holy Spirit upon the Meſſiah, attended with a voice from heaven; his unrighteous treatment by the Jews; and their deſolations, and the deſtruction of the temple, upon that account; the call of the Gentiles; the illuminating them generally with new light; the effuſion of the Spirit upon believers, but eſpecially, and in a more abundant meaſure, upon the Gentiles. Here is little notice taken of our Lord's miracles: however he ſpeaks of the Meſſiah as (E) a 'man who renews the law in the power of 'the Moſt High;' in which expreſſions the working of miracles ſeems to be implied. Here are alſo paſſages which ſeem to contain alluſions to the goſpels of St. Matthew, St. Luke, and St. John, the Acts of the apoſtles, the epiſtle to the Epheſians, firſt to the Theſſalonians, firſt to Timothy, the epiſtle to

[s] Ubi ſupra. p. 322. [t] Διδαξατε δε και υμεις τα τεκνα υμων γραμματα, ινα εχωσι συνεσιν εν παση τη ζωη αυτων, διαγινωσκοντες αδιαλειπτως τον νομον του θεου. (E) See numb. 18.

the

the Hebrews, the first epistle of St. John, and the book of the Revelation. And, as far as was consistent with his assumed character, the author declares the canonical authority of the Acts of the apostles, and the epistles of St. Paul. Lastly, he recommends the reading of the holy scriptures.

42. I fear that some will think I have insisted too long upon this book: but it could by no means be quite omitted, as every one must be convinced by the contents of it, and the age in which it was written, according to the general opinion of learned men; either at the end of the first, or, at the utmost, some time in the second century: and I was willing to make an end with it at once. I think it cannot be disagreeable to see the testimonies of a variety of authors. And since some have been pleased to disguise themselves, and appear under borrowed names and characters; it may be not only an entertainment, but a confirmation of our faith, to find them also asserting in their way the chief things concerning the Christian religion.

IV. They who are desirous to inform themselves concerning THE RECOGNITIONS OF CLEMENT, may find satisfaction in the judgment of Cotelerius upon them, and in the testimonies prefixed to his edition of this work; and Grabe's learned and judicious Preface to the writings of St. Clement, in his Spicilegium.

The first ecclesiastical writer, who has mentioned this work, is Origen, by whom it is twice cited; once in the third Tome of his Commentaries upon Genesis, which passage is preserved in his [u] Philocalia, where he calls it by the title of 'The Travels;' and again in his Tracts upon [x] St. Matthew. He seems to quote it as Clement's, or at least as a book ascribed to him. It may be argued, from these few quotations of this book in all the remaining works of Origen, whether Greek or Latin, that it was in no great esteem with him, and of no authority.

The next author, whose testimony we are to consider, is Eusebius. Having spoken, in the third book of his Ecclesiastical History, of the first epistle of St. Clement of Rome, and then of the second ascribed to him, he adds: 'Moreover [y] some men 'have, not long since, produced large and voluminous writings

[u] Και Κλήμης δε ο Ρωμαιος, περι ενος βιβλιου μνησθεις, συνεδε τουτω εν τω παροντι πραγματι περι του πατερα εν Λευιταις εφη. εν τοις πλανοις. Philoc. c. 23. p. 18. Cantabr.

[x] Tale aliquid dicit et Petrus apud Clementem, ad Matthæi cap. XXVI. 6. Op. Lat. p. 172. Paris. 1571.

[y] Ηδη δε και ημεις πολλους και μεγαλους συγγραμματα, ως του αυτου, χρος και τουτου πεπλανηται, περι δε και Λευιτικης διαλεξεως, ει εν αλλοις μεμνηται της παρα του Παυλου φησιν εδε γαρ καθαρα της αποστολικης φρονησεως απεσαξεν τον χαρακτηρα. Η μαν εν τω πρωτω ομολογουμενως γεγραπται, πλανος εστιν. L. III. c. 38.

'as his, containing Disputations of Peter and Appion, of which 'there is no mention made by the ancients; nor have they the 'pure apostolical doctrine. What therefore is the genuine and 'acknowledged writing of Clement, is manifest.'

Upon this passage we are to observe, in the first place, that [z] Valesius and [a] Cotelerius, and some others, reckon that hereby Eusebius intends the Recognitions; of which they suppose the Disputations, or Dialogues, of Peter and Appion to be a part. But I think that [b] Grabe has proved these Disputations to be a different work. He observes that Photius mentions the Recognitions, and the Disputations of Peter and Appion, distinctly, as two different works: and though in the tenth book of the Recognitions Appion is named several times, yet there is no mention of any dispute of Peter with him.—Secondly, whether Eusebius here intends the Recognitions or not, he has condemned them. He owns nothing for St. Clement's but his epistle to the Corinthians, and rejects every thing else ascribed to him; this book, in particular, if it was then extant.

In another place [c] Eusebius rejects a book intitled 'The Acts 'of Peter,' together with several others, 'as not having been 'delivered to them for catholic writings.' If by these Acts of Peter he intends the Recognitions, they are here expressly rejected by him. It is plain, from [d] Photius, that a part of this work was called 'The Acts of Peter.' Photius himself speaks [e] of the whole work by that title, and commends the style of it, as much superior to the Constitutions. Grabe [f] mentions a manuscript, in which it has this title: 'The Itinerary of St. Cle-'ment, concerning the Acts and Words of the blessed Apostle 'Peter.' And it is obvious to every one, from the contents, that the Recognitions may be very properly called 'Peter's 'Acts.' If by the Acts of Peter, rejected here in the beginning of the third book of his history, Eusebius means the Recognitions; we have a good reason of his not mentioning them particularly afterwards, in the 38th chapter of the same book, where he speaks of the genuine and supposititious works of St. Clement.

[z] In loc. Euseb. [a] Judic. de Libris Recognitionum: apud Patres Apostol. [b] Spicileg. T. i. p. 271. et seq. [c] Το γε μην των επικεκλημενων αυτου πραξεων. . . . ουδ' ολως εν καθολικοις ισμεν παραδεδομενα. . . . L. iii. c. 3. p. 72. A.

[d] Εν ω αι τε λεγομεναι του αποστολου Πετρου πραξεις, και αι προς Σιμωνα τον μαγον διαλεξεις, και ετι ο αναγνωρισμος Κλημεντος και πατρος, και των αλλων αδελφων. Phot. Cod. 112, 113.

[e] Η μεντοι γε των του Πετρου πραξεων βιβλος τω τε λαμπρω και τη σεμνοτητι, . . . και τη αλλη αρετη λογου τοσουτο εχει προς τας διαταγας το παραλλαττον, κ. λ. Ibid. p. 289. ver. 45.

[f] Itinerarium S. Clementis de Factis et Dictis B. Petri Apostoli. Spicileg. T. i. p. 276.

Epiphanius

Epiphanius ſays: 'The [g] Ebionites uſe likewiſe ſeveral other 'books, as the Travels of Peter written by Clement; which 'too they have corrupted, leaving little that is genuine:' as appears, he ſays, from the epiſtles of Clement, which contain a different doctrine. Foraſmuch as Epiphanius does not ſay that theſe Travels were forged, but only that they were 'cor-'rupted,' he is ſuppoſed to allow that they were originally written by Clement.

Jerom's opinion of the works of Clement may be reckoned to be the ſame with that of Euſebius; ſince in his article of St. Clement, in his Catalogue, he does little more than tranſcribe the paſſage of Euſebius, in which he cenſures the Dialogues of Peter and Appion. And if the Recognitions are not the ſame with thoſe Dialogues, yet he may be ſuppoſed to reject them by conſequence, in as much as he inſiſts upon no other piece of Clement, as genuine, beſide the epiſtle to the Corinthians. In another work he refers to a book under the name of [h] 'The Travels,' or 'The Travels of Peter,' which appears to have been of no authority. Once [i] more he quotes Clement 'in his 'Travels,' or 'in Peter's Travels,' for ſomething not found expreſsly in this work at preſent.

Rufinus, who tranſlated the ten books of Recognitions out of Greek into Latin, in whoſe tranſlation only we now have them, plainly ſuppoſes them to have been written [k] by Clement of Rome; but that the copies, in his time, had been corrupted in ſome places.

This book is, for a large part of it at leaſt, a fiction, or romance, in which divers things concerning the Chriſtian religion are repreſented in a philoſophical manner, in order to render them more agreeable to the Greeks. It is called 'The Circuits,' or 'Travels and Acts of Peter,' from the ſubject matter of it; as it contains an account of the apoſtle Peter's diſputes with Simon

[g] Χρῶνται δὲ καὶ ἄλλοις τισὶ βίβλοις, ὡσὰν καὶ αὐτοὶ τοῖς πατρίοις κακόμενοι. Πέτρου, τοῦτ' ἔστι τοῦ Κλήμεντος γεγραφέναι τὰ λεγόμενα, τὰ μὲν τι ἀληθῆ, πολλὰ δὲ ἀλλότρια εὑρήσεις. Haer. 30. § 15.

[h] Poſſumus autem de Petro dicere, quod habuerit ſocrum eo tempore quo crediderit, et uxorem jam non habuerit: quamquam legatur in παραδόσεις et uxor ejus et filia. Sed nunc nobis de canone omnis certamen eſt. Adv. Jovinian. l. i. c. 14. p. 186. T. iv. p. 2. ed. Bened.

[i] 'Deinde poſt 'annos tres veni Hieroſolymam videre 'Petrum.' Non ut oculos, genas, vultumque ejus aſpiceret; utrum mucidentus an pingui, adunco naſo eſſet an recto; et utrum frontem veſtiret coma; an (ut Clemens in Periodis ejus refert) calvitium haberet in capite. Comment. in Ep. ad Galat. cap. i. ver. 18.

[k] Clemens apoſtolorum diſcipulus, qui Romanæ eccleſiæ, poſt apoſtolos, et apoſtolicum virum Petrum præfuit, libros edidit, qui Græce inſcribuntur ἀναγνωρισμοί, id eſt Recognitiones. Sunt etiam alia nonnulla libris ejus ſuppoſita, quæ eccleſiaſtica regula non recipit. Præfat. in fin. de Adulteratione Librorum Origenis. Suſcepi igitur, animadverti, et tranſtuli Clementem noſtrum, poſtquam in Latinum. Idem, in S. Clement. Recognitionum Libros Præfat. ad Gaudentium.

Mr.

Magus, and his diſcourſes to other people, and many miracles wrought by him in ſeveral places; at Cæſarea, Dora, Ptolemais, Tyre, Sidon, Tripoli, Laodicea, Antioch, and his journeys from one city to another. It is called 'The Recognitions' from Clement's [1] recognizing his father, and mother, and brethren, who had been long ſeparated from each other.

Mr. Whiſton has a ſingular opinion concerning the author of this work. He allows, 'that it [m] was not written by Clement himſelf. This,' he ſays, 'is evident by the entire ſtyle 'and genius of the whole, as compared with the vaſtly different ſtyle and genius of Clement's genuine epiſtles and conſtitutions:' but it was written 'by [n] ſome of the hearers of Clement, and other companions of the apoſtles.' According to this account, it is the work of ſome anonymous perſon, who was a hearer or diſciple of apoſtolical men: but I think that it muſt be reckoned to be Clement's, or to be ſuppoſititious. This is evident from the teſtimonies of the ancients all along, who ſpeak of this work as written by Clement, or at leaſt aſcribed to him. And that the author intended it ſhould be eſteemed the writing or compoſition of Clement, appears from the whole of the work, though from ſome paſſages more eſpecially. It begins: 'I, Clement, who was born in the city of Rome,' and what follows. I ſhall tranſcribe a paſſage or two, taking Mr. Whiſton's tranſlation of them. In the 25th ſection of the firſt book, Peter ſays: 'Enough, O Clement; for thou haſt re-'peated this diſcourſe more clearly than I delivered it. Then 'I replied, A liberal education has enabled us to obſerve an 'agreeable method in diſcourſe, to ſet proper truths in a clear 'light. Now if we uſe this talent in ſupport of ancient errors, '... we loſe the deſign of the decency and ſweetneſs of lan-'guage; but if we make uſe of this art and beauty of language 'for the confirmation of the truth, I ſuppoſe there may great 'benefit accrue from it.' This is the deſign of the work, and it is Clement to whom this talent is aſcribed here, and in other places. But more expreſsly ſtill, near the concluſion of the third book, after the account of Peter's diſputes with Simon Magus, and his diſcourſes to other people, at Cæſarea; when they were almoſt ready to go from thence to Dora, it is ſaid: 'He [that is, Peter], when he perceived that I [Clement] 'had what I heard deep in my memory, gave it me in charge 'to put together all the moſt memorable paſſages, and to write

[1] ... of Eq. [m] Preface to Mr. Whiſton's tranſlation of the Re-... of Clement, p. 18. London, 1712. [n] Ib. p. 17. et alibi.

'them

'them in books, and to send them to you, my lord James, as 'I have accordingly done in obedience to his orders. The 'first book, then, of those which I formerly sent to you, treats of 'the true prophet.' Where follow short contents of the ten books 'written and sent formerly:' so that the same Clement, who wrote those former books, writes these also. This work therefore, as it is ascribed to Clement, but is not his, is supposititious, and the author can hardly escape the character of an impostor.

The judgment of Cotelerius upon these books of Recognitions, which he so well understood, is in short this, that 'they 'o are supposititious and apocryphal, composed by some learned 'and eloquent man in the second century.'

Which leads me to observe the time of these books. That they were in being in the latter part of the second, or the beginning of the third century, may be inferred from the citations of Origen; and that they were not extant much sooner, may be inferred from the silence of Irenæus and Clement of Alexandria about them. Moreover, in the ninth book [p] of the Recognitions is a long passage, which appears to be taken out of the book Of Fate, written by Bardesanes; though the author does not give any hint that he takes it from another. As Bardesanes flourished about the year 180, and his books were written originally in Syriac, it cannot be supposed that the Recognitions were published till near the end of the second century.

It happens that this passage, together with somewhat more, is quoted by Eusebius from Bardesanes himself. That Bardesanes did not take that passage from the Recognitions, but the author of the Recognitions from him, has been clearly shewn by [q] Grabe, upon as good evidence as can be desired in a thing of this nature: though, in my opinion, it needs no proof. I shall only just add, therefore, that, as Eusebius has ascribed that passage to Bardesanes, we ought to rely upon him for the author of it. It is a point that cannot be reasonably contested or disputed. Eusebius, when he introduces the quotation, says, he takes it [r] out of a 'Dialogue of Bardesanes the Syrian;' and at the end [s] he says again, 'Thus far the Syrian.'

o Quantum ex re ipsa, veterum testimoniis, ac recentiorum judiciis colligere licet, libri isti pseudepigraphi sunt et apocryphi, secundo sæculo compositi a viro docto quidem juxta ac diserto, sed philosopho magis et philologo quam theologo . . . . ap Patr. Ap. T. i. p. 484.

p From [illegible] to § 29.

q Spicil. Patr. [illegible] p. 278.

r Præp. [illegible] cap. 9, 10. p. 275. A.

s [illegible] Ibid. p. 280. C.

Neverthel[illegible]

Nevertheleſs Mr. Whiſton diſputes this point; but his objections do not appear to me material: nor do I ſuppoſe that any man, who looks into Grabe himſelf, can be much moved by them. But whereas [t] Mr. Whiſton obſerves, that 'Epiphanius 'tells us the book Of Fate,' written by Bardeſanes, 'was made 'up of collections taken out of other authors,' Haer. 56. § 2, I muſt take the [u] liberty to ſay, that I do not perceive Epiphanius to tell us any ſuch thing.

With regard to the age of this work, I would add farther, that the arguments here uſed againſt Heatheniſm ſeem to imply, that the Chriſtian was not yet the prevailing eſtabliſhed religion. And the author often [x] ſpeaks of the power of Chriſtians to heal diſeaſes, and expel dæmons, as if it was common in his time. And that ſuch gifts were enjoyed by many Chriſtians in the ſecond, and the beginning of the third century, we are aſſured by Irenæus, Tertullian, Origen, and others: after which time, or however after the end of the third century, they were not ſo common, if they did not quite ceaſe.

Mr. Whiſton's [y] opinion of this book is, 'That if it be not 'in ſome ſenſe or other itſelf a ſacred book, yet ought it certain-'ly to be eſteemed in the next degree to that of the really ſacred 'books of the New Teſtament.' In the opinion of [z] many other learned men, it is a worthleſs piece, of little or no uſe. We will endeavour however to make ſome good uſe of a work, which coſt the author a great deal of labour, and in which are ſome excellent ſentiments, and fine paſſages; though at the ſame time there are ſeveral very great faults (A), for which no good excuſe can be made:

[t] Preface, as before, p. 12. [u] It is poſſible that Mr. Whiſton's miſtake is [illegible] miſinterpretation of Epiphanius, Haer. 56. § 1. Ὀνομάζεται [ἡ βίβλος] Ἀδὰμ ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον παρὰ τοῖς ἀπὸ τούτου [illegible] ἀστρολογοῦσι· which is thus rightly rendered by Petavius: Librum hunc Adamum aſtrologum [illegible] ſacrum plerumque diſputavit. But ſuppoſing Mr. Whiſton to have underſtood ἐπιλέγω in the ſenſe of 'collecting,' he ought to have ſaid, that 'Epiphanius 'ſays the book Of Fate was made up [illegible] taken out of other authors.' Theſe words might be the firſt [illegible] own obſervations, as they [illegible] to his own account. Preface, as before, p. 78.

[x] Lib. 2. § 32, 51. [y] As before. [illegible] Enfin cet ouvrage n'eſt [illegible] pour la moindre partie dans [illegible] qu'il contient. Du Pin, Bibliotheque. St. Clement Romain. En un mot, on le regarde comme un ouvrage qui n' eſt d' aucune prix, ni d' aucune utilité. Tillemont, Mem. Ec. T. ii. P. i. St. Clement. Art. 6. p. 295.

(A) He ſays, in the firſt book, that whilſt Jeſus Chriſt was teaching in Judea, in the reign of Tiberius, 'A certain man '[Barnabas] ſtood in one of the moſt pub-'lic places of the city [of Rome], and 'proclaimed to the people, and ſaid, "O ye "citizens of Rome, hearken to me. The "Son of God is now preſent in the region "of Judea, and promiſes, to all that are "willing to hear him, eternal life." B. i. § 7. This is ſaid, I ſuppoſe, as more agreeable to Greeks and Romans, at the time of the author's writing, than the real truth. For this is contrary to the Goſpels and the Acts, according to which Chriſt was not preached to the Gentiles till ſome time

made: so that one cannot well help wishing, upon the whole, that this author, who was a man of great abilities, had employed his time better.

1. We are not to expect here any express citations of the scriptures of the New Testament, unless the author should forget himself; the discourses and conferences here related, being supposed to be made at a time when few or none of the books of the New Testament were written. He will therefore recite the words of our Lord recorded in the gospels, as heard by those persons who mention them, or learned from apostles, or others our Lord's hearers. I shall put down one passage, as an example of his indirect way of quoting, in compliance with the decorum of the circumstances his persons are supposed to be in. Peter speaks: 'Whence [a] it was well said by a certain person to 'the preachers of truth, "*Ye are the light of the world.*" And, "*A city that is set on a hill cannot be hid: neither do men* "*light a candle, and put it under a bushel, but on a candlestick,* "*that it may give light to all that are in the house.*" Then said 'the old man [Clement's father, yet a stranger, and not 'converted], "Whosoever that person was, he spake plain "truth." Matth. v. 14, 15.

2. Thus we have given a good quotation of St. Matthew's gospel: but we will observe a particular or two more. Simon Magus says to Peter, 'If [b] you do with reason require peace 'from your auditors, your master did without reason say, "I "am not come to send peace on earth, but a sword." Matth. x. 34.——To this Peter answered, 'You [c] remember that 'our master came not to send peace; but you do not remember 'that he said, "Blessed are the peaceable, for they shall "be called the children of God." Matth. v. 9.

3. In these books are many passages out of this gospel. One may be apt to suspect, that in this author's copy the reading of Matth. v. 3. was, 'Blessed are the poor,' he having twice mentioned this beatitude in that form. However, he

time after his resurrection. And the author, as if he were himself sensible of the impropriety of this part of his fiction, makes Barnabas soon leave Rome upon a little ill treatment. He introduces Peter relating a silly miracle in Judea..... 'Whilst,' says he, 'we were gone to the 'sepulchres of two of our brethren, which 'were every year new whited of their own 'accord. By which miracles the fury of 'many against us was repressed, when they 'thereby perceived that our brethren 'had in remembrance with God.' B. § 71. Peter too says here, that 'was secretly their brother [illegible] but 'by their advice [illegible] 'continued still among [illegible] and rulers. § 65. Which [illegible] by Cotelerius as it [illegible] 'see *cogitat.* [illegible] *fluctuat.* [illegible] omit other things.

[b] L. ii. § 26. [c] § 27.

gives a good interpretation of it. 'In the beginning [d] of his 'preaching, as he was desirous to invite and draw men to salva- 'tion, and to persuade men to patience under their labours and 'temptations, he declared the poor blessed; and promised, as 'a reward of their patient enduring poverty, that they should 'obtain the kingdom of heaven.' In a like manner [e] in another place.

4. He gives the true sense of Matth. v. 6, understanding it of bodily 'hunger and thirst,' agreeably to St. Luke, vi. 21. 'He did also promise,' says he, 'that they who hunger and 'thirst should be filled with the eternal blessings of righteous- 'ness; that, bearing want without discontent, they might not 'on that account do any unjust action.' He refers, not to St. Luke's, but to St. Matthew's gospel, in which more especially this is placed near the beginning of our Lord's preaching.

5. He has likewise a good observation upon the parable of the sower, in Matth. xiii. and Luke, viii. 'But [f] because it can- 'not be, but that a husbandman, who would sow good ground, 'must lose some seeds which fall in stony places, or in places 'trodden by men, or such as are full of brambles and thorns, as 'our Master has taught us, shewing hereby the different disposi- 'tion of every one's soul in particular, I will proceed.'

6. 'To [h] those therefore, who believe and obey, he gives 'this command, that they should have peace one with another.' See Mark, ix. 50.

He seems to refer to Mark, xiii. 32, when Peter says, 'For [i] 'if our Master confessed he did "not know that day and "hour" whose signs yet he foretold, that he might refer all to 'the Father; how can we think it beneath us to own that 'we are ignorant of some things?' However, see Matthew, xxiv. 36.

7. 'Then [k] said Simon [Magus], I mightily wonder at your 'folly. You propose your Master's words to us, just as if it 'were certainly known that he was a prophet; whereas I can 'easily demonstrate that he has often contradicted himself.— 'For you own that he said, "Every kingdom, and every city, "divided against itself, cannot stand" [Matth. xii. 25]. And 'you own [l] that in another place he said, that he "sent a sword "to set those at variance that were in the same house; so that the

[c] L. i. § 59. [d] L. i. § 61. [e] L. iii. § 28. conf. l. i. § 61.
[f] L. [illegible] § 32. [h] Credendum, ergo obediendumque, pacem habere [illegible] inter se invicem. [illegible] L. [illegible] § 29. [i] Sicuti Magister noster dicunt se [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

" ſon would be divided from the father, and the daughter from " the mother, and the brother from the brother: inſomuch that " if there were five in one houſe, three would be divided againſt " two, and two againſt three." Luke, xii. 52, 53. In theſe books are ſeveral paſſages taken out of St. Luke's goſpel.

8. 'For[m] ſo did the true prophet teſtify to us with an oath, 'when he ſaid, " Verily I ſay unto you, unleſs a man be born " again of water, he ſhall not enter into the kingdom of heaven." John, iii. 5. Which the author underſtands of baptiſm.

9. In another place: 'Now[n] the Son reveals the Father to 'thoſe who do ſo honour the Son as they honour the Father.' John, v. 23.

10. That this writer was acquainted with the book of the Acts of the apoſtles, will appear from the following things. He mentions[o] the choice of Matthias to the apoſtleſhip, in the place of Judas, which is recorded, Acts, i. He relates a ſpeech made by Gamaliel in favour of the apoſtles, though here he miſ-repreſents ſome things: 'Be[p] quiet for a while, O ye men of 'Iſrael; for you do not apprehend the trial which hangs over 'you: wherefore let theſe men alone. And if indeed what they 'do is a work of human counſel, it will ſoon come to an end: 'but, if it be of God, why do ye offend without cauſe, and yet 'advance nothing? For who can overcome the will of God?' See Acts, v. 38, 39.

The author introduces Peter giving Clement, that is, himſelf, an[q] account of a diſpute which James and the other apoſtles had with the Jews at the temple: And when the high prieſt, and a great multitude, were almoſt prepared for the receiving of baptiſm, 'a certain enemy did juſt then come into the temple, 'with a few that followed him.' He made a warm ſpeech, exclaiming againſt the folly of thoſe Jews who were almoſt converted by the apoſtles, and put all things into confuſion; and made ſuch a diſturbance, that ſeveral were killed, and James was very much hurt. 'After[r] three days,' as Peter adds, 'one of 'the brethren came to us from Gamaliel, ... giving us private 'information,[s] that this enemy had received a commiſſion from 'Caiaphas to perſecute all who believed in Jeſus, and was 'going to Damaſcus with his letters.' See Acts, ix. 1, 2. xxii. 4, 5.

[m] L. vi. § 9. [n] L. ii. § 48. [o] L. i. § 60. [p] [illegible]
[q] Ibid. § 68. 69. &c. [r] Ibid. 71. [s] Quæ [illegible] ſuſcepiſſet a Caiapha pontifice, ut omnes qui crederent in Jesum [illegible] Damaſcum pergeret cum epiſtolis ejus. .... Ibid.

Our author undoubtedly means Paul; I do not know why he does not name him: but here seem to be marks of ill will towards St. Paul. Gamaliel is complimented with the (B) character of a brother, whilst his disciple is a furious enemy. Then the main reason why this enemy designed for Damascus, is said to be, that [t] 'he thought Peter had fled thither,' after the disturbance at the temple: which is an invidious charge. And he says nothing of the conversion of this enemy, though according to our accounts, and those undoubted, it happened soon after some things here related, in the way to Damascus; and was [illegible] respects very extraordinary, and the greatest triumph of [illegible] any age.

Further, the author has a relation of Simon of Samaria, [illegible] he affirmed himself to be [u] 'the supreme power of the High God' (see Acts, viii. 10.), and [x] that 'he once believed in our Jesus.' See ver. 13. He says too, that Christ's 'disciples, in 'imitation of their master, when they suffered, did in like 'manner pray for their murderers:' where he seems to refer to Stephen's prayer, Acts, vii. 60; and perhaps to other instances of the like eminent virtue in the followers of Jesus.

I think here is good proof, that the author of this work was acquainted with the Acts of the apostles.

11. 'For [z] with God "he is not a Jew, who is called a Jew "among men; nor is he a Gentile, who is called a Gentile." Rom. ii. 28. There is another [a] place which contains a reference to Matth. vi. 24, or Rom. vi. 16.

12. It is here said that the Israelites had [b] 'a cup afforded them 'from a rock which followed them.' 1 Cor. x. 4. It is reckoned among the greatest of crimes [c], 'to partake of the 'table of dæmons; that is, to taste of what has been offered to 'them.' See 1 Cor. x. 20, 21.

13. 'So has your soul, by long negligence, produced many 'and pernicious notions of things, and [d] opinions of "science, "falsely so called." 1. Tim, vi. 20.

14. In Hebr. vii. 2, Melchisedec, who was 'made like unto

(B) See note (A), p. 347. [t] Idcirco autem præcipue Damascum festinaret, quod et illuc crederet confugisse Petrum. [illegible] supra. [u] Adserentem se esse quendam stantem, ... et virtutem summam excelsi Dei. L. i. § 72. [x] Nam [illegible] quid dicam, quod et Jesu nostro credidit. L. iii. § 49. [z] Imitantes quoque discipuli Magistrum, etiam ipsi, [illegible] ferentur, similiter pro interfectoribus suis orabant. L. vi. § 5. [z] L. v. § 34.

[a] L. v. § 12. [b] Et ex sequenti petra poculum ministratum. L. i. § 35.

[c] Quæ autem animam simul et corpus polluunt, ista sunt, participare dæmonum mensæ; hoc est, immolata degustare.... et si quid aliud est quod dæmonibus oblatum est. L. i. § 36. [d] Equintelligentias falsæ scientiæ. L. vi. § 2.

'the Son of God,' is called 'King of Peace.' This author says twice, that Christ 'was ordained of God to be the King of 'Peace.' But one cannot be positive that herein is any reference to the epistle to the Hebrews.

15. 'There is therefore an evident sign that such things are 'not spoken from the true God, when sometimes a lye is mixed with them; for [f] "there is never any lye in the truth." 1 John, ii. 21.

He says, the 'wedding garment' is the grace of baptism. 'The things whereby that garment may be defiled, are these: 'If any one departs from God the Father,—and receives any 'other teacher than Christ.—These [g] are things which pollute the garment of baptism even unto death.' Here seems to be an allusion to 1 John, v. 16, 17.

16. Clement himself says, 'God ordered, that the whole 'multitude of mankind should be born into this visible world, 'that from [h] among them he might choose friends for his Son, 'with whom he might rejoice; and who might be "made "ready" for him, as a beloved "bride for her husband." But 'till the time of "the marriage is come," which is when 'the future world appears,'—and what follows. See Rev. xix. 7, 8, 9. xxi. 2.

17. Beside these, there are some general things which seem to relate to the scriptures of the New Testament.

Among the ten books, which Clement, at the end of the third book of these Recognitions, says he had already sent to James, the contents of one of them are thus described: 'The [i] eighth 'is concerning those words of our Lord which seem to contradict one another, but do not, and in what manner they are 'to be cleared.' And somewhat of this kind is performed in the preceding part of this very work, as appears from our quotations.

In another place Peter is supposed to tell Clement, 'How 'the apostles were invited by the priests, and by the high priest 'Caiaphas, to the temple; and how James the archbishop 'stood upon the top of the stairs, and [k] for seven days one after

[f] Ut omnis gratiæ largitori omnium, Patri, per eum qui potest Regem Pacis. L. i. § 31. . . . Ad hunc quem diximus a Deo dilectarum Regem Pacis accessit. Ibid. § 44. [f] In veritate enim nunquam mendacium est. L. iv. § 36. [g] Hæc . . . quæ usque ad mortem baptismi pollutum custodiatum. L. iii. § 76.

[h] Ex quibus eligeret amicos filio suo, cum quibus lætaretur, et quos, tanquam a sponsa, ad dilectæ gentis gaudia perduceret. Verum usque ad nuptiarum tempus, quod est præsentia sæculi venturi, statuit. . . . L. ix. § 3. [i] Octavus de verbis Domini quæ sibi videntur esse contraria, sed non sunt; et qua sit horum solutio. L. iii. § 75. [k] Et Jacobus archiepiscopus stans in summis gradibus, per septem continuos dies, universo populo de Scripturis Dominicis adsignaverit, quod Jesus esset Christus. L. i. § 73.

'another

'another, proved out of the Lord's ſcriptures, to the whole body 'of the people, that Jeſus was the Chriſt.'

The title of archbiſhop may be allowed to be added by Rufinus, or ſome other interpolator: but Dominic Scriptures, or the Lord's Scriptures, is a term often uſed by the Chriſtian writers of the ſecond century. It muſt be owned to be out of character to ſpeak of the ſcriptures of the New Teſtament in a diſpute with Caiaphas, at which time none of them were written. But the author here forgot himſelf. And indeed it is next to impoſſible for a writer not to ſay ſome things improperly in a work of this kind, and of this length.

However, after all, perhaps hereby are meant only the ſcriptures of the Old Teſtament, and this phraſe may be judged equivalent to 'the written word of God.'

18. It may be now proper to diſtinguiſh the paſſages alleged out of theſe books of Recognitions, and obſerve the value of them. Here are paſſages of our four goſpels: and one might conclude that the author owned them all, were it not for a (c) difficulty which I ſhall mention by and by; which may render it doubtful whether he uſed the four goſpels, or ſome one goſpel containing in it all theſe things. The reader will conſider whether this difficulty be of any moment. He ſeems to own the firſt epiſtle of St. John, and the book of the Revelation. He was well acquainted too with the book of the Acts of the apoſtles; but how far he owned it, I cannot ſay. As for the paſſages relating to St. Paul's epiſtles, they may be reckoned not very [l] material; or however not ſufficient to prove, that they were eſteemed by this writer to be of authority. It may be ſuſpected that the author had no great kindneſs for the apoſtle Paul; and for that reaſon made as little uſe of his epiſtles, and of the Acts of the apoſtles, as might be, though he was well enough acquainted with them.

19. This author, whoever he be, bears teſtimony likewiſe to many principal facts of the New Teſtament. He gives [m] an account of our Lord's temptation. He mentions [n] the choice of the twelve apoſtles, and afterwards of other ſeventy-two diſciples. In one place [o] he ſpeaks of the twelve apoſtles in ſuch a manner, as if

(c) See below Numb. V. 3. of this chapter.

[l] Equidem obſervavi, nec in Clementinis, nec in RECOGNITIONIBUS, quæ apocrypha ſæpe diximus ab hæreticis fuiſſe depravata, Paulum apoſtolum citatum inveniri. Coteler. Annot. ad Clementem. Homil. xix. § 2.

[m] L. iv. § 34. [n] L. i. § 40. [o] Propter quod obſervate cautius, ut nulli doctorum credatis, nisi qui Jacobo fratri Domini ex Hierusalem descenderit testimonium, vel ejus quicunque post ipsum fuerit. Nisi enim quis illuc ascenderit, et ibi fuerit probatus quod sit doctor idoneus, et fidelis, ad prædicandum

if he intended to exclude Paul from the honour of the apostleship, and even to deny him the character of a 'sufficient and faithful 'preacher of Christ's word.' Here are also relations [p] of the miracles of our blessed Lord's ministry, and of [q] his death and resurrection, and the extraordinary signs attending those events.

20. To all these things does this writer bear witness. And yet, from his sly insinuations, and injurious reflections upon St. Paul, it may be suspected that he was a mere Ebionite; the ancients [r] assuring us that this sect of Christians rejected the authority of that apostle and his epistles. If this be our author's real character, what has been here alleged from this work ought to be considered as one instance of the advantage which may be made of the sentiments of those called heretics, for confirming the evangelical scriptures and history; which I hope will appear more fully hereafter.

V. Hitherto I have taken no notice of the CLEMENTINE HOMILIES: nor do I intend a large account of them; but it may be thought improper to omit them entirely. They are nineteen Homilies in Greek, published by Cotelerius, with two letters prefixed; one of them written in the name of Peter, the other in the name of Clement, to James bishop of Jerusalem: in which last letter they are intitled 'Clement's Epitome of the 'Preaching and Travels of Peter.' But it may be questioned whether one or both these letters do not belong to the Recognitions. Photius [s] seems to favour this supposition: at least, in his time, they were both prefixed to some editions of the Recognitions. The nineteenth Homily is imperfect at the end: and there is wanting another whole Homily to complete the number of twenty.

Le Clerc [t] thinks that these Clementine Homilies were composed by an Ebionite in the second century. The learned

dicendum Christi verbum; nisi, inquam, inde detulerit testimonium; recipiendus omnino non est. Sed neque prophetа, neque apostolus, in hoc tempore, speretur a vobis aliquis alius praeter nos. Unus enim est verus propheta, cujus nos duodecim apostoli verba praedicamus. Ipse enim est annus Dei acceptus, nos apostolos habens duodecim menses. L. iv. § 35. This is absolutely to exclude St. Paul, who was an apostle 'neither of men, nor by man,' as he openly professes. Gal. i. 1. See also ver. 11, 12. 17. ch. ii. 6. Against which claims of St. Paul this discourse of our author seems to be designedly levelled; as also possibly against 2 Cor. ii. 16, where St. Paul says, '*And who is* '*sufficient for these things?*' or, as some read, 'Who is so sufficient for these 'things?' Vid. Mill. in loc.

[p] L. i. § 6, 7. l. v. § 10, 11.

[q] L. i. § 41, 42, 43.

[r] Irenæ. l. i. c. 26. al. 25. Orig. cont. Cels. l. v. p. 274. Euseb. H. E. l. iii. cap. 27.

[s] Cod. 112, 113.

[t] Sequuntur ipsa Clementina, . . . opus hominis Ebionitæ, qui vixit seculo secundo. Prol. ad Patres Apost. § 6.

Benedictine;

Benedictine, Bernard Montfaucon, is [u] of a quite different opinion, ſuppoſing them to have been forged much later; and not to have been mentioned, by any author, till long after the age of St. Athanaſius. This one of his arguments, that the Synopſis, in which the Clementines are mentioned, was not compoſed by that father. Grabe [x] ſays, the Clementines ſpoken of in that Synopſis, are not the ſame with our Clementine Homilies; which is very probable: thoſe Clementines, mentioned in the Synopſis, are not the Clementine Homilies, but the Clementine Epitome, publiſhed by Cotelerius at the end of the Homilies. Montfaucon's argument, therefore, for the late age of the Synopſis, may be very good, as I think it is; and Le Clerc too may judge very rightly about the time of writing the Homilies. For though theſe Clementine Homilies are ancient, they were not cited by the name of Clementines; but were either reckoned another edition of the Recognitions, or called the 'Travels of 'Peter,' or the 'Diſputation of Peter and Appion.' That they were ſometimes mentioned by this laſt title, is probable, as will be ſhewn preſently.

In theſe Homilies is the ſame fictitious hiſtory [y] of the ſeparation of Clement, and his father, and mother, and brethren, and their recogniſing each other, with that in the Recognitions: and there is a great agreement between theſe two works in ſeveral other things, though each has ſome other matters wanting in the other. Rufinus [z] ſays that there were two editions of the Recognitions: it is likely that by the other, which he left untranſlated, he [a] means theſe Homilies. He does not ſay which is the firſt edition, though that may be reckoned a point of ſome moment, if we could determine it. I am apt to think the Clementine Homilies may be the original, or the firſt edition, and the Recognitions an improvement of them, becauſe they appear more finiſhed and artificial.

This work bids fair for being the ſame with that cenſured by Euſebius, under the title of 'Dialogues of Peter and Appion.' The whole work is prolix; and in the fourth, fifth, and ſixth Ho-

[u] Ad hæc in apocryphis Novi Teſtamenti numerantur in Synopſi Κηρύγματα, Homiliæ Clementinæ, quarum mentionem primo reperimus, diu poſt Athanaſii ætatem apud Nicephorum Patriarchum. Hæc ſi diſtincta opus diverſum a Recognitionibus apud veterum Origines, Rufinus, et alios, licet eædem ſint argumenti, ut videtur, poſtea confictæ. Bibliograph. Scripturæ Admonit. apud Athanaſii Op. T. ii. p. 125. [x] Spicileg. T. i. p. 287. [y] Vid. Homil. xii. xiii. xiv. [z] Puto quod non te lateat, Clementis huius in Græco eoſdem operis ἀναγνώσεις, hoc eſt, Recognitionum, duas editiones haberi; et duo corpora eſſe librorum, in aliquantis quidem diverſa, in multis tamen eoſdem narrationis. Ruſin. Præf. ad Gaudentium. [a] Vid. Cave, H. L. P. i. p. 19. in Clement. Rom.

Milies,

milies, is a history of Appion, and of a dispute with him. It is true, as Grabe [b] well observes, this dispute with Appion is not managed by Peter himself, but by Clement in his absence. But I do not know whether that be sufficient to overthrow this supposition; since Clement is reckoned the disciple of Peter, and his most intimate friend. And afterwards, in the seventh Homily, Appion is joined with Simon of Samaria, and others, who publicly declaim against Peter to the multitude. Not to add, that Clement relates that whole disputation to Peter, and receives his applauses for it.

Nor do I perceive that Photius says any thing to the prejudice of this opinion; he rather confirms it. In his article of the genuine and suppositious writings of Clement of Rome, the books mentioned by him are these five: the Constitutions; the Recognitions, under several titles, which he says are full of blasphemies against the Son, according to the Arian doctrine; the epistle of Clement to the Corinthians; the second epistle, which he says is rejected as spurious; and the 'long Disputa-'tion,' as it is intitled, 'of Peter and Appion,' which he likewise calls spurious. If hereby he does not mean the Clementine Homilies, they are quite omitted, which is not likely.

Nicephorus Callisti, in the fourteenth century, suspected the Clementines then in use in the church, to be the Dialogue of Peter and Appion. He had only one difficulty: that [c] Dialogue was censured by Eusebius, as not agreeable to the right faith; whereas the book called the Clementines, in the time of Nicephorus, was highly approved in the church. But the reason of this I take to be very evident: his Clementines are the Clementine Epitome, as it is called, in which the Clementine Homilies are reformed and new modelled. The most obnoxious or offensive things, as not orthodox, had been left out, and other sentiments were inserted, agreeable to the age of him who reformed them. But still Nicephorus suspected those Clementines might be the Dialogue of Peter and Appion. We have much more reason to think the Clementine Homilies are the work which was sometimes spoken of under that title.

If our conjecture is not approved of, we must suppose that Dialogue to be lost; which is the opinion of [d] Fabricius.

[b] Spic. T. i. p. 273. [c] Ἐγὼ δὲ εἰ μὲν τὰ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ κλημεντία συναχθέντα λέγει, οὐ πείθομαι· ταῦτα γὰρ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ ἐκ παραδόσεως· εἰ δὲ ἕτερα εἰσὶ παρὰ ταῦτα, λέγειν οὐκ ἔχω. Nic. Call. Hist. E. l. iii. c. 18. Vid. Testimonia de Clementinis apud Patres Apost. [d] Disputatio uberior Petri et Appionis Eusebio memorata et Hieronymo intercidit; falliturque Oudinus [de Scr. Ec. Eccl. T. i. cap. 22.], qui cum a Cotelerio, sub nomine Clementinorum, ea tam esse sibi persuasit. J. A. Fabric. Cod. Apocr. N. T. Part iii. p. 605. Hamb. 8vo. 1719.

I. In

1. In these Homilies are many passages of the gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke, and divers of them are different from those of the same gospels in the Recognitions. There is very little which can be certainly said to be taken from St. Mark's gospel, though Cotelerius has sometimes put it in the margin. We have these words mentioned as Christ's, after several other which are in Matthew and Luke: 'Hear, [e] Israel, the Lord your 'God is one Lord:' which seems to be a reference to Mark, xii. 29. He is supposed to refer [f], in several places, to Mark, xii. 24; but I do not see why he may not as well intend Matth. xxii. 29. It is thought likewise that [g] he refers to Mark, i. 13, in what he says of our Lord's temptation in the wilderness. The small number of plain references to this gospel, may be accounted for from its great agreement with the other two gospels just mentioned. There are several passages out of St. John's gospel: I shall mention some of them presently. But there is scarce any one passage which can be affirmed to be taken [h] out of St. Paul's epistles, or any other book of the New Testament. However, in the before-mentioned letter of Clement [i] to James, Peter is introduced speaking of his approaching death, 'which he had been taught by his 'Lord and Master, Jesus Christ,' much in the same manner as it is mentioned, 2 Pet. i. 14.

2. The words of Christ are mentioned and appealed to here, as in the Recognitions; not as written but heard by Peter, or learned by others from apostles, or others who had heard our Lord. Thus, Peter [k] says, 'Our Master declared the faithful 'poor blessed.' 'Wherefore [l] he himself, being a true pro-'phet, said, "I am the gate of life; he that enters in by me, "enters into life." John, x. 9.—'And again: "My sheep "hear my voice." Ch. x. 27.——'He [m] said, moreover, "I am he of whom Moses prophesied." Ch. v. 46. In ano-'ther place: For [n] so the prophet swore to us, saying, "Verily "I say unto you, except ye be born again of living water, in the

[e] [illegible] Ισραηλ, Κυριος ο Θεος υμων Κυριος [illegible] Hom. iii. § 57. [f] Hom. [illegible] 50. xix. § 20. [g] Qui [illegible] Dominus noster et propheta, nar-[illegible] quemadmodum diabolus qua-[illegible] cum eo collocutus, nihilque [illegible], promiserit se ex suis secta-[illegible] ad fraudem faciendam [illegible] Hom. xii. § 35. Jam ergo con-[illegible] quadraginta dies collocutum [illegible] Hom. ix. § 2. [h] Vid. [illegible] in Hom. xix. § 2. in part [illegible] page 353. [i] § 2.

[k] [illegible] Hom. xv. § 10. [l] [illegible] Hom. xiii. § 52. [m] [illegible] Hom. xi. § 26.

"name

" name of Father, Son, Holy Spirit, ye shall not enter into the " kingdom of heaven." This is supposed to be a reference to John, iii. 3. 5. But he seems to have joined together several texts.

3. If this be the work of an Ebionite, as is generally [o] supposed, and seems not improbable [p], it may be argued, that, when the author wrote, the (D) four gospels were owned by that sect, or at least by some branch of it. For though there may be some interpolations in these Homilies, there is no reason to think that any texts have been added. If such a thing had been attempted, we should have had here some passages out of other books of the New Testament, and possibly out of St. Paul's epistles. It is very probable also that we should have met with some forms of quotation, different from those now used in these Homilies.

I see no way of evading this conclusion, but by supposing that all (E) these texts of our several gospels were in some one gospel used by the Ebionites, called the gospel of Matthew, or according to the Hebrews, or by whatever other name it was distinguished. However, either way our evangelical history is confirmed.

This observation upon these Homilies may be reckoned applicable likewise to the Recognitions.

4. Though neither of these books be of any sacred authority, they may be both of some use; and may deserve a more

[o] Vid. Præfat. Clerici, et judicium Cotelerii de Clementinis, apud Patres Apost. Mill. Proleg. 670. [p] Vid. Hom. iii. § 12. vii. § 8. xvi. § 15. et alibi.

(D) It is generally said, that the Ebionites 'received the gospel according to St. 'Matthew only.' So Irenæus: Solo autem eo quod est secundum Matthæum evangelio utuntur, et apostolum Paulum recusant, apostatam eum Legis dicentes. Iren. l. i. c. 26. al. 25. or, 'the gospel 'according to the Hebrews, making little 'account of the rest.' So Eusebius: Εὐαγγελίῳ δὲ μόνῳ τῷ καθ' Ἑβραίους λεγομένῳ χρῶνται, τὰν λοιπὰν σμικρὰν ἐποιοῦντο λόγον. H. E. l. iii. c. 27. 'The gospel according to Mat-'thew alone, which they call according to 'the Hebrews: and that not entire, but 'corrupted and mutilated.' So Epiphanius. Hær. xxx. § 3. p. 127. C. § 13. p. 137. C. This account of their opinion may suffice for the present.

(E) In this work are several things peculiar to St. Luke, which are not in any of our three other gospels. I shall put down references to them; not proposing this, however, as a complete collection of texts taken from the gospel of that evangelist. Words of Luke, x. 7, are found in Homily iii. § 71. chap. x. 18. Hom. xix. § 2. ch. x. 20. Hom. ix. § 22. ch. xi. 52. Hom. iii. § 18. and Hom. xviii. § 16. The parable of the unjust judge, Luke, xviii. 1—17. in Hom. xvii. § 5. Our Lord's visit to Zaccheus recorded, ch. xix. 1—10. Hom. iii. § 63. ch. xv. 43. Hom. iii. § 15. ch. xxiii. 34. Hom. xi. § 20. And it is reasonable to suppose, that the author used many more things of St. Luke's and St. John's gospel, as well as of St. Matthew's, than those which we find recited or referred to in this work. But we shall have another opportunity of speaking more distinctly and at large of these things; I mean, when we come to consider the testimony of those called heretics. For if this be indeed the work of an Ebionite, we shall be obliged to take some notice of it once more.

particular

particular examination than has been yet given them. I have ſaid as much of them as is conſiſtent with the nature of the preſent work, which does not allow me to ſtay too long upon any one piece. And yet I ſuppoſe enough has been ſaid to render it probable, not only that the Clementine Homilies, but alſo that the book of Recognitions, which Mr. Whiſton, in our time, has recommended to us, 'as certainly to be eſteemed in the next 'degree to that of the really ſacred books of the New Teſta-'ment,' is the work of an Ebionite; and therefore, if there is in it any Arianiſm, it has been interpolated.

VI. After the Recognitions, and the Clementine Homilies, there follows, in the Patres Apoſtolici, a book intitled THE CLEMENTINE EPITOME; which has been already mentioned, and needs not to be now enlarged upon; it having plain marks of a later age than that we are concerned with at preſent. It ſeems to have been compoſed out of the Recognitions and Homilies, and perhaps ſome other works, leaving out ſome things, and adding others. Cotelerius [q], who publiſhed it, is much of this opinion. To this Clementine Epitome, or ſome ſuch like piece, the author of the Synopſis, aſcribed to St. Athanaſius, refers, when among the contradicted or apocryphal books of the New Teſtament, ſuch as the Travels of Peter, the goſpel according to Thomas, and ſome others, he mentions the Clementines, 'out of which,' he ſays [r], 'thoſe things have 'been ſelected which are true and divinely inſpired.' This is probably the book which Nicephorus likewiſe ſpeaks of, as being in his time approved by the church.

But, in compoſing of it, not only thoſe things were ſelected which are true and right in the ancient Clementines, but divers other things were added. Thus, in the Clementine Homilies [s], Clement ſays, 'I give thanks to God;' in the 'Recognitions, 'I give thanks to Almighty God.' But in the parallel place of the Clementine Epitome [t], Clement ſays, 'I give thanks to 'God, even the Father, and to his only begotten Son, and to 'the Holy Spirit.' The preaching of Barnabas at Rome, which we before obſerved as it ſtands in the Recognitions, in

[q] [illegible] Recogni- [illegible] Apoſt. Abbat. Op. Tom. [illegible]

[illegible] Hom. [illegible]

[illegible] quidſpiam, [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

this Epitome is thus represented: 'O Romans, hear! the Son 'of God is in Judea, promising eternal life to all that are 'willing: . . . be converted, therefore, and [y] acknowledge one 'God in three persons.' In the Clementine Homilies Peter says to Clement, 'If you would know the things of God, you 'can learn them from him only' [that is, from Christ, the true prophet]. 'And his doctrine [z] and true preaching is, that 'there is one God, who made the world.' In the parallel place of the Clementine Epitome, Peter says to Clement: 'If you 'would know the things concerning God, you [a] can learn them 'only from our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ. . . . . 'And it is his doctrine, that there is one God in three per-'sons, who made the whole world.' But we have no occasion to insist any longer on this book.

VII. I have spoken of these three pieces in the order in which they are placed by Cotelerius and Le Clerc, in their editions of them. But, as I before observed, I take the Clementine Homilies to be the original work upon which the Recognitions were formed; as the author of the Clementine Epitome has borrowed from both.

Thus has the name of Clement, the companion and fellow-labourer of the apostle Paul, been abused by men of three several denominations and characters; an Ebionite, an Arian, and a Catholic. The hand of an Ebionite, in the Clementine Homilies, is, I think, generally acknowledged by learned moderns: and Epiphanius, speaking of the Travels of Peter, says, they had been altered and corrupted by the Ebionites. It was very natural for him, who supposed those Travels were written by Clement, to say that they were corrupted by the Ebionites; for certainly the peculiar principles of that sect could not proceed from a fellow-labourer of the apostle Paul. But that there was no good foundation, in the most early antiquity, for supposing Clement to be the author of any of these pieces, may be concluded from Eusebius. I apprehend it must appear probable, from our extracts and observations, that the Clementine Homilies were composed by an Ebionite; and that the main ground and foundation at least of the Recognitions, also is the work of a man of the same sect.

Some Arian must have interpolated the Recognitions, as is evident from the character of them in Photius before mentioned;

[y] Και γινεσθε τον εν τριαδι υπαρχοντα σεβοντες θεον. Clementin. Ep. § 7. [z] Εστι τε αυτου το βουλημα και το κηρυγμα, εις εστιν ο κτισας τον κοσμον θεος. Hom. ii. § 12.

[a] Παρα του Κυριου και Θεου . . . δυνηση μαθειν περι Θεου, . . . Εστι τε αυτου το βουλημα, εις εστιν ο Θεος, ο των απαντων κτισας τον κοσμον. Cl. Ep. § 22, 23.

and

and from Rufinus, who [b] says, 'that in some places (in his 'Greek copies of the Recognitions) the doctrine of Eunomius 'is so plainly put down, that one would believe Eunomius 'himself was the speaker, teaching, that the Son of God was 'created out of nothing.' These things, I suppose, could not be written before the fourth century.

That the Clementine Epitome was composed by an orthodox Christian, is notorious. However, it may be said in favour of the Catholics, that none of them appear to have had any hand in any of these Clementines during the first three centuries. It may be added likewise, that it was known that the Clementine Epitome was not an original piece; and that it was not pretended to be really written by Clement, but was allowed to consist of things selected out of some other work or works. This may be concluded from the author of the Synopsis: but yet this does not amount to a full vindication of this book, and the title given to it. For though the learned author of the Synopsis knew very well, as it seems, that the book of Clementines, in use in the church, was not really written by Clement, but was an orthodox modern book, composed out of some other more ancient writings, which were not completely catholic; yet the generality of people would be induced, from the title, to take it for the work of Clement himself. Nor is the account of this book in the Synopsis just and fair; since, as has been shewn, it is not a mere epitome of the ancient Clementines, but has many additions.

I am far from taking pleasure in mentioning these things: but there is a necessity of distinguishing genuine and supposititious works. And I hope I may rely upon what is said by the great [c] author, Philelencherus Lipsiensis, speaking of the various readings of the several copies of the New Testament: 'Depend on it, no truth, no matter of fact fairly laid open, 'can ever subvert true religion.' It is possible that some weak and inconsiderate men may be offended at the detection of forged and supposititious writings; but I think that truth would suffer much more in the end by letting them pass without censure.

It cannot be, I think, beside the purpose, to put down in this place a passage of a letter of Salvian, presbyter of Marseilles in

[b] [illegible] [Recognitionis liber] cum [illegible] Patri [illegible] doctrina [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

the fifth century, to Salonius, biſhop (F) of ſome place in Gaul, or near it. Salvian wrote a treatiſe, in four books, againſt covetouſneſs, without putting his name to it. It begins with an epiſtolary addreſs in this manner: 'Timothy, the leaſt of 'the ſervants of God, to the catholic church ſpread over the 'whole world, grace be to thee, and peace, from God our Fa- 'ther, and from Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, with the Holy Spirit.' Salonius, diſſatisfied about this, ſent his ſcruples in a letter to Salvian, as appears from what Salvian writes by way of anſwer, which is to this purpoſe: 'You [d] aſk me, my dear Salonius, 'why the name of Timothy has been put to ſome books lately 'compoſed and inſcribed to the church by ſome man of our 'time. You add likewiſe, that, unleſs I clearly ſhew the reaſon 'of this title, ſince they are called Timothy's, perhaps they 'ought to be reckoned apocryphal.' Salvian then propoſes the reaſons of this title, ſtill ſpeaking of the author in the third perſon, without owning himſelf to have had any hand in thoſe books. I need not now mention particularly thoſe reaſons; but I would make a few remarks upon this paſſage.

1. We ſee here the meaning of the word 'apocryphal;' it is much the ſame as ſpurious, or ſuppoſititious; at leaſt the word was ſo uſed ſometimes. A book with the name of Timothy, which was not his, Salonius thought ſhould be placed in the number of apocryphal books.

2. Here is an inſtance of the vigilance and caution of Chriſtians about the books which they received as written by apoſtles, or apoſtolical men. The books againſt covetouſneſs, named Timothy's, are good books; nevertheleſs, ſince they were not his, Salonius was for having them called by the diſadvantageous title of apocryphal, or ſpurious. So far from receiving them as canonical, he would not admit them into the rank of eccleſiaſtical writings. Indeed here is inſerted a modeſt 'per- 'haps,' which, it is likely, he thought neceſſary in writing to his maſter Salvian, whoſe opinion upon the point he did not yet know. Otherwiſe he ſeems to have expreſſed himſelf poſitively enough, and deſires a good reaſon to be given him of the name put to theſe books.

(F) It is not certain what place he was biſhop of. Vid. Cave, Hiſt. Lit. P. i. p. 457. Stephan. Baluz. Not. ad Salvian. p. 374. Pariſ. 1669. Du Pin, Bibliotheque.

[d] Quæris a me, O mi Saloni, caritas mea, cur libellis nuper a quodam hujus temporis homine ad eccleſiam factis, Timothei nomen inſcriptum ſit. Ad hæc præterea, quod niſi rationem vocabuli exigas, ipſe expreſſero, dum nominantur Timothei, inter apocrypha ſint fortaſſe reputanda. Salvian. ep. ix.

3. It

3. It is a dangerous thing to aſſume the names of great men; the conſequence may be worſe than we imagine. Salvian did not intend that theſe books ſhould be thought to be really written by Timothy; he was a man of more virtue, and particularly of more modeſty, than to incur the ſuſpicion of ſuch a deſign. Nevertheleſs he acted indiſcreetly, and Salonius juſtly demanded a clear reaſon of this title; otherwiſe theſe books were to be branded as apocryphal, leſt they ſhould be ſuppoſed, by ſome people, to be really Timothy's. We are certainly indebted to the circumſpection and care of Salonius, and perhaps of others likewiſe, in this affair. If no notice had been taken at that time of this ambiguous title, theſe books might have been reputed, by many, a genuine work of Timothy, the diſciple and fellow-labourer of the apoſtle Paul: and notwithſtanding this notice, they [c] ſeem to have been publiſhed as his, in the firſt printed edition of them.

VIII. I now conclude my extracts out of Chriſtian writers of the ſecond century. If any miſs ſome authors, which they expected to have ſeen mentioned here, it is likely they will find them in the following century.

I do not ſum up the ſeveral teſtimonies which have been already taken: we are as yet collecting evidence, and expect more. As a general review of the whole will be made at the end, that may be ſufficient.

It ought to be obſerved, that we have not here the whole remaining evidence of the firſt two centuries, becauſe I have hitherto inſiſted chiefly on catholic authors. I ſuppoſe that the ſentiments of thoſe called Heretics, will give ſome confirmation to the teſtimonies of catholic Chriſtians. Poſſibly ſome heathen authors may afford us ſome evidence. Celſus the Epicurean, who within this period wrote profeſſedly againſt the Chriſtian religion, will be a conſiderable witneſs in behalf of the books, as well as facts, of the New Teſtament. But theſe are to be conſidered hereafter in diſtinct articles.

[c] Vid. Steph. Baluz. not. ad Salvian. p. 416. et Centuriatores Magdeburg. cent. v. [illegible]

THE CREDIBILITY OF THE GOSPEL HISTORY.

PART II.

[VOL. III. FIRST PUBLISHED IN MDCCXXXVIII.]

CHAP. XXX.

MINUCIUS FELIX.

MARCUS MINUCIUS FELIX has left us an excellent defence of the Chriſtian religion, written in the form of a dialogue or conference between Cæcilius Natalis, a heathen, and Octavius Januarius, a Chriſtian, in which Minucius ſits as judge. Cæcilius firſt objects, and then Octavius anſwers. When he has finiſhed, after a ſhort interval of ſilence, Cæcilius owns himſelf convinced and overcome, and declares his readineſs to become a Chriſtian.

This piece had been long reckoned an eighth book of 'Arnobius againſt the Gentiles;' but for ſome while has been reſtored by the critics to Minucius, to whom it is aſcribed by ancient Chriſtian authors who have quoted it: not to mention any other reaſons, why it ought not to be eſteemed a part of Arnobius's work.

It is difficult to determine with exactneſs the age of Minucius. The generality of learned men have placed him between

[a] Vid. inprimis Diſſerta. Fr. Balduini in M. Minucii Felicis Octavium.

Tertullian

Tertullian and St. Cyprian. Cave [b], in particular, thinks he flouriſhed about the year 220; but without being poſitive that he has hit his exact age. David Blondell [c] thought Minucius wrote under Marcus Antoninus the philoſopher, about the year 170. The late moſt ingenious [d] and critical Mr. Moyle too thought, 'that the age of Minucius, though not 'certain, had been fixed, with great probability, to the latter 'end of the reign of the ſame emperor by Mr. Dodwell.' And it is true, Mr. [e] Dodwell declared that to be his opinion, in his Diſſertationes Cyprianicæ, publiſhed in 1684. But in a book intitled 'A Diſcourſe concerning the Uſe of Incenſe in Divine 'Offices,' publiſhed in 1711, he brings Minucius down a good deal later. 'But,' ſays he [f], 'what then ſhall we think of the '*aras nullas* in Minucius Felix? He wrote a little after Tertul-'lian, as mentioning [g] the repreſentation of the God of the 'Chriſtians with an aſs's head, which was a calumny newly in-'vented [h] when Tertullian wrote his Apology; yet before St. 'Cyprian, who tranſcribes ſome paſſages out of him *verbatim* 'in his book De Vanitate Idolorum.'

It may be farther obſerved, that the internal characters of time in this work are not unſuitable to the latter part of the ſecond, or the beginning of the third century. The Chriſtians are in afflictive circumſtances, without altars and temples; and are loaded by Cæcilius, in his part of the diſpute, with all manner of reproaches. Laſtly, St. Jerom, in his book of Illuſtrious Men, where he has ſome regard to the order of time, has placed Minucius between Tertullian and St. Cyprian; and in the chapter of Tertullian ſays, that Tertullian was then generally reckoned the firſt of the Latin writers of the church, after Victor and Apollonius.

I think, upon the whole, that if this Dialogue was written after Tertullian's Apology, yet it may be allowed to have ſoon followed it; and theſe two Chriſtian apologiſts may be reckoned contemporaries. I therefore place Minucius at the year 210,

[b] [illegible] qui vixit, nihil habeo [illegible] ſi tam. in [illegible] hactenus habidi licet, com-[illegible] Tertulliano ſuppa-[illegible] circa an. 210, [illegible] Lib. I. p. 66.

[c] David Blondellus in Apologia de [illegible] Vid. Testimonia [illegible] Traditione Fidei Chri-[illegible].

[d] Works of Walter Moyle, Eſq. v. ii. p. 84. See alſo vol. i. p. 329.

[e] Diſſ. iv. § 16. p. 55.

[f] See Diſcourſe, &c. § 20. p. 56.

[g] Audio eos turpiſſimum pecudis caput alicui consecrasse, nescio quæ ridiculosa persuasione. Minuc. Fel. cap. 9. p. 55. et cap. 28. p. 145. ed. David. Casaubon. 1712.

[h] Vid. Tertullian. Apolog. cap. 16. p. 17. D.

near the end of the reign of Septimius Severus; which is agreeable to the opinion of [i] Baronius, and others.

It is thought probable, by many learned [k] men, that Minucius was an African. However, Trithemius, in the fifteenth century, calls [l] Minucius a Roman. To which we may add, likewiſe, that he ſays, Minucius flouriſhed in the reign of the emperor Alexander, at the year 230.

Lactantius has twice mentioned this writer. In the [m] firſt place he quotes a paſſage from him, and gives his book the title of Octavius. In the other he ſays, 'that Minucius [n] was 'an eminent pleader, and that his book, intitled Octavius, ſhews 'how able a defender of the truth he might have been, if he 'had given up himſelf entirely to that work.' Lactantius here ſpeaking of ſeveral Chriſtian apologiſts, firſt mentions Minucius, then Tertullian, and laſt of all St. Cyprian.

'Minucius Felix,' ſays St. Jerom in his [o] book of Illuſtrious Men, 'an eminent pleader of Rome, wrote a dialogue be-'tween a Chriſtian and a heathen, which is intitled Octavius. 'There is another book, which goes under his name, Of Fate, 'or againſt aſtrologers: which, though it be likewiſe the work 'of an eloquent man, does not appear to me agreeable to the 'ſtyle of the forementioned book. Lactantius, in his writings, 'makes mention of this Minucius.'

The book Of Fate, which is not now extant, is mentioned much after the ſame manner, in another work, by [p] St. Jerom, who, upon ſeveral [q] occaſions, has commended the learning of

[i] Baron. Ann. 211. § 2, 3. Vid. et Tillemont, Note ſur Minuce Felix. Mem. Ec. T. iii. P. 1. p. 513. ed. de Bruxelles.

[k] Cave, Hiſt. Lit. Tillemont, Minuce Fel. Baſnag. Annal. Pol. Ec. 210. n. iii. Fr. Balduin. Diſſ. in Min. Fel. Oct. Rigaltius in notis. [l] Minucius Felix, cauſidicus, patria Romanus, vir in ſecularibus literis eruditiſſimus, et in divinis lectionibus ſtudioſus, . . . claruit Romæ ſub Alexandro imperatore, Anno Domini CCXXX. Trithem. de Script. Eccl. cap. 54.

[m] Minucius Felix, *in eo libro qui* Octavius inſcribitur, ſic argumentatus eſt. . . . Lactant. de Divin. Inſt. l. i. cap. 11. p. 67. Lugd. Bat. 1660. [n] *Minucius* Felix non ignobilis inter cauſidicos loci fuit. Hujus liber, cui Octavio titulus eſt, declarat, quam idoneus veritatis aſſerter eſſe potuiſſet, ſi ſe totum ad id ſtudii contuliſſet. Id. l. v. cap. i. p. 459.

[o] Minucius Felix, Romæ inſignis cauſidicus, ſcripſit dialogum Chriſtiani et Gentilis, qui Octavius inſcribitur. Sed et alius ſub nomine ejus fertur, De Fato, vel contra mathematicos: qui cum ſit et ipſe diſerti hominis, non videtur cum ſuperioris libri ſtilo convenire. Meminit hujus Minucii et Lactantius in libris ſuis. De Vir. Ill. cap. 58.

[p] Minucius Felix, cauſidicus Romæ Fori, in libro cui titulus Octavius eſt, in altero contra mathematicos (ſi tamen inſcriptio non mentitur auctorem), et Gentilium ſcripturarum dumſit nonnulla. Id. ad Magnum, ep. 83. al. 84.

[q] Tacco de Latinis ſcriptoribus, Tertulliano, Cypriano, Minucio, Victorino, Lactantio, Hilario. Hieron. Apologet. ad Pammachium, ep. 30. al. 50. Atque in hunc modum eruditionis famam deſtinando eruditiſſimus habebatur; illud Cypriani, hoc Lactantii, illud Hilarii eſt: Minucius Felix, ita Victorinus, in hunc modum locutus eſt Arnobius. Ad Heliodorum, Epitaph. Nepotiani, ep. 35. al. 7.

his

this author. Minucius is alſo reckoned with the moſt eloquent Chriſtian writers, by [r] Eucherius, biſhop of Lyons in the fifth century. I forbear to allege any more teſtimonies.

That Minucius pleaded at Rome, appears from the Dialogue itſelf; in which the author mentions [s] the vintage ſeaſon, when there was vacation at the courts of juſtice. We know likewiſe, from the book itſelf, that both Minucius and his friend Octavius were originally heathens: it is alſo intimated, that Minucius did not embrace Chriſtianity before [t] he was of mature age, and able to judge for himſelf. As [u] for Octavius, he ſeems to have pleaded againſt the Chriſtians, or to have ſat in judgment upon them, in the former part of his life; when he treated them with the ſeverity and injuſtice common with other heathen judges at that time.

This work is a monument of the author's ingenuity, learning, and eloquence. And the converſion of a man, of his great natural and acquired abilities, to the Chriſtian religion, and his public and courageous defence of it, notwithſtanding the many worldly temptations to the contrary which he muſt have met with at that time, eſpecially in his ſtation; as they give an advantageous idea of his virtue, ſo they likewiſe afford a very agreeable argument in favour of the truth of our religion.

Here are no expreſs quotations of the books of ſcripture. But as it may be expected I ſhould not entirely omit the hints or alluſions to them, found in ſo polite and elegant a performance, I ſhall take the following notice of ſuch as have appeared to me in reading it.

I. 'The [x] birds ſubſiſt without an eſtate; and the beaſts are 'fed by the day.' Perhaps here is a reference to Matth. vi. 26. and Luke, xii. 24. if not alſo to the petition in the Lord's prayer for 'daily bread.'

II. 'How [y] can he be thought poor, who is rich toward 'God?' Compare Luke, xii. 21.

[r] Et quando clariſſimos facundiæ Firmianum, Minucium, Cyprianum, Hilarium, Ambroſium, ex illo voluminum ſuorum ſplendidiſſimo evolvam. Eucher. in Formul. Spiritual. [s] Sane et ad Octobrianam ferie judiciarum curam relaxatam. M. Minucii Octav. cap. 2. p. 24. [t] Pugnas, cum diligenter in utroque vitæ genere verſatus, repudiaris alterum, ſine quo nihil diſcris. Cap. 5. p. 31. Et nos idem ruimus, et eadem vobiſcum quondam adhuc cæci et hebetes facimus. . . . Nos tamen cum ſacrilegos, aliquos et inceſtos, parricidas etiam defendendos et mendos ſuſcipiebamus, hos nec tendendos, in totum putabamus: nonnunquam etiam miſerantes eorum crudelius ſeviebamus, ut torqueremus confitentes ad negandum, videlicet ne perirent; exercentes in his perverſam quæſtionum, non quæ verum erueret, ſed quæ mendacium cogeret. Vid. et quæ ſequuntur, cap. 28. p. 141. [x] Aves ſine patrimonio vivunt, et in diem pecua paſcuntur. Cap. 36. p. 176. [y] Ut tamen quis poteſt pauper eſſe . . . qui Deo dives eſt? Ibid.

III. Cæcilius says, 'The [z] Romans erect altars to unknown 'Gods.' Though these are the words of the heathen disputant, it may be thought probable that Minucius, the composer of the Dialogue, refers to Acts, xvii. 23. '*I found an altar with* '*this inscription, To the unknown God.*'

IV. Octavius [a] speaks of the intimate presence of God with us, or of our 'living as it were with him,' in terms so resembling those of Acts, xvii. 27, 28, that some may think he refers to them.

V. 'Seeds [b] do not spring till after they have putrefied.' This resembles 1 Cor. xv. 36. '*That which thou sowest is not quickened* '*except it die.*'

VI. 'Therefore,' says 'Octavius, 'as gold is tried by the 'fire, so are we [Christians] by afflictions.' See 1 Cor. iii. 13. and 1 Pet. i. 7. But this is too common a comparison to prove a reference to any particular writing.

VII. 'Fortitude [d] is improved by misfortunes;' or, literally, 'is strengthened by infirmities.' See 2 Cor. xii. 10.

VIII. 'Shall [e] I bring offerings and sacrifices to God, of 'things which he has set forth for my use, and so fling him 'back again his gift? This would be ungrateful.' Which has a resemblance with what is said, 1 Tim. iv. 3, 4. . . . . '*to ab-* '*stain from meats, which God has created to be received with* '*thanksgiving . . . . for every creature of God is good, and nothing* '*to be refused, if it be received with thanksgiving.*'

IX. 'No [f] man can be so poor as he was born.' See 1 Tim. vi. 7. But the same thing has been said by heathen authors.

X. 'What soldier [g] is not more bold and courageous in the 'eye of his general? Nor is any man rewarded till he has 'been tried. . . . . The soldier of God is not deserted in pain, 'nor does he perish when he dies.' The reader, if he think

[z] Dum aras exstruunt etiam ignotis numinibus, et manibus. Cap. 6. p. 41.

[a] Unde enim Deus longe est, cum omnia cœlestia, terrenaque, et quæ extra istum orbis provinciam sunt, Deo cognita, plena sint? Ubique non tantum nobis proximus, sed infusus est. . . . Non tantum sub illo agimus, sed cum illo, ut prope dixerim, vivimus. Cap. 32. p. 162, 163.

[b] Semina non nisi corrupta revivescunt. Cap. 34. p. 171. [c] Itaque ut animum ignibus, sic nos discriminibus arguimur. Cap. 36. p. 177. [d] Fortitudo enim infirmitatibus roboratur. Ibid.

[e] Hostias et victimas Domino offerimus, quas in usum mei protulit, ut rejectam sibi munus? Ingratum est. Cap. 32. p. 160.

[f] Nemo tam pauper esse potest, quam natus est. Cap. 36. p. 176.

[g] Quis non miles sub imperatoris oculis audacius periculum provocet? Nemo enim præmium percipit ante experimentum: et imperator tamen quod non habet, non dat; non potest propagare vitam, posse bene de re militari. At enim Dei miles nec in dolore deseritur, nec morte finitur. Cap. 37. p. 178.

fit,

ſit, may conſider whether here is an alluſion to St. Paul's compariſons, 2 Tim. ii. 3, 4, 5, 6. 8.

I do not judge it worth the while to allege any more paſſages of this ſort from Minucius.

CHAP. XXXI.

APOLLONIUS.

APOLLONIUS flouriſhed, according to Cave [a], about the year of our Lord 192. But Euſebius [b] informs us, that Apollonius himſelf ſays, that, when he wrote, it was forty years ſince Montanus had begun to recommend his falſe prophecy: and St. Jerom [c] has obſerved the ſame thing. Whence Tillemont [d] concludes, that Apollonius wrote about the year 211, at the concluſion of the reign of Severus, or in the firſt year of Caracalla. Valeſius [e] likewiſe is of much the ſame opinion.

Euſebius, who has preſerved ſeveral fragments of the forementioned treatiſe, calls Apollonius an eccleſiaſtical writer, beginning his account of it in this manner. 'Apollonius [f] likewiſe, an eccleſiaſtical writer, compoſed a confutation of the 'Cataphrygian hereſy, as it is called, which at that time prevailed in Phrygia, writing a book on purpoſe upon that occaſion.'

St. Jerom calls Apollonius a [g] 'moſt eloquent man;' and ſays, 'he wrote a long and excellent work againſt Montanus, 'Priſca, and Maximilla; and that [h] the ſeventh book of Ter-

[a] Hiſt. Lit. P. i. p. 53. in Apollonio.

[b] Euſ. H. E. l. v. c. 18. p. 186. B.

[c] Hier. in eodem libro quadrageſimum [illegible] ipſe ad tempus quo ipſe [illegible] ex quo hæreſis Cataphrygum habuerit exordium. De Vir. Ill. [illegible].

[d] Mem. Ec. T. ii. P. iii. [illegible] article v. p. 99. et art. xi. [illegible].

[e] Vid. Not. ad Euſ. l. v. c. 18. [illegible].

[f] Τῆς δὲ καλῆς ὑφ' ἡμῶν καινοτομίας [illegible] Ἀπολλώνιος ἐκκλησιαστὴς συγγράφεως. [illegible] ἐπὶ τῆς Φρυγίας ἔθνος ἐκράτει συγγραφὴν, ἣν κατ' αὐτὸν ποιησάμενος συγγράμματα. L. v. c. 18. p. 884. B.

[g] Apollonius, vir diſertiſſimus, ſcripſit adverſus Montanum, Priſcam, et Maximillam inſigne et longum volumen. De Vir. Ill. cap. 40.

[h] Tertullianus ſex voluminibus adverſus eccleſiam editis, quæ ſcripſit πρὸς Ἕλληνας, ſeptimum propriè adverſus Apollonium elaboravit, in quo omnia quæ arguit conatur defendere. Floruit autem ſub Commodo Severoque principibus. Ibid.

'tullian's treatise of Ecstasy was particularly designed as a con-
'futation of this piece of Apollonius:' which observation St. Jerom [i] has mentioned more than once. He says, likewise, that Apollonius flourished in the reigns of the emperors Commodus and Severus.

Eusebius speaks of Apollonius under no other character than that of an ecclesiastical writer; nor has St. Jerom mentioned any office he had in the church: for which reason, as [k] Tillemont says, it is not easy to rely upon Prædestinatus, a later writer, and otherwise full of mistakes, who calls him bishop of Ephesus. He is plainly different from Apollonius of whom (B) we spoke formerly, whom St. Jerom [l] calls a Roman senator, who also suffered under Commodus; whereas this person flourished partly in the reign of Severus, and probably reached to that of Caracalla.

I proceed, without making any more observations, to transcribe what relates to our purpose in the fragments of this work of Apollonius, written against the Montanists, which are preserved in Eusebius's Ecclesiastical History.

I. After some other passages of this author, Eusebius adds: 'Then [m] he goes on saying, Is it not apparent, that all the 'scripture forbids a prophet to take gifts and money?' By scripture, meaning undoubtedly the books of the Old and New Testament; in which last, as well as in the former, are divers things to which he may be supposed to refer, particularly to Acts, viii. 18 . . . 20. However, we shall presently see a text or two of the New Testament to this purpose.

II. Afterwards, speaking of Themison, a noted Montanist, he says: 'When [n] he ought to have been humbled [for the bad 'conduct which Apollonius there charges him with in time of 'persecution], he exalted himself as if he had been a martyr; and 'had the assurance, as if he had been an apostle, to write a 'catholic epistle for the instruction of men more faithful than 'himself. Yea, and in the abundance of his zeal for his vain 'sentiments, he proceeds so far as to speak disrespectfully of 'Christ, and the apostles, and the holy church.'

[i] De Vir. Ill. cap. 24. Melito; et cap. 39. Tertullianus.

[k] Tillemont, as before, p. 68.

(B) p. 303, 304.

[l] De Vir. Ill. cap. 42.

[m] Ἐπὶ μὴ φέρειν λέγων· Δοκεῖ σοι τάδε γράφειν γραφὴν καὶ λέγειν; Ap. Euseb. ib. p. 184. D.

[n] Δεήσεται τῶν τεταπεινῶσθαι, ὡς μέγιστόν τι φρονεῖν, εἰ μὴ μόνον μεμαρτυρηκέναι τοῦ ἀποστόλου, καὶ τὰ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου γεγραφέναι· καὶ ἔτι γε μᾶλλον, εἰ καὶ ἀποστολικὰς ἐπιστολὰς συγγράψασθαι δεῖν τῶν τοῦ κυρίου λόγων ἐπιλειπόντων δι' εἰς τὸν βίον καὶ τὰς ἀποστόλους, καὶ τὴν ἁγίαν ἐκκλησίαν. Ib. p. 185. A.

III. Again, reproving theſe men: 'When [o] the Lord hath 'ſaid, "*Provide neither gold, nor ſilver, nor two coats*" [Matth. 'x. 9, 10.], theſe, on the contrary, have heinouſly offended in 'the poſſeſſion of things forbidden.' And, ſoon after: 'For 'we [p] ought to examine the fruits of a prophet; "for the tree is "known by its fruit." See Matth. vii. 15—20. and ch. xii. 33.

IV. 'Moreover, ſays [q] Euſebius, he relates, as from tradition, 'that our Saviour commanded his apoſtles not to depart from 'Jeruſalem for the ſpace of twelve years. He alſo makes uſe of 'teſtimonies out of the Revelation of John; and he relates, that 'by the divine power, the ſame John raiſed up to life a dead 'man at Epheſus.'

V. Here is then a reference or two to the goſpel of St. Matthew. We are aſſured by Euſebius, that Apollonius quoted the book of the Revelation. It is very probable, from the connection of things in this account, and from Euſebius's ſaying nothing to the contrary, that Apollonius aſcribed the Revelation to John the apoſtle. It appears farther, that the apoſtles of Chriſt, and their writings, were in the higheſt eſteem; and that the books called ſcripture, in a ſtrict and peculiar ſenſe, by Chriſtians, were well known among them, and were conſidered as the rule of their faith and practice.

CHAP. XXXII.

CAIUS, *and others.*

I. CAIUS. II. *An Anonymous Author againſt the Hereſy of* ARTEMON. III. *A Treatiſe of the* NATURE OF THE UNIVERSE.

I. CAIUS flouriſhed, according to [a] Cave, about the year 210. We are informed by Photius, 'That it was commonly 'ſaid, that Caius was a preſbyter of the church of Rome in the

[o] ... Κυριος, μη κτησησθε χρυσιον μηδε ... παραδοσεως του Σωτηρος φησι προσελθειν τους αυτου ... απο τους ... ειναι μη χωριζεσθαι της Ιερουσαλημ. Κεχρησθαι δε και μαρτυριαις εκ της Ιωαννου αποκαλυψεως· και ιστορει δε δυναμει θεια νεκρον εκ του Ιωαννη εν τη Εφεσω εγηγερθαι. p. 186. C.

[p] ... p. 185. B.

[q] ... Ibid. C.

[a] Hiſt. Lit. in Caio.

'time

'time of Victor and Zephyrine, and that he was ordained biſhop 'of the nations [b]:' by which ſome learned [c] men underſtand, that he was ordained to preach the goſpel in infidel countries, without having any particular people or dioceſe aſſigned him. Fabricius, by a ſmall alteration of the word in Photius, would read 'Athens,' inſtead [d] of 'nations;' and ſuppoſes, that having been firſt a preſbyter in the church of Rome, he was afterwards made biſhop of Athens.

Photius ſays, likewiſe, that he had ſeen a note of ſome perſon, whom he does not name, in a book Of the Nature of the Univerſe, aſcribed by ſome to Joſephus: 'That [e] it was written by 'Caius, a preſbyter, who dwelt at Rome, who is alſo ſaid to be 'the author of the Labyrinth.'

We are well aſſured from Euſebius [f] and [g] St. Jerom, that Caius lived in the time of Zephyrinus, biſhop of Rome, about whoſe time (A) learned men are not entirely agreed; and of Antoninus Caracalla, who reigned from 211 to 217.

It is thought, by many, that Caius was a diſciple of Irenæus. This has been concluded from ſome words at the end of a manuſcript copy of the epiſtle of the church of Smyrna, concerning the martyrdom of St. Polycarp, where it is ſaid: 'This '[h] was tranſcribed from the copy of Irenæus, diſciple of Poly-'carp, by Caius, who alſo was acquainted with Irenæus. I So-'crates, living in Corinth, tranſcribed it from the copy of 'Caius.' But it may be queſtioned whether this note may be relied upon: if it may, here is no certain proof that this is our Caius. As this was a common name, all that can be hence concluded is, that the tranſcriber of that epiſtle lived about the ſame time with our author. Indeed Caius, as we ſhall ſee by and by, does not reckon the epiſtle to the Hebrews among St. Paul's

[b] Τῶν τοῦ χρόνου πρεσβύτερον φησι γεγονέναι τῆς ἁγίας Ρώμης ἐπίσκοπον, ἐπὶ Ζεφυρίνου καὶ Ζεφυρῖνος τὰν ἀρχιερέων. γεγονέναι δὲ τῶν ἐθνῶν καὶ ἐθνῶν ἐπίσκοπον. Phot. Cod. 48. col. 36, 37. Rhotom. 1653.

[c] Cave, ut ſupra. Tillemont, Mem. Ec. T. iii. P. i. p. 295. Caius. [d] Preſbyter Romanus, atque inde epiſcopus Athenienſis; nam apud Photium pro ἐθνῶν ἐπίσκοπον legendum videtur Ἀθηνῶν. Fabric. Bibl. Gr. l. v. cap. i. T. v. p. 267. [e] Ἐγὼ δὲ ἐν παρατυχόντι ἀναγνώσματι οὐκ ἔγνων ὁ λόγος Ἰωσήπου, ἀλλὰ Γαΐου, τινὸς πρεσβυτέρου ἐν Ῥώμῃ διαβεβοημένου, ὃν φασὶ συγγράψαι καὶ τὸν Λαβύρινθον. Phot. ibid.

[f] Euſ. H. E. l. ii. cap. 25. p. 67. D. et lib. vi. cap. 20. [g] De Vir. Ill. cap. 59. (A) Mr. Dodwell thought that Zephyrinus, ſucceſſor of Victor, ſat in the ſee of Rome from the year 195 to 212. Vid. Diſſ. ſingular. de Rom. Pontif. Prim. Succeſſione, cap. xv. § 2. 7. &c. Tillemont ſays, Zephyrinus governed the church of Rome from 201, or 202, to 219. See St. Zephyrine. Mem. Ecc. T. iii. P. ii. p. 1. and note, p. 336. as alſo Caius, Mem. Ec. T. iii. P. i. p. 294. But Pagi ſays, from 197 to 217. Vid. Crit. in Bar. 197. n. v. 219. n. ii. [h] Μαρτυρήσαντος μὲν Πολυκάρπου ἐν τῷ Στατίῳ, γραφὲν δὲ Πολυκάρπου, ὑπὸ καὶ συνιστορηθὲν τοῦ Εἰρηναίου. ὃς δὲ Σωκράτης ἐν Κορίνθῳ ἐκ τοῦ Γαΐου ἀντεγράψατο. κ. λ. Ep. Eccleſ. Smyrn. § 23. apud Patr. Apoſt. et Valeſ. Annot. in Euſeb. H. E. p. 73. D.

epiſtles;

epiſtles; which agrees well enough to a diſciple of Irenæus, as Tillemont has obſerved. But this might be common, at that time, to many in ſeveral parts of the world.

It is alſo generally allowed, that Caius was a preſbyter of the church of Rome; and biſhop [i] Pearſon ſays directly, that Euſebius, as well as Photius, gives him that title. Du [k] Pin too ſays, that Euſebius and St. Jerom call Caius preſbyter, but without ſaying of Rome; theſe learned men do not refer to any particular place, where this is ſaid: and I am not aware that Euſebius or Jerom ſay any thing more, than that Caius was an eccleſiaſtical man, and had a diſpute with Proculus, at Rome, in the time of Zephyrinus. Though therefore it may be allowed to have ſome probability, from Photius, that Caius was a preſbyter of Rome, it can by no means be reckoned a certain thing.

There are three or four books aſcribed to Caius: A Dialogue, or Diſputation, with Proculus or Proclus, a follower of Montanus; another, Of the Univerſe; a third, called the Labyrinth, and the Little Labyrinth; a fourth, written againſt the Hereſy of Artemon. Theſe are all mentioned together by [l] Photius, as diſtinct works; but the two laſt are generally thought to be only different titles of one and the ſame work. Theodoret [m] ſays, that Caius wrote againſt Cerinthus; but I apprehend he means the book againſt the Montaniſts, in which Caius alſo oppoſed Cerinthus, as we ſhall ſoon ſee, from a paſſage to be tranſcribed from Euſebius. If Caius had compoſed a diſtinct work againſt that heretic, it is likely it would have been mentioned by Euſebius and Jerom.

There are therefore three books ſaid to be written by Caius, of which we have ſome fragments remaining. I ſhall ſpeak of each diſtinctly: and, firſt of all, of the Dialogue with Proculus, by which work Caius is beſt known; which is undoubtedly his, and which I take to be the only piece rightly aſcribed to him. And, ſince St. Jerom ſays that the diſpute with the Montaniſts was held at Rome in the reign of Caracalla, we cannot well place it before the year 212. It is probable, from the conſiderations mentioned by [n] Tillemont, that this Dialogue was written in Greek; which was alſo the opinion of [o] Valeſius.

[i] Hos Caium tum Euſebius tum Photius Romanæ eccleſiæ preſbyterum fuiſſe aſſerunt. Pearſ. Op. Poſt. Diſſ. II. § 3. p. 148. [k] Euſebe et ſaint Jerome disent bien, qu'il étoit prêtre, et qu'il a vécu du tems du Zephirin: Mais ils ne disent pas, qu'il fut prêtre de Rome. Du Pin, Bibl. Caius. [l] Cod. 48. [m] καὶ τὸν Κήρινθον ἐλέγχων ἐν τοῖς ἀναγεγραμμένοις αὐτῷ συγγράμμασι. Theodoret, Hær. Fab. l. II. c. 3. De Cerintho. [n] Mém. [o] Annot. in Euſ. l. III. cap. 28. p. 113.

1. Euſebius

1. Eusebius having spoken of the martyrdoms of St. Peter and St. Paul at Rome, and the inscriptions on their tombs, says: 'And [p] Caius, an ecclesiastical man, who lived in the time of 'Zephyrinus, bishop of the Romans, in his book written against 'Proculus, a leader of the Cataphrygian sect, confirms this, 'speaking after this manner of the places where the sacred ta-'bernacles of the forementioned apostles are deposited: "I am "able to shew the trophies of the apostles: for whether you go "to the Vatican, or to the Ostian Way, you will find the trophies "of those who founded this church."

This passage is now produced chiefly as the testimony of Eusebius to our author's character, and time, and the book against the Montanists; which was particularly written against Proculus, who is supposed to be the same Proculus whom Tertullian [q] has commended.

2. In another place, Eusebius, speaking of the writings of ancient ecclesiastical men, who flourished about the times of Severus and Antoninus Caracalla, says: 'There [r] is also come to 'our hands a dialogue [or disputation] of Caius, a most 'eloquent man, held at Rome in the time of Zephyrinus, with 'Proculus, a patron of the Cataphrygian heresy; in which also, 'reproving the rashness and audaciousness of the adversaries in 'composing new writtings [or scriptures], he makes mention 'of but thirteen epistles of the holy apostle, not reckoning 'that to the Hebrews with the rest. And indeed to this very 'time, by some of the Romans this epistle is not thought to be 'the apostle's.'

By the 'new writings,' or scriptures composed by the Montanists, it is reasonable to suppose, are intended some of their prophecies, which they had not only spoken, but written and published, with a design, as it seems, to have them received with the same or like respect with that paid to the scriptures received and owned by Christians as sacred. Upon this occasion Caius gave a list or catalogue of the apostle Paul's epistles received by himself and the church in general. One may be apt to think, that Caius reckoned up all the scriptures in general received by Christians from ancient time, in opposition to these

[p] Οὐδεν δ' ἧττον καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικὸς ἀνὴρ Γάϊος ἐπὶ Ζεφυρίνου Ῥωμαίων γεγονὼς ἐπισκόπου ἐν διαλόγῳ ᾧ Πρόκλου τῆς κατὰ Φρυγῶν αἱρέσεως προϊστάμενος γέγραφε συγγράφῳ διαλεγόμενος, κ. λ. Euseb. H. E. l. ii. cap. 25. p. 67. D.

[q] Tertullian adv. Valent. cap. v. p. 291. B. See also before in this volume, p. 251.

[r] Ἦλθε δὲ εἰς ἡμᾶς καὶ Γαΐου λογιωτάτου ἀνδρὸς διάλογος, ἐπὶ . . . . ἐν ᾧ τὰν δὲ καινὰς τῶν γραφῶν συγγραφὰς τόλμαν καὶ ἀκαιρίαν ἐλέγχων τῶν ἐναντίων ἐπιστολὰς μὲν τῷ ἱερῷ ἀποστόλῳ δεκατρεῖς μόνας ἐπιστολὰς μνημονεύει, τῆς πρὸς Ἑβραίους ἐπιστολῆς μετὰ καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐπιστολῶν ἐπὶ καὶ νῦν τισὶ παρὰ Ῥωμαίων τοῦτο ἀναγεγράφθαι τοῦ ἀποστόλου. H. E. l. vi. cap. 20.

[s] Καὶ

'new ſcriptures' of the Montaniſts. But ſuppoſing that he put down only the epiſtles of St. Paul, we ſhould have been glad to have had this paſſage at length. It would have been a great pleaſure to ſee thirteen of St. Paul's epiſtles expreſsly named, with the churches, or particular perſons, to whom they were ſent; or however deſcribed, at leaſt, by their ſeveral characters, in the order then uſed, all together in one catalogue, compoſed by this ingenious writer, at the beginning of the third century. And I cannot but think that Euſebius deſerves to be cenſured for this omiſſion.

The obſervation which Euſebius makes, at the concluſion of this paſſage, concerning ſome of the Romans, in his own time, not receiving the epiſtle to the Hebrews as Paul's, is ſomewhat remarkable. It may be conſidered, whether the occaſion of it be, that Caius had ſome particular relation to the church of Rome; or whether it be only owing to this diſpute having been held in that city, which was expreſsly mentioned before. If the former, this would afford ſome ground of ſuſpicion that Caius was a preſbyter of the church of Rome; which, we are informed by Photius, was a common opinion in his time.

As this teſtimony to St. Paul's epiſtles is very conſiderable, I ſhall tranſcribe alſo the paſſages of St. Jerom and Photius relating to the ſame matter; though they add little or nothing to the account given by Euſebius.

'Caius,' ſays St. 'Jerom, 'in the time of Zephyrinus, biſhop 'of Rome, that is, in the time of Antoninus, ſon of Severus, had 'a very notable diſpute with Proculus, a follower of Montanus, 'charging him with raſhneſs in defending the new prophecy. 'And in the ſame book, reckoning up only thirteen epiſtles of 'Paul, he ſays the fourteenth, which is inſcribed to the He-'brews, is not his: and with the Romans, to this day, it is not 'looked upon as Paul's.' This is St. Jerom's whole chapter concerning Caius, in his book of Illuſtrious Men.

St. Jerom, in this laſt ſentence, ſays more than Euſebius, whoſe account is only, that 'by ſome of the Romans, that epiſtle was 'not thought to be Paul's.' And when St. Jerom writes, that Caius ſays, 'the fourteenth epiſtle, which is inſcribed to the He-'brews, is not Paul's,' it is likely he ought to be explained by Euſebius that, when Caius mentioned thirteen epiſtles of Paul,

'Hic ſub Zephyrino, Romanæ urbis epiſcopo, id eſt, ſub Antonino Severi filio, diſ-'putationem adversus Proculum Montani ſectatorem, valde nobilem habuit; arguens eum 'audaciæ, quod novam prophetiam defenderet, et in eodem volumine epiſtolas quoque 'beati Pauli apoſtoli, quas numero quatuordecim, quarum prima ad Hebræos, hanc ſtatim 'non eſſe ejus, apud Romanæ, reliquæque plurimas, quas Paulus apoſtolus habet. De V. I. cap. 59.

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he did not reckon that to the Hebrews with them, saying nothing about it.

Photius, at the conclusion of what he says of this writer, having mentioned the other books ascribed to him, adds: 'That he [u] is also said to have composed an elaborate disputa-'tion against Proculus, a follower of Montanus, in which he 'enumerates only thirteen epistles of Paul, not reckoning that 'to the Hebrews.' So Photius. And I think he has better represented Eusebius's sense than St. Jerom.

It has been supposed by † some, that Caius rejected the epistle to the Hebrews, because the Montanists, with whom he was disputing, made use of it in support of their peculiar sentiments So Mr. Twells; whose words I shall transcribe, that the reader may see the force of this argument. 'Besides, [w] Caius's adver-'sary in that dispute was a Montanist, as Eusebius tells us. 'Now there is a passage in this epistle, ch. vi. 4, 5, 6. which at 'first sight favours Montanus's opinion, against restoring 'lapsers' 'after 'baptism.' This place was appealed to by these heretics, 'in defence of that singularity (thus Tertullian, in his book De 'Pudicitia, c. 20; cites this very passage, to prove that there is 'no room for a second repentance); as it was afterwards by the 'Novatians, who maintained the same error. It is not there-'fore to be doubted but Proculus made his advantage of that 'same passage; which easily accounts for the other's leaving 'the epistle to the Hebrews out of the number of those written 'by St. Paul.'

But I am of opinion that this was not the reason of Caius's omitting this epistle; or, that this does not 'account for his 'leaving it out of the number of those written by St. Paul.' For, 1. If this epistle had been till then universally received by Christians, Caius could not have omitted it here. If a heretic's appealing to a book of scripture, in defence of any singular opinion maintained by him, had been a reason for rejecting such book, the catholics would have been obliged to reject most, if not all the books of the New Testament. But this could not be done, with regard to any book universally received. Therefore Caius's omission of this epistle affords an argument, that it was not then universally received as an epistle of the apostle Paul.—2. We know that at that time, or thereabout, this epistle was not universally received by catholic Christians,

[u] . . . . Περι τουτου και ἑτερας μονας επιστολας ανεθηκατο Παυλου, ουκ ουσας αυτου τῆς ἑξακοσιας. Phot. Cod. 48. col. 37. † Vid. Grot. in Ep. ad Hebr. cap. vi. ver. 4. 5, 6.

[w] A Critical Examination of the late new Text and Version of the N. T. in Greek and English, Part ii. p. 50. London, 1731.

from

from the expreſs teſtimony and (B) acknowledgment of Tertullian himſelf, a Montaniſt.—3. This way of arguing makes Caius a mean and contemptible writer, which is not his character in antiquity. Mr. Twells is ſenſible of this conſequence. Therefore he adds, in the words immediately following thoſe already tranſcribed: 'It was perhaps eaſier to the eloquent Caius 'to cut this difficulty by rejecting the entire work, than to 'diſſolve it by a critical diſcuſſion of the paſſage. We have 'ſuch controvertiſts in our own times, men who judge of 'ancient writings according to modern prejudices; allowing no 'book or paſſage to be genuine, but what favours their own 'ſingularities; and condemning nothing for ſpurious that tends 'to ſupport them.'

I ſuppoſe then, that Caius here gave a candid and unprejudiced enumeration of the epiſtles of St. Paul; and that he did not think the epiſtle to the Hebrews to have been written by that apoſtle. Whether he aſcribed it to Barnabas, as Tertullian did, and poſſibly divers others at that time, or to ſome other perſon, we cannot be poſitive. It may be reckoned very probable, that this epiſtle was not unknown to Caius. But it appears to me not unlikely, that, in all his reading and converſation, he had never met with any who aſcribed this epiſtle to Paul; and that, when he had enumerated his thirteen epiſtles, he ſuppoſed he had mentioned all the writings of that apoſtle.

3. In another place, Euſebius having cited part of a letter of Polycrates biſhop Epheſus to Victor biſhop of Rome, concerning the death of John and Philip, alſo one of the twelve apoſtles, adds: 'And in the Dialogue [x] of Caius, which we mentioned 'juſt now, Proculus, with whom that diſputation was held, 'agreeing with what we have here put down concerning the 'death of Philip and his daughters, ſays: "After this the four "prophetеſſes, daughters of Philip, lived in Hierapolis in Aſia, "where is both their, and their father's ſepulchre." 'Thus he. 'And,' adds Euſebius, 'Luke, in the Acts of the apoſtles, makes 'mention of the daughters of Philip, which had the gift of pro'phecy, who then lived with their father in Cæſarea of Judea, 'having theſe words: "And we came unto Cæſarea, and enter"ed into the houſe of Philip the evangeliſt." Acts, xxi.

(B) See before, ch. xxvi. p. 269—272.

[x] Και το τω Γαΐω δε ὁμιλησαντι επι της Ρωμης επι Ζεφυρινου, περι της των ειρημενων αιρεσεως, συμφωνα τοις ενθαδε τεθεισι περι της Φιλιππου και των θυγατερων αυτου τελευτης, ταδε ιστορησε. Μετα τουτους τεσσαρας προφητιδας θυγατερας Φιλιππου γενεσθαι εν Ιεραπολει της Ασιας, ου και τους τουτων και του πατρος ταφους δεικνυσθαι. Ταυτα μεν ουν ὁ Γαΐος. Ο δε Λουκας εν ταις Πραξεσι των Αποστολων, τας θυγατερας Φιλιππου προφητιδας γενεσθαι λεγων, ὁμου τουτου τω πατρι εν Καισαρεια της Ιουδαιας ενδημουσας, ταδε περι αυτου ιστορησε. Και εισελθοντες εις Καισαρειαν, εισηλθομεν εις τον οικον Φιλιππου του ευαγγελιστου. H. E. l. iii. c. 31. p. 84. A. B.

8, 9. Whether Proculus referred to the book of the Acts we cannot say.

4. Once more, Eusebius, speaking of Cerinthus, says: 'And 'y Caius, whom we quoted before, in his Disputation, writes thus 'of him. And Cerinthus also, who by his revelations, as if 'written by some great apostle, imposes upon us monstrous re-'lations of things of his own invention, as shewn him by 'an angel, says, that after the resurrection there shall be a ter-'restrial kingdom of Christ; and that men shall live again in Je-'rusalem, subject to sensual desires and pleasures. And being 'an enemy to the divine scriptures [literally, 'scriptures of God'], 'and desirous to seduce mankind, he says, there will be a term 'of a thousand years spent in nuptial entertainments.'

This passage, together perhaps with other things in this dispute, said against Cerinthus, and not any particular and distinct book, I suppose to be what Theodoret refers to, when he says that Caius wrote against Cerinthus.

Whether Caius here intends our book of the Revelation, or some other piece, is a disputed point. Mr. Twells [z] thinks it 'probable, that Caius's testimony relates to some forgery of 'Cerinthus, under the name of St. John, and not to the present 'book of Revelation.' And Mr. Jones [a] thought this a clear case. But Dr. Grabe says, 'that though [b] some learned men 'have concluded, from this passage of Caius, that the heresiarch 'Cerinthus published an apocalypse; yet it appears to him plain 'and manifest, from the words of this passage, that Caius ascrib-'ed the very Apocalypse of St. John to Cerinthus.' And Dr. Mill is of the same opinion [c], that there were at that time some catholic Christians, who ascribed the Revelation, which from

y Γαΐος ȣ φωνας ηδη προτερον παρατεθειμαι, εν τη φερομενη αυτȣ ζητησει ταυτα περι αυτȣ γραφει· αλλα και Κηρινθος ο δι αποκαλυψεων ως απο μεγαλȣ αποστολȣ γεγραμμενων, τερατολογιας ημιν ως δι' αγγελȣ αυτῳ δεδειγμενας ψευδομενος επεισαγει λεγων, μετα την αναστασιν επιγειον ειναι το βασιλειον τȣ Χριστȣ, και παλιν επιθυμιαις και ηδοναις εν Ιερȣσαλημ την σαρκα πολιτευομενην δȣλευειν. Και εχθρος υπαρχων ταις γραφαις τȣ Θεȣ αριθμον χιλιονταετιας εν γαμῳ εσεσθαι θελων πλασαι λεγει γινεσθαι. H. E. l. iii. c. 28. p. 100. A.

z See a Critical Examination of the late New Text and Version of the N. T. Part iii. p. 99, &c. a New and Full Method, &c. vol. i. p. 224, &c. b Cæterum Cerinthum hæresiarcham apocalypsin quandam edidisse, docti aliqui viri collegerunt ex verbis Caii, presbyteri Romani, in dissertatione adversus Proclum, apud Eus. l. iii. H. E. cap. 28. . . . Verum ex ipsis hisce verbis planum atque apertum mihi videtur, Caium ipsam S. Joannis Apocalypsin Cerintho adscripsisse, non vero aliam ab illa distinctam, a Cerintho sub Johannis nomine editam, adstruxisse, &c. Grabe, Spicil. T. i. p. 312. c Fuere jam in ecclesia Romana, aliisque, qui Apocalypseos dicta de millenario in Christi regno, ejusque gaudiis, paulo crassius interpretati, missa ferme spe cœlestium, in terrestrium horum, ceu propediem venturorum, expectationem toto animo ferebantur. Hoc cum lugerent nonnulli sanctitatis Christianæ studiosi, et vero dogma, unde, ex prava interpretatione, orta esset hæc impietas, in Apocalypsi traditum viderent, eo demum lapsi sunt, ut librum istum, qui sub nomine Johannis jam ab initio ferebatur, Cerinthi, aut alicujus alterius impostoris esse crederent. Mill. Prol. n. 654.

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the beginning had been owned for St. John's, to Cerinthus, or some other impostor. This they did out of an abhorrence of those bad consequences, which some drew from this book, not rightly understood.

And it must be owned that Dionysius of Alexandria [d] affirms, that some before him had ascribed the Revelation, called St. John's, to Cerinthus. And he may be thought to refer to our Caius: nevertheless it does not appear to me very plain, that Caius speaks of our book of the Revelation. His description does not suit it; unless he is to be supposed to ascribe to that book itself the false and sensual notions which some had of the expected Millennium. Nor does St. John, or whoever is the author of this book, here give himself expressly the title and character of an apostle. However it must be allowed to be very probable, that Caius said nothing in favour of the book we now have with the title of the Revelation; if he [f] had, Eusebius would not have failed to give us at least a hint of it. A bare silence about St. John's Revelation, even supposing Caius to have said nothing particularly against it, does not suit a disciple of Irenæus.

5. We have now observed four passages of the Dialogue written by Caius, and we have seen in them marks of a high respect for the ancient scriptures generally received by Christians, which he also calls divine scriptures, or 'scriptures of 'God;' and his detestation of all attempts to bring any other into a like esteem with them, or to mislead men from the true sense and meaning of them. Thirteen epistles of Paul he reckoned up in his dispute, but did not name that to the Hebrews. It is highly probable that in the same place he mentioned other books of the New Testament, and possibly of the Old likewise: but it is very likely that he did not receive the book of the Revelation, if he did not think it an imposture of Cerinthus.

II. Eusebius has [e] three passages taken out of a book written against the heresy of Artemon. It is evidently the same with that which is called by [f] Theodoret the Little Labyrinth; what he takes thence being for substance the same with what Eusebius quotes out of the book against Artemon. This opinion is also confirmed by Nicephorus, as has been observed by [g]

[d] Euf. H. E. l. iii. cap. 28. p. 100. B. C. [e] H. E. l. v. cap. 28.

[f] Hær. Fab. l. ii. cap. 5. [g] Non tantum Nicephorus, lib. iv. cap. 20, affirmat τὸν Μικρὸν εἰρημένον Λαβυρίνθον redarguisse [illegible] Artemonis et Theodoti, quem beatus victor depugnavit; sed et Theodoretus Hæreticarum Fabularum, lib. ii. cap. 5, trium pericoparum apud Eusebium summam ex Parvo Labyrintho deducit de Theodoto agens. Pearson, Op. Post. p. 148.

biſhop Pearſon, and Cave. Photius indeed, in his article of Caius, mentions diſtinctly 'the Labyrinth,' as he calls it, and the book againſt the hereſy of Artemon. But what he ſays can be of little weight againſt ſo much good evidence, that one and the ſame book is to be underſtood by theſe ſeveral titles.

This book is by ſome reckoned the work of an unknown writer; others think it to have been written by Caius. Among theſe laſt is [h] Pearſon, who is even offended at Blondel for calling the author anonymous. But Pearſon is a great deal too poſitive in this matter. Euſebius's quotations of this book are introduced in this manner: 'There are,' ſays [i] he, 'beſide theſe, 'treatiſes of many others, whoſe names we have not been able 'to learn; orthodox and eccleſiaſtical men, as the interpreta-'tions of the divine ſcriptures given by each of them manifeſt: 'at [k] the ſame time they are unknown to us, becauſe the trea-'tiſes have not affixed to them the names of the authors.' He goes on: 'In [l] a work of one of theſe perſons, compoſed againſt 'the hereſy of Artemon, which Paul of Samoſata has endea-'voured to revive in our time, is a relation very much to our 'purpoſe.' St. Jerom in his chapter of Caius, in his book of Illuſtrious Men, or Catalogue of Eccleſiaſtical Writers, as it is alſo often called, takes no notice of any other work of his, but the diſpute with Proculus. Theodoret [m] quotes this book thus: 'Againſt their hereſy [that is, the hereſy of Artemon and his 'followers] was written the Little Labyrinth, which ſome 'think to be a work of Origen, but the ſtyle is ſufficient to 'ſhew their miſtake. But whether it was written by him, or 'ſome other, there is in it the following relation:' without ſo much as making a conjecture at the author. As for Photius, on whom Pearſon chiefly relies, he had ſeen a note upon the book Of the Univerſe, in which it was obſerved, 'That it was '[n] aſcribed to ſeveral, as alſo the Labyrinth was to Origen; 'whereas really it was written by Caius, the ſame who com-'poſed the Labyrinth.' And Photius may have been of the ſame opinion with the writer of this note, though I think he does not expreſsly ſay ſo. But ſince the more early writers, Euſebius, Jerom, Theodoret, appear not to have known the

[h] Hunc anonymum vocat Blondellus, cum conſtet eum Caium fuiſſe. Pearſon, ibid. p. 147. [i] Ων ουδ' τας τυχουσας καλαλεγειν ημιν δυναμεν. Euſ. l. v. c. 27. p. 195. B. [k] Αδηλον δ' εμοιγε ημιν, ὁτι μη την προσηγοριαν επαγεσθαι των συγγραμματων. Ibid. [l] Τουτων εν τινι συγγραμματι κατα της Αρτεμωνος αιρεσεως συνταγμενω. &c. Ib. cap. 28. in.

[m] Κατα της τουτων αιρεσεως ο Σμυρνης συνεγραψε Λαβυρινθος, ον τινες Ωριγενους ειναι νομιζουσιν συγγραμμα· αλλ' ο χαρακτηρ ελεγχει της λεξεως. Ειτε δε εκεινος, ειτε αλλος, συνεγραψε, τοιουτον εν αυτω διηγημα. Fab. l. ii. cap. 5. De Theodoto.

[n] Ωσπερ και τον Λαβυρινθον τινες υπογραφουσι Ωριγενους· επει γαρ εχει συμπαν τη αληθεια συνηλλαχθαι τον Λαβυρινθον. Ap. Phot. Cod. 48.

author

author of this work, it is beſt to conſider him as anonymous, as I find ſome other learned [o] moderns beſide Blondel have done.

Though I do not reckon Caius the author of this work, it is fitly enough conſidered here, being mentioned by Euſebius in his account of matters about the time of the emperors Commodus and Severus. Indeed, as he did not know the name of the author of this work, ſo he might not exactly perceive the time of it. However, from the things and perſons mentioned in the paſſages quoted by Euſebius, it is very probable that it was not compoſed under Victor, but under Zephyrinus, or his ſucceſſor, as has been well ſhewn by [p] Pearſon. I may therefore well enough place him in the ſame year with Caius.

1. The deſign of the firſt paſſage of this work is to ſhew the novelty of that hereſy, that our Saviour was a mere man; whereas the perſons againſt whom the author writes, aſſerted its antiquity. 'For [q] they ſay, that all the ancients, and even the 'apoſtles themſelves, received and taught the ſame things 'which they now hold: and that the truth of the goſpel was 'preſerved, till the time of Victor, the thirteenth biſhop of 'Rome from Peter; but by his ſucceſſor [or, 'from the time 'of his ſucceſſor'] Zephyrinus, the truth has been corrupted. 'And poſſibly what they ſay might have been credited, if, firſt 'of all, the divine ſcriptures did not contradict them; and then 'alſo, ſecondly, the writings of the brethren more ancient than 'Victor, which they publiſhed in defence of the truth againſt 'the Gentiles, and againſt the hereſies of their times.' The brethren mentioned by name are Juſtin, Miltiades, Tatian, Clement, Irenæus, Melito, with a general appeal to many more not named, and to ancient hymns compoſed by the faithful in honour of Chriſt.

This ſhews plainly that there were ſcriptures called divine, which were eſteemed to be of higher authority than the writings of the moſt early Chriſtian writers, who lived ſo near the time of the apoſtles. It likewiſe aſſures us, that the perſons againſt whom this author argues, did alſo appeal to the apoſtles for the

[o] Eruditiſſimus vero ille anonymus, &c. Dallæus, de Scriptis Dionyſ. Areop. &c. l. i. c. 2. p. 10. Genevæ, 1666. Vetus auctor apud Euſebium, libro v. Hiſt. Ec. cap. 28. Jacob. Simmond. not. ad Fauſtinum, lib. iii. cap. 2. Nec aliter ſcriptor antiquus contra Artemonis hæreſin, ap. Euſeb. Hiſt. Ec. Cav. Diſſertat. de Libris et Officiis eccleſiaſticis Græcorum, p. 42. V. Exhort. ad calcem part. ii. Hiſt. Lit.

[p] Pearſ. ib. p. 148.

[q] φασι γαρ τους μεν πρεσβεις απαντας, και αυτους αποστολους, παραλαβειν τε και διδαχθηναι ταυτα, α νυν ουτοι λεγουσι· και τετηρησθαι την αληθειαν του κηρυγματος μεχρι των Βικτορος χρονων, ος ην τριακαιδεκατος απο Πετρου επισκοπος· απο δε της διαδοχης αυτου Ζεφυρινου παρακεκρατηκεναι την αληθειαν· ην δ' αν τυχον πιθανον το λεγομενον, ει μη πρωτον μεν αντεπιπιπτον αυτοις αι θειαι γραφαι. Και αδελφων δε τινων εισι γραμματα πρεσβυτερα των Βικτορος χρονων, α εκεινοι προς τα εθνη υπερ της αληθειας, και προς τας αιρεσεις εγραψαν. Euſ. H. E. l. v. c. 28. p. 195. D.

truth of their opinions, and did not pretend to assert any thing contrary to the doctrine of the apostles.

2. 'Moreover,' adds Eusebius, 'the author of the foremen-'tioned book relates another thing, which happened in the 'time of Zephyrinus, writing thus in these very words: I will 'therefore [r] remind many of the brethren of a thing which hap-'pened in our time, which, if it had been done in Sodom, I 'think it might have reformed even them.' Perhaps here is a reference to Matth. xi. 23. Well, what is this sad thing? The author proceeds: 'There [s] was one Natalis a confessor [that is, 'who had suffered from the heathen for the sake of Christia-'nity], not long ago, but in our times. This person was de-'ceived by Asclepiodotus, and another Theodotus, a banker, 'both disciples of the first Theodotus the tanner, who had been 'excommunicated by Victor for this opinion, or rather mad-'ness. This Natalis was persuaded by them to accept of the 'office of a bishop of this heresy, upon the consideration of re-'ceiving from them a salary of one hundred and fifty denarii '(about five pounds) by the month. Having associated him-'self with them, he was often admonished by the Lord in visions; 'for [t] the merciful God, (c) and our Lord Jesus Christ, would 'not that he should perish out of the church, who had been a 'witness of his own sufferings.' 1 Pet. v. 1. The author proceeds to relate, 'that Natalis for a [u] while neglecting these vi-'sions, out of fondness for the honour he enjoyed, and the 'love of filthy lucre, was at length scourged and sorely beaten 'by holy angels for a whole night. Whereupon in the morn-'ing, being convinced of his fault, he put on sackcloth, and 'humbled himself before Zephyrinus, and all the clergy and 'laity, and after many tears and entreaties was difficultly re-'admitted to the communion of the church.'

In what is here said of Natalis having been a 'witness of 'Christ's sufferings,' it may be thought there is a reference to 1 Pet. v. 1. and in what is said of his 'love of filthy lucre,' to 1 Tim. iii. 3. or some other place where St. Paul condemns that fault.

3. 'To these we shall add,' says Eusebius, 'some other 'words of the same writer concerning the same men, which

[r] Υπομνησω γουν πολλους των αδελφων πραγμα εφ' ημων γενομενον· ο νομιζω οτι ει εν Σοδομοις εγεγονει τυχον αν κακεινους ενουθετησε. Ibid. p. 196. C.

[s] Ναταλιος ην τις ομολογητης.

[t] Ο γαρ ευσπλαγχνος Θεος και Κυριος ημων Ιησους Χριστος ουκ εβουλετο εξω εκκλησιας γενομενον απολεσθαι μαρτυρα των ιδιων παθων. Ibid. p. 197. A.

(c) Or, as some may choose it should be translated, 'our most 'merciful God and Lord Jesus Christ.'

[u] Δελεαζομενος τη τε παρ' αυτοις πρωτομαθεδρια, και τη πλειστους απολλυουση αισχροκερδεια, τελευταιον υπο αγιων αγγελων εμαστιγωθη, δι' ονης της νυκτος ου σμικρως αικισθεις. Ibid.

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'are to this purpose: Moreover they [w] have without fear corrupted the divine scriptures, and have rejected the rule [canon] of the ancient faith, and have been ignorant of Christ; not enquiring what the divine scriptures say, but carefully studying what figure of syllogism may be found out to support their impious system: and if any one object to them a text of divine scripture, they consider whether a conjunctive or disjunctive form of syllogism can be made of it. And, leaving the holy scriptures of God, they study geometry, as being of the earth, and speaking of the earth, and ignorant of him that cometh from above.' Here is a manifest reference to John, iii. 31. This writer proceeds to say, 'that by some of these persons Euclid's geometry is laboriously studied; and they admire Aristotle and Theophrastus; and by [x] some of them Galen is even adored. They who abuse the sciences of the infidels for the support of their heretical sentiment, and with an impious subtlety adulterate the simple faith of the divine scriptures, of such men what need I say that they are far from the faith? for which reason they have without fear laid their hands upon the divine scriptures, saying that they have amended them. And that I do not charge them falsely, any one may know that pleaseth: for if any one will be at the pains to procure a number of their copies, and compare them together, he will find that they disagree very much; for the copies of Asclepiades [or Asclepiodotus] differ from those of Theodotus. And many of them may be met with, because their disciples have diligently transcribed their several emendations, as they call them, but indeed corruptions. Again, the copies of Hermophilus agree not with these already mentioned: and those of Apollonides [or Apollonius] differ one from another; for any one, by comparing those first put out with these which were afterwards again perverted by him, may perceive a difference. How daring [y] a crime this is, possibly they themselves are not ignorant: for either they do not believe the divine scriptures to have been dictated by the Holy Spirit, and then they are infidels; or else they think themselves

[w] Γραφας μεν θειας αφοβως ρεραδιουργηκασι· [illegible] αρχαιας κανονα ηθετηκασι· Χριστον δε ηγ[illegible] τι αι θειαι λεγουσι γραφαι ζητουντες, κ. λ. [illegible] αυτοις προτειτη τις ρητον γραφης θειας, [illegible] καταλιποντες δε τας αγιας του Θεου [illegible] γεωμετριαν επιτηδευουσιν· ως αν εκ της γης [illegible] εκ της γης λαλουντες, και τον ανωθεν ερ[illegible] αγνοουντες. κ. λ. p. 197. B. C.

[x] [illegible] γαρ ισως, ουτο τινων και προσκυνεται. οι δε ταις των απιστων τεχναις εις την της αιρεσεως αυτων γνωμην αποχρωμενοι, και τη των αθεων πανουργια την απλην των θειων γραφων πιστιν καπηλευοντες· ει μη δε εγγυς πιστεως υπαρχουσι, τι δει και λεγειν; Δια τουτο ταις θειαις γραφαις αφοβως επεβαλον τας χειρας, λεγοντες αυτας διωρθωκεναι. Ib. p. 197. D. 198. A.

[y] Οσης δε τολμης εστι τουτο το αμαρτημα, εικος μη δε εκεινους αγνοειν. Ibid. A.

'wiser than the Holy Spirit, and what are [z] they then but 'mad men? For they cannot deny this their daring crime, 'since the copies have been written out with their own hands; 'and they did not receive such [a] books from those by whom 'they were first taught the Christian doctrine: nor are they able 'to produce the copies from whence they transcribed these 'things. Nay, some of them have not thought it worth the 'while to corrupt the scriptures, but plainly [b] rejecting the law 'and the prophets, by means of a lawless and impious doctrine '[taken up] under pretence of grace, they have fallen into the 'lowest pit of destruction.'

This may be thought a most terrible passage, weakening the credit of the sincerity or integrity of our present scriptures; since even in those early times there were men who had the assurance to correct and alter their copies according to their own fancy, in order to render them agreeable to their particular sentiments. But the concern may be abated by a few remarks.

1.) Whatever alterations were made, or attempted to be made, by some few, there were others who greatly disliked their conduct, and strictly guarded against alterations and pretended emendations of their copies. They loudly exclaimed against them, severely censured the authors of them, and warned all men against them.

2.) It is probable that all the alterations or corruptions here complained of, concerned only the copies of the Old Testament; and, if they relate to them, then to the copies only of some Greek version of the Old Testament, probably that of the Seventy. For this is what our author says: That some of these men did not think it worth the while to alter the scriptures, 'but they plainly rejected the law and the prophets.' They are therefore the scriptures of the Old Testament that he had been speaking of all along, when he complained of the alterations of the divine scriptures: and since these alterations were made, or attempted to be made, in a version only, the damage is the less. This indeed does not excuse these men, nor quite remove their crime, but it lessens the mischief of it.

3.) It seems reasonable to make some abatements in the charges of this writer. It is plain he is credulous, and indulges his passion, and declaims. I have no occasion to add a comment, by way of proof of these particulars; they are apparent from the passages here produced; so that every one may perceive as

[z] Και τι ετερον η δαιμονωσιν; Ib. B. [a] Και παρ' ων κατηχηθησαν μη τοιαυτας παρελαβοντας γραφας. Ibid. [b] Αλλ' απλως αρνησαμενοι τον τε νομον και τους προφητας. Ibid.

much

much by reflecting upon what we have tranſcribed. Beſides, he blames theſe perſons againſt whom he writes for things in which there is no fault. He cenſures them for 'ſtudying geo-'metry,' and for 'admiring Ariſtotle and Theophraſtus.' Then it is likely he aggravates ſome things; as when he ſays, they 'left the ſcriptures to ſtudy Euclid's geometry.' Poſſibly they only joined together theſe two ſtudies. He inſinuates too, that ſome of them 'adored Galen,' which is very improbable. Conſidering all theſe things, it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe that he has magnified the fault of theſe men; that is, in ſome meaſure miſrepreſented what they performed upon the ſcriptures. A writer of this character might cenſure a truly critical performance, as ſuch things ſince have been often ſuſpected and condemned by others.

4.) Upon the whole, then, we have ſeen in this writer a reference or two to the goſpels of St. Matthew and St. John, and St. Peter's firſt epiſtle. There were ſcriptures in the hands of Chriſtians which they reſpected as ſacred and divine, dictated by the Holy Spirit, and the rule of their faith, and particularly of ſuperior authority to the writings of the Chriſtian brethren next in ſucceſſion after the apoſtles; and they eſteemed it a daring crime, of a high nature, to make any alterations in them. This writer alſo bears witneſs to the followers of Artemon, that they made appeals to the writings of the apoſtles and the brethren for the truth and antiquity of their ſentiments. He adds, and loudly complains of it, that they had attempted to correct and alter (that is, corrupt) the copies of the divine ſcriptures; but he has not particularly informed us, what copies: it appears to be moſt probable, that he means only the copies of a Greek verſion of the Old Teſtament. And there is reaſon to think, likewiſe, that in what he has ſaid relating to this matter, he has been guilty of ſome miſtake or miſrepreſentation, and has aggravated things beyond the truth.

5.) I do not deſpiſe any work or fragment of this early antiquity, tending to illuſtrate the ſcriptures, or any practices of the Chriſtian church. Theſe paſſages are uſeful in ſeveral reſpects: but I could have ſpared a part of them for the ſake of the paſſage or paſſages of Caius, concerning St. Paul's epiſtles, and the other ancient ſcriptures. And I heartily wiſh that Euſebius had made room in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory for more of that eloquent man.

III. The third piece, which by ſome has been reckoned the work of Caius, is intitled, 'Of the Univerſe,' as likewiſe 'Of 'the Cauſe of the Univerſe,' and 'Of the Nature of the Uni-

'verse;' as we are informed by [b] Photius, in whose time it had inscribed, in some copies, the name of Josephus. But he had seen a note in it, wherein it was said to be written by Caius, a presbyter who dwelt at Rome. By some, he says, it was ascribed to Justin Martyr, and by others to Irenæus. As for himself, Photius argues that it can hardly be esteemed a work of Josephus, because the author gives our Saviour the title of 'the 'Christ,' and speaks rightly enough of his divinity; and also expresses himself unexceptionably of our Lord's ineffable generation by the Father.

As this work has been ascribed to so many, and neither Eusebius nor Jerom have taken any notice of it in their accounts of Caius, I think there is no sufficient reason to reckon it his. Consequently bishop Bull has been too hasty in [c] placing Caius among the Antenicene fathers who held the Nicene faith upon the sole foundation of what is said in this book. And it is [d] now the general opinion of learned men, that it is Hippolytus who has the best title to this treatise.

It is not now extant entire: but we have a large fragment, which has been published by several learned men, and in particular not long since by Fabricius, in his edition of Hippolytus.

I shall give a short account of the references which there are in this Fragment to the books of the New Testament, which is all that can be expected in this place. I must take some farther notice of it in the chapter of Hippolytus.

Here are then made use of, in explaining the Christian doctrines, several scripture phrases, as [e] 'fire unquenchable,' [f] 'Abra-'ham's bosom.' Luke, xvi. 22. 26. And it is said that between the good and bad 'there [h] is a great and deep gulph '[or chaos] fixed, so that no righteous man, if he were in com-'passion desirous so to do, could get thither; nor is there any 'unrighteous man that can pass, though he should attempt it.' The author says, 'that all men, just [i] and unjust, shall be 'brought before God the Word; for to him has the Father 'given all judgment.' Here is at least a reference to John, v.

[b] Cod. 48. [c] Vid. Geo. Bull. Defens. Fid. Nic. cap. viii. sect. ii.

[d] Utcunque autem de vero hujus operis auctore inter antiquos non convenit, Neoterici Indiculi hujusce auctoritate, stylo et argumentationis genere, aliisque adhuc argumentis freti, Hippolyto id adjudicant; et in his novissimus Steph. Le Moyne, qui Latina versione instructum Fragmentum ejus ab Hæschelio olim editum recudi fecit inter Varia Sacra. Cave, H. L. P. i. in Hippolyto. [e] Αιμνη πυρος ασβεστου. Apud Hippolytum, ex editione Fabricii, p. 220. [f] Τουτω δε ονομα κικλησκομεν κολπον Αβρααμ. Ibid. p. 221. [h] Χαος γαρ βαθυ και μεγα ανα μεσον εστηρικται, ωστε μη δικαιον συμπαθησαντα προσδεξεσθαι, μητε αδικον τολμησαντα διελθειν. Ibid. [i] Παντες γαρ, δικαιοι και αδικοι, ενωπιον του Θεου λογου αχθησονται. Τουτω γαρ ο Πατηρ την κρισιν πασαν δεδωκε. p. 222.

22.

22. He has alſo the words [k] of 1 Cor. ii. 9, and probably takes them thence, though they are alſo in Iſa. lxiv. 4. He ſeems to allude to ſeveral things in the Revelation, in a paſſage too long to be inſerted here; where he ſays, [l] 'That in the 'kingdom of heaven, to which the righteous ſhall be brought, 'there is no night nor day meaſured by time, . . nor ſun, . . nor 'moon,'—and what follows. Compare Rev. xxi. 23. xxii. 5. This does not ſuit Caius, who is ſuppoſed to have rejected the Revelation.

CHAP. XXXIII.

ASTERIUS URBANUS.

EUSEBIUS has made large extracts out of a treatiſe in three books againſt the Montaniſts, compoſed [a] by one of thoſe many eminent perſons, whom divine providence raiſed up at that time to defend the truth. But our hiſtorian has here expreſſed himſelf ſo obſcurely, that it has been much [b] doubted who is the author of this work; whether Aſterius Urbanus, or Apollinaris of Hierapolis, or Apollonius, or Rhodon, or ſome other perſon whoſe name is unknown. However, Cave thinks it probable, from ſome words of [c] Euſebius, among the citations of this work, that the author is Aſterius Urbanus. Valeſius [d] too is of this opinion; though it ſeems to be ſomewhat doubtful whether thoſe words are not interpolated.

Aſterius Urbanus is placed by Cave at the year 188. Tillemont, who agrees with him as to the author of the treatiſe, concludes [e] that it was written about the year of Chriſt 232, the eleventh of the emperor Alexander; becauſe Maximilla is here

[k] Ibid. [l] Οὐδὲ νὺξ οὐδὲ ἡμέρα χρόνῳ μετρεμένη, οὐχ ἥλιος . . . οὐ σελήνη . . . Ibid.

[a] Ἀλλὰ τε σὺν αὐτῷ [Ἀπολιναρίῳ] πλείους τῷ τηνικάδε λόγιον ἀνδρῶν, ἡ τῆς ἀληθείας ὑπερμαχεῖν ἀνεστήσαμις. H. E. l. v. cap. 16. in.

[b] Vid. Cav. H. L. in Aſterio Urbano, p. 51. Valeſ. ad Euſ. l. v. cap. 16. Tillemont, Mem. Ecc. T. ii. P. iii. Les Montaniſtes, not. 7. [c] Καὶ μὴ λεγέτω ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ λόγῳ τῷ κατὰ Ἀστέριον Οὐρβανὸν τῷ ἐπὶ Μαξιμίλλης πνεύμα, κ. λ. Euſ. ib. p. 102. A.

[d] Ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ λόγῳ κατὰ Ἀστέριον Οὐρβανόν.] Hæc verba ſcholion eſſe mihi videntur, quod vetus quidam ſcholiaſtes, ſeu Euſebius ipſe, ad marginem libri ſui annotaverat ad ea verba quæ paulo ante præceſſerunt, αὐθὶς δὲ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ φησὶ λόγῳ. Porro ex his verbis elicitur, Aſterium Urbanum auctorem eſſe horum trium librorum adverſus Cataphrygas, non autem Apollinarem, ut credidit Rufinus et Chriſtophorſonus. Valeſ. in notis, p. 98. [e] See Till. as before, Montaniſtes, art. 12. p. 70.

ſaid

ſaid to have been dead [f] between thirteen and fourteen years, whom the ſame learned man computes [g] to have died in 218 or 219. It is doubtful whether this author was a biſhop or a preſbyter; and abſolutely unknown of what place. I ought to obſerve, that [h] Dodwell, who once took this writer to be Aſterius Urbanus, afterwards altered his mind, not thinking the argument of Cave before mentioned ſufficient to determine the point; and ſuppoſing that Euſebius's words are capable of another ſenſe. Fabricius [i] agrees with Dodwell, and thinks this treatiſe was written ſome time after 212.

Nevertheleſs I am not unwilling to agree with thoſe who ſuppoſe Aſterius Urbanus to be the author of this treatiſe; and Tillemont's argument for the time of it appears to me probable. According to that computation, our extracts out of this work ſhould be deferred ſomewhat longer. But becauſe the ſubject matter of it has an affinity with that of ſome foregoing chapters, as concerning the Montaniſts; and becauſe we would not be too confident in our opinion about the author or time of this performance, we chooſe to ſpeak of it in this place.

It appears from the preface [k] to this work, preſerved in Euſebius's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, that the author upon ſome occaſion was at Ancyræ in Galatia: and finding the church there diſturbed with the new prophecy, as it was called, of Montanus, he diſputed publicly upon that ſubject for ſeveral days; ſo as to comfort and eſtabliſh the church, and confute the enemies of the truth. The preſbyters of that place entreated him to draw up in writing the ſubſtance of what he had ſaid upon that occaſion; which he declined to do for ſome time, but at length complied, at the requeſt of Abercius Marcellus, to whom the work is inſcribed.

I. The author then, in his preface, ſays to Abercius Marcellus: 'I have hitherto deferred to perform your requeſt, fear-
'ing' leſt I ſhould ſeem to ſome to add to the doctrine of the
'new covenant of the goſpel, or to give new ordinances beſide
'thoſe there preſcribed. To which it is impoſſible that any
'thing ſhould be added, as it is that any thing ſhould be taken
'away from it, by one who has determined to govern himſelf
'according to the ſame goſpel.'

[f] Πλειω γαρ η τεσσαρεσδεκα ἐτη εις τελος την ημεραν, εξ ᾳ τελευτησαν η γυν. Ap. Euſeb. ib. c. 16. p. 182. C. Vid. et cap. 17. p. 184. A. [g] Tillemont, Les Montaniſtes, art. v. p. 45. [h] Dodw. Diſſ. Iren. iv. § 38. [i] Bib. Gr. T. v. p. 190. [k] Ap. Euſ. ib. cap. 16. p. 179. C. D. [l] Δεδοικα δε και εξελεγχομενος, μη τισι δοξω τισιν επιτιθεναι η επιδιαταττεσθαι τῃ της τε ευαγγελιου καινῃ διαθηκῃ λεγω· ᾳ μητε προσθηναι μητ' αφελειν ἐξεστιν, τῳ καθα το ευαγγελιον αυτε πολιτευεσθαι τοις γεγραμμενοις. Euſ. ib. p. 179. C.

Poſſibly

Possibly it may be questioned by some, whether the author here expressly speaks of the writings of the New Testament, or only of the Christian doctrine; for which reason I have aimed at a literal translation of this passage: though I am of opinion, that he intends the scriptures of the New Testament; the rather, because he was afraid of seeming, 'by writing,' to add any thing to the doctrine of the gospel. If the author be understood to speak of the scriptures of the New Testament, which appears most probable, this passage affords evidence of the high respect which this catholic Christian had for them.

For the farther satisfaction of some of my readers, I shall put down a part of this passage, as it has been translated by [m] Tillemont in his Ecclesiastical Memoirs. I have hitherto deferred to comply with your request, . . . 'because I was apprehensive 'that some might accuse me of a design to add something to 'the divine scriptures, and to the rules which are prescribed to 'us by the word of the New Testament and of the gospel.' Valesius translates thus: 'Lest I should seem to some, by 'writing, to add any thing to the evangelical doctrine of the 'New Testament, and to make farther determinations of my 'own.'

II. Afterwards, in his accounts of the rise of the pretended prophecies of Montanus, he says, that at Ardaba, a village in Mysia near Phrygia, when Montanus uttered his prophecies, some discouraged him, 'being mindful [n] of the premonition and cau-'tion of the Lord to beware of false prophets when they ap-'peared. But others,' he says, 'forgetting the premonition 'given by the Lord, encouraged that infatuating, deceitful, 'and seducing spirit.' It is likely the author refers to Matth. xxiv. 11. *And many false prophets shall arise, and shall deceive many.* See also chap. vii. 15.

III. Eusebius informs us, that in the second [o] book of his treatise the author writes to this purpose: 'Whereas then they 'call us also murderers of the prophets, because we did not 'receive their prating prophets (for these, they say, are those 'which the Lord promised to send to the people), let them tell 'us, in the name of God, who of their people, since the time that 'Montanus and his women begun to prate, have been perse-'cuted by the Jews, or put to death by the wicked Gentiles? 'Not one: nor have any of them been apprehended and cru-

[m] As before, art. xii. p. 70. [n] Επετιμων και λαλειν εκωλυον· μεμνημενοι της του [illegible] διαστολης τε και απειλης, προς το φυλαττεσθαι την των ψευδοπροφητων εγρηγορεσιν παρουσιαν. κ. λ. Euf. c. 16. p. 180. B. C. [o] Ibid. p. 181. B. C.

'cified

'cified for the name of Jeſus; nor have any of their women 'been whipped in the Jewiſh ſynagogues, nor ſtoned; no, 'no where, not one.' Here is a plain reference to Matth. xxiii. 34.

IV. He goes on: 'But [p] it is ſaid that Montanus and Maxi- 'milla had quite another kind of death. For it is reported 'that, at the inſtigation of that mad ſpirit, they hanged them- 'ſelves; though not both together, or at the ſame time. . . . . 'And ſo they ended their days in the ſame manner that the 'traitor Judas did.' Here is undoubtedly a confirmation of the fact of Judas's making away with himſelf; and probably a reference to the hiſtory of it in Matth. xxvii. 5. Acts, i. 18. However, afterwards this good man ſays modeſtly and charitably, that though this is reported of 'Montanus and the foremen- 'tioned woman,' yet it is not certain, nor does he know it to be true. 'Perhaps they died in that manner, perhaps in ſome 'other.' Nevertheleſs this ſhews, that even in thoſe days there were ſome orthodox Chriſtians who gave out ſtories without ground againſt ſuch as were reputed heretics. The author likewiſe mentions one Theodotus, another zealous Montaniſt, as he ſays, of whom there was a report, that, giving himſelf up entirely to that ſpirit of error, he was by it taken up into the air, and periſhed miſerably. But this writer does not own the truth of this, any more than of the other ſtories.

V. Afterwards Euſebius ſays, that this author reckons up all the prophets of the New covenant or Teſtament, ſhewing that that they did not propheſy in ecſtaſy: 'They [q] will not be able 'to ſhew,' ſays he, 'neither under the old nor the new cove- 'nant [or diſpenſation], any inſpired prophet ſpeaking after 'this manner; neither Agabus, nor Judas, nor Silas, nor the 'daughters of Philip.' Here are references to Acts, xi. 27, 28, and xxi. 11, where Agabus is called a prophet, and his prophecies are related; and to ch. xv. 32, where Judas and Silas are called prophets; and to ch. xxi. 9, 10, where Philip is ſaid to have 'four daughters which did propheſy.' The author does not confine himſelf here to prophets mentioned in the ſcriptures of the New Teſtament; he inſtances likewiſe in Quadratus, and Ammias of Philadelphia: and ſays he could

[p] Αλλῳ δε θανατῳ τελευτησαι λεγονται Μοντανος τε και Μαξιμιλλα. Τουτους γαρ ιδιω πνευματι φερομενους ενθουσιαστικους λογους αφιεναι ταυτας. . . . και ουτω τελευτησαι και τον βιον καθαπερ ιουδαν προδοτην δικην. p. 181. C. [q] Τουτων δε τον τροπον, ο τε τιτλος των καθ' ημας παλαιων, ουτε των καθ' την καινην [διαθηκην] πνευματοφορηθεντα προφητην δειξαι δυνησεται· ουτε Αγαβον, ουτε Ιουδαν, ουτε Σιλαν, ουτε τας Φιλιππου θυγατερας. Ib. cap. 17. p. 183. C.

mention

mention others, whose example gave no encouragement to the way of prophesying used by the Montanists.

VI. Once more he argues against the Montanists, that they had no succession of prophets among them; and that, though Maximilla had been dead above thirteen years, no other had appeared: 'But yet,' says he, [r] 'the apostle expected [or, gives 'us ground to expect] that the gift of prophecy should continue 'in every church till the last advent 'of the Lord.' I cannot say what particular text he here refers to; by the apostle, I suppose him to mean Paul: and possibly he refers to 1 Cor. xiii. 8. '*Charity never faileth; but whether there be prophecies, they shall 'fail.*' Perhaps some concluded hence, that though prophecies should fail in the end, yet they were to continue in the church so long as the world lasts.

So far of this treatise against the Montanists, whether written by Asterius Urbanus, or by some other.

CHAP. XXXIV.

ST. ALEXANDER, *bishop of Jerusalem.*

ALEXANDER, whom (A) we have already mentioned more than once, at first bishop of some place in Cappadocia, afterwards of Jerusalem, is placed by Cave as flourishing in the year of Christ 212, because he was then chosen bishop of Jerusalem, as [a] we learn from Eusebius's Chronicle.

I choose to give, as often as may be done conveniently, the history of my authors in the very words of other ancient writers, who were their contemporaries, or lived near their time. Eusebius's account of Alexander lying scattered in several chapters of his Ecclesiastical History, it might be tedious to put down at length all his passages relating to this person. I shall therefore begin with transcribing St. Jerom's account in his catalogue of ecclesiastical writers; which when I have done, I shall add some things out of Eusebius and others, confirming what St. Jerom says, or supplying his defects.

[r] Δεῖν γὰρ εἶναι τὸ προφητικὸν χάρισμα ἐν πάσῃ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ μέχρι τῆς τελείας παρουσίας ὁ ἀπόστολος ἀξιοῖ. p. 183. D. (A) p. 207, 208. 306. [a] Alexander, tricesimus quintus Ierosolymarum episcopus, ordinatur adhuc vivente Narcisso, et cum eo pariter ecclesiam regit. Euf. Chr. p. 172.

'Alexander,

'Alexander,' says [b] Jerom, 'bishop of Cappadocia, going to 'Jerusalem to visit the sacred places, when Narcissus, then of a 'great age, governed the church of that city, it was revealed 'both to Narcissus, and to many of his clergy, that the next 'day in the morning would come into that church a bishop, 'who should be a helper of the sacerdotal chair. This coming 'to pass as it had been foretold, in an assembly of all the bishops 'of Palestine, Narcissus himself consenting, and even promot-'ing it above any one else, Alexander took upon him the go-'vernment of the church of Jerusalem. This person, at the 'conclusion of a letter to the Antinoites [the people of Anti-'nopolis in Egypt], speaks of the peace of the church in this 'manner: "Narcissus salutes you, who before me filled the "episcopal seat of this place, and now governs it together with "me by his prayers, being an hundred and sixteen years old, "and with me earnestly exhorts you to think the same things." 'He wrote another letter to the Antiochians, by Clement pres-'byter of Alexandria, of whom we spoke before. He also 'wrote to Origen, and for Origen against Demetrius, pleading 'that, in respect to the testimony given him by Demetrius him-'self, he had ordained him presbyter. There are likewise ex-'tant other letters of his to divers persons. In the seventh per-'secution, under Decius, at which time Babylas suffered at An-'tioch, he was apprehended and carried to Cæsarea, and being 'put in prison was crowned with martyrdom for his confession 'of the name of Christ.'

Eusebius, in [c] his Ecclesiastical History, confirms what Jerom says of Alexander's having been first bishop in Cappadocia, and his coming to Jerusalem 'for the sake of prayer, and to visit 'the [sacred] places,' or out of devotion: and that there were several revelations from God to encourage the choosing him bishop in that city, and, as it seems, one to Alexander himself, and [d] likewise 'a voice heard distinctly by some eminent for 'piety [or understanding]. The brethren therefore of that 'church would by no means consent to his return home, but 'detained him with them.' Beside these revelations and visions, Eusebius mentions another reason of this choice; which was, the fortitude with which Alexander had suffered in the late persecution under Severus. For in Jerom's Latin version of

[b] De Vir. Ill. cap. 62.

[c] Εκ της των Καππαδοκων γης, ενθα το πρωτον της επισκοπης ηξιωθη, την πορειαν επι τα Ιεροσολυμα ευχης και των τοπων ιστορας ποιειται χαριν. Eus. H. E. l. vi. cap. 11. p. 222. A.

[d] Φιλοφρονεσθαι τε τους υποδεεστερους αδυφα αυτ' ακουδε αυτω παλαιοτερου επιβεπεσται, και δηλον αποκαλυψιν και αυτος ιουδαι οφθηναι, μαλ' ει φασι σαφεστερα της μαλιστα αυτου στοιβας χαιρουσαν. Ibid.

Eusebius's

Eusebius's Chronicle, at the twelfth year of that emperor, of our Lord 204, it is said: 'Alexander is [e] in esteem for the confession of the name of the Lord.' And in his Ecclesiastical History, having mentioned the death of Severus, and the accession of his son Antoninus, called Caracalla, in the year of Christ 211, he adds: 'At [f] that time Alexander, one of those who 'had signalized themselves by their fortitude in the persecution, 'and by the favour of divine providence survived the combats 'they had sustained in their confessions, . . . being famous for 'his confessions of the Christian faith in the time of the persecution, was promoted to the forementioned bishoprick of Jerusalem; Narcissus, his predecessor, being yet alive.'

Alexander was a great admirer of Origen. There was, as Eusebius says in his [g] Ecclesiastical History, 'a great disturbance at Alexandria; so that Origen, not thinking it safe to 'stay there, nor yet in any other part of Egypt, went into Palestine, and took up his residence at Cæsarea [about the year of 'our Lord 216], where he was desired by the bishops of that 'country to discourse and expound the scriptures publicly in the 'church, though he was not yet ordained presbyter. This may 'be made evident from what Alexander bishop of Jerusalem, 'and Theoctistus bishop of Cæsarea, write by way of apology 'in their letter to Demetrius.' Afterwards, about the year 228, as Eusebius expresses it, 'the [h] two most approved and 'eminent bishops of Palestine, I mean those of Cæsarea and 'Jerusalem, judging Origen worthy of the highest dignity and 'office, ordained him presbyter by imposition of their hands.' And so writes [i] Jerom after Eusebius. Photius [k] says, 'Origen was ordained by Theoctetus [or Theoctistus] bishop of 'Cesarea, with the approbation of Alexander bishop of Jerusalem.'

Eusebius having given an account of Alexander's promotion to the bishoprick of Jerusalem, and of the letter to the Antinoites, as before in Jerom, proceeds: 'Serapion [l] being dead 'at Antioch [in the year 211], Asclepiades succeeded him in 'the bishoprick of that place, who also was famous for his confessions in the late persecution. Of this ordination Alexander 'makes mention, in a letter to the Antiochians, in this manner: "Alexander, [m] the servant and prisoner of Jesus Christ, sendeth

[e] Alexander ob confessionem Dominici nominis insignis habetur. Eus. Chr. p. 172.
[f] H. E. l. vi. c. 8. p. 210. A. [g] H. E. l. vi. c. 19. p. 222. A.
[h] Ibid. cap. 8. p. 209. C. [i] De Vir. Ill. cap. 54. [k] Εχων συνευδοκουντα και τον Ιεροσολυμων Αλεξανδρον. Cod. 118. col. 297. ver. 38, &c. [l] Euseb. ibid. p. 212. D. 213. A. [m] Ibid.

"greeting

" greeting in the Lord to the bleſſed church of the Antiochians.
" The Lord made my bonds light and eaſy in my impriſon-
" ment, when I heard that Aſclepiades, ſo fit and worthy on ac-
" count of the eminence of his faith, was by divine providence
" intruſted with the care of your holy church of the Antio-
" chians." This letter he ſent by Clement, as appears from the ' concluſion of it, which is thus: " This epiſtle, my lords and
" brethren, I have ſent you by Clement, a bleſſed preſbyter, a
" virtuous and approved man, whom you know already, and
" will know better; who, whilſt he was here, confirmed and in-
" creaſed the church of the Lord." The concluſion of this letter St. Jerom likewiſe has inſerted in his book of Illuſtrious Men, in the chapter of Clement of Alexandria.

Aſclepiades was ordained biſhop of Antioch in the year 211, in the beginning of the reign of Caracalla; at which time, as appears by this letter, Alexander was in priſon. If therefore he was put in priſon ſo ſoon as the 12th of Severus, of our Lord 204, as is intimated in Euſebius's Chronicle, he muſt have continued there ſeven or eight years, or elſe have been impriſoned more than once in the reign of Severus. This is an obſervation [o] of Tillemont. The ' church of the Lord, which Clement ' had confirmed and increaſed,' is the church in Cappadocia of which Alexander was then biſhop.

Euſebius has left us a fragment of Alexander's letter to Origen. Moreover, ſays [p] he, ' Alexander, in a letter to Origen, ' makes mention both of Clement and Pantænus as his friends, ' in this manner: " For this, as you know, was the will of
" God, that the friendſhip which was begun between us, from
" our anceſtors, ſhould not only remain inviolable, but alſo be-
" come more firm and fervent: for we know thoſe bleſſed fa-
" thers, which have gone before us, with whom we ſhall ſhortly
" be; I mean the truly bleſſed Pantænus my lord, and the holy
" Clement, who was my lord [or maſter], and profitable to me:
" and if there be any others like them, by whom I came to the
" knowledge of you, my moſt excellent lord and brother."

St. Jerom ſays, ' there were extant other letters of Alexander ' written to divers perſons.' But Euſebius has taken no particular notice of any, beſide thoſe which I have now given an account of.

In another place of his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, Euſebius ſpeaking of the perſecution under Decius, and the martyrdom of Fa-

[o] Tillem. Mem. Ec. T. iii. P. ii. p. 314. St. Alexandre, c. 14. p. 216. C.

[p] Euſ. ib. l. vi.

bian,

bian, bishop of Rome, and of others at that time, says: 'And 'in Palestine Alexander, bishop of the church at Jerusalem, 'is again brought before the governor's tribunal at Cæsarea for 'Christ's sake; and having made a second glorious confession, 'is put into prison, being now venerable for his old age and 'grey hairs. Having died in prison, after a noble and illustrious 'confession before the governor's tribunal, he was succeeded 'in the bishopric of Jerusalem by Mazabanes.'

Epiphanius likewise [r] says, that Alexander suffered martyrdom at Cæsarea.

Dionysius of Alexandria, in a letter to Cornelius bishop of Rome, as we are informed by Eusebius, 'writes [s] thus of the 'bishop of Jerusalem: "As for blessed Alexander, he was cast "into prison, and there made a blessed end."

Thus we are fully assured of Alexander's martyrdom, and the manner of it; that he did not die by torments, or by the hand of the executioner; but that he expired in prison, where he had been confined for the name of Christ. The letter of Dionysius affords help likewise for settling the time of his death. That letter was written, as Tillemont [t] says, in the reign of Gallus, in the year 252. It is reasonable therefore, as he farther argues, to place the death of Alexander in the year 251, at the end of the reign of Decius, and not at the beginning of it, in 249 or 250; for it is not likely that Dionysius should send Cornelius a piece of news that was two or three years old. Basnage [u] likewise, and [w] Ruinart, think that Alexander died in 251, and at the latter end of that year: so that this bishop governed the church of Jerusalem for the space of 39 years.

We are farther informed, both by [x] Eusebius and [y] St. Jerom, that Clement of Alexandria dedicated to this Alexander a book intitled 'The Ecclesiastical Canon,' or, 'Against those that 'judaized.'

There is yet one thing more to be taken notice of, which is omitted by Jerom: that Alexander erected a library at Jerusalem. Eusebius [z] speaks of it in this manner, in his Ecclesiastical History: 'At that time flourished many learned and eccles- 'astical men, whose epistles, which they wrote to each other, are 'easy to be found; for they are preserved to our time in the

[r] Ibid. l. vi. cap. 39. p. 234. B. C. [s] De Mens. et Pond. num. 18. [t] Ὁ μὲν θειότατος Ἀλεξάνδρος ἐν φρουρᾷ γενόμενος μακαρίως ἀπεπαύσατο. Euf. ib. cap. 46. p. 248. A. [t] Tillemont, as before, p. 321. [u] Basn. 251. n. xiii. [w] De sancto Alexandro, § 12. Apud Acta Mart. Sincera et Selecta, p. 137. [x] Euf. ib. cap. 13. p. 214. C. [y] De Vir. Ill. cap. 38. [z] Ib. cap. 20.

'library at Ælia [Jerusalem], erected by Alexander bishop of 'the church in that city, from which also we have collected 'materials for our present work:' which shews also, that this library had not been destroyed in any of the persecutions between Alexander's and Eusebius's time.

The meek and gentle spirit of Alexander is commended by Origen, at the beginning of a homily delivered at Jerusalem. 'You [a] are not, therefore, to expect in us,' says he, 'what you 'have in your bishop Alexander; for we acknowledge that he 'excels us all in the gift of gentleness. Nor do I only com-'mend him for this quality; you have all full experience of it, 'and admire him on that account. . . . . I have mentioned these 'things at the beginning, because I know you are ever wont 'to hear the mild discourses of your most gentle father; 'whereas the fruit of our plantation has somewhat of roughness 'in its taste. Nevertheless, by the help of your prayers, it may 'become medicinal and salutary.'

From this passage we may conclude, that Alexander was a frequent and an agreeable preacher; though, as Eusebius says [b] in another place, he and Theoctistus attended on Origen as their master. The 'mild discourses' which his people were 'always 'wont to hear,' cannot be understood of private admonitions, but must mean public discourses or homilies, such as that which Origen was now engaged in.

Origen commends Alexander for the mildness of his temper. He himself possessed the same excellent property to a great degree. It is very conspicuous in his homilies, and other works, though he seems not to have known it.

We cannot but now reflect with pleasure and satisfaction upon the merit of this bishop of Jerusalem. His piety, particularly that amiable virtue of humility, is conspicuous in the fragments I have transcribed; and his meekness is celebrated by Origen. If he was not learned, he was however a patron of learning. Nor have we any reason to think him destitute of a competent measure of useful knowledge: he seems to have been a disciple of Pantænus and Clement, under whose instructions he could not fail of making some considerable improvements. He had an intimate friendship with Clement and

[a] Nolite ergo in nobis illud requirere, quod in papa Alexandro habetis: fatemur enim quod omnes nos superat in gratia lenitatis. Cujus gratiæ non solus ego prædicator existo, sed vos omnes experti cognoscitis et probatis. . . Hæc idcirco diximus in præfatione, quia scio vos consuevisse lenissimi patris dulces semper audire sermones. Nostræ vero plantationis arbusculum habet aliquid austeritatis in gustu; quod tamen, orantibus vobis, fiet medicamentum salutare, &c. In libr. Reg. Hom. i. in. T. ii. 482. A. Bened.

[b] H. E. l. vi. cap. 27.

Origen,

Origen, two of the moſt learned men that ever lived: and we cannot but reckon ourſelves ſtill indebted to him for his generous protection of Origen, and for his library, and the materials thereby afforded to Euſebius, and in all likelihood to others alſo. Above all are we obliged to him for his glorious teſtimony to the truth of the Chriſtian religion, and his remarkable example of ſteadineſs in the faith of Chriſt, of which he made two confeſſions before heathen magiſtrates, at above forty years diſtance from each other; for the laſt of which he ſuffered an imprisonment, where he made a happy end. And certainly the ſucceſſion of biſhops and churches in the land of Judea, where the preaching, miracles, and ſufferings of Chriſt and his firſt apoſtles are placed by the evangeliſts, under ſo many difficulties and troubles, affords a ſtrong argument for the truth of theſe great and extraordinary facts, upon which the Chriſtian religion is founded.

CHAP. XXXV.

ST. HIPPOLYTUS.

HIPPOLYTUS flouriſhed, as Cave computes, about the year 222. He is generally called Hippolytus Portuenſis, it being [illegible] a common opinion that he was biſhop of Portus in Italy, near unto Portus Romanus, otherwiſe called Adan, or Aden, in Arabia. As I am far from having room for all that might be ſaid upon this article, I ſhall only produce ſome authentic teſtimonies to Hippolytus in ancient authors, and the judgments of ſome learned moderns; referring ſuch as are deſirous of farther information to thoſe [a] who have treated largely of this writer and his works.

Euſebius, in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, in his account of writers who lived not far from the beginning of the third century, ſays: 'At that time flouriſhed many eminent eccleſiaſtical 'men, whoſe epiſtles, which they wrote to each other, are ſtill eaſy 'to be found. Among theſe were Beryllus, biſhop of Boſtra

[a] Vide Le Moyne, Varia Sacra. Cav. Hiſt. Lit. P. i. et ii. Du Pin, Bibl. Tillemont, Mem. T. iii. P. ii. Fabric. Bibl. Gr. T. v. p. 203, &c. et Hippolyt. Opp. Edit. 1716. Oudin, De Script. Ec. T. i. Baſnag. Ann. Polit. Ecc. 222. num. x.

'in Arabia; . . . . . and [b] Hippolytus, also bishop of some other 'church.' Soon after, in another chapter of the same work: 'At [c] that time Hippolytus, beside many other pieces, composed his book about Easter, containing a chronological history of affairs to the first year of Alexander [year of Christ 222], to which he added a canon of sixteen years for regulating the feast of Easter. The rest of his works which have come to our knowledge, are such as these: Upon the Six Days Work; Upon those Things which followed the Six Days Work; Against Marcion; Upon the Canticles; Upon some Parts of Ezekiel; Concerning Easter; Against all Heresies; and many other, which are still extant, and in the hands of many people.' So far Eusebius.

St. Jerom, in [d] his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers: 'Hippolytus, bishop of some church (for I have not been able to learn the name of the city), wrote a computation of Easter and chronicle of the times, to the first year of the emperor Alexander; and invented a cycle of 16 years, which the Greeks call εκκαιδεκαετηρις, and gave occasion to [e] Eusebius's canon of 19 years of the same kind. He wrote some commentaries upon the scriptures, of which I have seen these: Upon the Six Days Work, and upon Exodus, upon the Canticles, upon Genesis, and upon Zechariah; Of the Psalms, and upon Isaiah; Of Daniel; Of the Revelation; Of the Proverbs; Of Ecclesiastes; Of Saul and the Pythoness; Of Antichrist; Of the Resurrection; Of Easter; Against all Heresies; and [f] a Discourse [or Conference] in the praise of our Lord and Saviour, in which he intimates his delivering it in the church, when Origen was present. In imitation of him Ambrose, who, as we before said, was converted from the heresy of Marcion to the true faith, persuaded Origen to write commentaries upon the scriptures.'

Fabricius in his notes upon this chapter observes, that St. Jerom is the only person who says that Ambrose was moved by the example of Hippolytus to excite Origen to write [illegible]

[b] Ωσαυτως δε και Ιππολυτος ετερας [illegible] πρεσας εκκλησιας. H. E. l. vi. cap. 20. p. 222. D.

[c] Ib. cap. 22.

[d] Hippolytus, cujusdam ecclesiæ episcopus (nomen quippe urbis scire non potui), temporumque canones scripsit, usque ad primum annum Alexandri imperatoris; et sedecim annorum circulum, quem Græci εκκαιδεκαετηριδα vocant, reperit. Hieron. de Vir. Ill. cap. 61.

[e] Vid. Euseb. Vit. Const. l. iv. cap. 34, 35.

[f] Et [illegible] de laude Domini Salvatoris: in qua, præsente Origene, [illegible] ecclesiæ significat. In hujus æmulatione Ambrosius, quem de Marcionis [illegible] verum fidem correctum diximus, [illegible] tus est Originem in scripturas [illegible] tarios scribere. Hieron. ibid.

many

many commentaries upon the ſcriptures; and thinks that [g] Euſebius's words, from whom St. Jerom ſeems to have taken this, ought to be underſtood of the time, rather than the example of Hippolytus. I would not be poſitive, becauſe Euſebius's expreſſion is ambiguous; but I think that St. Jerom's is one good ſenſe, and not an improbable meaning: 'That from 'him' (not from that time) 'was the riſe of Origen's com-'mentaries upon the divine ſcriptures.' And from divers places of Origen's works it appears, that ſome had written commentaries upon the ſcriptures before himſelf. But ſuppoſe we tranſlate Euſebius's expreſſion, ἐξ ἐκείνου, 'from that time;' yet the connection ſeems to afford ground to conclude, that the writings of Hippolytus (of which he had ſpoken juſt before) were partly an occaſion of Origen's commentaries upon the ſcriptures.

St. Jerom has mentioned this writer in divers other of his works. In his commentaries upon Daniel he takes notice of an opinion of [i] Hippolytus concerning the Seventy Weeks. In his preface to his commentary upon Zechariah he intimates, that [k] Hippolytus had written commentaries upon that prophet. In the preface to his commentaries upon St. Matthew he ſays, that [l] he had read the commentaries of the martyr Hippolytus. In one of his epiſtles he [m] again calls Hippolytus martyr. In other places [n] he mentions Hippolytus, together with Clement and Origen, and other eccleſiaſtical writers of note; he ſays likewiſe that he had '[o] written upon the Sabbath, whether we 'ought to faſt on that day; and upon the queſtion, whether the 'euchariſt ought to be received daily, as they are ſaid to do in 'the churches of Rome and Spain;' and gives Hippolytus the character of an eloquent man. Nor has he failed to mention him in his letter to [p] Magnus, among other learned Chriſtian authors; where he is placed with the Greek writers of the

[g] Ἐξ ἐκείνου δὲ καὶ Ὠριγένει τῶν εἰς τὰς θείας γραφὰς ὑπομνημάτων ἐγένετο ἀρχή, Ἀμβρόσιῳ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα παρορμήσαντος αὐτόν, κ. λ. Euſ. H. E. l. vi. cap. 22. [i] Hæc Euſebius. Hippolytus autem de eiſdem hebdomadibus opinatus eſt ita. Hieron. in Dan. cap. ix. col. 1114. ed. Bened.

[k] Scripſit in hunc prophetam Origenes duo volumina. . . . . Hippolytus quoque edidit commentarios. Hier. Pr. in Zachar.

[l] Legiſſe me fateor. . . . Theophili, Antiochenæ urbis epiſcopi, commentarios; Hippolyti quoque martyris. Prolog. in Comm. ſuper Matth.

[m] Hippolyti martyris verba ponamus. Ad Damaſum, ep. 125. qu. 3.

[n] Scilicet nunc enumerandum mihi eſt, qui eccleſiaſticorum de impari numero diſputarunt, Clemens, Hippolytus, Origenes; . . . noſtrorumque Tertullianus, Cyprianus, Lactantius. Ep. 30. al. 50. Nuper Sanctus Ambroſius ſic Hexæmeron illius compilavit, ut magis Hippolyti ſententias Baſiliique ſequeretur. Ep. 41. al. 65.

[o] De ſabbato quod quæris, utrum jejunandum ſit; et de euchariſtia, an accipienda quotidie, quod Romana eccleſia et Hiſpaniæ obſervare perhibentur, ſcripſit quidem et Hippolytus, vir diſertiſſimus. Ep. 52. al. 28. [p] Ep. 83. al. 84.

church, as he is alſo [q] elſewhere. In the account of Dionyſius of Alexandria, St. Jerom mentions a letter of his [r] ſent to Rome by Hippolytus, as does [s] Euſebius alſo. If Dionyſius was then biſhop, and this be our Hippolytus, he could not die before 247 or 248, when Dionyſius was made biſhop of Alexandria.

I ſhall juſt obſerve here, that Epiphanius [t] mentions Hippolytus among other eminent eccleſiaſtical writers, 'who had 'admirably confuted the Valentinians.' Epiphanius is ſuppoſed by ſome [u] to have often borrowed from Hippolytus, without naming him.

Theodoret has quoted Hippolytus ſeveral times: he continually [w] calls him 'biſhop and martyr.' It is worth the while to obſerve the works of Hippolytus which Theodoret has quoted, for the ſake of the valuable fragments preſerved by him. They are ſuch as theſe: A Diſcourſe or Homily upon thoſe words, 'The Lord is my ſhepherd.' Pſ. xxiii. 1.; A Diſcourſe on Elkanah and Hannah; Another Diſcourſe upon the beginning of Iſaiah; all three quoted together by [x] Theodoret in one of his Dialogues: and though they are cited as diſcourſes, yet perhaps theſe are only ſome parts of the commentaries of Hippolytus. In another place are [y] fragments out of commentaries upon the ſecond and upon the twenty-fourth Pſalm, and out of a homily [z] concerning the diſtribution of the talents; where alſo is quoted again the Diſcourſe upon Elkanah and Hannah; A Diſcourſe upon the Canticles, or 'the 'great Hymn,' as it is there called; An Epiſtle to a certain Queen, which is quoted [a] again in another place; where is the title of another work, called A Diſcourſe upon [b] the Two Thieves. [See Matth. xxvii. 38. Luke, xxiii. 39....43.] Who that queen was, whether ſome Arabian princeſs, or one of the Roman empreſſes, is not certain. Hippolytus is mentioned again by Theodoret [c], among many other authors who had written againſt Marcion and his followers; and in another place [d] among thoſe who had written againſt the Nicolaitans.

Photius has two articles relating to Hippolytus. In the firſt he ſpeaks of his book Againſt Hereſies, which he calls a 'little

[q] See before, note [n]. [r] Et ad Romanos per Hippolytum alteram. De Vir. Ill. cap. 69. [s] Καὶ ὅτι τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ταύτης ἐν Ῥώμῃ τοῦ Διονυσίου φερούσης μνήμην, ὁ Ἱππόλυτος. Euſ. l. vi. cap. 46. p. 248. A.

[t] Φησὶ δὲ Κλήμης, καὶ Εὐσέβιος, καὶ Ἱππόλυτος, καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ, οἱ καὶ θαυμαστῶς τὸν κατ' αὐτῶν ἀποτεινάμενοι τὸν ἔλεγχον. Epiph. Haer. 30. c. 33. p. 205. B. [u] Vid. Tillemont, Mem. Ec. T. iii. P. ii. p. 17. St. Hippolyte. [w] Τοῦ ἁγίου Ἱππολύτου, ἐπισκόπου καὶ μάρτυρος. Dial. i. T. iv. p. 36. B. Vid. Dial. ii. p. 88. A. Dial. iii. p. 155. Haret. Fab. l. iii. cap. 1. p. 227. A.

[x] Dial. i. p. 36. [y] Dial. ii. p. 83, 89. [z] Ἐκ τοῦ λόγου τοῦ περὶ τῶν τάλαντων. Ib. p. 88. A. [a] Dial. iii. p. 155. D. [b] Ἐκ τοῦ λόγου τοῦ εἰς τοὺς δύο λῃστάς. Ib. 156. A. [c] Haer. Fab. l. i. cap. 25. [d] Ibid. l. iii. cap. 1.

'book.'

'book.' He ſays expreſsly that Hippolytus was a diſciple of Irenæus, and ſeems to have learnt this from Hippolytus himſelf. 'In this book was [e] a confutation of thirty-two hereſies, 'from Doſitheus to Noetus and the Noetians. Hippolytus 'ſays, that the ſame hereſies had been confuted by Irenæus, and 'that he intended his ſmall tract as an abridgment of what Ire-'næus had ſaid. His ſtyle,' ſays Photius, 'is clear, grave, and 'conciſe, without aiming however at the Attic purity and ele-'gance. Nevertheleſs he advances ſome things which are not 'right; particularly he ſays, that the epiſtle to the Hebrews is 'not the apoſtle Paul's.' Photius adds, that Hippolytus is ſaid to have written many other pieces. This very much confirms the ſuppoſition, that Irenæus did not receive the epiſtle to the Hebrews as St. Paul's (A).

In the other place, Photius gives an account of his Commentary upon Daniel, and the Diſcourſe of Chriſt and Antichriſt; and calls Hippolytus [f] biſhop and martyr. With regard to the ſtyle of the former of theſe, Photius ſays 'it is clear, and ſuch 'as is ſuitable to a commentary, though it is far from the Attic 'purity.' The character which this great critic gives of our author, though he diſlikes and cenſures ſome things in him, is enough to make us regret the loſs of ſo many, indeed almoſt all his works.

The whole of what Photius ſays of this commentary upon Daniel is ſo maſterly, and ſo fine a model of criticiſm, that I cannot forbear inſerting it here; though for the main it has been tranſcribed already by Du Pin, and Mr. Tillemont.. 'It is 'not,' Photius ſays, 'a continued explication of the prophet, 'nevertheleſs he omits nothing material. Many things are 'here expreſſed after the manner of the ancients, not with the 'exactneſs of later ages. But there is no reaſon to blame him 'on that account: for it would be unjuſt to find fault with 'thoſe who have laid the foundations of any ſcience, that they 'have not brought it to perfection; we ought rather to think 'ourſelves obliged to them for their good endeavours, and 'leaving us ſuch helps for farther improvement. But that he 'determines the appearance of Antichriſt (at which time he

[e] Ανεγνωσθη βιβλιδαριον Ιππολυτου. Μαθητης δε Ειρηναιου ο Ιππολυτος. Ην δε το συνταγμα κατα αιρεσεων λβ. Αρχην ποιουμενος Δοσιθεανους, και μεχρι Νοητου και Νοητιανων διαλαμβανομενον. Ταυτας δε φησιν ελεγχοις υποβληθηναι ομιλουντος Ιρηναιου· ων και συνοψιν ο Ιππολυτος ποιουμενος τοδε το βιβλιον φησι συντεταχεναι. Την δε φρασιν σαφης εστι και υποσεμνος και απεριττος, ει και προς τον αττικον ουκ επιστρεφεται τον λογον. Λεγει δε αλλα τε τινα της ακριβειας λειπομενα, και οτι η προς Εβραιους επιστολη ουκ εστι του αποστολου Παυλου. Phot. Bibl. Cod. 121. p. 301.

(A) See before, ch. xvii. p. 165, 166.

[f] Ανεγνωσθη Ιππολυτου επισκοπου και μαρτυρος ερμηνεια εις τον Δανιηλ. κ. λ. Cod. 102. p. 525.

'alſo fixes the end of this viſible world) to the year 500 from 'Chriſt, and the completion of 6000 years from the creation of 'the world; this is rather a mark of a warm fancy than of diſcre- 'tion, ſince Chriſt himſelf would not ſatisfy the diſciples about 'ſuch matters, though they deſired him. This determination 'therefore is to be imputed to human ignorance, not to illumi- 'nation from above.'

It may not be improper to take ſome notice in this place of the extracts which Photius made out of Stephen Gobar's work, in which Hippolytus is mentioned ſeveral times. 'Stephen 'then,' as Photius aſſures [h] us, 'obſerves what opinion Hippo- 'lytus and Epiphanius had of Nicolas, one of the ſeven deacons, 'and that they ſtrongly condemned him; whilſt Ignatius, Cle- 'ment, Euſebius, and Theodoret, though they condemned the 'hereſy of the Nicolaitans, ſay that Nicolas was not ſuch an one.' Stephen informs us farther, [i] 'that Hippolytus and Irenæus 'ſay, the epiſtle of Paul to the Hebrews is not his.' Finally, 'he [k] obſerves what opinion the bleſſed Hippolytus had of the 'hereſy of the Montaniſts.'

We have now had a large teſtimony to the works of Hippolytus, and have ſeen him ſtyled more than once biſhop and martyr, but hitherto no diſcovery is made of the place either of his biſhopric or martyrdom. However, there are writers of the fifth and following centuries, who mention the place of his biſhopric; whether upon good ground or not, is not altogether certain. Gelaſius, biſhop of Rome in the latter end of the fifth century, calls Hippolytus [l] metropolitan of the Arabians, if that paſſage be his, and not interpolated. Anaſtaſius, preſbyter of Rome in the ſeventh century, calls him [m] biſhop of Portus Romanus. In [n] the Paſchal Chronicle, compoſed about the ſame time, Hippolytus is ſtyled martyr, and biſhop of Portus near Rome; by others he is called biſhop [o] of Rome, and ſa-

[h] Και ὁ απόφασις αὐθεντικὴς ἀρχαίας, ἀλλ' ἐκ ὑπονοίας τινὸς αὐτὸν διελέγχει. Ph. Cod. 202. col. 525. [i] Ὅτι δὲ πίστις ἐπιστολῆς ἔσχεν Ἱππόλυτος καὶ Ἐπιφάνιος περὶ Νικόλαου, τῶν ἑπτὰ τοῦ ζ διακόνων, καὶ ἐλ. ἰσχυρῶς αὐτὸν κατεδικασάτην. κ. λ. Phot. Bibl. Cod. 232. col. 901. n. 7, 8.

[j] Ὅτι Ἱππόλυτος καὶ Εἰρηναῖος τὴν πρὸς Ἑβραίους ἐπιστολὴν Παύλου, οὐκ ἐκείνου εἶναι φασιν. Ib. col. 904. n. 10. [k] Τὰς ὑποθέσεις ἔσχεν ὁ αὐτὸς Ἱππόλυτος περὶ τῆς τῶν Μοντανιστῶν αἱρέσεως. Ibid. col. 904. n. 13.

[l] Hippolyti, epiſcopi et martyris Arabum metropolis, in memoria hæreſium. Gelaſ. in Teſtimon. de duabus naturis in Chriſto. Bib. Patr. T. viii. p. 704. Lugd.

[m] See Tillemont's remarks upon this teſtimony, Mem. Eccl. T. iii. P. ii. p. 52. Bruxelles. Note ii. ſur S. Hippolyte.

[n] . . . teſtimonia ex dictis Sancti Hippolyti, epiſcopi Portus Romani, ac martyris Chriſti Dei noſtri. Anaſtaſius, preſbyter et apocriſiarius Romæ, in epiſtola ad Theodosium preſbyterum Gangrenſem, laudat. a Fabric. Op. S. Hippolyti, p. 225.

[o] Ἱππόλυτος πάπας ὁ τῆς εὐσεβείας μεγάλης ἐν ἁγίοις τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐν Πόρτῳ Chr. Paſch. p. 6. [p] Ὁ ἅγιος Ἱππόλυτος ἐπίσκοπος Ῥώμης. Leont. Byz. [q] Καὶ Ἱππόλυτος ὁ Ῥώμης συγγράφει. Nicep. C. Pol.

Roman

Roman writer, and the like; whose passages may be seen in the testimonies collected by Fabricius, in his edition of [r] Hippolytus.

Modern authors are divided in their opinions. Some have thought that he was bishop of Porto, near the mouth of the Tiber. Le Moyne [s] thinks he was bishop of Portus Romanus, otherwise called Adan, or Aden, in Arabia Felix. Cave [t] and [u] Basnage, and many others, go readily into this sentiment. According to these learned men, Hippolytus was an Arabian, and bishop of Portus Romanus in that country; but afterwards (at what time, and upon what occasion, is unknown) he came to Rome, and resided there some time; where he became famous for his zeal and labours in preaching the gospel, and defending the Christian religion; where likewise, or near it, he might have the honour of suffering martyrdom.

Tillemont is more cautious in this respect; and thinks that since Eusebius, Jerom, and Theodoret were either plainly ignorant of the place where Hippolytus was bishop, or make no mention of it, it is not likely that later authors should teach us any thing certain, and that can be relied upon, in this matter. Tillemont discourses largely upon this question, in his second note upon Hippolytus. His own conjecture is, that Hippolytus might be bishop of some small city, the name of which was little known in the world; and that he has been supposed to have been bishop of Porto in Italy for no other reason, but that some person of the same name was martyred there, who perhaps came from the east, and in a long course of time was confounded with the great Hippolytus, bishop and martyr.

Prudentius has celebrated a martyr of this name, who suffered either at Portus or Ostia, near the mouth of the Tiber, whom Theodoric Ruinart [x] thinks to be our Hippolytus. But there are [y] arguments against that opinion, which to me appear unanswerable.

Dr. Heumann published some time ago a [y] curious dissertation, wherein he argues, that Hippolytus was not an ecclesiasti-

[r] S. Hippolyti Op. pp. 7—11. Hamb. [illegible] [s] Vid. Steph. Le Moyne in [illegible] Varia Sacra; et Hippolyt. [illegible] [t] Verum inter omnes [illegible] verisimillima videtur [illegible] Cl. Le Moyne conjectura, Hippo[illegible] episcopum Portus Romani in [illegible] a Ptolomaeo vo[illegible] postea Adanae sive Adenae nomen, [illegible] hodie retinet, adepti; Romanis mercatoribus perquam noti, et ab iis tunc temporis admodum frequentati. Cav. H. L. P. I. p. 66. Vid. et P. II. p. 42, 43.

[u] Basn. Ann. Pol. Ec. 222. n. vii.

[v] Vid. Acta Martyrum Sincera, p. 168.

[x] Vid. Basn. Ann. 222. n. viii.

[y] Dissertatio, in qua docetur, ubi, et qualis episcopus fuerit Hippolytus. Vid. Primitiae Gottingenses, p. 239—253. Hanover. 1738. 4to.

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cal, but a civil bishop; probably warden or inspector of Portus Romanus or Ostia, an office of no small trust and honour. And he thinks that Hippolytus, though not a senator, was a Roman of quality, and an illustrious convert to the Christian religion. He allows him to have written most of the works generally ascribed to him; but he does not think that Hippolytus died a martyr.

How long Hippolytus lived, is unknown. As he is said to have been a martyr, some are disposed [z] to place his death in the persecution under Maximin, about the year 235; or else in the Decian persecution, about the year 250.

Though we are not able to determine with certainty the place of his bishopric, nor the place or time of his supposed martyrdom, and have scarce any history of his life, we have seen sufficient proof of his fame and great eminence for learning, and for the number of his works upon a variety of subjects. His having Origen for his hearer, is reckoned an argument that he was of the eastern part of the world: his being a disciple of Irenæus, might make us suspect that he was rather born and educated in the west. He certainly wrote in Greek. His works must have been well known in the east: this is evident from Eusebius's being acquainted with so many of them. He seems likewise to say that [a] they were lodged in the library at Jerusalem, erected by Alexander, bishop of that city. But I do not perceive that this will enable us to determine the age of Hippolytus. If indeed his works were placed there by Alexander himself, who died in the year 251, it might be argued by some that Hippolytus had died some time before: but their being there in Eusebius's time, is no proof that they were placed there by Alexander; for some might be so generous as to make additions to the library begun by that good bishop of Jerusalem. Nor is it impossible that some of these works might be lodged there by Alexander, in the life time of Hippolytus.

As this writer's works were evidently well known in the east, so a noble monument erected to his honour near Rome, seems to be a proof of his fame in Europe. Of this I must now give a short account. In the year 1551 was dug up in the neighbourhood of that city, a marble monument, with the image of a venerable person sitting in a chair: here likewise are engraved in Greek letters cycles of 16 years. Though there is no name remaining upon this monument, it is generally allowed to belong to

[z] See Tillemont, Mem. Ec. T. iii. P. ii. p. 12. [a] H. E. l. vi. cap. 20.

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our Hippolytus. Tillemont [b] says, nobody doubts but this canon is his.

Upon this monument there is likewise a table of titles of divers works. Some of them are the same with those mentioned by Eusebius and Jerom; others are titles of works which they have taken no notice of. Beside others, all which are not equally legible, here are these: 'Of the Pythoness; Of the 'Gospel of John, and the [c] Revelation; Against [d] the Greeks, 'and against Plato, and also of the Universe; An Exhortation to 'Severina,' which may be the epistle to a certain queen, mentioned by Theodoret; 'Hymns upon all the Scriptures.'

The late learned John Albert Fabricius has given us a very valuable edition of the remaining works and fragments of Hippolytus. But as there are several things ascribed to him without ground, and the pieces which are thought by some to be his are supposed to have been strangely interpolated, I shall now observe, as I promised at the beginning of this chapter, the judgments of divers learned men upon them.

Dodwell says: 'The [e] name of that blessed martyr has been 'so abused by impostors, that it is not easy to distinguish what 'is his: nor can I see how that monument, wherein so many of 'his matters are recounted, could be erected in the age wherein 'he suffered.' That is very right; it could not be erected immediately after his sufferings: but I suppose it cannot be questioned that this monument is of great antiquity. However, if there were any reason to think that this monument was not erected till some centuries (though a few only) after the death of Hippolytus, this would much weaken the authority of the catalogue of his works engraved upon it; and it might also help to account for the differences between that catalogue and those in Eusebius and Jerom. Possibly the composer of the catalogue upon the monument confounded two persons of the same name, and ascribed several of the works of both to one.

Mill, who must be allowed a good judge in this matter, having [f] designed to publish this author's work, and [g] having made large preparations for it, expresses himself to this purpose in his Prolegomena to the New Testament: 'That [h] Hippoly-

[b] Hippolyte, p. 10. [c] Περὶ τοῦ κατὰ Ἰωάννην εὐαγγελίου καὶ ἀποκαλύψεως.

[d] Πρὸς Ἕλληνας καὶ πρὸς Πλάτωνα, καὶ περὶ τοῦ παντός.

[e] See Mr. Dodwell, in his Dissertation concerning the Use of Incense in the Divine Offices, p. 107.

[f] Hunc [διδασκαλίαν ἀποστολικὴν] ex codice Vaticano edidit, et cum reliquis Hippolyti operibus publicavit, ejusdem editurus est Joannes Mill. . . . a quo certiora de Hippolyto ejusque scriptis expectamus. Cav. Hist. Lit. P. i. p. 69. [g] Vid. Fabric. Hippolyt. in Præf. init. [h] Scripsit alia haud pauca Hippolytus. Quæ autem sub nomine ejus feruntur, spuria fere sunt, excepto forsan tractatu de Antichristo, quem pro genuino venditat Combefisius. Mill, Prolog. n. 655.

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'tus left behind him many works. But the pieces extant under 'his name are in a manner all spurious, except perhaps 'the treatise of Antichrist, which Combefis will have to be 'genuine.'

Grabe, in his notes upon bishop Bull's *Defensio Fidei Nicænæ*, scruples to insist upon any passages in the treatise 'Of the End 'of the World, and Antichrist, and the Second Coming of our 'Lord Jesus Christ;' or in the other treatise, intitled 'A De-'monstration concerning Christ and Antichrist;' affirming that both these pieces are interpolated, especially the former; and that he has good reasons for this assertion, which he promises to shew more fully in another place.

The Benedictine editors of St. Ambrose's works, express themselves as if they [k] thought all the works of Hippolytus entirely lost.

Du Pin [l] says, the treatise of Christ and Antichrist is more ancient than the other, Of the End of the World, &c.; but he thinks that even that is not worthy of Hippolytus. Of the book against Noetus, Du Pin says, that though it is not really the work of Hippolytus, it contains the principles of the ancients concerning the doctrine of the Trinity. Tillemont [m] thinks it probable, that the forementioned book against Noetus, which we now have, is a fragment of Hippolytus's work against Heresies, and the conclusion of it. And it appears to him undoubted, that it was written by some author of the third century, the sentiments concerning the Trinity being so agreeable to those times.

Casimire [n] Oudin thinks the fragment of the work concerning the Universe, with the fragments in Theodoret's Dialogues, all we have remaining of this martyr's works.

Mr. Whiston, speaking of Hippolytus, says, 'We [o] have, I 'believe, one small genuine treatise of his still extant, De Anti-'christo, published by the very learned Combefis; to which is 'added a very small piece, De Susanna, which, with his Paschal 'Cycle, seems to be all that is really his.'

[i] Reliqua certiora quidem sunt, attamen non omni prorsus dubio carent; quod utrumque Hippolyti scriptum, maxime prius, interpolatum esse videatur, ut in dicto spicilegio pluribus demonstrabo. Grabe, ap. Bull. Def. Fid. Nic. cap. 8. p. 95.

[k] Duobus memoratis patribus insuper alios duos addit Hieronymus, Didymum . . ., et Hippolytum martyrem. Sed cum hujus opera temporum iniquitate pereunt, quod Hieronymi adjiciamus testimonio ni-hil habemus. Præfat. ad S. Ambros. Op. p. penult.

[l] Du Pin, Bibl. Eccles. [m] Till. Mem. Ec. T. iii. P. ii. p. 16, 17.

[n] Opinamur, hoc tempore unicum ex omnibus hujus martyris operibus superesse, cum fragmentis aliis, quæ Theodoretus in Dialogis refert. Oudin. de Script. Ecc. T. i. col. 229.

[o] See Essay on the Apostolical Constitutions, or Primitive Christian Liturgy, vol. iii. p. 402.

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The treatiſe of Chriſt and Antichriſt was firſt publiſhed by Gudius in Greek, and afterwards by Combefis, with a Latin tranſlation.

Baſnage is not unwilling to allow this laſt-mentioned [p] piece to be the real and genuine work of Hippolytus, mentioned by Photius.

For a more particular critique upon the ſeveral works of Hippolytus, I would willingly refer my readers to Du Pin and Tillemont.

And if I may at laſt deliver my own opinion, I would ſay, though ſcarce any of them are altogether ſincere and uncorrupted, there are few of which ſome good uſe may not be made by a man of candour and judgment.

Pearſon [q] being of opinion, that the Apoſtolical Conſtitutions were compoſed in the fourth or fifth century, out of divers ſmall pieces, called Doctrines, or Inſtitutions, ſaid to be written by Clement, Ignatius, Hippolytus, and others, ſuppoſes that a large part of the eighth book of the Conſtitutions conſiſts of a like piece, aſcribed to Hippolytus. What ground there is for this ſentiment, may be ſeen in Pearſon himſelf, and others [r] who eſpouſe it, or have examined it. I apprehend that if the compoſer of the Conſtitutions did borrow from Hippolytus, it is nevertheleſs impoſſible for us now to determine with certainty what is his; and therefore I think I may defer the farther conſideration of this opinion till I come to ſpeak diſtinctly of the Conſtitutions, which I ſee no reaſon to do as yet. If my memory does not fail me, there is no notice taken of this matter by Du Pin, or Tillemont, or Oudin, in their hiſtory of Hippolytus and his works: either therefore they were entirely ignorant of it, or they did not think it worthy of their regard. One of the titles upon the forementioned monument, is [s] 'The Apoſtolical 'Tradition concerning Gifts' of the Spirit; and it has been argued that this means Hippolytus's Didaſcalia, or Inſtitution, ſuppoſed to be now inſerted in the eighth book of the Conſtitu-

[p] Extant hodie duæ de Antichriſto homiliæ ſub nomine Hippolyti. Prior titulum habet, De Conſummatione Mundi, et Antichriſto; poſterior, De Antichriſto. . . . Ac poſterior quidem eſt Hippolyto longe dignior: nobiſque ea inſidet ſententia, quod illa ipſa eſt de qua mentionem movit Photius. Baſnag. Ann. 222. n. x.

Vid. Pearſon, Vind. Ignat. Part i. cap. 4.

[r] Vid. Grabe, Spic. Patr. T. i. p. 43. et p. 284, 285. Fabric. Bib. Gr. T. v. p. 208. Hippolyt. ex ed. Fabric. p. 248, &c. Cav. Hiſt. Lit. in Hippolyto. Mr. Robert Turner's Diſcourſe of the pretended Apoſtolical Conſtitutions, ch. 24. p. 287, &c.

[s] Περὶ χαρισμάτων ἀποστολικὴ παράδοσις.

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tions. But all that Mr. Tillemont says of that title is, that probably [t] 'it is some book written against the Montanists.

Mill, in his edition of the New Testament, a work of prodigious labour and extensive use, and above all my commendations, prefixes to each book of that sacred volume testimonies of ancient Christian writers: and before the four gospels are so many testimonies, under the name of Hippolytus. Two of those testimonies or passages, those prefixed to St. Matthew's and St. John's gospels, are taken out of a little book, intitled 'Of the Twelve Apostles;' the other two, prefixed to St. Mark's and St. Luke's gospels, are taken out of another little piece (though undoubtedly somewhat longer than the former) intitled, 'Of the Seventy or Seventy-two Disciples.' And among the testimonies prefixed to St. John's gospel, that called Hippolytus's is placed between Clement of Alexandria and Origen; which might well dispose some persons to think, that the Hippolytus hereby intended is our Hippolytus of the third century; though it is now well known to the learned, and universally agreed, that our Hippolytus is not the author of those two pieces, but that they were composed by Hippolytus Thebanus, in the tenth or eleventh century, or by some other late writer: so that I thought I had no reason to take any notice of either of these pieces in my account of Hippolytus's works. Nor should I have done it now, if I had not accidentally cast my eye upon one of those testimonies in Mill's New Testament, which I think are very improperly placed, and might mislead some persons. They are indeed of little or no value. In the book or catalogue of the seventy disciples, it is said of the evangelists Mark and Luke, 'That they two were of Christ's 'seventy disciples, and that they were dispersed by the word 'which Christ spoke: "[u] Unless a man eat my flesh, and drink "my blood, he is not worthy of me." But the one being 'brought back again to Christ by Peter, and the other by Paul, 'they both had the honour to write a gospel [or, to preach the 'gospel], for which they suffered martyrdom; one being burnt 'to death, the other crucified upon an olive tree.' But such stories as these deserve no regard, unless they were to be found in some writings unquestionably ancient.

[t] Outre ces ouvrages cette table marque encore un ecrit De dons [du Saint Esprit;] De la Tradition Apostolique; ou de la Tradition Apostolique sur les dons; apparemment pour refuter les Montanistes. Tillemont, M. E. T. iii. P. ii. p. 15. Saint Hippolyte.

[u] See John, vi. 53. and 66.

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That every one who needs it may have full ſatisfaction concerning theſe pieces, I ſhall place in the margin the judgments of two or three learned men upon them, particularly [w] Cave and [x] Du Pin; which laſt learned writer ſays, theſe pieces contain divers fictions of the modern Greeks. Fabricius, in his account of our Hippolytus, called Portuenſis, gives [y] a large catalogue of his works, without mentioning either of theſe; and afterwards, in his article of the latter Hippolytus, called Thebanus, he ſays that [z] both theſe books are to be accounted his.

In what is here ſaid, it is not intended to caſt any reflection upon Mill, for whom I have a profound reſpect. The greateſt men upon earth are liable to ſome overſights amidſt the labours of ſuch a work as his New Teſtament.

I. Having now at length, I hope, cleared the way, I proceed to repreſent this author's teſtimony to the books of the New Teſtament: and I ſhall make my extracts chiefly out of the fragments of Hippolytus, preſerved in Theodoret, which are unqueſtionably genuine. Theſe alone bear teſtimony to the goſpels, and to many particular and principal facts recorded in them, and to divers other books of ſcripture. Beſide thoſe fragments, I may alſo make ſome uſe of the 'Demonſtration concerning Chriſt and Antichriſt,' the fragment of the treatiſe 'Of the Univerſe,' and the book againſt Noetus.

II. Theodoret then expreſsly quotes Hippolytus, biſhop and martyr, as ſaying in his epiſtle to a certain queen: 'Therefore he calls him the "firſt fruits of them that ſlept," and "the firſt born from the dead;" who being riſen, and willing to ſhew that what had riſen was the ſame that had died, his diſciples doubting, he called Thomas to him, and ſaid, "Han-

[w] VII. Apoſtolis, ubicunque quiſque ... ſit, et conformis ſit, Innocentius. ... ſcriptori potius tribuendus. Cave, ... Hippolyto Portuenſi. Hiſt. Lit. P. i. ... Hippolytus, patria Thebanus, ... Hippolyto Portuenſi male confu... nonnulli, claruit circa ann. 933. ... Hæc editio, ut videtur, priorem habet libellum de XII. Apoſtolis, ſub Hippolyti nomine, Gr. L. a Combefiſio ... Lib. obſt. p. 580. [x] Le petit traité de la vie de Douze Apôtres, et de leurs actions, que le pere Combefis a fait paroître ... n'eſt point d'Hippolite, et contient pluſieurs fictions des nouveaux Grecs, touchant la mort des Apôtres. On peut porter le même jugement d'un livre ... qui a paru preſ ſur un même ſujet, attribué au même auteur, touchant les Soixante et Douze Diſciples de Jeſus Chriſt. Du Pin, Bib. Hippolite. [y] Vid. Fab. Bib. Gr. l. v. cap. i. § 25. T. v. p. 203—211. [z] Sed et opuſculum, quod de XII. Apoſtolis, ſub Hippolyti nomine, laudat Combefiſius ... atque integrum vulgavit cum verſione ſua Combefiſius ... et quæ de LXXII. Diſcipulis habet Baronius, ... ex Hippolyti Thebani Chronico petita videntur. Fabr. ib. p. 212. Τοῦτον οὖν, ... ἐκ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς τῆς πρὸς τινα βασίλισσαν. Ἀπάρχεται τοῦ λόγου τοῦ περὶ ἀναστάσεως, ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ ἁγίου ... καὶ λοιπὰ τὰ ἑξῆς, ἕως ... καὶ ἀπιστούντων, διατρέχων τὰς μαθητὰς, ... ἐπιστρέφων τὸν Θωμᾶν, φησὶ· Δεῦρο ψηλάφησον καὶ ἴδε, ὁ ... μα σῶμα καὶ σάρκα οὐκ ἔχει, καθὼς ἐμὲ βλέπετε ἔχοντα. Ap. Theodoret. Dial. ii. p. 83. B. T. iv.

" dle me, and see; for a spirit has not flesh and bones, as ye see " me have." Hippolytus here cites the gospels inaccurately, and, as is probable, by memory only. But that we here have his words right, we are farther assured by another place of Theodoret; where he has quoted again [b] this same passage, just as it is here. 1 Cor. xv. 10. Col. i. 18. Rev. i. 5. John, xx. 22. Luke, xxiv. 39.

III. Presently after the forecited passages, Theodoret quotes another from the Discourse of Hippolytus upon Elkanah and Hannah, where the first epistle to the Corinthians is quoted again in this manner: ' As [c] the apostle says, 1 Cor. v. 7, " For Christ, God, our passover is sacrificed for us."

IV. It is worth the while to take some more passages of Hippolytus, cited presently after by Theodoret, out of the Discourse upon the ' great Hymn,' as he calls it, and other pieces. ' They ' [d] who do not acknowledge the Son of God incarnate, shall ac- ' knowledge him when he comes as judge in glory, even him ' who now is abused in an inglorious body.' The same author, in the same Discourse: ' For the apostles coming to the sepul- ' chre on the third day, " found not the body of Jesus." Luke, ' xxiv. 3. as the children of Israel, when they went up to the ' mountain to seek the grave of Moses, found it not.' The same author, in his commentary upon the second Psalm: ' He ' coming into the world, appeared to be God and man. His ' humanity is easily perceived, when [e] he hungers, and [f] is weary, ' and [g] being weary thirsts, and [h] fearing flees, and [i] praying is ' sorrowful, and [k] sleeps upon a pillow, and [l] deprecrates the cup ' of his passion, and [m] " being in an agony sweats, and is strengthi- " ened by an angel," and [n] is betrayed by Judas, and [o] in- ' sulted by Caiaphas, and set at nought [p] by Herod, and [q] scour- ' ged by Pilate, and [r] derided by the soldiers, and [s] is fastened ' to the cross by the Jews, and " crying with a loud voice [t], " commends his spirit to the Father;" and [u] " bowing his head, " giveth up the ghost;" and [w] his " side is pierced with a " spear," and [x] " being wrapped in fine linen," he is laid in a

[b] Dial. iii. p. 155. D. [c] Ὡς ὁ ἀποστολος λεγει· τὸ δὲ πασχα ἡμων ὑπερ ἡμων ἐτυθη Χριστος ὁ Θεος. Ibid. Dial. ii. p. 88. C.

[d] Οἱ γαρ τον Υἱον του Θεου εν σαρκον μη επιγινωσκοντες, επιγινωσκονται αυτον κριτην εν δοξῃ παραγινομενον, τυν νυν εν αδοξῳ σωματι υβριζομενον. Ib. p. 89. A. B. [e] Matth. iv. 2.

[f] John, iv. 6. [g] John, iv. 7. or ch. xix. 28. [h] Matth. ii. 13, 14. xii. 14, 15. John, iv. 3. and other places.

[i] Matth. xxvi. 37. [k] Mark, iv. 38. [l] Matth. xxvi. Mark, xiv. Luke, xxii. [m] Luke, xxii. 43, 44.

[n] Matth. xxvi. and other gospels.

[o] Matth. xxvi. 65. [p] Luke, xxiii. 11. [q] Matth. xxvii. 26. John, xix. 1. [r] Matth. xxvii. 27. Mark, xv. 16. Luke, xxiii. 36. John, xix. 2.

[s] Matth. xxvii. 35. [t] Luke, xxiii. 4[illegible].

[u] John, xix. 30. [w] . . . . [illegible]

[x] Matth. xxvii. 59, 60. Mark, xv. 4[illegible]. Luke, xxiii. 53. John, xix. 40.

' sepulchre,

'sepulchre; and [y] on the third day is raised by the Father. 'His divinity also is clearly perceived, when [z] he is worshipped 'by angels, and [a] visited by the shepherds, and [b] expected by 'Simeon, and [c] receives testimony from Anna, and [d] is en-'quired for by the wise men, and [e] is shewn by a star, and [f] 'when he turns water into wine at a wedding, and [g] rebukes the 'sea, violently agitated by the winds, and [h] walks upon the sea, 'and [i] gives sight to a man blind from his birth, and [k] raises 'Lazarus, who had been dead four days, and performs various 'works of power, and forgives [l] sins, and [m] gives power to his 'disciples.'

Much the same things are found again in the last chapter of the book against Noetus: and, if I mistake not, this passage mightily answers the character which Photius gave of this writer's style, that [n] it is concise, or free from superfluities. Here are references to all the four gospels; and many things are mentioned which are recorded in each of them.

V. In other passages of Hippolytus, cited by Theodoret, is notice taken of the birth of Jesus, at [o] Bethlehem, 'of a virgin 'and the Holy Spirit;' where he must refer to the first chapter of St. Matthew's or St. Luke's gospel.

VI. He may be supposed to refer to Acts, x. 40, in those words before cited: 'On the third day is raised by the Father.' He may be reckoned likewise to have an eye to the first chapter of the Acts, and to chapter xxvi. 23, when in a passage preserved in Theodoret [p] he speaks of Christ's ascending at Pentecost, and of his being the first that ascended into the heavens. I suppose it cannot be doubted but Hippolytus received the Acts of the apostles. Beside what is alleged here, this may be also argued from what was before cited from Photius: That Stephen (B) Gobar observes, what opinion Hippolytus had of Nicolas, one of the seven deacons.

VII. It may be also reckoned undoubted, that he received

[y] Acts, x. 40. [z] Luke, ii. 13, 14. [a] [illegible] 15, 16, 17. [b] Luke, ii. 25. [c] Ver. 36, 37, 38. [d] Matth. ii. 12. [e] . . . . ver. 2. 9. [f] John, [illegible] . . . . 11. [g] Matth. viii. 26. [illegible], iv. Luke, viii. [h] Matth. xiv. 25, 26. Mark, vi. 48, [illegible] John, vi. 19. [i] John, ix. [illegible] 7. [k] John, xi. and xii. 17. [l] Matth. ix. 2. 6. Mark, ii. 10. Luke, [illegible] [m] Matth. x. 1. Mark, [illegible] 7. Luke, ix. 1. x. 19. xxiv. [illegible] xx [illegible] 3. [n] Και απε-[illegible] Phot. Cod. 121, col. 301.

[o] Ο δε Κυριος αναμαρτητος ην, εκ των ασηπτων ξυλων το κατα ανθρωπον, τουτ' εστιν εκ της παρθενου και του Αγιου Πνευματος . . . Αγε δη μοι, ω Σαμουηλ, εις Βηθλεεμ ελκομενην την δαμαλιν, ινα επιδειξης τον εκ Δαβιδ βασιλεα τικτομενον. . . . Ειπε μοι, ω μακαρια Μαρια, τι ην το υπο σου εν τη κοιλια συνειλημμενον, και τι ην το υπο σου εν παρθενικη μητρα βαστασομενον; Ap. Theodoret. Dial. i. p. 36. B. C. D. [p] Εν δε τη πεντηκοστη, ινα προσημηνη την των ουρανων βασιλειαν, αυτος πρωτος εις ουρανους αναβας, και τον ανθρωπον δωρον τω Θεω προσενεγκας. Ap. Theodoret. Dial. ii. p. 88. C.

(B) See before, p. 402.

thirteen epistles of St. Paul, and most other books of the New Testament; but the epistle to the Hebrews he did not allow to be St. Paul's, as (c) was observed formerly. But we should have been glad to have seen his arguments and reasonings upon that matter, if he made use of any.

VIII. His opinion of the disputed catholic epistles, that of James, the second of Peter, the second and third of John, and the epistle of Jude, does not appear very manifest from his remaining works or fragments; where scarce any of these are quoted, except that there is [q] a reference to 2 Pet. i. 21, in the book Of Christ and Antichrist.

IX. The book of the Revelation was received by Hippolytus as the apostle John's. About this there can be no question made. Jerom, in the catalogue of his works, mentions one intitled 'Of the Revelation.' One of the titles upon the monument before mentioned is, 'Of the Gospel according to 'John, and the Revelation.' Mill thinks [r] that this was a defence of both these books of scripture; which is perfectly agreeable to the description which [s] Ebedjesu gives of one of the works of Hippolytus, and undoubtedly meaning this. We saw formerly (D) a reference to the Revelation in the fragment of the treatise 'Of the Universe:' it is largely quoted in the 'Demonstration concerning Christ and Antichrist.' Here it is said, 'That' John saw the revelation of tremendous mys-'teries in the Isle of Patmos, which he also made known to 'others.' He is here called 'blessed John, apostle and disciple 'of the Lord;' and again, 'prophet' and apostle;' prophet, no doubt, with regard to this book. Andrew of Cæsarea, about the year 500, in his Commentary upon the Revelation, several times mentions our author's interpretations of things recorded in that book. Andrew's passages are collected by [u] Fabricius, and may be seen in his edition of Hippolytus.

X. The respect for the sacred scriptures appears in the 'De-'monstration concerning Christ and Antichrist.' At the beginning of that work the author tells Theophilus, to whom he writes, 'That [w] in order to give him instruction in the things 'about

(c) See p. 401, 402. [q] Hippolyt. Op. p. 5. [r] Cum hoc, inquam, vidisset martyr, necessarium duxerit, S. Joannis operum vindicias agere. Mill, Proleg. n. 654. [s] Sanctus Hippolytus, martyr et episcopus, composuit librum de dispensatione: . . . et apologiam pro apocalypsi et evangelio Joannis apostoli et evangelistæ. Ebedjes. Catalog. Lib. Syr. cap. 7. ap. Assem. Bib. Or. T. iii. p. 15. (D) Ch. xxxii. at the end. [t] Οὗτος γὰρ ὁ Παῦλος τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνωτάτω μυστηρίων φιλίαν, ἀλλὰ διὰ μυστικῆς ἀποκαλύψεως καὶ ἔργου διδάσκει. Λέγει μοι, μακάριε [illegible] ἀποστόλε καὶ μαθητὰ τοῦ Κυρίου, τί εἶδες καὶ τίνος ἐπύθου περὶ βασιλείας. De Chr. et Ant. § 36. p. 18. [u] Λέγει γὰρ ὁ προφήτης καὶ ἀπόστολος. Ib. § 50. p. 25. [w] p. 54, 55. Βουλόμενός σε καὶ' ἀκρίβειαν ἐμμαθεῖν τὰ προφητικὰ σοι ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ γραφῇ, ἀρκτέον σοι εἰπεῖν

'about which he enquires, he will draw out of the ſacred foun-
'tain, and ſet before him, from the ſacred ſcriptures themſelves,
'what may afford him ſatisfaction.' He then quotes immediately both Paul's epiſtles to Timothy, and afterwards many books of the New Teſtament. And near the concluſion of the ſame work, he ſays, 'Two different [x] advents therefore of our Lord
'and Saviour have been ſhewn out of the ſcriptures; the firſt
'inglorious in the fleſh, the other glorious.' He mentions this diviſion of all the books of ſacred ſcripture, [y] 'the law, prophets,
'goſpels, and apoſtles.'

XI. Dr. Mill has obſerved [z] ſome readings in this book different from our preſent copies. I ſhall take notice of but one, 2 Tim. ii. 2. 'the [zz] things which thou haſt heard of me in many
'diſcourſes,' inſtead of, '*among many witneſſes.*' Mill thinks this to be an explication only, and not a true reading.

I have no occaſion to ſum up this teſtimony; it is eaſy to ſee in theſe numbers what it is.

CHAP. XXXVI.

AMMONIUS.

I. AMMONIUS: *his Hiſtory, and Teſtimony to the Books of the New Teſtament.* II. Qu. *Whether* TATIAN's *and* AMMONIUS's *Harmonies are now extant?* III. *Extracts out of a Latin Harmony aſcribed to* TATIAN. IV. *Extracts out of a Latin Harmony aſcribed to* AMMONIUS.

PORPHYRY, in his work which he wrote againſt the Chriſtians, as cited by Euſebius, ſays of Ammonius, the celebrated philoſopher of Alexandria, maſter of Plotinus and other eminent men, 'That [a] having been educated a Chriſtian by Chriſtian

κἀμὲ θεοφιλῆ, τυλλογῶν κηρυσσομένην αφθονως αφ' ὑσσωπου ἑως ἐξ ἁγιας στηγης, ἐξ ἁγιων γραφων παρατιθεις καθ' ὀφθαλμων τα ζητουμενα. De Chr. et Ant. § 1. [x] Ὡσπερ γαρ δυο παρουσιαι του Κυριου και Σωτηρος ἡμων δια γραφων ἐδειχθησαν. Ib. § 44. [y] Εσφαλησαν αν τινες παλαι, οι μηδεν συμφατοι τη αληθειᾳ εἰρισθαι νομιζοντες μητε καλα τον νομον . . . μητε καλα τους προφητας . . . μητε καλα τη των ευαγγελιων φατνην . . . μητε τοις αποστολοις πειθομενοι. Ib. § 58. [z] Prol. n. 655, 656. [zz] Και α ἠκουσας παρ' ἐμου δια πολλων παρακλησεων. Ib. § 1. [a] Ἀμμωνιος μεν γαρ Χριστιανος ὑπ' Χριστιανοις ἀναστραφεις τοις γονευσι, ἁμα τη φρονησαι και της φιλοσοφιας ἁψασθαι, τυθυς μεταβας την καλα τομους πολιτειαν μετεβαλετο. Apud Euſ. H. E. l. vi. cap. 19. p. 220. B.

'parents, as soon as he came to years of understanding, and 'had a taste of philosophy, he presently betook himself to a life 'agreeable to the laws.' To which Eusebius says, 'That 'is a notorious falsehood, to say he exchanged Christianity for 'Gentilism; for Ammonius maintained sincere and uncorrupted 'the doctrine of the divine philosophy to the end of his life, 'as his works which he left behind him still testify, and for 'which he is in great repute; as the treatise intitled, Of the 'Consent of Moses and Jesus, and divers others, which may be 'found with the curious.'

After Eusebius, St. Jerom, in his book of Illustrious Men, writes to this purpose: 'At that time [the person last spoken of 'is Origen] Ammonius, an eloquent and very learned man, was 'famous at Alexandria; who, among many excellent monu-'ments of his wit, composed also an elegant work of the Con-'sent of Moses and Jesus, and [c] invented the Evangelical Ca-'nons, which Eusebius of Cæsarea afterwards followed. This 'person is falsely reproached by Porphyry, that of a Christian he 'became a heathen; when it is certain, he continued a Chris-'tian to the end of his life.'

And to this day it has been the general opinion of learned men, that Ammonius Saccas, the celebrated Alexandrian philosopher, and the author of these two Christian works, as well as of other pieces upon the same principles, are one and the same person. Tillemont [d] says, he does not see that any one doubts of it: but that manner of expression seems to shew, that he himself had some suspicion to the contrary. And [e] Fabricius has openly called into question this supposition, and I think demonstrated, beyond dispute, that they are two different persons. I shall only observe, that Porphyry was nearer Ammonius Saccas than Eusebius; that he could not but be well informed by his master Plotinus, who spent [f] eleven years with Ammonius: and besides, we are assured by Longinus, another disciple of Ammonius Saccas, that he never wrote any thing. This may

[b] Φιλοσοφιαν δε σαφως . . . τον δ' Αμμωνιον εκβιον τω λογω της θειοτητος, επι τε εδν ιν τελευτης εκτησιν . . . τον τε Αμμωνιον τα της θειας φιλοσοφιας ακεραια και αδιαφθορα, και μεχρις εσχατης του βιου διαμειναντα τοις υπ' αυτου καταλειφθεισι συγγραμμασιν παρα τοις πολλοις ενδοξαμενον· καθαπερ εν τοις ο επιγραφομενος περι της Μωσεως και Ιησου συμφωνιας, και εσται αλλα παρα τοις φιλοκαλοις ευρειν. Ib. p. 220. D. 221. A.

[c] . . . et evangelicos canones excogitavit, quos postea secutus est Eusebius Cæsariensis. Hunc falso accusat Porphyrius, quod ex Christianis Ethnicus fuerit, cum constet eum usque ad extremam vitam Christianum perseveravisse. De Vir. Ill. cap. 55.

[d] Nous ne voyons point que personne doute qu' Ammone, auteur de la Concorde, ne soit le même que le philosophe. Mem. T. iii. P. ii. Ammone. note 2. p. 590.

[e] Fabric. Bib. Gr. T. iv. p. 160, 161. 172. et seq. [f] Porphyr. de Vit. Plotin. cap. 3. Conferatur Conspectus Chronologicus Vitæ Plotini, apud Fabric. Bib. Gr. lib. iv. cap. 26. init.

be

be ſufficient to ſatisfy us that the writings, of which Euſebius and St. Jerom ſpeak, are not to be aſcribed to Ammonius Saccas. I have no occaſion, therefore, to add any thing farther relating to the hiſtory of that heathen philoſopher, as one would think every one muſt allow him to be, who reads Porphyry's life of Plotinus.

Who Ammonius was who compoſed theſe Chriſtian books, and continued a Chriſtian all his days, cannot be now certainly known. Euſebius has mentioned one of the ſame name, a preſbyter [g] of Alexandria, who ſuffered martyrdom in the Dioclefian perſecution: and one might be apt to think that this was the man, if Euſebius had not been of a different mind. However, it may be argued that St. Jerom had ſome reaſon to think his Ammonius younger than Origen, ſince in the Catalogue he is placed after him: which would be improperly done, if he was ſatisfied that he was the ſame Ammonius [h] who was Origen's maſter in philoſophy; and who was plainly ſomewhat, though not a great deal, older than his ſcholar. Accordingly Origen is placed by Cave at the year 230, and Ammonius at 220. It might be added, for ſupporting this conjecture, that in the titles of the chapters of St. Jerom's Catalogue, Ammonius is called preſbyter; and by Euſebius and Jerom, and every body, the author of this Harmony is called an Alexandrian: all which conſiderations might lead us to the Alexandrian preſbyter and martyr of this name, if Euſebius's opinion upon the point did not lie as a bar in our way; for it may be reckoned ſomewhat probable, that if the author of the Harmony had been his contemporary, or had lived very near his own time, he muſt have known it. I therefore ſpeak of Ammonius, the author of the Harmony, at the year 220, where he is placed by Cave, without preſuming to determine his time; though I differ from him, and moſt other learned men, in thinking that he is not the ſame with Ammonius Saccas.

We have ſeen two writings aſcribed to Ammonius, the Conſent of Moſes and Jeſus, and Evangelical Canons, as St. Jerom calls them. The former is quite loſt; of the latter we have this farther account in antiquity. Euſebius himſelf, in his letter to Carpian, ſays, 'That Ammonius [i] of Alexandria had left us a 'goſpel compoſed out of the four with great pains and labour,

[g] Euſ. l. viii. cap. 13. p. 308. C. [h] Vid. Euſeb. ib. l. vi. c. 19. p. 270. B. 221. B. C. [i] Αμμωνιος μεν ο Αλεξανδρευς, πειθοντος αυτω και σπουδη συναγαγειν το δια τεσσαρων την καθολικην ευαγγελιων, τα κατα Ματθαιον τοις εφεξης τα λοιπον αυτοις συνθεσης παρεσχε . . . εκ της παντομιας του περιεργαζεσθαι σπουδης ουκ ολιγας απεσωσας, και δηλον μεθερμηνευσας ημιν τον αριθμον διεκελευσατο και τους υποβαλλεσθαι. Euſeb. Ep. ad Carp.

'subjoining (A) to Matthew's gospel the consonant passages [or 'sections] of the other evangelists . . . and that, taking occasion 'from the work of the forementioned writer, he had composed, 'in another method, ten canons in number, which are there 'subjoined.'

St. Jerom, in his preface to the four gospels, expresseth himself thus of this author: 'I have also put [k] down the Canons 'which Eusebius, bishop of Cesarea, disposed into ten numbers, 'following Ammonius of Alexandria.'

Cassiodorius [l] ascribes the Canons to Eusebius, without mentioning Ammonius.

Victor of Capua says, 'I have [m] understood that Ammonius 'of Alexandria, who is also said to be the inventor of the Evan-'gelic Canons, joined the passages of the three [other] evange-'lists with Matthew, and composed a gospel in a continued se-'ries of narration. Eusebius, in his epistle to one Carpian, in 'the preface to his edition of the forementioned Canons, pro-'fesses to have imitated the design of that person.'

Zachary of Chrysopolis, in the 12th century, who wrote a commentary upon the Gospel of the Four, supposed to have been composed by Ammonius, expresses [n] himself much after the same manner; but I do not think it needful to translate his words.

Upon the whole, though St. Jerom says that Eusebius followed Ammonius, and even reckons the Evangelic Canons among the works of Ammonius, they may have been properly Eusebius's invention, whilst yet the Harmony of Ammonius had been the occasion of that thought; which I think is all that

(A) *Subjoining*, &c.] According to Mr. Wetstein's interpretation of the original words, I should have translated after this manner: 'Setting over against Mat-'thew's gospel the parallel sections,' &c. For he says, Codex Latinus exhibet quatuor evangelistas in unum conflatos: Ammonius autem quaternis columnis quatuor evangelistas distincte descripserat; hæc enim est vis verbi παρατιθ., i. e. juxta Matthæum reliquos apposuit. Prolegom. cap. vi. p. 67. But Eusebius uses that verb barely for 'alleging, subjoining, put-'ting down,' and the like. Thus: τὰς, ἐ φησὶν ἤδη πρόσθεν παραθέμενος ... κ. λ. H. E. l. iii. cap. 28. init. So likewise Origen: Πολὺ δὲ ἔτι τὸν παραθέσθαι τὰ τρανέστατα ῥήματα, κ. λ. Com. in Joh. Tom. xiv. p. 211. D. Huet.

[k] Canones quoque, quos Eusebius Cæsariensis episcopus, Alexandrinum sequutus Ammonium, in decem numeros ordinavit, sicut in Græco habentur, expressimus. Hieronym. Præf. in Quatuor Evangelia.

[l] Eusebius quoque Cesariensis canones evangelicos compendiosa brevitate collegit. Cassiodor. de Instit. Divin. Lit. cap. 7.

[m] Reperi Ammonium quendam Alexandrinum, qui canonem quoque evangelii fertur invenisse, Matthæi evangelio reliquorum trium excerpta junxisse, ac in unam seriem evangelium nexuisse. Sicut Eusebius episcopus Carpiano cuidam scribens, . . . supradicti viri imitatus studium, refert in hunc modum. Vict. Cap. Præf. &c. apud Bibl. Max. Lugdun. Tom. iii. p. 265.

[n] Unum ex quatuor evangelistarum dictis evangelium claro studio composuit Ammonius Alexandrinus, qui canonum quoque evangelii fertur inventor. . . . Zachar. Chrysop. Præf. ap. Bibl. Patr. Max. Tom. xix. p. 741, H.

Eusebius's

Euſebius's words import: and his account of his own work may be juſtly reckoned the moſt authentic and exact.

All that I have ſaid of Ammonius, is only to ſhew that there was ſuch a work, called a Goſpel of the Four, or a Harmony of the Four Goſpels, compoſed before Euſebius's time by ſome learned Alexandrian, named Ammonius. The teſtimonies here alleged afford full proof of this matter, and leave no room to doubt of it; though we do not know exactly who this Ammonius was. This is ſatisfactory evidence that there were four authentic goſpels, and no more, in uſe in the church; and this work is likewiſe a proof of the zeal of the Chriſtians for thoſe writings, and of their care about them.

II. But before I conclude this chapter, I ſhall proceed a little farther: for this may be reckoned a fit opportunity for examining two Harmonies of the Goſpels, which we now have in Latin; the one aſcribed to Tatian in the ſecond, the other to Ammonius in the third century. What the moſt ancient writers have ſaid of Tatian's Harmony, has been obſerved (B) formerly; as now, what they have ſaid of that compoſed by Ammonius. Whether either of theſe is now extant, is not abſolutely certain. However, I ſhall take notice of the judgments of ſeveral learned moderns upon thoſe we have, and then make ſome remarks upon each of them.

Cave is not unwilling [o] to allow both the Harmonies of theſe two learned ancients to be ſtill extant: only he thinks that, ſometimes called Ammonius's, ought to be reckoned Tatian's; as on the contrary that the other, ſometimes called Tatian's, ought to be given to Ammonius.

Mill [p] thinks the ſhort one, which is the ſame Cave ſuppoſes to be Tatian's, cannot be really his; but is rather an epitome of the goſpels compoſed by ſome learned catholic writer long after Tatian, in the fifth century: but the Harmony of Ammonius he ſuppoſes to be ſtill extant, which is the larger of theſe two we now have in Latin. And here he and Cave agree.

Mr. Jo. James Wetſtein [r] thinks, there is now no where one copy extant of Tatian's Harmony, of which Theodoret ſaw ſo many; nor will he [s] allow the other to have been compoſed by Ammonius, but thinks it the work of ſome writer ſince Euſebius, for which he offers divers reaſons. Valeſius [t] is of opinion, that the ſhorter Harmony, called Tatian's, is the work of ſome

(B) Chap. 13. p. 137, 138.

[o] Cav. Hiſt. Lit. P. ii. in Ammonio.
[p] Prolegom. in N. T. numb. 353. Vid. et n. 351, 352.
[r] Prolegom. ad Nov. Teſt. Græci edit. accuratiſſimam, p. 65.
[s] Id. ibid. n. 660—666.
[t] Ibid. p. 66, 67.
[u] Valeſ. Not. ad Euſeb. l. iv. cap. 29.

catholic Christian, and therefore not his. I shall consider his arguments presently. These are the judgments of moderns.

Victor of Capua, when he had found that which is the same with our larger Harmony, took it for [u] 'Tatian's, though indeed [w] he was not positive: however it is very probable he was mistaken, since it has the genealogies. Zachary before mentioned commented upon the same Harmony as Ammonius's, and took it for granted that 'Tatian's [x] was quite lost. But herein he might be mistaken; it might be extant, though he did not know it: and we have been lately assured by Dr. Asseman, that [y] Tatian's Diatessaron, or Gospel of the Four, is now in the Vatican Library, in the Arabic language: it is one of the books which he brought out of the east. I wish we had a more particular account of that Arabic Diatessaron; though the Greek, if it could be found, would be a much greater curiosity.

Valesius [z] has three arguments to prove, that the shorter of our two Harmonies is not Tatian's: that Tatian's Harmony was composed in the very words of the evangelists, leaving out only our Lord's genealogy from David; which plainly is not the method of our Harmony: that in the work we have, Christ is more than once called 'the son of David,' which Tatian had nothing of in his Diatessaron: lastly, that here our Saviour's ministry consists of three years, whereas the ancients allowed it no more than the space of one year.

As for the first difficulty, I know of no good authority we have for thinking that Tatian's Harmony was composed in the very words of the evangelists. The third objection I hope to answer in my remarks upon this work, and extracts out of it, by and by. But the second argument insisted on by Valesius is of considerable weight; for Theodoret's words are, that [a] 'Tatian, in his Diatessaron, left out the genealogies, and

[u] Tatianus quoque . . . hoc evangelium (ut mihi videtur) solerti compagnatione dispositi . . . Arbitror enim propria non Ammonii, sed hujus [Tatiani] esse editionem memorati voluminis . . . . Victor. Præfat. ap. Bib. Patr. T. iii. p. 266. A.

[w] Ut jure ambigi possit, utrum Ammonii an Tatiani inventio ejusdem operis debeat æstimari. Ibid. B. [x] Sane hujus hæresiarchæ [Tatiani] si supereset opus evangelicum, quod sancti Justini lateri adhærens fortassis explicuit, in eo Domini Jesu verba diligenter amplecti, secute legere ovibus vocem cognoscentibus, nil prohiberet. Zachar. ap. Bib. Patr. T. xix. p. 742. A. [y] Tatiani Diatessaron, sive, Quatuor Evangelia in unum redacta: in fol. Bembyc. 123. Asseman, Bib. Or. T. i. p. 610. [z] At evangelium Tatiani ipsissimet evangelistarum verbis contextum fuit, rejectis duntaxat iis quæ ad Davidicam Christi genealogiam spectant. Præterea in opere illo quod editum est, Christus *filius David* dicitur non semel. Denique tres anni prædicationis Christi in illo opere distinguuntur; cum veteres annum duntaxat unum prædicationi Christi tribuerint. Valesius in notis ad Eus. H. E. l. iv. cap. 29. [a] Οὗτος γοῦν τὰς τετραρχικὰς συνθεὶς εὐαγγελίας, τὰς γενεαλογίας περιεῖλε, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅσα ἐκ σπέρματος Δαβὶδ κατὰ σάρκα γεγενῆσθαι τὸν Κύριον δείκνυσιν. Theodoret. Hær. Fab. l. i. cap. 20.

'every

'every thing elſe that ſhews our Lord to have been born of the 'ſeed of David, according to the fleſh.' And if Theodoret's words are to be underſtood ſtrictly, that Tatian not only omitted the genealogies which ſhewed our Lord's deſcent from David, but alſo all thoſe places of the goſpels where Jeſus is ſpoken of occaſionally as 'the ſon of David,' I ſee no way of anſwering this difficulty.

Otherwiſe, there are ſeveral things very favourable to the ſuppoſition, that this is Tatian's Harmony. It has an air of politeneſs in the ſtyle and method of it, even in the Latin tranſlation, which ſuits Tatian well enough; who, as Euſebius ſays, 'had (B) the aſſurance to alter ſome words of the apoſtle 'Paul, and correct the compoſition and order of his ſtyle.' It anſwers the deſcription which Theodoret gives of Tatian's performance, in two reſpects; it wants the genealogies, and is very compendious. There are here alſo ſome marks of antiquity, as may appear hereafter: and from Dr. Aſſeman I learn, that Dionyſius Bar-Salibi, biſhop of Amida in Meſopotamia, in [b] the twelfth century, who was well acquainted with 'Ephrem's writings upon the goſpels, writes [cc] in his preface to St. Mark's goſpel, ſpeaking of Tatian's Diateſſaron, 'that St. Ephrem 'wrote commentaries upon that work, the beginning of which 'is, "In the beginning was the Word;" which are the firſt words of our ſhorter Latin Harmony.

This muſt be of conſiderable importance to Tatian, if it may be relied on: I ſay, if it may be relied upon; for, as we in this part of the world have been puzzled about theſe two Harmonies, and each by turns has been aſcribed to Tatian and Ammonius, ſo it is very poſſible that eaſtern writers likewiſe, of late times, may have made miſtakes in this matter. Ebedjeſu biſhop of Soba, who flouriſhed [d] at the latter end of the thirteenth century, in [e] his Catalogue, confounds Tatian and Ammonius, making both one. However, this teſtimony of Bar-Salibi is of the more

(B) See before, p. 137. [b] Vid. Aſſeman. Bibl. Or. T. ii. p. 210.

[c] Dionyſius Barſalibæus, e Jacobitarum ſecta, Amidæ in Meſopotamia epiſcopus, in ſuis commentariis in evangelia ſæpe laudat Ephræmi commentaria in textum evangelicum; de quibus, in Præfatione in Marcum, ſic loquitur. Aſſem. T. i. cap. vi. p. 57. [cc] Aliud ab Ammonii et Tatiani Diateſſaron agnoſcit [Bar-Salibæus], fol. 150. Eliæ nimirum Salamenſis Syri, de quo in præfatione in Marcum, cap. 9. 'Tatianus, Juſtini martyris ac philoſophi diſcipulus, ex quatuor evangeliis 'unum digeſſit. Hunc librum S. Ephræm 'commentariis illuſtravit, cujus initium, "In principio erat Verbum." Elias Sala-'menſis, qui et Aphtonius, evangelium 'confecit inſtar ejus Diateſſaron Ammonii, 'cujus meminit Euſebius in Prologo ad 'Canones Evangelii. Nam quum Elias 'illud Diateſſaron quæſiſſet, nec invenifſet, 'aliud ipſi ſimile elaboravit.' Aſſem. T. ii. p. 159, 160. [d] Vid Aſſem. Bibl. T. i. p. 538, 539. et T. iii. p. 3. [e] Evangelium, quod compilavit vir Alexandrinus Ammonius, qui et Tatianus, illudque Diateſſaron appellavit. Ebedjeſu in Catalog. Libr. Eccl. cap. iii. apud Aſſem. Bib. Or. T. iii. p. 12.

weight,

weight, in that he appears to have known both these authors and their works; for Dr. Asseman has observed, that [f] Bar-Salibi, in his commentaries upon the gospels, quotes the Harmonies of Tatian and Ammonius. This then may be reckoned very honourable to Tatian's Harmony; for if Ephrem wrote commentaries upon it, it may be argued that it was not so contemptible, or so heretical, as some have thought.

This will be of some use to lessen the force of an objection of Dr. Mill, who says that [g] Tatian was a Valentinian, and therefore supposed our Lord's ministry to have been but of one year's duration; whereas this Harmony has three years. So different are men's ways of arguing! It seems it was a heresy in the Valentinians to allow but one year to Christ's ministry; and yet Valesius says, all the ancients computed no more. But to answer Mill only at present. First, it is not certain that Tatian was a Valentinian, when he composed his Diatessaron. Secondly, supposing him to have been then a Valentinian, he might not have embraced every notion of theirs, or they may not have been all of the same opinion. It is now thought by many that the ancient catholics allowed but one year to Christ's ministry; but yet some plainly computed three passovers in it, and reckoned it an error or a heresy in the Valentinians, to say it lasted only one year: at least this was Irenæus's opinion. Thirdly, Ephrem's Commentaries afford a considerable argument, that Tatian's Harmony was not composed upon the Valentinian scheme. So far in answer to Mill.

And I do not know whether these Commentaries may not also afford us some help with regard to the difficulty which I have before acknowledged to be so considerable. If it were true, in the strictest sense of Theodoret's words, that Tatian had left out every thing that shewed Jesus to be the son of David, it is hard to conceive that Ephrem should have taken so much notice of him. Moreover, Theodoret owns that this book was made use of by a large number of catholic Christians, as a compendious work. As for his laying aside the copies he met with, and putting the four gospels in their room, let Tatian's Harmony be ever so good, he was in the right to take care that it did not supply the place of the four gospels.

There may be then some room to suppose, that Tatian's Har-

[f] Præter Ephræmum vero . . . auctores hi ab ipso citantur; videlicet, . . . Ammonii et Tatiani Diatessaron, fol. 30. Assem. ib. Tom. ii. cap. xxxii. p. 518. Vid. quæ supra not. cc. [g] Accedit, quod tres annos prædicationis Christi distinguat; cum Valentiniani, e quorum numero fuit Tatianus, annum unum duntaxat Christi prædicationi tribuerint. Mill, Prol. n. 352. Conf. Basnag. A. 29. n. 26.

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mony was not ſo defective or fraudulent as ſome have thought. If it had been compoſed throughout upon the Valentinian, or any other heretical ſcheme, one would think that Bar-Salibi ſhould not have ſaid that Ephrem wrote commentaries upon it, but rather that he had written a confutation of it: and poſſibly the bare name of the author made ſome people think worſe of the work than it deſerved. But Ephrem, as it ſeems, was not entirely governed by prejudice.

However, it ought to be owned that Gregory Bar-Hebræus, otherwiſe called Abulpharagius, who flouriſhed in the thirteenth century, ſpeaking of the Harmony uſed by Ephrem, calls it † Ammonius's of Alexandria: but then he plainly means the ſame Harmony that Bar-Salibi does, for he ſays it began with thoſe words, 'In the beginning was the Word;' which agrees with our leſſer Harmony. And I think it may be ſaid that Bar-Salibi's teſtimony is the more valuable of the two; becauſe he appears to have been acquainted with both theſe Harmonies, and ſpeaks more like a man of underſtanding in this matter than Bar-Hebræus. And if we are not enabled hereby to determine whoſe Harmony this is, whether Tatian's or Ammonius's, yet we gain a material point, the antiquity of our leſſer Harmony; which ſeems now to be rendered unqueſtionable, from theſe teſtimonies to Ephrem's commentaries upon it in the fourth century. Thus Mill's opinion, that it was not compoſed before the fifth century, is quite overthrown.

With regard to Ammonius's Harmony, I would obſerve two things: Firſt, That I queſtion whether we fully underſtand Euſebius's deſcription of that work. We read him with preconceived notions, taken from Harmonies and Evangelical Canons ſince compoſed, with which we are beſt acquainted; which may cauſe ſome to miſtake Euſebius's meaning, whoſe words I do not well underſtand, at leaſt I am not fully ſatisfied about his meaning: and I had rather ſuſpend my judgment than determine poſitively in a doubtful point. Secondly, It is very probable that this work has been interpolated ſince it was firſt compoſed; nay, the very form of it may have been in ſome meaſure altered. If I miſtake not, theſe two obſervations may weaken ſome of the ar-

† Idem teſtatur Gregorius Bar-Hebræus, vulgo Abulpharagius, epiſcopus Tagritenſis, in libro quem 'Horreum Myſteriorum' inſcripſit, quo totum ſacram ſcripturam ſenſum, notis dilucidat; ubi præfatione in Matthæum ita de Ephræmo ſcribit: 'Euſebius autem Cæſarienſis, videns corruptelas quas Ammonius Alexandrinus in 'evangelium Diateſſaron nuncupatum 'induxerat, cujus initium, "In principio "erat Verbum," quod Sanctus Ephræm 'dilucidavit, quatuor quidem evangelia, ut 'in textu, perfecta integraque reliquit; verba vero, quæ in ipſis conſentiunt, communi canone notavit.' Aſſeman. Bib. Or. T. i. cap. vi. p. 57, 58.

guments

guments made use of by Mr. Wetstein, and other learned men, to prove that our larger Harmony is not the work of Ammonius.

After all, I am not positive of the genuineness of either of these Harmonies. I am nevertheless somewhat inclined to think that the lesser may be Tatian's, for the main part; and the larger, in like manner, Ammonius's: but I do not think that either of them is sincere and uncorrupt. And considering that we have no certain account of any other ancient Harmonies beside those two of Tatian and Ammonius; and that both these appear to have been famous in every part of the world, in the east and west, and made use of in many languages; I apprehend that every slight objection ought not to be regarded: and that they had need to be very good reasons indeed, which shall induce us to conclude that the two Harmonies we now have, which are plainly of great antiquity, are not the Harmonies of Tatian and Ammonius, or at least remains of them.

III. I shall now make some remarks upon both these Harmonies; and, in the first place, upon the shorter of the two, which at present is more generally called Tatian's than the other: and I may likewise call it so sometimes, for avoiding circumlocutions, still leaving every one to judge as he sees fit of the real author.

1. Tatian's Harmony then is a compendious history of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, taken out of the four gospels. It consists of four parts. The first is a kind of introduction, containing the history of our Lord's nativity, and the former part of his life; the three other parts are the three years of our Lord's ministry.

2. The introduction is formed out of the beginning of St. John's gospel, and the first chapters of St. Matthew and St. Luke, and the beginning of St. Mark's gospel. The genealogies do not appear here; but he plainly has the history in the first chapter of St. Matthew's gospel, from ver. 21 to the end, as well as that in Luke, chap. i. Our Lord is conceived in the womb of a [h] virgin; Joseph is admonished of it; is brought to Bethlehem by means of the assessment ordered by an edict of Augustus, Joseph being of the family of David. Here Jesus is born. Then follows the history of the shepherds, the wise men, the flight into Egypt, the slaughter of the infants, and other things about that time recorded in the evangelists.

[h] Censi capite sunt tum forte, Octavi Augusti edicto, omnes qui Romano parebant imperio: quum Joseph Bethlorum, quæ civitas erat David, ad quem genus referebat, simul cum virgine proficiscitur; ubi illa partu soluta, enixa est Jesum. Evangeliorum Quatuor Harmonia, Tatiano Syro auctore. Ap. Bib. Pat. T. ii. P. ii. p. 204. B.

3. The

3. The author ſays, that [i] 'the child Jeſus abode ſeven years 'in Egypt.' This is a ſingularity.

4. In the ſame introduction the author mentions our Lord's journey to Jeruſalem at the age of twelve years, his baptiſm, faſt and temptation in the wilderneſs, and other things, which need not be inſiſted upon.

5. The remaining parts of this work conſiſt of the three years of our Lord's miniſtry. But though his miniſtry is here divided into three years, I apprehend that, according to this Harmony, it conſiſts only of two years and a part; for the third [k] year, in which our Lord dies, is not complete. The author therefore computed three paſſovers in the goſpels, at the laſt of which Jeſus ſuffered. And that he reckoned no more, is farther evident hence, that he does not ſuppoſe the 'feaſt of the Jews,' mentioned John, v. 1, to have been paſſover, but pentecoſt, as he [l] alſo plainly calls it. This is a mark of antiquity; modern harmoniſers, who prolong our Lord's miniſtry beyond the ſpace of three years, generally reckoning this feaſt, though without any good reaſon, a paſſover. So Irenæus [m] likewiſe computed 'three 'paſſovers' in our Saviour's miniſtry. Origen too [n] ſays, 'That 'Judas was not three years with Jeſus.' It is true, he ſpeaks in another place of our Lord's having [o] 'preached only a year and 'ſome months:' but he may be reconciled by ſuppoſing only that he thought our Saviour's whole miniſtry was above two, but not quite three years, whilſt the moſt public part of it did not conſiſt of more than a year and ſome months; which indeed I have long taken to be the truth, ſo far as I am able to learn it from a careful reading the goſpels. In St. John's goſpel are three paſſovers, and our Saviour's miniſtry has two years and a part; but the former part of his miniſtry there related, was not ſo public as that after John's impriſonment. In the other three evangeliſts, who relate chiefly our Lord's moſt public preaching [p] after John the Baptiſt's impriſonment, is the hiſtory of only ſomewhat more than the ſpace of one year; how

[i] Creſcebat interea puer, et confortabatur [illegible], continuum ſeptennium agens in [illegible], uſque poſt Herodis interitum. Ib. [illegible]

[k] Et hæ quidem res geſtæ, [illegible] ſecundo Dominicæ prædicationis an[illegible] impoſuere. Extremus annus Dominicæ prædicationis idem illi plane qui et vitæ [illegible] fuit. Ibid. p. 207. H. 208. A.

[l] Contulit autem ſe eo itinere Hieroſolymam, ad ſolemnia Pentecoſtes, ubi ad Pro[illegible] ſolemnem expoſitum duodequadraginta annorum languidum, ſabbatho (mirum in modum ſævientibus Phariſæis) ſanum fecit. p. 206. D.

[m] Quoniam autem tria hæc paſchæ tempora non ſunt unus annus, quilibet confitebitur. Iren. l. ii. cap. xxii. p. 147. ed. Maſſuet.

[n] Ὁ δὲ Ἰούδας [illegible]. Contr. Ceiſ. l. ii. p. 67. Cant. T. i. p. 397. F. Bened.

[o] [illegible]. De Princip. l. iv. p. 160. Bened. p. 4. Philoc. Cant.

[p] See Matth. iv. 12, 13. Mark, i. 14. Luke, iii. 19, 20.

much

much more, is not very easy to say. All which is much confirmed by comparing them with St. John.

Since therefore the author of this harmony does not compute three years complete, or more, in our Lord's ministry, the objection of Valesius, before mentioned, is invalidated. And here is one mark of the antiquity of this Harmony: it having been in the fourth century, and afterwards, a common opinion, that our Lord's ministry consisted of three years and a half; though indeed even then that opinion did not obtain universally.

6. But notwithstanding this author's just notion of the duration of our Lord's ministry, it must be owned he makes many mistakes, and places divers actions and discourses of our Lord at a wrong time. However, it becomes us not to be too severe in our censures of this kind: there is a respect due to the first attempts in any part of knowledge. Nor are modern harmonists free from prejudged opinions; and I am apprehensive that most of their Harmonies likewise had need to be read with indulgence and caution, as well as those of the ancients.

7. Possibly some may be so curious as to enquire, at what time of the year did this author begin our Lord's ministry? and how much longer than two years did he suppose it to last? In answer to such enquiries I would observe, that [q] the first thing mentioned by him, in his account of the third year of Christ's ministry, is his presence at Jerusalem at the feast of the dedication (John, x. 22, 23. . . .); which feast was kept in the Jewish month Cisleu, or Casleu, and usually happens some time in our month of December, and may fall out in November. Which affords some ground for thinking that this author reckoned our Lord's ministry commenced about that time of the year, and lasted therefore about two years and a half; he having been crucified at the feast of the passover.

And according to this notion of things, we may digest the history of John the Baptist's and our Lord's ministry in this manner. Near the end of the summer season, harvest and vintage being over, or near over, which was a time of general leisure, John began to preach and baptize. There was soon a great resort to him, and multitudes of people were baptized by him in Jordan. And, as St. Luke says, iii. 21, 22, *Now when all the people were baptized, it came to pass that Jesus also being baptized, and praying, the heaven was opened, and the Holy Ghost descended*

q Extremus annus Dominicæ prædicationis, idem illi plane qui et vitæ finis fuit. Deambulabat tum forte Jesus in porticu Templi Salomonis, in Judæorum encæniis, et cingebant illum Judæi, improbis conatibus ferme urgentes ut palam Christum se esse fateretur. p. 208. A.

in a bodily shape like a dove upon him: That is, at the conclusion of that season of baptizing, in November, or some time in the month of December, or perhaps in the beginning of January, Jesus came and was baptized of John in Jordan: after which he was led of the Spirit into the wilderness, where he fasted forty days and forty nights, and was tempted of the devil; enduring at the same time, beside other inconveniences, all that extremity of cold which is usual in that season of the year. The temptation being ended, Luke, iv. 14; John, i. 35. . . 51, *Jesus returned in the power of the Spirit into Galilee:* where he soon found Andrew and his brother Simon, and Philip and Nathaniel, who all, upon the testimony of John the Baptist, and some conversation with Jesus, believed in him as the Christ; and were the disciples who had the honour of the most early personal acquaintance with Jesus, after the descent of the Spirit upon him. A few days after was a marriage feast at Cana in Galilee, where Jesus made the water wine. This was the 'beginning of his 'miracles, and he thereby manifested forth his glory.' It follows: *And the Jews passover was at hand, and Jesus went up to Jerusalem.* John, ii. 1—13. This is the first passover in our Lord's ministry. John the Baptist still continued preaching and baptizing [See John, iii. 23. . . 36]. Before the end of this year John was imprisoned, and Jesus had chosen the twelve apostles out of the number of his disciples (D) that believed on him, and his most public ministry was commenced. The second passover of our Lord's ministry is that mentioned John, vi. 4. And at the third passover, mentioned by all the evangelists, he was crucified.

Thus had I been wont to digest the history of the public life of John the Baptist and our Saviour, as I collected it out of the gospels (agreeably, as I apprehend, to the sentiments of the most ancient Christian writers), a good while before I had particularly observed the method of this Harmony, called Tatian's.

8. I would now observe some disputed passages of our gospels. The author appears to have had in [r] his copies the latter part of the sixteenth chapter of St. Mark's gospel.

9. He has likewise the history [s] of our Lord's agony, as we now have it in Luke, xxii. 43, 44, which was wanting in some

(D) *And it came to pass in those days, that he went out into a mountain to pray, and continued all night in prayer to God. And when it was day, he called unto him his disciples: and of them he chose twelve, whom also he named apostles.* Luke, vi. 12, 13.

[r] p. 212. A. B. [s] p. 210. D.

ancient

ancient copies, as we learn from [t] Hilary, and [u] Jerom, and [w] Photius; which laſt intimates that the omiſſion of this text was owing to ſome Syrians. Mill [x] thinks they muſt have been of the ſect of the Jacobites. And Dr. Aſſeman [y] has particularly obſerved, that this text is quoted by Ephrem the Syrian. Epiphanius [z] likewiſe ſays, that theſe two verſes were in the ancient copies, before they were corrected and altered by ſome over nice catholics, who did not well underſtand them.

10. John, v. 4, where is mention made of the deſcent of an angel who *troubled the water* at the pool of Bethesda, is another diſputed text, wanting in ſome copies. The angel is not mentioned [a] in this Harmony; but conſidering the compendious method of it, I ſuppoſe it cannot be hence concluded that it was wanting in the author's copy. Kuſter's obſervations relating to the genuineneſs of this text, in his preface to his edition of Mill's New Teſtament, deſerve to be conſidered.

11. Here [b] alſo is the hiſtory of the woman taken in adultery, John, viii. 1... 11. The author does not take any notice of our Lord's 'ſtooping down, and writing with his finger on the 'ground.' Ver. 6. 8. But it cannot be hence concluded that this was wanting in his copies, for the reaſon juſt mentioned.

12. This author often paraphraſes and explains. It is worth the while to obſerve ſome examples.

Our Lord ſays, Matth. xvi. 28, *Verily I ſay unto you, There be ſome ſtanding here, which ſhall not taſte of death, till they ſee the Son of man coming in his kingdom.* Compare Mark, ix. 1. Luke, ix. 27. Our author underſtands this of Chriſt's [c] appearing in glory on the mount, ſoon after, in the preſence of three of his diſciples. And that appearance may be conſidered as an emblem of our Lord's future glory, when he ſhall 'come with

[t] Nec ſane ignorandum a nobis eſt, et in Græcis et Latinis codicibus complurimis, vel de adveniente angelo, vel de ſudore ſanguinis, nihil ſcriptum reperiri. Hilar. De Trin. lib. x. cap. 41.

[u] In quibuſdam exemplaribus tam Græcis quam Latinis invenitur, ſcribente Luca: 'Apparuit illi angelus de cœlo, confortans 'eum,' &c. Hieron. adv. Pelag. l. ii. col. 521. m. Bened.

[w] Και περιεξαλο, και πγανιασε, και τες πυχτες ενθις και παραπλησιως αιμαδος θρομβοις ιδρωτας εξιδρωσιν. Μικρον ανωτερω τε διαγγελια τοδι το χαρις περικενεσθαι, και τινι των συρων, ως εφης, δοκει επιφερεσθαι, τομιζε. Phot. ep. 138. ed. Montacut. p. 194. Lond. 1651.

[x] Mill, Proleg. n. 1036.

[y] In hoc hymno meminit ſanctus doctor ſanguinei ſudoris Chriſti in horto: 'Locus in quo 'ſudavit, coronam ipſi nectat.' Ex quo planum fit, verſiculum illum Lucæ, cap. xxii. 44, tamquam genuinam evangelici textus partem a S. Ephræm agnitum, et in Syriaca Verſione olim expreſſum fuiſſe. Aſſeman, Bibl. Orient. T. i. p. 97. A. M. Vid. et ib. B. infr. M.

[z] Epiphan. in Ancoratu, § 31. Confer Mill, Prol. n. 797, 798.

[a] p. 206. D. See the words before, p. 423. note [l].

[b] p. 208. H.

[c] Sed quid ego, inquit, vos moror, quando ex hoc præſenti cœtu quidam ſunt, quibus majeſtas mea etiamnum vivis palam reddetur conſpicua? Et interjectis ſex ferme diebus, plane contigit hæc promiſſio, præſentibus in monte quodam excelſo Petro, Joanne, Jacobo, diſcipulis. p. 206. F.

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'the angels to reward every one according to his works:' which is spoken of in the preceding verse, and is not omitted in [e] this Harmony. But Grotius understands those words of Christ's resurrection, ascension to heaven, the mission of the Holy Spirit, and the propagation of the gospel by mighty signs and wonders; by which, as by most certain and undoubted evidences, Christ's advancement to his kingdom was made known. However, this writer is countenanced in his method of interpretation by the speedy fulfilment of some things spoken of by our Lord in the gospels. For example: Our Saviour having said to his disciples, in the two last verses of the ninth chapter of Matthew, *The harvest truly is plenteous, but the labourers are few; pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest, that he will send forth labourers into his harvest*; it follows immediately, at the beginning of the next chapter, x. 1, *And when he had called unto him his twelve disciples, he gave them power against unclean spirits, to cast them out, and to heal all manner of sickness, and all manner of disease.* And after the names of the twelve apostles it is said, ver. 5, 6, *These twelve Jesus sent forth, and commanded them, saying, Go not into the way of the Gentiles, and into any city of the Samaritans enter ye not: but go rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel.*

13. In Luke, xix. 3. Zacchæus is said to have been *little of stature.* This author calls † him a 'dwarf.'

14. I said just now, that in this Harmony appears the history of our Lord's agony in the garden, as related in Luke, xxii. 43, 44. The author calls it 'a 'bloody sweat;' and explains the 'angel's comforting him,' saying, it was 'an angelic 'voice from heaven, which gave him strength and courage.' This is an honest Christian, whoever he be; he is not ashamed of what he thinks to be the truth.

15. He represents the substance of our Lord's discourse in John, vi.; and then says: 'Discoursing [f] of the word of eternal 'life, and sometimes mentioning bread, and sometimes flesh and 'blood, many, out of a horror of the thing not rightly understood, 'forsook Christ. But Peter, on the other hand, exhorted them '[or, 'the disciples'] to persevere, forasmuch as these were

[e] Contemptum autem se in humana specie quando in gloria Patris inter angelos comitia videndum sit, quando jus sit cuique præmia cuique pro meritis. Sed quid, inquit, vos longius moror? p. 226. F. † Recte autem Hieronymus Zachæum, delatum Hiericho, interpretatur illo Zacchæo, ut se hospitio susceperit. Cap. 12. p. 208. D.

[f] Quidni autem angere tanto Dominus, ut sudore ejus sanguinolento tellus etiam madesceret; quum prorsus e cœlo vox angelica audiretur, quæ animum ei roboris addidit. p. 210. B. [f] Proinde quum de verbo vitæ æternæ loquens, jam panem nominarit, modo carnem et sanguinem, multi, horrore rei perperam intellectæ concepto, a Christo defecerunt. At Petrus sentiens, quod verbo hoc inest vitæ æternæ, perdurandum suadebat. p. 205. B.

'words of eternal life.' It does not appear, therefore, that he understood those words of Christ in the sense of transubstantiation, nor yet as relating to the ordinance of the Lord's Supper.

16. He represents the institution of the Lord's Supper, and the design of it, as a memorial, in this manner: 'And [g] having 'taken bread [or, 'a loaf'], and then a cup of wine, and having said that they were his body and blood, he commanded 'them to eat and drink: for it was [or, they were] a memorial 'of his future suffering and death.'

17. He places our Lord's discourses, as also his prayer for the disciples, which are in John, xiii. xiv. xv. xvi. xvii. after the just-mentioned institution, and [h] immediately before the 'hymn' mentioned Matth. xxvi. 30. Mark, xiv. 26.

18. Simon the Cyrenian's 'bearing the cross,' or 'bearing 'the cross after Christ,' mentioned Matth. xxvii. 32. Mark, xv. 21. Luke, xxiii. 26, he understands not of taking off the cross from Jesus, and laying it upon Simon to carry it after him; [i] but of his 'helping to bear it,' as he expresses it; that is, I suppose, bearing the hinder part of the cross after Jesus. And this too is to be understood as being done, after that our Lord had bore it all himself some way. Compare John, xix. 17, which is plainly also our author's meaning. So that in a few words he has finely harmonized all the four evangelists.

19. He thus represents the penitent thief's petition, and our Lord's gracious answer: 'And afterwards, when the [k] thief 'prayed that he would not disdain, at least, to remember him 'in his heavenly kingdom; he promised, what he was not ask-'ed, that he would take care he should be that day in pa-'radise.'

So far of Tatian's Diatessaron, or Gospel of the Four.

IV. Ammonius's Harmony is very different; it is composed out of the four gospels, in the very words of the evangelist.

1. Here [l] are both the genealogies; that is, after St. Matthew's genealogy from Abraham, the author adds that part of

[g] Et mox accepto pane, deinde vini calice, corpus esse suum ac sanguinem testatus, manducare illos et bibere jussit, quod ea sit futurae calamitatis suae mortisque memoria. p. 210. A. [h] Exis deinde in coelum oculis, Patrem orat, ut se clarum mundo reddat; discipulos, et eos quoque qui illorum verbo credituri sint, a malo servet. . . . Et e vestigio quum hymnum absolvisset cum discipulis Jesus, urbem egressus, &c. p. 210. C. [i] Itaque [illegible] lata hac sententia, eductus inter duos latrones, crucem ipse sibi gestare coga[illegible]. Sed et Simonem quendam Cyrenaeum adigunt ad opem in ea re ferendum. p. 211. B. [k] Latron. mox ut [illegible] ut in regno coelesti non gravaretur [illegible] meminisse, paradisum eo die se [illegible] rum, quem non fuerat rogatus, pollicet[illegible]. p. 211. B. [l] Ibid. Vide Tom. iii. p. 267. G, H. p. 268. A.

St.

St. Luke's genealogy, which aſcends from Abraham to Adam and God. This Harmony [m] takes in the latter part of Mark, xvi. Here appears [n] our Lord's agony, as deſcribed in Luke, xxii. 43, 44; and the diſputed [o] text of John, v. 4, concerning the angel's 'coming down into' the pool of Bethesda, or Bethſaida, as it is here called, and 'troubling the water;' as alſo the hiſtory [p] of 'the woman taken in adultery,' related John, viii. 1 ... 11. with our Lord's 'ſtooping down, and writing with his 'finger on the ground.' This is one of Mill's arguments for [q] the genuineneſs of this paragraph; that it is found in Ammonius's Harmony, who, he ſays, lived ſo early as the year 220, and therefore within a hundred and twenty years after St. John's death. On the other hand, this is one reaſon why [r] Mr. Wetſtein thinks this Harmony ſpurious; for he ſays this ſtory was not in the copies uſed by Ammonius or Euſebius. For my own part, I am unwilling to argue hence, that this Harmony is not genuine in the main; becauſe it may have been interpolated, and very probably has been ſo, in many places: and for the ſame reaſon I ſhould not chooſe to argue from this Latin Harmony, that the paragraph of the 'woman taken in adultery' was originally in St. John's goſpel. They who are deſirous to ſee more of the diſpute concerning this paragraph, may do well to conſult [s] Mill and others.

2. In this Harmony many of our Lord's diſcourſes and actions are much out of place; as, the hiſtory of the miracle of turning [t] water into wine at Cana in Galilee, our Lord's [u] converſation with the woman of Samaria, Nicodemus [w] coming to Jeſus by night; and many other things, which may be eaſily perceived to be ſo by any man of judgment.

3. The author ſeems to have ſuppoſed that the Lord's prayer was delivered but once. I infer this, becauſe he inſerts the occaſion of the prayer mentioned Luke, xi. 1, into Matth. vi.; and joins it with our Lord's directions concerning almſgiving, faſting, and prayer, recorded in the laſt-mentioned place, after this manner: '*But when ye pray, uſe not vain repetitions, as the 'heathen do; for they think they ſhall be heard for their much 'ſpeaking. Be* [x] *not ye therefore like unto them; for your Father*

[m] p. 299. B. C. [n] p. 299. A. [t] p. 273. C. [u] p. 279. A. B.
[o] p. 297. E. [p] p. 285. E. F. [w] p. 285. C. D. [x] Nolite ergo aſſimulari eis, ſcit enim Pater veſter quid opus ſit vobis, antequam petatis eum. Tunc dixit unus ex diſcipulis ejus ad eum: Domine, doce nos orare, ſicut et Joannes docuit diſcipulos ſuos. Et ait illis, Cum oratis, dicite: Pater noſter qui es in cœlis, &c. p. 271. G.
[q] Vid. Mill. ad Joh. cap. vii. v. 53.
[r] Prolegomena ad N. T. ed. accurat. cap. 6. p. 66, 67. [s] Mill, ad Johan. cap. vii. v. 53. et Proleg. n. 251. ſq. 892. Vid. et Bez. et Hammond. et Cleric. ad Joh. cap. vii. v. 53. Grot. ad cap. viii. v. 1. Baſnag. Ann. 32. num. 1.

'*knoweth what things ye have need of, before ye ask him.* Then '*one of his disciples said unto him, Lord, teach us to pray, as* '*John also taught his disciples. And he said unto them, when ye* '*pray, say, Our Father, . . .*'

Herein I take him to have been partly in the right: the prayer which Christ taught his disciples, was not delivered more than once. For I do not suppose that our Lord ever spoke at one time all those discourses, the substance of which is recorded Matth. v. vi. vii. But St. Matthew thought fit to place near the beginning of his gospel a summary of our Lord's doctrine delivered by him at divers times, and in divers places. The particular occasions, times, and places of many things recorded in those three chapters of St. Matthew, may be found in St. Luke's gospel. A large part of our Lord's sermon on the mount, as it is called, recorded by St. Matthew, is the same with that in Luke, vi. ver. 20. . . . 49. The occasion of the Lord's Prayer is given in Luke, xi. 1. . . . The time and occasion of our Lord's delivering those arguments against the love of riches, and against solicitude, which are recorded in Matth. vi. 19. . . . 34, are to be sought in Luke, xii. 13. . . . 34, where are the same precepts and arguments, and the occasion of them. The like may be said of some other matters in those three chapters of Matthew. And the finding so many parts of the discourse which we have in that evangelist recorded again in St. Luke's gospel, at several places, greatly confirms the supposition, that all that long discourse, called our Saviour's sermon on the mount, was not delivered at one and the same time. I may not stay to consider every little objection and difficulty attending this observation; it is sufficient for the present to have proposed it to the consideration of the judicious.

4. In this Harmony is no doxology; it is likely it was wanting in the author's copies both of St. Matthew and St. Luke. The prayer concludes here with that petition: *And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil.*

5. The words of John, xi. 7, 8, are thus put[y] in this Harmony: 'Then after that, saith he to his disciples, Let us go 'into Judea again. His disciples say unto him, Rabbi [or 'master], into Judea! The Jews of late sought to stone thee, 'and goest thou thither again?'

[y] Deinde, post hæc, dicit discipulis suis, Eamus in Judæam iterum. Dicunt ei discipuli, Rabbi, in Judæam! nunc quærebant te lapidare Judæi, et iterum vadis illuc? p. 288. G.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXVII.

JULIUS AFRICANUS.

JULIUS AFRICANUS is placed by Cave at the year 220, who likewiſe ſuppoſes that [a] he died in an advanced age, about the year 232. But I know of no very good reaſon for thinking that Africanus was then in an advanced age, or that he died ſo ſoon. Tillemont, however, [b] thinks it undoubted, that he was older than Origen (who was born, as he ſays, in 185); ſince in a letter to him he calls him [c] 'his ſon.' Euſebius, in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory (having in the preceding chapter ſpoken of Origen, particularly of his teaching at Cæſarea, and ſome of his moſt celebrated ſcholars, who had come from diſtant parts to be inſtructed by him), writes of Africanus to this purpoſe: 'At [d] that 'time flouriſhed Africanus, author of the work intitled Ceſti. 'There is extant a letter of his to Origen, in which he ſuſpects 'the hiſtory of Suſanna, in the book of Daniel, to be ſpurious 'and a forgery, whom Origen anſwers at large. There [e] are 'come down to us alſo theſe other pieces of the ſame Africa-'nus: A chronological work, in five books, accurately written, 'in which he ſpeaks of his having taken a journey to Alexan-'dria, excited by the fame of Heraclas; whom we have before 'related to have excelled in the knowledge of philoſophy, and 'other parts of Greek learning, and to have been appointed biſhop 'of that church. There is alſo another epiſtle of Africanus to Ari-'ſtides, concerning the ſuppoſed differences in the genealogies 'of Chriſt, which are in Matthew and Luke, where he evidently 'demonſtrates the harmony of the evangeliſts out of a hiſtory 'he had received.' When Africanus took this journey to Alexandria, Heraclas was only preſbyter and catechiſt: he was not biſhop of that city before the year 231.

There is another ſhort account of this great man in St. Jerom's Catalogue of Eccleſiaſtical Writers. 'Julius 'Africanus, 'whoſe five books of Chronology are extant, in the time of the 'emperor M. Aurelius Antoninus, ſucceſſor of Macrinus, un-'dertook [f] an embaſſy for the reſtoration of the city of Emmaus,

[a] Proiecta jam ætate mortuus eſt, circa 232. Cav. H. Lit. P. i. p. 72.

[b] Tillem. Mem. Ec. T. iii. P. ii. p. 32.

[c] Υἱὲ μου κατὰ σάρκα. African. Ep. ad Origen. [d] Euſ. l. vi. cap. 31.

[e] Τὰ δ' ἄλλα Ἀφρικανοῦ καὶ πάλιν τοῦ αὐτοῦ πέντε λόγοι χρονογραφίας ἀκριβῶς γεγραμμένοι, ἐν οἷς καὶ τῆς εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἀποδημίας ποιεῖται μνείαν, ἐπὶ τῇ Ἡρακλᾶ φήμῃ. Ibid. De Vir. Ill. c. p. 63. [f] Legatus in pro mutatione nobilis Emmaus fuit, quæ postea Nicopolis appellata est. Pad.

'which was afterwards called Nicopolis. There[h] is an epistle 'of his to Origen concerning the history of Susanna, wherein 'he says, that history is not to be found in Hebrew, nor is it 'agreeable to the Hebrew etymology, which is there written 'απο τȣ σχινȣ σχισαι, και απο τȣ πρινȣ πρισαι: in answer to 'whom Origen wrote a learned epistle. There is another letter 'of his to Aristides, in which he copiously treats of the dif- 'ference which there seems to be in the genealogy of our Saviour 'in Matthew and Luke.'

This settles the time of Africanus; the emperor whom St. Jerom means being Heliogabalus, whose reign began in 218, and ended at 222. The embassy for that city shews the country where he chiefly resided, and affords an argument that he was a man of repute in the world; but whether he was a native of Palestine, or of Africa, is not certain. Suidas says, 'Africanus[i], called Sextus, a philosopher of Libya [or Africa], 'wrote the Cesti, in 24 books.' He also gives an account of the design of that work; and says that Origen answered the same author's objections against the history of Susanna. But it may be questioned whether the author of the Cesti was not a different person from our Julius Africanus. However, since the more ancient writers have not particularly informed us that he was of Africa, I think it best not to rely too much on Suidas.

In Eusebius's Chronicle (I mean Jerom's Latin version of that work), at the fourth year of the forementioned emperor, of Christ 221, the same matter is thus expressed: 'In[k] Palestine 'the city Nicopolis, which before was called Emmaus, was 'founded; Julius Africanus, author of the Chronology, under- 'taking an embassy for that purpose.' This Emmaus has been generally supposed by learned men to be the same with that mentioned by St. Luke, ch. xxiv. 13. But Reland[l] argues, that Emmaus, afterwards called Nicopolis, was another place, situated at a greater distance from Jerusalem.

Eusebius mentions four pieces of Africanus; the Cesti, the Chronology, and two letters, one to Origen, the other to Aristides. St. Jerom has omitted the first of these: Photius mentions them all four; he calls the chronological work a history, and gives a great commendation of it, when he says, 'That

[h] Hujus est epistola ad Originem super quæstione Susannæ: eo quod dicat in Hebræo hanc fabulam non haberi, nec convenire cum Hebraica etymologia απο &c. Ibid.

[i] Suid. in V. Αφρικανος.

[k] In Palæstina Nicopolis, quæ prius Emmaus vocabatur, urbs condita est, legationis ind[illegible] pro ea suscipiente Africano, scriptore temporum. Eus. Chr. p. 175.

[l] Vid. Adr. Reland. Palæstin. Illustrat. lib. ii. cap. 26. p. 426, 427.

'though

'[m] though Africanus is conciſe, he omits nothing that is neceſ-
'ſary to be related.' Photius adds, 'That he begins at the
'Moſaic creation, and from thence reaches down to the nati-
'vity of Chriſt. He likewiſe ſuccinctly relates things from
'Chriſt to the Roman emperor Macrinus.' So Photius. Nevertheleſs it has been obſerved by ſeveral[n] learned men, from a fragment of Africanus himſelf, that this work was brought down by him to the year of Chriſt 221, the third or fourth year of Heliogabalus, ſucceſſor of Macrinus.

From the paſſages already tranſcribed, we are in a good meaſure able to form a judgment concerning the genuineneſs of any other books which may be aſcribed to Africanus. And whether the Ceſti were written by him, is diſputed. Valeſius[m], Joſeph Scaliger, and[o] Du Pin think the author of that work to have been a different perſon. They ſuppoſe there were two of this name; our Julius of Paleſtine, author of the Chronology, and a Chriſtian; the other an African, called Sextus, author of the Ceſti, and a gentile philoſopher. Tillemont ſays[p], that if this work was compoſed by Africanus, and the accounts left us of it be right, it was written by him whilſt he was a heathen, and before his converſion to Chriſtianity. Cave ſpeaks in the ſame manner, in the firſt part of his Hiſtoria Literaria; but he mentions it only as a conjecture; and I think it is mere conjecture. Africanus was a Chriſtian; this we know: but we have no ground to ſay he was originally a heathen, no ancient author having ſaid any ſuch thing; and Cave, in the ſecond part of that work[q], delivers it as his judgment, that this piece was not written by Africanus. From the ſame learned writer I learn that the Ceſti were publiſhed, though not very correctly, at Paris, in 1693; but I have not been ſo happy as to ſee them. I think it obſervable, that Jerom does not mention this among the other works of Africanus; and for that reaſon, and becauſe the forecited words of Euſebius's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, mentioning the Ceſti among the works of Africanus, are wanting in Rufinus's verſion, Valeſius[r] thinks they are an interpolation, and that they ought to be blotted out. However[s] Joh. Ger. Voſſius, and J. Rodolph[t] Wetſtein, are of opinion, that this piece is

[m] Cod. 34. [n] Vid. Scaligeri Animadv. in Euſ. Chron. p. 232. Pagi Crit. in Bar. 220. § 2. Tillemont, Juſt. Afr. note 2. [o] Vaſſ. Anno. Eccl. VI. cap. 21. [p] Scal. Animadv. in Euſ. Chr. p. 232. [q] Cave, Nov. Bib. Julius Africanus. [r] Dal. Mem. Ec. Jule Africain, hiſt. [s] Literæ Africani noſtri opus eſſe non valetas; cui adhæc ſimulis ſcribus, et recentiorum plurimis. Cav. Hiſt. Lit. P. i. p. 50. [t] Vid. Il. p. 127. [u] De Hiſt. Gr. l. ii. cap. 2. [v] Wetſt. Not. in Ep. Afr. ad Orig. Col. 151...154. Basil. 1674.

rightly ascribed to Africanus; to whom I would refer those who are desirous to know more of this matter: for I do not think fit to swell this article with a particular account of their arguments upon a point which is of no great importance.

There is plainly no regard due to Trithemius, who [x] reckons among the works of Africanus such as these: Of the Trinity, Of Circumcision, and others, which are books ascribed by [y] Jerom, and by [z] Trithemius himself, in another place, to Novatus. It may deserve a little more consideration, whether he wrote any commentaries upon the New Testament. It has been observed by [a] Cave, and [b] Fabricius, that Ebedjesu, who flourished [c] at the end of the thirteenth, and died in the beginning of the following century, in the year 1318, affirms there were then extant '[d] Commentaries of Africanus, bishop of Em-'maus, upon the New Testament, and his Chronicle.' One Julius likewise is alleged [e] in the Greek Chains, and sometimes called bishop. Dr. Asseman says, that Moses Bar-Cepha, who flourished in the latter end of the ninth century, quotes the Commentary of one [f] Julius upon St. John's gospel, which has been observed likewise by [g] Fabricius. And Dionysius Bar-Salibi, bishop of Amida in Mesopotamia, at the end of the twelfth century, in his Commentaries upon the gospels, quotes Africanus bishop [h] of Emmaus. But, after all, I apprehend here is no sufficient ground to believe that our Julius Africanus wrote upon the New Testament. It is much better to rest satisfied with the accounts left us by Eusebius, and Jerom, and Photius, who take no notice of such a work.

Africanus is reckoned by Jerom, in his letter to Magnus, among other eminent ancient [i] Christian writers. His Chronology is the work which Jerom particularly mentions; which is an argument that this was our author's principal performance: and Socrates has joined him with Clement and Origen, calling them '[k] men skilful in every part of knowledge.' Tillemont [l] says, it appears that Africanus understood Hebrew. He con-

[x] Trithem. de Script. Eccl. cap. 38.
[y] De Vir. Ill. cap. 70. [z] Trith. ibid. cap. 54. [a] Vid. Cav. H. L. P. i. p. 74. [b] Fab. Bib. Gr. T. v. p. 270. [c] Vid. Asseman. Bibl. Orient. T. i. p. 330. [d] Beatus Africanus, episcopus Emmaus, habet Commentaria in Novum Testamentum, et Chronicon. Ebedjesu Catalog. Libr. Syror. ap. Assem. Bib. Or. T. iii. p. 14. [e] Et Julius quidam inducitur in Catenis allegatur, et in Catena Corderiana in Johannem vocatur Julius episcopus. Fabr. ibid. [f] Assem. ib. T. ii. p. 129. [g] Fabric. ibid. [h] Auctores hi ab ipso citantur ... Africanus, episcopus Emmaus, Comment. in Evangel. fol. 33. 37. Assem. ib. T. iii. cap. 32. p. 158. A. [i] Extant et Julii Africani libri, qui temporum scripsit historias. Hier. ep. 83. [k] Ἄνδρας πάσης ἐπιστήμης ἐμπείρους. Socrat. Hist. l. ii. cap. 35. p. 130. B. [l] Till. Jule Africain, p. 51.

cludes

cludes this from an obſervation [m] in Africanus's letter concern-ing the hiſtory of Suſanna. Poſſibly this would be more apparent, if his Chronology were ſtill extant.

That work is all loſt, except ſome fragments. But it is ſuppoſed that Euſebius inſerted a large part of it into his own Chronicle; though it is not now eaſy to ſay what belongs to Africanus. And other hiſtorians have made good uſe of it. There is a large fragment of his letter to Ariſtides in Euſebius's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, and his letter to Origen is ſtill extant entire.

I ſhall now put down what I have obſerved to our purpoſe in the remains of this great man.

I. Euſebius, in his Evangelical Preparation [n], has a long paſſage out of the third book of the Chronology of Africanus; but I have no occaſion to tranſcribe any thing out of it at preſent.

II. In Euſebius's Evangelical Demonſtration [o] is another paſſage taken out of the fifth book of the ſame work. This paſſage is quoted likewiſe by St. Jerom, in his Commentaries upon the book of Daniel; where Africanus, ſpeaking of the 70 weeks, after which Chriſt was to appear, uſes this expreſſion: That 'viſions [p] and prophecies were until John,' as the words are in Euſebius's Greek; 'the law [q] and the prophets were un-'til John,' as in Jerom's Latin; which are our Lord's words, Luke, xvi. 16. Compare Matth. xi. 13. Here it appears that Africanus placed the death of Chriſt in the [r] 16th year of the reign of Tiberius, as the paſſage is in Euſebius; in the [s] 15th year of the ſame reign, as it is in Jerom.

III. In George Syncellus is a fragment of Africanus, ſaid to be taken out of the fifth book of his Chronology; where, ſpeaking of our Lord's [t] paſſion and reſurrection, he ſays,

[m] ... Ep. ad Orig. § 1.

[n] P. Ev. lib. x. p. 487 ... 495.

[o] D. Ev. lib. viii. p. 385 ... 391.

... Dan. Ev. lib. p. 389. C.

[p] ... eſt viſio, et prophetia, quia ... uſque ad baptiſtam Joannem. Com. in Dan. cap. ix. ... Benedict.

[q] ... Ev. lib. p. 390. B.

[r] ... exinde uſque ad annum quintumdecimum [decimumſextum] Tiberii Cæſaris, quando paſſus eſt Chriſtus, numerantur anni ſeptuaginta. Ap. Hieron. ibid.

[s] ... ἐπὶ τῆς ἑπτὰ καὶ δεκάτης ἔτει τῆς Τιβερίου ἡγεμονίας, ἐν ᾧ τὸ σωτήριον πάθος καὶ τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν ἐπετέλεσεν ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός. Ap. Geo. Syncell. Chronog. p. 322. Paris. 1652. et Hiſt. Χρονολογίας πρώτης, p. 77. ed. Scalig. Amſt. 1658.

[t] That

'That all his works of healing, both of the bodies and ſouls of 'men, and the myſteries of his birth and reſurrection from the 'dead, were ſufficiently made known to his apoſtles and diſci- 'ples before us. There was a dreadful darkneſs over the whole 'world; and the rocks were rent by an earthquake; and many 'buildings were overturned in Judea, and other parts of the 'earth.' Then he makes remarks upon what Thallus had written concerning an eclipſe or darkneſs about the ſame time. There can be no queſtion but Africanus here refers to our goſpels, particularly to Matth. xxvii. 51, 52. Luke, xxiii. 44, 45. I wiſh we had what preceded theſe words; and that we had what follows them more exactly than we ſeem to have at preſent.

IV. I proceed to the letter to Ariſtides, 'concerning the diſ- 'agreement ſuppoſed to be between the goſpels in the gene- 'logy of Chriſt.' It is thus introduced by Euſebius: 'But- 'foraſmuch as Matthew and Luke have differently delivered to 'us, in their goſpels, the genealogy of Chriſt, ſo that great 'numbers of the faithful, through ignorance of the truth, 'have been mightily concerned to contrive ſolutions of that 'difficulty, let us take the account which Africanus gives in his 'epiſtle to Ariſtides, concerning the harmony of the genealo- 'gies in the goſpel; where [w] rejecting the opinions of others, 'as forced, and even falſe, he delivers the account he had re- 'ceived in theſe words: "For whereas the deſcents of families "in Iſrael are reckoned either according to nature, or accord- "ing to law; according to the order of nature, when it is by "the ſucceſſion of a natural ſeed; according to law, when an- "other begetteth a ſon to ſucceed in the name of a brother de- "ceaſed without iſſue: .... And whereas, accordingly, of those "who are reckoned in this genealogy [of Chriſt] ſome ſuc- "ceeded in a proper and natural order, as ſons to their fathers; "but ſome, begotten by one, received the name of another; "therefore mention is made of both; of thoſe who were truly "fathers, and of thoſe that were legal only, and as fathers. "Thus neither of the goſpels is falſe; one containing the line of "nature, the other of law. For the families both of Solomon "and Nathan were mixed together, partly by ſecond marriage, "partly by raiſing up ſeed to thoſe who died without iſſue; ſo "that the ſame perſons had divers fathers, whereof ſome were

[v] Euſ. H. E. l. i. cap. 7. in. [w] Τας μεν δη των ἀλλων ὑπολαβας ... Ibid. p. 20. D

"reputed

" reputed fathers, others really ſo. Thus both the accounts are " true, and exactly meet and agree in Joſeph. That what has " been ſaid may be made plain, I will obſerve the order " of the deſcents. Reckoning the deſcent from David by " Solomon [according to Matthew], Matthan is found to " be the third from the end, who begat Jacob, the father " of Joſeph. Reckoning from Nathan, the ſon of David, " according to Luke, in like manner the third from the " end is Melchi, whoſe ſon was Eli, the father of Joſeph. " Joſeph therefore being the perſon we are concerned about, " it muſt be ſhewn how each of theſe can be called his " father; both Jacob, who deſcended from Solomon, and " Eli, who comes from Nathan. And in the firſt place it " muſt be ſhewn, how theſe two, Jacob and Eli, were brothers; " and then how their fathers, Matthan and Melchi, can be " grandfathers of Joſeph. This will be cleared up thus: " Matthan and Melchi, having married ſucceſſively one and the " ſame woman, begat children, which were brothers by the ſame " mother.... The firſt therefore, Matthan, deſcended from So- " lomon, begat Jacob of Eſtha; for that was the woman's " name. After the death of Matthan, Melchi, who deſcended " from Nathan, taking the widow to be his wife, had by her " Eli. Thus we have found Jacob and Eli, though of different " families, brothers by the ſame mother; one of whom, Jacob, " his brother Eli having died without iſſue, took his wife, " and begat of her the third, Joſeph, according to nature and " reaſon his own ſon; wherefore alſo it is written, *and Jacob* " *begat Joſeph*: but according to law he was the ſon of Eli; " for Jacob being his brother, raiſed up ſeed unto him. For " which reaſon neither is that genealogy deſtitute of autho- " rity, which the evangeliſt Matthew rehearſes thus: *and Jacob* " *begat Joſeph*. On the other hand Luke: being, as was ſup- " poſed (for he adds this withal), the ſon of Joſeph, *which was* " *the ſon of Eli, which was the ſon of Melchi*. He could not " more plainly and properly expreſs that kind of deſcent " which is according to law. And ſo exact is he, that reciting " the genealogy of this ſort, he entirely omits the word 'be- " getting' to the very laſt, though he carries up the line ſtep " by ſtep to Adam, *who was the ſon of God*."

[a] ... Ibid. p. 22. B. [b] ... Ibid. p. 22. B.

We

We are farther assured by Africanus, that this [z] account was given by some who were kinsmen of our Lord according to the flesh. However, he says, '[a] though it were unsupported by any 'such testimony, yet this account of the matter ought to be 'reckoned the best and the truest. But, be it so or not, the 'gospel is certainly true.'

Once more [b] Eusebius says, 'And at the end of the same 'epistle he [Africanus] adds: "Matthan, who descended from "Solomon, begat Jacob. Matthan being dead, Melchi, who "descended from Nathan, begat of the same woman Eli; Eli "therefore, and Jacob, were brothers by the same mother. Eli "dying without issue, Jacob raised up seed to him, having be-"gotten Joseph, according to nature indeed to himself, but ac-"cording to law to Eli. So Joseph was the son of both." 'Thus far Africanus.'

It ought to be observed, that whereas we read in our copies of St. Luke, iii. ver. 24, *which was the son of Matthat, which was the son of Levi, which was the son of Melchi*; Africanus omits the two former descents, and reads only the last. I hope this whole passage is now intelligible.

And that we have here the true reading of Africanus, is confirmed by a passage of Bar-Salibi, transcribed [c] by Dr. Asseman.

St. Augustine, in his [d] Retractations, entirely approves of this method of reconciling the genealogies in St. Matthew and St. Luke; and Dr. Wall [e] says, 'The best hypothesis that has 'been given for reconciling the two catalogues, is the old one 'of Africanus.' I persuade myself, therefore, that it will not be disapproved by any, that I have set it so much at large before my readers. I would add, that Mr. Richardson [f] has a dissertation upon this subject, which well deserves to be read by the curious.

But, whatever becomes of this method of reconciling the two evangelists, here is a very valuable testimony to their gospels, and in particular a cogent argument for the genuineness of the

[z] Τȣ γȣν Σωτηρος οι κατα σαρκα συγγενεις, ειτ' ȣν φανητιωντες, ειθ' απλως εκδιδασκοντες, παντως αληθευοντες, παρεδοσαν και ταυτα. p. 22. C. Ων ετυγκανον οι προερημενοι δεσποσυνοι καλυμενοι. p. 23. B. [a] Και ημιν αυτη μελετω, ει και μη εμμαρτυρος εστι, τω μη κρειττονα η αληθεστεραν εχειν ειπειν. Το μεντοι ευαγγελιον παντως αληθευει. p. 23. C. [b] p. 23. D. [c] Quos Lucas refert Christi progenitores, eos ex Africano, Eusebio, Nazianzeno, Sarugensi, Græcisque et Syriacis codicibus, sic enumerat [Dionys. Bar-Salibi], fol. 37. 'Africanus et Eusebius tertium numerant 'Melchi, sicut etiam Mathan tertio loco 'collocant ante Joseph, hoc modo: "Joseph filius Heli, filii Melchi." In codicibus vero Syriacis, qui apud nos extant, sancti Lucæ, quinto loco numeratur: "Joseph filius Heli, filii Matthan, "filii Levi, filii Melchi." Asseman, Bibl. Or. Tom. ii. cap. 32. p. 161, 162.

[d] Retract. l. ii. cap. 7. [e] Bibl. Critical Notes upon the N. T. p. 65.

[f] Joan. Richardson. Prælect. Ecclesiast. I. de Christi Genealogia.

beginning

beginning of St. Matthew's. It does not plainly appear that any whom Africanus disputed with, rejected it; though some may be ready to suspect this from those words: 'For which 'reason neither is that genealogy destitute of authority, which 'the evangelist Matthew rehearses;' which words possibly may be thought to imply, that St. Matthew's genealogy was not altogether unquestioned, or reputed of equal authority with St. Luke's. But I do not take that to be the design of those words, Africanus afterwards expressing himself in a like manner also of St. Luke's genealogy; his intention therefore is only to assert the truth and propriety of both. But if there were any whom Africanus argued against, who took this method of solving or evading the difficulty, it must be one of those opinions which, as Eusebius says, 'Africanus rejected as false;' since it is evident that he maintains the truth, authority, and usefulness of both the genealogies.

Considering then the learning and the age of Africanus, and the country in which he resided, and the history he had received from some of the kinsmen of Jesus according to the flesh; and that he made a particular enquiry into this matter, and appears to have been fully satisfied about it; it must be reckoned that we have here all the evidence for the genuineness of this part of St. Matthew's gospel that can be well desired.

V. The letter to Origen concerning the history of Susanna, is generally supposed to have been written about the [h] year 228, though there are some learned men who are rather inclined to the year 240, twelve years after. The occasion of it was this: Origen, in a conference with one Bassus, where Africanus was present, made use of that history. Africanus, thinking it spurious and forged, took an opportunity some while after to write to Origen upon that point. It is a fine letter, learned and critical; and, though short, does a great deal of honour to its author.

As the question in dispute relates only to a part of a book of the Old Testament, and the letter is very short, here are no quotations of the New Testament. However, Africanus here observes, 'that [k] all the books of the Old Testament were 'written in Hebrew, and from thence were translated into 'Greek;' which shews that there was a collection of books,

[f] Ὡδε γὰρ διατεθειμένου τοῦ ἐγχειρήματος τοῦ τόπου. p. 22. C. [h] Vid. Fabric. Bib. Gr. T. v. p. 236. Tillemont, Mem. Ec. T. iii. P. ii. p. 38. Jule Africain; & T. iii. P. iii. p. 263. [i] Vid. Huet. Origenian. l. iii. cap. 4. § 1. et Admon. in Africanum, Op. ed. Bened. T. i. p. 8. [k] Ἐξ Ἑβραίων δὲ τοῖς Ἕλλησι μεθηρμηνεύθη πάντα τὰ τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης βιβλία. African. Ep. ad Orig. § 1.

called

called the New Teſtament, for which he had the like reſpect with that paid to the books of the Old Teſtament, written in Hebrew.

VI. But it will be worth the while to obſerve what books Origen quotes to Africanus in his anſwer, which is long. Here then are ſeveral quotations of the goſpels of [l] St Matthew and St. Luke. The Acts of the apoſtles [m] are expreſsly quoted. Here are words of the epiſtle to [n] the Romans, and firſt to the Corinthians; and [o] St. Paul's firſt epiſtle to the Theſſalonians is expreſsly quoted at length. The epiſtle to the Hebrews is cited in this manner: Origen ſays, 'That the ſtory of Suſanna 'being diſhonourable to the Jewiſh elders, it was ſuppreſſed by 'their great men; and that there were many things kept as 'much as might be from the knowledge of the people, ſome of 'which nevertheleſs were preſerved in ſome apocryphal books. 'Of this,' ſays he, 'I ſhall give an inſtance in ſome things re-'lated of Iſaiah, and mentioned in the epiſtle to the Hebrews, 'though not written in any of their open books. For the 'the writer of the epiſtle to the Hebrews, diſcourſing of the 'prophets and their ſufferings, ſays, "They were ſtoned, they "were ſawn aſunder, they were ſlain by the ſword." To what 'perſon, I pray, does that relate, "they were ſawn aſunder?" 'according to an ancient cuſtom, not only of the Jews but alſo 'of the Greeks, expreſſed indeed in the plural number, but 'meant of one. It is certain that traditions ſay, Iſaiah the 'prophet was ſawn aſunder; and it is mentioned in an apocry-'phal [or 'ſecret'] book, which perhaps ſome of the Jews have 'deſignedly corrupted; inſerting in that piece ſome unbecoming 'things, that the whole might be diſcredited. But poſſibly 'ſome [p] one, preſſed with this argument, will take refuge in the 'opinion of thoſe who reject this epiſtle as not written by Paul. 'In anſwer to ſuch a one we deſign [or, 'had need'] to write a 'diſtinct diſcourſe, to ſhew that epiſtle to be Paul's.'

Hence it appears, that there were ſome in the eaſtern part of the world, as well as in the weſt, who rejected the epiſtle to the Hebrews: and it may be ſuſpected, at leaſt, that Origen did not know that Africanus received it as the apoſtle Paul's.

VII. However, we have ſeen in Africanus an uncommon

[l] Vid. Orig. Ep. ad Af. § 7. p. 18. D. E. Tom. i. Bened. § 9. p. 20. B. C. D.

[m] Και εν πραξεσι δε των αποστολων ο Στεφανος μαρτυρων επι πολλοις και ταυτα λεγει. κ. λ. Ib. § 9. p. 22. A.

[n] Ib. § 4. p. 16. C.

[o] Και ο Παυλος εν τη πρωτη των προς Θεσσαλονικεις επιστολης ταυτα περι Ιουδαιων μαρτυρων φησιν. Ib. § 9. p. 22. B. C.

[p] [illegible] διαλημματι απο της εις ταυτα αποδειξεως, σχολης ουσαν τω διαλημματι των αδελφων την επιστολην ειναι Παυλου γεγραμμενην. Προς ο αλλαι λογοι ειδεναι χρειαν εις αποδειξιν ειναι Παυλου την επιστολην. Ibid, § 9. p. 19, 20.

attestation

ation to the two gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke, and especially to their genealogies. Several books of the New Testament are alleged and quoted to him by Origen, as of authority. He plainly had a volume, or collection of books, with the title and denomination of the New Testament, of equal authority with the Jewish sacred and canonical scriptures, written originally in Hebrew. There is therefore no ground to doubt, but sufficient reason to believe, that this great and learned man received as scripture the books generally received by Christians in his time, and particularly by Origen, with whom he was well acquainted. Whether he received the epistle to the Hebrews as the apostle Paul's, we cannot certainly say; nor have we any good ground to suppose he rejected it. The same may be said with regard to the other books of the New Testament, which were doubted of by some at that time. We do not know his opinion concerning them. In these, and some other matters, we should have had fuller satisfaction, if more of his learned and elaborate performances had come down to us.

As it is, we may glory in Africanus as a Christian. For it cannot but be a pleasure to observe, that in those early days there were some within the inclosure of the church of Christ, whose shining abilities rendered them the ornament of the age in which they lived; when they appear also to have been men of unspotted characters, and give evident proofs of honesty and integrity.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

ORIGEN.

I. *His hiſtory and character.* II. III. *Select paſſages of Origen.* IV. V. VI. *Three catalogues of the books of the N. T.* VII. *Of the four goſpels.* VIII. *Acts of the apoſtles.* IX. *St. Paul's epiſtles.* X. *The epiſtle to the Hebrews.* XI. *The epiſtle of St. James.* XII. *Firſt and ſecond of St. Peter.* XIII. *St. John's three epiſtles,* XIV. *St. Jude's epiſtle.* XV. *The Revelation.* XVI. *Whether Origen ſays, that from the beginning Chriſtians were divided about the books of ſcripture.* XVII. *A paſſage containing a general enumeration of the books of the New Teſtament.* XVIII. *General titles and diviſions of the books of ſcripture.* XIX. *Reſpect for them.* XX. *Reading them recommended.* XXI. *Publicly read.* XXII. *The enquiry, whether Origen received as ſcripture any books not in the preſent canon, propoſed.* XXIII. *Of eccleſiaſtical writings cited by Origen; St. Barnabas's epiſtle; St. Clement's; The Recognitions; the Shepherd of Hermas; St. Ignatius.* XXIV. *Spurious and apocryphal writings; apocryphal goſpels in general; the goſpel according to the Hebrews; the goſpel according to Peter; the doctrine and preaching of Peter; Acts of Paul; an anonymous book.* XXV. *Jewiſh apocryphal books; Tobit, Judith, Eccleſiaſticus, Suſanna, Maccabees; the books of Enoch; the Twelve Patriarchs; the aſcenſion of Moſes; anonymous pieces; apocryphal writings ſaid to be referred to in the N. T.* XXVI. *Remarks upon the foregoing citations.* XXVII. *Select various readings.* XXVIII. *Explications of texts.* XXIX. *General obſervations upon the ſcriptures of the New Teſtament.* XXX. *Whether Origen thought that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew.* XXXI. *Sum of his teſtimony.*

I. ORIGEN was born in Egypt, in the year of our Lord [a] 184, or [b] 185, that is, the fifth or the ſixth of the emperor Commodus, and died in the ſixty-ninth [c] or ſeventieth [d] year of his age,

[a] Pagi Crit. in Baron. 202. n. vi.

[b] Baſnag. Ann. 203. n. xii. Tillemont, Origene, art. ii.

[c] Vixit uſque ad Gallum et Voluſianum, id eſt, uſque ad lxix. ætatis ſuæ annum, et mortuus eſt Tyri, in qua urbe et ſepultus eſt. Hieron. de Vir. Ill. cap. 54. vid. et Phot. Cod. 118. col. 297.

[d] Ωρμηται δε τ[illegible] [γηλο]ς εις δεκατα της ζωης εξηκοντα απο πλειονας δε πολλα. Euſ. H. E. l. vii. cap. 1.

age, in the year of Christ [c] 253. Porphyry [f] affirms, that Origen was born of Gentile parents, and educated in the Gentile religion; but that afterwards, when he was grown up, he embraced the Christian religion. This is flatly contradicted by [g] Eusebius, who was a great admirer of Origen, and wrote his history at large, which [h] he collected partly from Origen's own epistles, and partly from the relations of his scholars, who lived to his time. And I suppose that none have observed in Origen's remaining works any evidences of his having been a heathen; which certainly would have appeared, if Porphyry had spoken truth in this matter.

Eusebius informs us, that Leonides, Origen's father, took great care of his education; and that in his childhood he raised the greatest expectations from his quick improvement in several parts of knowledge, especially of the holy scriptures; so that [i] he often gave his father some trouble by his enquiries into the profounder meaning of them. His father seemingly reproved him before his face, bidding him to content himself with the plain obvious sense of the words, and not to aspire to things above his age; but at the same time he was exceedingly pleased: and it is reported that Leonides has stood by his son as he slept, and uncovering his breast kissed it with reverence, as honoured with the indwelling of the divine spirit; accounting himself extremely happy in a child of such attainments.

We have no very particular information who were Origen's masters. It is undoubted, however, that Clement †, then catechist at Alexandria, was one. He likewise heard for some time, occasionally at least, the celebrated philosopher Ammonius Saccas, as Porphyry ‖ relates expressly, and owns that Origen made good proficience in the knowledge of philosophy under that master. Theodoret mentions †‡ the same thing as a common report. But it must have been long after this time, when Origen himself had been catechist some while, as may be concluded from what he says in a fragment of a letter preserved †‡ in Eusebius, where he defends himself against those who accused him of too great affection for secular literature. Basnage ** thinks, Origen might be then about 30 years of age.

[c] Pagi. 253. n. 23. Basn. 203. n. xii. [illegible] Origenes. art. 25.

[illegible] Ap. Eus. [illegible] c. 19. p. 220. B. [illegible] Eus. ib. p. 220. D. [h] L. vi. [illegible] p. 221. C. [i] Vid. Eus. ib. [illegible] 202. C. D. 203. A. † [illegible] Eus. l. vi. cap. 6. ‖ [illegible] Porph. [illegible] Eus. l. vi. c. 19. p. 220. A.

†‡ Theodoret. Gr. Aff. l. vi. p. 573. D.

†‡ Eus. l. vi. c. 19. p. 221. B. conf. cap. 18. fin. ** Ann. 203. n. 15.

There was another of this name among the disciples of Ammonius, and one of the most eminent of them. It is certain that he *** ought to be distinguished from our Origen: he published but two ‖* pieces, and the latter of them in the reign of Gallienus, after the death of him whose history we are now writing.

Leonides suffered martyrdom [k] in the year 202, the tenth of Severus, leaving behind him a wife and seven children, of which Origen was the oldest, but not quite seventeen years of age. In the very beginning of this persecution, Origen shewed great zeal for christianity, and was ready to offer himself to martyrdom. Being detained at home by the prudent care of his mother, he sent [l] a letter to his father in prison, earnestly entreating him to be constant. Eusebius has preserved but one line of it; but, as Tillemont justly observes, it is worth many volumes: 'Take heed, father, that you do not change your 'mind for our sake.'

Upon the death of Leonides, the family was reduced to great straits, the estate being confiscated. Origen however was [m] taken care of by a rich and honourable lady of Alexandria: but in a short time he was able to provide for himself by teaching grammar.

At this time [n] the chair of the catechetical school was empty. Nor was there any one at Alexandria to teach the principles of the Christian religion; the terror of the persecution had caused so many to abscond, or flee out of the city. There came [o] then some heathens to Origen, desiring to be taught by him the Christian doctrine. The first of these, as he writes himself, was Plutarch, who, after having lived well, obtained the honour of martyrdom. The second was Heraclas, Plutarch's brother, who was bishop of Alexandria after the death of Demetrius. Origen was [p] not above eighteen years of age when he was set over

*** Vid. Vales. Annot. p. 102. in Euseb. l. vi. c. 19. Huet. Origeniana, l. i. c. 2. num. vii. et Fabric. Bibl. Gr. T. v. p. 213. et T. iv. p. 97. in not. ad Porphyr. cap. 3. de Vit. Potini; et Tillemont, Mem. Ec. T. iii. P. ii. p. 86. Ammone Sectas. Vid. et Pagi Crit. Ann. 235. n. ii.

‖* Vid. Porphyr. de Vit. Plotin. cap. 3. et 20.

[k] ... Euseb. l. vi. cap. 3. p. 203. B. Vid. et cap. 1. Origenes, qui et Adamantius, decimo Severi Persarum anno adversum Christianos persecutione commota, a Leonide patre Christi martyrio coronato, et sex fratribus, et matre viduâ, paupere relictus, annos natus circiter decem et septem: nam enim familiarem, ob confessionem Christi, fiscus occupaverat. Hieron. de V. I. cap. 54. p. 10. [l] ... Euseb. ib. c. 2. p. 202. B. C. [m] Euseb. ib. p. 203. E. C. [n] Euseb. ib. c. 3. p. 204. A. [o] Ibid. A. B. [p] ...

over the catechetical school by appointment of Demetrius; in which office he was eminently useful, and besides gained the universal esteem of the faithful, by his frequent visits, and other kind offices, to the confessors in prison, whether strangers or of his particular acquaintance.

Having [q] alone the whole care of the school, and the number of his disciples increasing, he left off teaching grammar, and confined himself entirely to religious instructions; in which he continued to be so successful, that there were no less than [r] seven of his scholars who suffered martyrdom, one of which was a woman.

There must have been at that time no stated salary for the president of that school at Alexandria; and Origen was unwilling to receive a gratuity from those whom he instructed in the rudiments of the Christian religion. 'For,' as Eusebius [s] says, 'prudently considering with himself how he might be able to 'stand in no need of assistance from others, he sold all his vo-'lumes of ancient authors, which he had collected with great 'care, and contented himself with four *oboli* [or five pence] to 'be paid him daily by the purchaser.'

Not long after this, or however whilst he was but young, in the 21st year of his age, as is supposed [t], of Christ 205 or 206, he was guilty of that [u] rash and indiscreet action so well known. For being in his early youth obliged to teach women as well as men, and being desirous to put himself out of the reach of scandal, and to deliver himself from temptations, he was induced to fulfil upon himself, in a literal sense, the saying of our Saviour, Matth. xix. 12, where he speaks of those who *make themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven*. It might be said, by way of apology for him, that those words have been so understood also by others: but, as the action is in itself unjustifiable, so Origen was afterwards convinced of his error, and publicly confuted in his writings the literal interpretation of that text, in such a manner as to shew that he condemned himself; saying, beside other things, 'But [v] we, who once understood Christ according 'to the flesh, and according to the letter, but now knowing him 'no more in that manner, approve not of that interpretation,' which he there mentions.

[illegible] Euf. ib. 204. B. D. [illegible] dispersa ecclesia, decimo [illegible] anno [illegible] opus ag-[illegible] a Demetrio, ejus urbis epi-[illegible] Clementis presbyteri con-[illegible] per multos annos floruit. Hie-[illegible] Vir. Ill. ibid. [q] [illegible] [illegible] Id. cap. [illegible] p. 205. B. [r] Ibid. cap. 4. 5. [s] Cap. 3. p. 205. C. [t] Vid. [illegible] nag. 203. n. xiii. Pagi, 206. n. ii. [u] Vid. Euf. l. vi. cap. 8. [v] In Matth. Tom. xv. p. 368, 369. Ib.

Notwithſtanding his important employment in the ſchool, Origen went [y] to Rome in the time of Zephyrinus, biſhop of that city, 'having [z] a deſire, as he ſomewhere writes, to ſee the moſt 'ancient church of the Romans.' Having made there a ſhort ſtay, he returned to Alexandria, and applied himſelf again with the greateſt diligence to his ordinary work of teaching the principles of religion; Demetrius ſtill favouring his endeavours, and even quickening his zeal by earneſt exhortations to promote the edification of the church. The exact time of this [a] journey cannot be determined, only it muſt have been performed before 217; ſome think [b] about the year 213.

Origen finding that he was not able to apply himſelf to the ſtudy of the ſcriptures, and the interpretation of them, as he deſired, and to ſatisfy all thoſe who from morning till evening came flocking to the ſchool, took in Heraclas before mentioned to be his partner in that work; committing to him the inſtruction of the younger ſcholars, and reſerving to his own care thoſe who had made ſome proficience.

The next thing mentioned by [c] Euſebius is Origen's learning the Hebrew tongue: upon which occaſion he alſo ſpeaks of his editions of the Old Teſtament, in one of which he placed in ſeveral columns the original Hebrew text, and the Greek verſions of the Seventy, Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion, and ſome others, the names of which are not known. St. Jerom [d] likewiſe ſays, that ſuch was Origen's deſire to underſtand and promote the knowledge of the ſcriptures, that, contrary to the cuſtom of his time and country, he learned the Hebrew language; nay, he ſays he was † admired by all Greece upon that account. However divers [e] learned moderns have obſerved, that Origen's ſkill in Hebrew was not exact.

Euſebius [f] adds, 'About this time Ambroſe, who followed the 'Valentinian hereſy, was brought over to the orthodox doctrine of 'the church by the preaching of Origen.' St. Jerom, in his Catalogue of Eccleſiaſtical Writers, gives [g] this account of Ambroſe: 'That

[y] Euſ. l. vi. c. 14. p. 216. D.

[z] Εξαμενος την αρχαιοτατην Ρωμαιων εκκλησιαν ιδειν. Ibid.

[a] Vid. Pagi, Crit. 215. n. iii. Tillemont, Mem. Ec. T. iii. P. iii. Origene, art. 8.

[b] Vid. Basnag. 203. § 14.

[c] L. vi. cap. 16.

[d] Quis ignorat et quod tantum in ſcripturis divinis habuerit ſtudii, ut etiam Hebraeum ſermonem, contra aetatis gentisque ſuae naturam, edisceret? De Vir. Ill. c. 54.

† Vid. Hieron. 3. ep. 22. al. 135. init.

[e] Huet. Origenian. l. ii. c. 1. § 1. p. 76. Tillemont, Mem. Ecc. in Origene, art. 2. et note 3. Vid. et Fabric. Bib. Gr. T. v. p. 224.

[f] Ib. c. 18. in.

[g] Ambroſius, primum Marcionites, deinde, ab Origine correctus, eccleſiae dogmatis, et confeſſionis Dominicae gloria initiatus fuit; cui, et Protocteto presbytero, [illegible] Origenis de Martyrio ſcribitur. Hujus induſtria, et ſumptu, et inſtantia, ad [illegible] infinita Origenes dictavit volumina. [illegible] et ipſe, quippe ut vir nobilis, non ingenuis ingenium fuit; ſicut ejus ad Origenem epiſt. [illegible]

'That he was at firſt a Marcionite; afterwards, having been 'convinced of his error by Origen, he became a deacon of the 'church, and had the honour of ſuffering for Chriſt, as a con-'feſſor; to whom, and to Protoctetus, Origen inſcribed his book 'of Martyrdom: and that Origen dedicated to Ambroſe many 'of his volumes, which were publiſhed at his deſire, care, and 'charge. Ambroſe was a man of a good family, and of no 'ſmall wit, as his letters to Origen ſhew. He died before 'Origen, and is blamed by many, that, though he was rich, he 'did not at his death remember his friend; who was not only 'poor, but likewiſe in his old age.'

So writes Jerom. Epiphanius informs us, that [h] in his time it was ſaid by ſome that Ambroſe was at firſt a Marcionite, by others that he was a Sabellian; but I ſuppoſe Euſebius's account is the moſt credible, who calls him a Valentinian: his converſion might be made [i] about the year 212. Protoctetus was a preſbyter of the church of Cæſarea in Paleſtine: his and Ambroſe's confeſſion for Chriſt was in the perſecution under Maximin, about the year 236. Euſebius, in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory [k], ſpeaks of their ſufferings, as does likewiſe Origen in ſeveral places of his Exhortation to Martyrdom, inſcribed to both of them, which is ſtill extant. And there are beſides remaining ſeveral other works of Origen dedicated to Ambroſe; as his Commentaries upon St. John's goſpel, the treatiſe of Prayer, and the eight books againſt Celſus: which laſt ſhews, though Ambroſe died before Origen, yet he lived to the year 250, or near it. St. Jerom ſays that Ambroſe was a deacon of the church; at Alexandria, as is generally ſuppoſed. But Euſebius ſays nothing of this: and ſome [l] are rather inclined to think he was a deacon of the church of Cæſarea, where Protoctetus was preſbyter. Origen, in a letter of which we have now only a fragment, calls Ambroſe [m] 'a man indeed devoted to God;' and ſpeaks of his earneſt deſire to underſtand the ſcriptures, and his great application in the ſtudy of them. Ambroſe had a wife named Marcella, by whom he had ſeveral children: ſhe is commended by Origen, [n] as a true Chriſtian, and faithful wife.

[h] ... judicio ſunt. Obiit ante mortem ... hæreſis; etiam hoc a pluribus reprehenditur, quod, ut locuples, amicum tunc et ... non recordatus ſit. Hieron. Vir. Ill. cap. 56.

[i] ... Ambrosius ... Valentinianæ ... Epiph. Hær. ... 220. C. [k] See Euſebius, ... P. ... p. 59. [l] Ibid. cap. 28. ... eum ecclesiæ diaconum fuisse ... Hieronymo; cujus vero ignoramus: eo tamen inclinat conjectura, ut in Cæsariensi diaconum egerit. Origeni comes erat, qui plurimum Cæsaream veluti ... Protoctetum quoque ... conjunxit Ambrosium, dives ... de martyrio ... Basnag. Ann. 203. n. 22. [m] Vid. Orig. Op. T. ... p. 3. edit. B. [n] ...

Eusebius [o] informs us, that Ambrose was the person who excited Origen to write commentaries upon the scriptures, and that not only by words and entreaties, but by supplies of all things necessary; for there were seven notaries or more procured by him to attend Origen when he dictated, who relieved each other by turns: and besides there was a like number of young women, or others, skilful in the art of fair writing, all which were handsomely maintained by * Ambrose.

Jerom said just now that Ambrose was blamed by many for leaving nothing at his death to Origen. But Tillemont thinks that Ambrose knew his friend's mind, and that Origen chose to be poor, and to live in a dependence on providence.

Finally, St. Jerom speaks of Ambrose's epistles; but there is nothing of them remaining. It was fit, however, that we should give the account we have here done of this intimate friend and great admirer of Origen.

In the year of Christ 228, Origen was sent upon some affair of the church by Demetrius into Achaia. When he came to Cæsarea in Palestine, he [p] was ordained presbyter by Theoctistus and Alexander, bishops in that country, being then about forty-three or forty-four years of age. Demetrius, who had before envied Origen's reputation, was now greatly [q] offended at him: so that Origen, after his return from Athens, being very uneasy at Alexandria, left that city, and went to reside at Cæsarea, resigning the chair of the catechetical school to Heraclas, [r] who had been already his partner for near twenty years. This happened in the year [s] 231.

Upon this occasion Demetrius held two councils at Alexandria: in the first of which Origen was expelled that city, and forbid to teach in it; or, if he was retired before, the decree of the council must be understood to deprive him of the office he had enjoyed, and to forbid his return to Alexandria. This was all which that council would consent to, as Photius [t] relates from Pamphilus. In the second he was deposed from being presbyter; and Jerom seems to say that he [u] was excommunicated

[o] L. vi. cap. 23. [*] Ambrosius, quo chartas, sumtus, notarios ministrante, tam innumerabiles libros vere Adamantios et Chalcenterus notet explicavit. Hieron. ad Marcel. ep. 25. al. 18. p. 552. Conf. eund. de Vir. Ill. cap. 56 et 61.

[p] Et cum jam mediæ esset ætatis, et propter ecclesiis Achaiæ, quæ plurimis hæreticis vexabantur, sub testimonio ecclesiasticæ epistolæ Athenas per Palæstinam pergeret, a Theoctisto et Alexandro, Cæsareæ et Hierosolymorum episcopis, presbyter ordinatus, Demetrii offendit animum, qui tanta in eum debacchatus est invidia, ut per totum mundum super nomine ejus ferveret. Hieron. de Vir. Ill. c. 54.

[q] Vid. Euseb. lib. c. 8. p. 209. C. D. cap. 23. p. 224. C. D. [r] Euseb. cap. 26. [s] See Tillemont, Origene, art. 19. and note 21.

[t] Phot. Cod. 118. p. 297. [u] Cæteri sacerdotes ergo ecclesiæ generaliter damnant, a quibus indignus communione extraneus fuerat judicatus. Hieron. Apol. adv. Ruf. l. ii. col. 411. T. iv. P. ii. Bened.

Demetrius

Demetrius likewiſe ſent letters to the biſhops of the ſeveral parts of the world againſt Origen, who, as Jerom ſays, was thereupon condemned by the [w] biſhop of Rome, and generally by all others, except the biſhops of Paleſtine, Arabia, Phœnicia, and Achaia, by whom he was ſtill honoured.

Soon after this, in the very [x] ſame year, as is ſuppoſed, Demetrius died, who was ſucceeded by Heraclas, and he by Dionyſius, in the catechetical ſchool; who [y] was alſo one of Origen's ſcholars, and ſucceeded Heraclas in the biſhopric of Alexandria: which, as Tillemont [z] argues, may afford reaſon to conclude, that the animoſity againſt Origen abated after the death of Demetrius.

Origen was well received at Cæſarea, where Theoctiſtus the biſhop of that city, and Alexander biſhop of Jeruſalem, heard him as if he had been their maſter, and [a] committed to him alone the interpretation of the ſcriptures, and other eccleſiaſtical inſtructions. Here there was a great reſort to Origen, not only of the people of that country, but alſo of diſtant parts; the moſt noted of which were Gregory, afterwards called Thaumaturgus, biſhop of Neocæſarea in Pontus, and his brother Athenodorus, afterwards alſo biſhop in Pontus: theſe [b] reſided with Origen under his tuition for the ſpace of five years. Firmilianus, at this time biſhop of Cæſarea in Cappadocia, invited Origen into his own country; and [c] likewiſe made him ſeveral viſits at Cæſarea in Paleſtine, and made a ſtay with him for the ſake of farther improvement in divine knowledge. St. Jerom ſays [d] moreover, that Firmilianus, and all Cappadocia, preſſed Origen to come to them; and that he actually accepted the invitation, and reſided with them a good while. Tillemont [e] thinks it probable that he lived there privately during the time of the perſecution under Maximin, where alſo, as he ſuppoſes, he wrote his Exhortation to Martyrdom. Africanus was another of Origen's friends, with whom he had at leaſt an epiſtolary correſpondence. He

[w] Porro hoc ſudore quid accepit pretii? Damnatus a Demetrio epiſcopo, exceptis Paleſtinæ, et Arabiæ, et Phœnices, atque Achaiæ fœderibus. In damnationem ejus consentit urbis Romanæ ipſe pontifex. Hieron. Catal. Script. Eccl. in Origene. [x] Euſ. ibid. c. 26. [y] Hieron. ep. 29. p. 229. D.

[z] Mem. Ec. Origene, art. 20. [a] Μετὰ τὴν τοῦ ἁγίου Δημητρίου τελευτὴν ἐπιτρέπεται τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας πράγματα τῷ Ὠριγένει παρὰ τῶν ἐπισκόπων. Euſ. ib. c. 27. [b] Ib. c. 30. [c] Ib. c. 26, 27. [d] Origenem etiam gloriæ fructi, hunc ſpontis, [illegible] Firmilianus Cæſareæ epiſcopus, [illegible] omnis Cappadocia cum invitavit, et [illegible] ut [illegible] et poſtea ſub occaſione ſanctorum locorum Paleſtinam veniens, [illegible] Cæſareæ ſanctis ſcripturis ab eo tractatus eſt. De Vir. Ill. c. 54. [e] Mem. Ec. T. iii. P. iii. Origene, art. 22. et note 24.

wrote letters likewise to Fabian, bishop of Rome, and to divers other eminent bishops of the Christian church; as Eusebius assures us, who [f] made a collection of Origen's epistles, to the number of a hundred and more.

We may observe here, as proofs of the uncommon abilities and suitable reputation of Origen, without concerning ourselves about the exact time of those events, which cannot be easily settled, if at all; that [g] Mamæa, mother of the emperor Alexander, sent for Origen to come to her at Antioch, that she might have discourse with him upon things of religion; at the same time, for his greater safety, appointing him a military guard to attend him in his journey: and [h] that he had the honour to write a letter to the emperor Philip, and another to his wife Severa. These things are mentioned to the advantage of Origen by [i] Jerom and others, as well as by Eusebius. But Jerom, instead of Philip's wife, says his mother.

And whilst Origen yet dwelt at Alexandria, as Eusebius † says, there came a soldier who delivered letters to Demetrius bishop of that city, and to the præfect of Egypt, from the governor of Arabia, desiring them to send Origen to him with all speed, that he might have some discourse with him. Being therefore sent by them, he went into Arabia; and having in a short time finished the affair for which he was sent, he returned to Alexandria. Tillemont [k] thinks this must have been before the year 217, when Origen was not more than thirty-one or thirty-two years of age.

Origen made another journey to Athens, beside that before mentioned by order of Demetrius. Eusebius, though he mentions this journey, does not inform us of the time of it; it is supposed, however, to have been about the year 240. Origen must have made some stay at Athens at this time; for he there [l] finished his Commentaries upon Ezekiel, and began his Exposition of the Canticles.

At this time lived Beryllus, bishop of Bostra in Arabia. He was accused of saying, [m] 'that our Lord and Saviour, before his 'coming to dwell among men, had no proper distinct subsist-'ence; and that he had no godhead of his own, but only that

[f] H. E. l. vi. cap. 36. [g] Ibid. cap. 21. [h] Ibid. c. 36.

[i] Sed et illud, quod ad Mammæam, matrem Alexandri imperatoris, ubi est in territoriis, regnans venit Antiochiam, et tempore honoris habitus est: quod ipse ad Philippum imperatorem, . . . et ad matrem ejus literas fecit. De Vir. Ill. cap. 54.

† L. vi. cap. 19. p. 221. D.

[k] Till. Origenes, art. 15. at the beginning. [l] Euseb. cap. 32. p. 231. A.

[m] Τὸν Σωτῆρα καὶ Κύριον ἡμῶν πρὸ τῆς . . . ἰδίαν οὐσίαν κατὰ μόνην ἐνεργείαν ἔχειν, μήτε θεότητα ἰδίαν ἔχειν, ἀλλὰ τὴν τοῦ Πατρός. Id. c. 33. p. 231. C.

'of

'of the Father reſiding in him.' There was a ſynod of biſhops convened upon this occaſion, at which Origen was preſent; and it is to his arguments chiefly that Euſebius aſcribes the conviction of Beryllus. In another place our eccleſiaſtical hiſtorian ſays, that [n] Beryllus left behind him divers epiſtles, and other writings, of an elegant compoſition. Beryllus is ſuppoſed by Cave to have flouriſhed about the year 230.

Jerom's account of this biſhop is, 'That [o] after he had for a 'conſiderable time preſided in the church with great reputation, 'at length falling into that hereſy which denies Chriſt to have 'ſubſiſted before his incarnation, he was convinced by Origen. 'He wrote ſeveral pieces, particularly epiſtles, in which he 'thanks Origen: there are alſo letters of Origen to him. 'There is, beſides, a conference of Origen and Beryllus, in which 'his hereſy is confuted. He flouriſhed in the time of Alex-'ander, ſon of Mamæa, and Maximin, and Gordian who ſuc-'ceeded him.' Of theſe writings there is now nothing extant: they muſt have been very curious.

Euſebius [p] informs us, that after this another diſpute aroſe in Arabia; ſome there aſſerting, 'that the human ſoul died with 'the body, and turned to corruption, but at the time of the re-'ſurrection it ſhould be revived together with it.' For this reaſon a numerous ſynod was called, and Origen was deſired to be preſent; where he diſcourſed publicly upon this queſtion with ſuch ſtrength of reaſon, that they who had aſſerted the aforementioned doctrine were convinced, and altered their minds.

Euſebius adds [q], that at this time a new error aroſe, called the hereſy of the Helceſaites, which was ſoon extinct. He tranſcribes there a paſſage of Origen concerning them, which we have no reaſon to inſiſt upon at preſent.

When Origen was ſixty years of age, and not before, as Euſebius informs us, about the year 244, he permitted his diſcourſes which he made to the people to be taken down by ſhort-hand writers; having by long uſe and exerciſe gained a perfect habit of ſpeaking. Of theſe homilies there were [r] above a thou-

[illegible] [n] Beryllus, Arabiæ Boſtrenorum, cum aliquanto tempore [illegible] eccleſiam, ad extremum [illegible] hæreſim, quæ Chriſtum ante incarnationem [illegible] ab Origene correctus, [illegible] ſcripſit epiſtolas, quæ [illegible] Origenis ſtudiosi habent. Sed [illegible] ad eum lectio ſtat. Exstat dialogus Originis et Beryllii, in quo hæreſios confutatio, &c. De Vir. Ill. cap. 60.

[o] L. vi. c. 37.

[p] Cap. 33.

[q] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible

ſand, for he preached then almoſt every [s] day. And about this time, as Euſebius proceeds to obſerve, Origen wrote his eight books againſt Celſus, and five-and-twenty tomes upon St. Matthew, and expoſitions of the twelve prophets.

In the Decian perſecution, in 250, Origen [t] was a great ſufferer. He was impriſoned, and chained with an iron chain. He was put in the ſtocks, and for ſeveral days had his feet ſtretched to the diſtance of four holes; and ſuffered the threatenings of fire, and many other torments; the judge at the ſame time taking a great deal of care not to kill him outright. 'Of all theſe things,' as Euſebius ſays, 'Origen had written in his own epiſtles, full 'of piety, and thoughts proper to comfort the afflicted.' It is a great pity theſe epiſtles are all loſt. They would have been very edifying, as all may perceive from the ſhort paſſage already mentioned in Origen's letter to his father, and from ſome other things we ſhall take notice of by and by.

Euſebius has nothing more of Origen after this, except that [u] he ſays he died in the time of Gallus, in the 70th year of his age. And we know from Jerom and Photius that he died and was buried at Tyre, as was before mentioned.

Origen's works were extremely voluminous: but, though ſome catalogues of them were compoſed, none of them are remaining. Euſebius ſays he had inſerted [w] an exact catalogue of them in his life of Pamphilus; but that life is not come down to us. St. Jerom ſays, in his book of Illuſtrious Men, that he forbore to give there a [x] particular account of Origen's works, becauſe he had already done it in one of his letters to Paula; but of that letter we have only a ſmall fragment remaining.

It was long ago ſaid of Origen, that [y] he had written ſix thouſand volumes. Jerom [z] however is pleaſed to ſay, that, from the catalogue compoſed by Euſebius, it appears they did not amount to one third part of that number: but Euſebius's catalogue might not be complete; and, according to different ways of computing books or volumes, the number may be very dif-

[s] Præcipue vero per eos tractatus, quos pene quotidie in eccleſia habebat ex tempore; quos et deſcribentes notarii, ad monimentum poſteritatis tradidere. Apologia Pamph. pro Orig. col. 221. ap. Hieron. T. v. Benedict. [t] C. 39.

[u] L. vii. cap. 1. [w] L. vi. cap. 32.

[x] Et quia indicem operum ejus in voluminibus epiſtolarum, quas ad Paulam ſcripſimus, in quadam epiſtola contra Varronis opera, conferens poſui, nunc omitto. De V. I. cap. 54. [y] Ἐν τοῖς ἑξακισχιλίοις βιβλίοις, ἃ συνέγραψε. Epiph. Her. 64. § 63. p. 591. D.

[z] Numera indices librorum ejus, qui in tertio volumine Euſebii, in quo ipſius vitam Pamphili, continentur: et non duo ſex millia, ſed tertiam partem non reperies. Hieron. Apol. adv. Ruf. l. i. T. v. col. 419. Bened.

ferent.

ferent. Pliny [a] calls the ſeveral books of his Natural Hiſtory volumes. St. Jerom ſays, Origen [b] wrote three volumes upon the epiſtle to the Epheſians, and five volumes [aa] upon the epiſtle to the Galatians. According to that way of reckoning, what a vaſt number of volumes muſt Origen have written upon the ſcriptures! eſpecially if he wrote, as [bb] Epiphanius ſays, upon all the books of ſcripture: and, as [cc] Jerom informs us, three ſorts of works; Scholia, or brief notes; Tomes, or commentaries; and Tracts, or homilies to the people. Origen wrote, as Jerom ſays, thirty [dd] volumes upon only a part of Iſaiah; and upon [ee] St. Matthew's goſpel five-and-twenty volumes, beſide as many homilies, and notes or ſcholia. His epiſtles [ff] made ſeveral books or volumes. St. Jerom ſpeaks [gg] of the volumes of his own letters to Paula only, and [hh] calls the ſeveral books of Euſebius's life of Pamphilus ſo many volumes. Origen's homilies, all compoſed and publiſhed after he was ſixty years of age, amounted to above a thouſand. Accounting each one of theſe, and each book, or tome, or diviſion of his other works, for a volume, and there might be ſix thouſand volumes, ſome larger, ſome ſmaller; which perhaps was the method by which ſome computed. Montfaucon [d] thinks that Origen's Hexapla alone made at leaſt fifty volumes of a very large ſize. Jerom himſelf owns, in another place, that [e] Origen had written more than any other man could read: and in the fragment of the letter to Paula, where he gave a catalogue of Origen's works, he [f] ſets him

[a] Viginti millia rerum dignarum cura . . . reliquimus triginta ſex voluminibus. Plin. Præf.

[b] In epiſtolam Pauli . . . Origenes ſcripſit voluminibus. adv. Ruf. l. i. col. 373. in. Idem Prol. in Ep. ad Ephes.

. . . Origenis commentariorum ſeptem. Scripſit enim vir in epiſtolam Pauli ad Galatas quinque tomorum volumina. Prol. in Comm. in Ep. ad Galat.

[c] Vid. Epiph. Hær. 64. n. iii. p. 526. D. [illegible] p. 529. A.

[d] Illud breviter admonens, ut ſcias Origenem explanaſſe in omnes ſcripturam . . . ſpecies. Primum ejus opus excerpta, . . . Secundum ejus opus et præcipuum eius interpretatio . . . quod ipſe interpretatus eſt, . . . Tertium opus homiliæ, . . . Quartum opus ejus . . . Hieron. in Prolog. in Interpret. Ezech.

[dd] Scripſit enim in hunc prophetam, juxta editiones quatuor, ad viginti quatuor millium in deſerto Origenes triginta volumina, &c. Prol. in Iſ. T. iii.

[ee] Legiſſe me fateor ante annos plurimos in Matthæum Origenis viginti quinque volumina, et totidem ejus homilias, commaticamque interpretationis genus. Prol. in Matt. T. iv.

[ff] Ne quis vero cenſeat ſex illa librorum volumine, tot modo totidem ab Origene ſcripta fuiſſe, ingentia quædam volumina fuiſſe. . . Epiſtolæ ſingulæ, ſinguli tomi, ſingulæ homiliæ, tot quoque titulos et nomine in hanc centum venerat. Huet. Origenian. l. iii. c. iv. n. v. p. 235.

[gg] See before, note [x]. [hh] See before, note [z].

[d] Vid. Præliminaria in Hexapla Origenis, cap. xi. § 1.

[e] Quis noſtrum tam cupidus lectionis, qui tanta ille conſcripſit? Ep. 41. al. 65.

[f] Videtiſne et Græcos patres et Latinos unius laboris fuiſſe ſupputatos? Quis enim unquam tanta legere potuit, quanta ipſe conſcripſit? Ep. 29. col. 68. ed. Bened.

againſt

againſt Varro, and all the Greek and Latin authors that ever were, as having exceeded the moſt laborious of them all. And it is from his unwearied pains in reading and writing that ſome think [g] he had the name Adamantius; though others ſay it was given him [h] becauſe of the ſtrength of his reaſons, and the firm connection of his arguments. Euſebius, who [i] ſays this was a common name of Origen, aſſigns no reaſon for it.

But though thoſe two large and particular catalogues above mentioned are not now extant, there are accounts to be found of a good number of Origen's works in ancient writers, particularly in Euſebius's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, who has [k] ſeveral chapters concerning them; and obſerves of divers of them, that they were written before Origen left Alexandria.

I have no occaſion to give here a diſtinct account of Origen's works now extant: this has been already done ſo fully [l] by divers learned men, that it is altogether ſuperfluous in this place. It will be ſufficient for the readers of this work, after the general hiſtory juſt given of this great man, to obſerve, that a large part of his works are entirely loſt; and that of thoſe which remain the greateſt part conſiſt only of Latin tranſlations, made by Jerom or Rufinus, chiefly by the latter: but that nevertheleſs we ſtill have, in the original Greek, Origen's Treatiſe of Prayer; his Exhortation to Martyrdom, addreſſed to Ambroſe and Protoctetus, written in the perſecution under Maximin, in the year 235 or 236; his Apology for the Chriſtian Religion, in eight books againſt Celſus the Epicurean, compoſed, as ſome think, in the year 246, or, as others, not before 249; an excellent performance, greatly eſteemed and celebrated not only by [m] Euſebius and [n] Jerom, but likewiſe by many judicious men of late times, particularly by Du Pin; who ſays [o] 'that it is polite, juſt, and methodical; not 'only the beſt work of Origen, but the completeſt and beſt 'written apology for the Chriſtian Religion which the ancients 'have left us.' Beſide this, we ſtill have in Greek an Epiſtle of Origen to Africanus, by ſome ſuppoſed to have been written in

[g] Quorſum Varronis et Chalcenterii mentio facta ſit quæratis? Videbeet, ut ad Adamantium noſtrumque Chalcenterum veniamus; qui tanto ſtudio in tam ſera rum ſcripturarum labore ſudavit, ut juſte Adamantii nomen acceperit, &c. Id. ibid.

[h] Ἀπὸ τῶν πόνων τῶν περὶ τὰς γραφὰς, καὶ τῆς ἀδαμαντίνης περὶ τὰ ἀναγνώσματα ἐπιστήμης ἐπωνομάσθη. Phot. Cod. 118. c. 297. M. Ὁ τῆς ἀδαμαντίνης, καὶ τὰ πάντα κρατοῦντος ἐν τοῖς λόγοις. Eus. l. vi. c. 14. p. 216. D.

[i] Vid. l. vi. cap. 16. 24, 25. 31, 32. 33. 36.

[k] Vid. Huet. Origeniana, l. ii. cap. 3. 2. Cav. Hiſt. Lit. I. A. Fabric. Bibl. Gr. l. v. cap. i. § 26. Buſinog. Ann. 203. n. xxii. xviii. Du Pin, Bibl. Tillem. Mem. Pr. Origene, art. 27. et ſeqq. et notes 29—41.

[l] Euſ. contr. Hierocl. p. 511.

[m] Scripſerunt contra nos Celſum ante Porphyrius prior Origenes, altera Methodius, Euſebius, et Apollinaris tertiam reſponderunt. Hieron. ep. 83. al. 84.

[n] Du Pin, Bibl. Origenes, p. 142. Amſt.

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228, by others in 240; another to Gregory Thaumaturgus; and fragments of a few other epistles; a part of his Commentaries upon divers books of the Old and New Testament, published by Huet: and we have reason to hope that the Benedictine editors of Origen's works will make some new additions from manuscripts of commentaries which have not yet seen the light, especially upon the New Testament: Philocalia, containing extracts out of Origen's works, made by Gregory Nazianzen and Basil the Great. These extracts are taken out of Origen's tomes and homilies upon divers books of the Old and New Testament, and out of his books of Principles, and those against Celsus: and here is entire the Epistle to Gregory Thaumaturgus before mentioned. There are likewise in the collections out of the Fathers upon books of scripture, called Chains, many notes or scholia, supposed to be Origen's; some of which are undoubtedly his, others [o] are admitted by learned men not without hesitation.

The Latin translations of Origen's works, especially those made by Rufinus, have been often complained of as not faithful: and some learned [p] men suspect that the pieces still extant in Greek have been interpolated, or otherwise altered, to make this great man speak more agreeably to the modern orthodoxy upon original sin, and some other controverted points, than he really thought or wrote.

There are some writings which have been ascribed to Origen without ground; as, two different works upon the book of Job, a Dialogue against the Marcionites, Philosophumena, and some other pieces, which I shall not cite as Origen's; but, if I make use of them at all, I shall speak of them distinctly about the time when they are supposed by the best critics to have been written.

It would be too tedious for me to enter into the particular consideration of Origen's sentiments, about which the world sometimes has been divided: and this argument has been treated at large by Huet and others, to whom the curious may have recourse when they think fit.

On account of the different opinions of men concerning him, it has been often said, that he is a remarkable example of one

[o] Vid. Monitum in Psalmos, ed. Bene-[illegible] T. ii. p. 512. [p] Verum in [illegible] Origenis scriptis nihil non sanum [illegible] de Peccato Originali tradi-[illegible] forte dicatur quae in hodiernis [illegible] pro Peccato Originali com-[illegible] invecta fuisse. Nam [illegible] Origenis in scripturam variis in locis interpolata, aut vitiata, vel truncata fuere: neque in promptu est dicere, quaenam in scriptis ejus corrupta, quaenam [illegible], et Graeculorum ausibus intacta sunt. Rufini quoque versio vulgo [illegible]. [illegible] Montfaucon, Praelim. in Euseb. Comm. in Psalmos, cap. vii. § 2. Vid. et Huet. Origen. l. ii. cap. 1. § 3.

who

who has passed through good and through ill report. It is probable that some of his sentiments were disliked by some in his life time; since Eusebius, speaking of his letters written to Fabian and other bishops, says, that therein [q] he wrote of his own orthodoxy. The Apology written for him jointly by Pamphilus and Eusebius, at the beginning of the fourth century, is a proof of the charges brought against him and his writings before that time; and indeed it must be owned that Origen, in his books of Principles, and some other works, gives a vast scope to his fancy. It is however observable, that the treatise of the Resurrection, the books of Principles, and the Stromata, the works which afterwards gave the most offence, were written before Origen left Alexandria, as Eusebius [r] particularly observes; which seems to shew that there was nothing in them that was reputed heretical at that time. They gave no offence till afterwards; for Origen was not expelled Alexandria for heresy, but for envy. It is probable, therefore, that he began to be censured as heterodox soon after his removal from Alexandria; for he mentions this in his [s] letter to his friends in that city: but he treats it as a malicious calumny.

But though I forbear enlarging upon that matter, it is fit I should take notice of some of the testimonies of the ancient writers to his great merit and uncommon fame. Eusebius [t] assures us, that there was honourable mention made of Origen in the works of divers Gentile philosophers of that time, some of which dedicated books to him; others sent their books to be revised and examined by him. Eusebius also transcribes a [u] passage of Porphyry, in his books against the Christian religion, where he certainly bears witness to his learning, how much soever he may affect to depreciate his judgment; for he says that Origen not only read Plato, but likewise divers Stoic and Pythagorean philosophers, whom he mentions by name.

St. Jerom's characters of Origen deserve some especial notice. 'In [w] his book of Illustrious Men he calls him a man of im-

[q] Γραφει δε και ευλογως τοις παρ' ημιν επισκοποις, ειτε τις πλειους αρχουσι εκκλησιας, ειτε τον καθ' αυτον ορθοδοξιας. Euf. l. vi. cap. 36. p. 233. B.

[r] Ib. cap. 24.

[s] Quidam eorum qui libenter contentiones reperiunt, adscribunt nobis et rudiore doctrinæ blasphemiam, super qua ipsi viderint quomodo illud audiant: 'Neque ebrioſi neque maledici regnum Dei possidebunt.' Orig. T. 1. p. 5. B. ed. Bened.

[t] Euseb. l. vi. cap. 19. in.

[u] Euseb. ib. p. 220. [w] Illud de immortali ejus ingenio non tacens, quod dialecticum quoque et geometriam, authenticam, musicam, grammaticam, et rhetoricam, omniumque philosophorum sectas, ita didicit, ut studiosos quoque sectarum literarum sectatores haberet, et interpretetur quotidie; concurrusque ad eum multi fierent, quos ille propterea recipiebat, ut sub occasione secularis literaturæ in fide Christi eos instrueret. De V. I. cap. 54. Vid. et Euseb. H. E. l. vi. cap. 18.

'mortal

'mortal wit, and aſcribes to him the knowledge of logic, geo-'metry, arithmetic, muſic, grammar, and rhetoric, and of the 'opinions of all ſects of philoſophers: ſo that there was a great 'reſort of perſons to him for the ſake of inſtruction in theſe parts 'of polite literature; whom likewiſe Origen received chiefly 'with this view, that he might thereby the better lead them to 'the Chriſtian faith.' The account which Jerom [x] gives of the Stromata, is another proof of Origen's acquaintance with the Greek philoſophers and their writings, and confirms what Porphyry ſays of the ſame matter.

St. Jerom ſometimes [y] ſtyles Origen the greateſt doctor of the churches ſince the apoſtles: the ſame thing had been ſaid before by [z] Didymus, Jerom's maſter, who was a favourer of our Origen. In another place Jerom [a] ſays he would willingly undergo all the hatred Origen had met with, if he had but alſo his knowledge of the ſcriptures. In a letter written when he was not in the humour to beſtow exceſſive commendations upon Origen, he ſays: 'That [b] he was a great man from his childhood, and 'the true ſon of a martyr; that he trampled the world under 'foot, vanquiſhing both the love of pleaſure and of riches; and 'that he had the ſcriptures by heart, and laboured day and night 'in ſtudying and explaining them.' To conclude, in another place he ſays, 'He thinks [c] Origen ought to be read ſometimes, 'becauſe of his learning; juſt as we read Tertullian, Novatus, 'Arnobius, Apollinarius, and ſome other eccleſiaſtical writers 'both Greek and Latin, taking what is good in them, and leaving 'what is otherwiſe; according to the rule of the apoſtle, who

[x] Hunc [Clement. Alex.] imitatus Origenes, decem ſcripſit ſtromateis, Chriſtianorum et philoſophorum inter ſe ſententias comparans; et omnia noſtræ religionis dogmata de Platone et Ariſtotele, Numenio, Cornutoque confirmans. Hier. ep. 83. al. 84.

[y] Imitandi veteres Origenem, qui poſt apoſtolos eccleſiarum princeps fuit, et in ſcripturis omnibus, quod poſt illos multi ſenſerunt, primus dicere non timuit. Hieron. Præf. in lib. Nav. Hebr. Nemo hunc nocebit, niſi ignorabit; Origenes, quam in cæteris libris, ſic maxime in Cantico Canticorum ſuæ mentis ſecretum Novi Teſtamenti fidibus intonabit, quæ ſit ecclieſiarum quemadmodum ad-[illegible]. Hier. in ep. ad Pammach. [illegible] tum et quidem nunc, ut Origenem facit in Latinum, ſatis Didymi veteris [illegible] poſt apoſtolum eccleſiaſticos, [illegible] in Romanos and Bar[illegible] Paſtorem Pamphilum in Hoſ[illegible] Lucæ.

[z] [illegible] dice, quod velim cum invidos nominibus ejus habere etiam ſcientiam ſcripturarum, discat pendere minime utilia, neque luxuriosa, &c. Præf. in hor. Heb. Quæſt. in Geneſin.

[a] Vult Hieronymus laudare Origenem et [illegible] ut laudo. Ego [illegible] ſi [illegible] ſcripturarum [illegible] Nonne [illegible] ſcripſit, et [illegible] Dei, ſi [illegible] ſecundum [illegible] ſecundum [illegible] ſcripturarum [illegible] ſcripturas [illegible] ſcripturarum [illegible] ſcripturas [illegible] ſcripturarum [illegible] ſcripturas

'says, "Prove all things, hold fast that which is good." This may be reckoned a good rule to be observed, not only in reading these writers here mentioned, but all the rest of the Fathers; and all books in general, except the holy scriptures.

Sulpicius Severus, beside other things concerning Origen, says, 'He [d] wonders how one and the same man could be so different from himself: that where he is in the right, he had not 'an equal since the apostles; and where he is in the wrong, no 'man ever erred more shamefully.' Vincentius Lirinensis, who was far from being favourable to Origen's sentiments, celebrates his virtue, fine [e] genius, vast learning, eloquence, fame, and many other advantages, in a character so long, that I can only refer to it.

To sum up Origen's character:—He had a capacious mind, and a large compass of knowledge; and throughout his whole life was a man of unwearied application in studying and composing works of various sorts, some of them extremely tedious and laborious; and in teaching by word of mouth, in the way of catechetical instruction, public discourse to the people, and conference. He had the happiness of uniting different accomplishments, being at once the greatest preacher, and the most learned and voluminous writer of the age: nor is it easy to say which is most admirable, his learning or his virtue. In a word, it must be owned that Origen, though not perfect nor infallible, was a bright light in the church of Christ, and one of those rare personages that have done honour to the human nature.

II. As Origen's virtue is one of those things by which he is most distinguished; and one design of this work is, to promote true piety by giving my readers some idea of the spirit of the Christians of the first ages; I hope it will be allowed me to transcribe some passages conducive to that end from a writer whose works were so numerous, before I proceed to his testimony to the scriptures.

1. There are in Origen many marks of unaffected modesty and true humility. In a homily, which we now have only in Latin, he has a thought, that angels may offer first-fruits to God, which they collect out of the fields of this world: 'The [f] fields 'of the angels,' says he, 'are our hearts; each one of them,

[d] Ego miror unum eundemque hominem tam diversum a se esse potuisse, ut in ea parte, qua probatur, neminem post apostolos habeat aequalem; in ea vero, quae jure reprehenditur, nemo deformius doceatur errasse. Sulp. Sev. Dial. i. cap. 6. [e] [illegible] etiam vis ingenii, tam profundi, tam acris, tam elegantis, ut omnes pene multum longe superaret. Vincent. Lir. Commonit. [f] In Num. Hom. xi. T. ii. p. [illegible] B. C. Benedict.

'therefore,

'therefore, out of the field which he cultivates, offers firſt-fruits 'to God. If I ſhould be able to produce to-day ſome choice 'interpretation, worthy to be preſented to the ſupreme High 'Prieſt; ſo that out of all thoſe things which we ſpeak and 'teach, there ſhould be ſomewhat conſiderable, which may 'pleaſe the great High Prieſt; it might poſſibly happen that 'the angel who preſides over the church, out of all our words, 'might chuſe ſomething, and offer it as a kind of firſt-fruits to 'the Lord, out of the ſmall field of my heart. But I know I do 'not deſerve it; nor am I conſcious to myſelf that any interpre-'tation is diſcovered by me, which the angel who cultivates us 'ſhould judge worthy to offer to the Lord, as firſt-fruits, or firſt-'born. And I [g] wiſh that what we ſpeak and teach may be 'ſuch, that we may not deſerve to be condemned for our words: 'that will be favour enough for us.'

2. In a Homily upon Ezekiel he ſays, 'The [h] devil has many 'ſnares. He often lays ſnares for me, who preach in the church, 'that he may ſhake the whole church by my converſation. And 'therefore they who are in public ſtations are attacked by the 'enemy, that by the fall of one man, which cannot be hid, all 'may be offended, and the faith be obſtructed by the wick-'ed life of a few clergymen.' How modeſt, ſays a commenta-tor upon this place, is Origen! of whom nevertheleſs Euſebius [i] ſays, that he was ſuch in his converſation as he was in his doctrine; and that he did not ſo much recommend the faith by his preaching, as by his life.

3. In another [k] Homily, recommending the hearing of the word of God with an honeſt heart and good diſpoſition of the mind, and cenſuring ſome faults of hearers, which he fears are in ſome of the catechumens, and perhaps alſo in ſome that have re-ceived baptiſm, he ſays, 'For all are not Iſrael, who are of Iſrael.' Rom. ix. 6. 'Nor [l] are all who have been baptized with water, 'baptized alſo with the Holy Spirit; as, on the contrary, not all 'who are catechumens are ſtrangers, or deſtitute of the Holy 'Spirit. For I find in the divine ſcriptures ſome catechumens

[g] Atque utinam tale ſit quod loquimur ut dignum ſermonis, ut non pro verbis noſtris con-demnationem mereamur: ſufficeret nobis hæc gratia. Ibid. [h] Mihi ipſi, qui in ecclesia prædico, laqueos ſæpe tendit, ut totam ecclesiam ex mea converſatione com-moveat. Et ideo plus hi, qui ſunt in medio, timentur ab inimico, ut per ruinam unius omnium, quæ celari non poteſt, om-nium ſcandalum fiat, et impediatur fides in-firmam converſationem clericorum. In Ezech. Hom. vii. T. ii. p. 642. Baſil. 1571. [i] Οἷος μὲν ἐν τῷ βίῳ, τοιόσδε φανεὶς τὸν τρόπον· οἷος δὲ καὶ τὸν τρόπον, τοιόσδε καὶ τὸν λόγον ἐπιδεικνύμενος. Διὸ δὴ μᾶλλον, οὐ τῷ κηρύγματι μόνον δοκιμάζεσθαι, φησὶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ βίῳ. Euſ. l. vi. cap. 3. p. 205. A.

[k] In Num. Hom. iii. T. ii. p. 280. A. B. C. Bened.

[l] Neque omnes qui loti ſunt aqua, continuo etiam Sancto Spiritu loti ſunt. Ib. A.

'accounted worthy of the Holy Spirit, and others after baptiſm 'unworthy of the gifts of the Spirit. Cornelius was a catechu-'men, and before he came to the water deſerved to receive the 'Holy Spirit. Simon had been baptized, but becauſe he aſked 'hypocritically, he was refuſed the gift of the Holy Spirit. And 'I would not that you ſhould doubt that there are now ſome 'Corneliuſes among the catechumens, to whom it may be ſaid, "Thy alms and thy prayers are come up to heaven." Acts, x. '4. And again, among the people of the faithful, there are ſome 'Simons, to whom it may be ſaid, "O full of all ſubtilty, thou "child of the devil, thou enemy of all righteouſneſs." Acts, xiii. '10. Theſe things I ſpeak by way of reproof of myſelf, and 'not of the hearers only; for I alſo am one of them that hear 'the word of God.'

4. Origen, in his books of Principles, where he gives himſelf a liberty to diſcourſe of abſtruſe and difficult points, and advances propoſitions juſtly diſputable, often uſes expreſſions [m] of caution and diffidence. And in his Homilies likewiſe to the people it is very common with him to deſire his hearers [n] to judge and examine what he ſays, whether it be juſt or not, and not to take things upon truſt. This is polite, as well as modeſt.

5. He tells Ambroſe [o] in one of his prefaces, that to write commentaries upon the ſcriptures, and publiſh them to the world, was a thing above his ſtrength; but out of his goodneſs he was pleaſed to think him fit for ſuch a work. Since he had been one great means of his writing ſo much, he tells him that he muſt bear witneſs to God for him, when he ſhall be called to account for his life and writings, with what purpoſe and diſpoſition of mind he had acted. And earneſtly entreats him to pray to God for him, that he may ſeek the truth in a right manner, and may be able to diſcover it.

6. Pamphilus, in his apology for Origen, mentioning ſeveral of his virtues, ſays, that his [oo] humility was the moſt amiable of them all. Indeed I do not remember to have obſerved one

[m] Quæ quidem a nobis etiam cum magno metu et cautela dicuntur, diſcutientibus magis et pertractantibus quam pro certo ac definito ſtatuentibus . . . . Nunc autem diſputandi ſpecie magis quam definiendi, prout poſſumus, exercemur. De Princip. l. i. c. 6. T. i. p. 69. B. C. Bened.

[n] Et vos facite quod ſcriptum eſt, ut uno dicente omnes examinent [1 Cor. xiv. 29.]. Me ergo dicente quod ſentio, vos diſcernite et examinate, ſi quid rectum eſt, aut minus rectum. In libr. Jeſu, Hom. xxi. T. ii. p. 448. ed. Benedict.

[o] Ταῦτα δὲ . . . . . [illegible] . . . . . ἀξίωμα . . . . . ζήλου. x. λ. Orig. in Pſ. i. T. ii. p. 5[illegible] C. D. E.

[oo] . . . non humilitatis, quæ ſupra cæteras omnes virtutes ejus maximam gratiam continet. Pamph. pro Or. Apol. p. 757. Baſil.

proud

proud or conceited thought or expreſſion in all his writings. It ſhould be owned, however, that after his removal from Alexandria, he wrote a letter to his friends in that city, in which he complains of injuſtice done him on ſeveral accounts. But as we have not that letter in Greek, nor entire in Latin, it is not very eaſy to form a judgment upon it: and even here he leaves his enemies to the mercy of God, and [p] profeſſes his obligation rather to pity than hate them; and to pray for them, rather than wiſh them ill. Moreover, in his Commentaries upon St. John's goſpel, [q] he ſpeaks of the Alexandrian ſtorm, and compares his eſcape to God's deliverance of the children of Iſrael out of Egypt. But I do not know that theſe things caſt any reflection upon Origen's good temper, which is conſpicuous in ſo many places. There is a remarkable paſſage taken notice [r] of by Tillemont, where Origen ſpeaks of the exceſſes and dangers of love, as well as hatred; which may ſerve to ſhew, that he knew how to defend himſelf without pride or paſſion. Origen ſpeaks of the different ſentiments which men form of others, as [s] a common caſe, relating to thoſe who have any eminent ſtation in the church: but it is likely there is a particular reference to his own caſe; though out of his prevailing modeſty he brings in others to ſhare with him, and ſpeaks in the plural number. 'Some there are,' ſays he, 'who love us more than we deſerve, and ſpeak more advan-'tageouſly of us and our performances than we approve of. On 'the other hand, ſome defame our diſcourſes, by accuſing us of 'ſentiments we never held. Neither the one nor the other of 'theſe keep to the rule of juſtice; but they both deviate from the 'truth, one through hatred, the other through exceſſive love.' I ſuppoſe Tillemont's remark upon this paſſage will be allowed to be well founded, that theſe complaints are made with as much humility as juſtice.

7. In the next place I would take a few paſſages out of Origen's Exhortation to Martyrdom. Having quoted Matth. xix. 27, 28, 29, he ſays to Ambroſe, 'For [t] the ſake of theſe ſay-

[p] Quorum magis miſereri quam eos odiſſe debemus: et orare pro illis, quam eis maledicere. Ep. ad Amicos Alex. T. i. p. 5. A. Bened. [q] Τοιαυτα παθη τον Αιγυπτιακον ... Comm. in Joh. Tom. T. ii. p. 94. A. B. C.

[r] Tillemont, Mem. Ec. T. iii. P. iii. p. 76. Origene, art. 37.

[s] Quod quidem in eccleſia patimur: plerique enim, dum plus diligunt quam mereri hos ſentiant et loquuntur, ſermones nostros doctrinamque laudantes, quæ confitentibus non recipit. Alii vero tanquam noſtros calumniantes, et ſentire nos criminantur, quæ ne aquum quidem ſenſiſſe nos novimus. Sed neque hi qui plus diligunt, neque illi qui oderunt, veritatis regulam tenent; et alii per dilectionem, alii per odium mentiuntur. Unde oportet charitati finem imponere, &c. In Locum Hom. xxv. p. 256. Bafil. [t] Τουτων δε ενεκα των μελλοντων, ειδομεν αι τοσαυται χαρισματων ... και τινων τοιων ειδεσι, γραφουσι μαρτυρες ... Μωσης φησιν, ... Exh. ad Mart. § 14. T. i. p. 283. D. Bened.

'ings I could wish to be as rich as you, or richer, and then to 'be a martyr for Christ; that I may receive "manifold," or, as 'in Mark, x. 30, *an hundred fold.*' Afterwards, having quoted Luke, xiv. 26—'But [u] do you so hate your life, as that by hat-'ing it you may keep it "to life eternal;" being persuaded that 'it is a good and profitable hatred which Jesus teaches. John, 'xii. 25. And as life must be hated, that it may be kept to 'eternal life; so do you, who have them, hate also wife and 'children, and brethren and sisters, that you may be profitable 'to those you hate... And [w] as it was said to those who were of 'the seed of Abraham, John, viii. 37. 39. "I know that ye are "Abraham's seed;" again, "If ye were Abraham's children, "ye would do his works;" so it will be said to your children, 'I know that ye are the children of Ambrose; and, if ye were 'the seed of Ambrose, ye would do his works. And perhaps 'they will do so, you helping them more after your departure 'than if you had continued with them.'

8. Still, in the same work: 'Christ [x] has laid down his life for 'us. Let us therefore also lay down our life, I will not say for 'him, but for ourselves, and for those who may be edified by our 'martyrdom.' Once more: 'And [y] perhaps, as we are redeemed 'by the blood of Christ, Jesus having received a name above 'every name; so some will be redeemed by the blood of mar-'tyrs.'

9. It is glorious to write in this manner to a beloved and excellent friend, upon whom too a man has his chief dependence, as Origen had upon Ambrose. This is true friendship; this is to esteem heaven above the world, and to prefer religion to our own private interest. Such exhortations as these may be reckoned next to suffering for Christ ourselves; some of the best proofs of our integrity, and of our true love both of Christ and our friends.

10. The conclusion of that work is admirable. Says Origen, 'These † things I have written unto you according to my abili-'ty, praying likewise that they may be of some use to you in the 'present combat. But if the abundant knowledge of the mys-'teries of religion, with which you are favoured, especially in 'your present honourable condition, affords you better counsel, 'and more effectual to the purpose, insomuch that you cannot

[u] Ibid. § 37. p. 299. C. [w] Ibid. § 38. p. 299. E. [x] Υπερ ημων εθηκεν Ιησους την ψυχην· και ημεις ουν θωμεν αυτην, ουκ ερω υπερ αυτου, αλλ' υπερ εαυτων· οιμαι δ' ὅτι και υπερ των εν τω μαρτυριω ημων οικοδομηθησομενων. § 41. p. 301. D. [y] Ταχα δε και ωσπερ τιμιω αιματι τα Ιησου ηγορασχημεν, Ιησου λαβοντος το ονομα το υπερ παν ονομα· ουτως τω τιμιω αιματι των μαρτυρων αγορασθησονται τινες. § 50. p. 309. C. † Exh. ad Martyr. p. 310.

'but

'but look upon what I have offered as childiſh and contempti-
'ble, it is no more than I could wiſh. My aim is not that you
'ſhould obtain the crown by my aſſiſtance, but by any means
'whatever. And may it be obtained by what is moſt divine
'and excellent, and ſurpaſſing all human capacity, the words
'and wiſdom of God.'

11. Origen impartially teaches the duties of the paſtors, as well as of the people, of Chriſt's church. He [a] mightily recommends humility and condeſcenſion to biſhops and preſbyters. He complains [a] of the pride and haughtineſs of ſome biſhops in his time, eſpecially in great cities. He ſays it is not to be thought that [b] the clergy will be univerſally ſaved; for many preſbyters will periſh, and many of the laity will be found among the bleſſed. He [c] earneſtly diſſuades from committing the care of churches to covetous, tyrannical, ignorant, and irreligious biſhops, or preſbyters, or deacons, which he compares to ſelling doves in the temple: and elſewhere [d] declares, that for the moſt part the government of the churches was beſtowed upon men qualified to teach, and of a good life; not upon ſuch as were ambitious of authority, but upon thoſe who out of modeſty were unwilling to accept ſo great a charge. And he ſays, more [e] will be expected of him, as a preſbyter, than of a deacon; more of a deacon than of a layman; but from a biſhop moſt of all. Whence it appears that Origen preached to himſelf, as well as to others.

III. To theſe paſſages, ſhewing the pious diſpoſition of Origen's mind, and, as I apprehend, ſtrongly recommending the

[a] Qui vocatur ergo ad epiſcopatum, non ad principatum vocatur, ſed ad ſervitutem totius eccleſiæ. In Eſaiam, Hom. vi. p. 593. init. Tom. i. Baſil. Quanti preſbyteri conſtituti obliti ſunt humilitatis! quaſi ideo fuerint ordinati, ut humiles eſſe deſinerent. Quin potius humilitatem ſequi debuerant, quia dignitatem fuerant conſecuti. In Ezech. Hom. ix. p. 647. ii. Hæc autem diximus, volentes oſtendere, quod eccleſiarum principes principum mundialium imitatores eſſe non debent, ſed imituri debent Chriſtum, accelſibilem, et mulieribus loquentem, & pueris manus imponentem, &c. In Matth. Tr. xi. p. 87. Tom. iv. Baſil.

[b] Nos autem tales ſumus, ut etiam malorum principum mundi excedere ſuperbiam videamur: et non ſolum quærimus ſcatentes acies præcedentes, et terribiles et accelſu difficiles maxime pauperitas exhibemus. . . . Et eſt videre in quibuſdam eccleſiis, præcipue civitatum maximarum, principes populi Chriſtiani nullam affabilitatem habentes, vel habere ad ſe permittentes. In Matth. Tr. xi. p. 86. fin. [b] ιστε δε οτι η σωζομενων ολοτης σχεσει σολλους γαρ και σρεσβυτερους απωλειας σολλους και λαικους μακαριων απολαυχθησεσθαι. In Jerem. Hom. xi. p. 113. B. Tom. i. Huet.

[c] Και νομιζω αρκειν επι των σεσι των σαιδιων τας σεριστερας λεγω τους σαιδευοντας της ενλογιστιας αισχροκερδειαν, και τυραννικους, και αιτιατους, και ασελγειαν ασκουντας, η σορνοβοσκους, η διδασκαλους. Com. in Matth. p. 442. B. Huet. [d] Τας διαταξεις λεγω και βιον νομιμως χρωμενους επι το αρχειν εκκλησιων σαραγενεσθαι. κ. λ. Contr. Celſ. l. viii. p. 798. C. Tom. i. Bened. [e] σλειονα γαρ αιτειται σαρα του διακονου, σλειον ο διακονος σαρα του λαικου· ο δε τον σαιδα τιμιον εχειν σροκοσμησας αρχην αυτον των εκκλησιων επι σ. ε. ι σταθειται. In Jerem. et Hom. xi. p. 114. A. Huet.

like to others, I would add a few miscellaneous observations worthy of our notice.

1. Origen was of opinion that the light of nature, duly cultivated, is of use to bring men to embrace the Christian religion. For having quoted Rom. ii. 15, he [f] says, 'That God 'gave the law of nature to mankind, and wrote it in the minds 'of all. This affords seeds and principles of truth: and if 'we rightly cultivate those seeds, they will bring forth the fruit 'of life, through Jesus Christ our Lord.'

2. Origen affirms, 'That "they are the wisest Christians, 'who have most carefully examined the several sects of Judaism 'and Christianity.'

3. Origen was a man of generous sentiments, and he represents the moderation of Christians toward men of different opinions as very remarkable. Celsus had said that the several sects of Christians were very rigid, and full of enmity toward each other. Origen answers: 'Such [b] of us as follow the doc-'trine of Jesus, and endeavour to be conformed to his precepts, 'in our thoughts, words, and actions, "being reviled, we bless; "being persecuted, we suffer it; being defamed, we entreat." 'Nor do [c] we say injurious things of those who think differently 'from us. We labour indeed all that is in our power to con-'vert men to the service of the only true God, the creator of the 'world, and to engage them to act in all respects as they that shall 'be judged. . . . But they who consider the words of our Lord, "Blessed are the peaceable," and "blessed are the meek," will 'not hate those [d] who corrupt the Christian religion, nor give 'opprobrious names to those who are in error.'

4. Origen believes there will be different degrees of glory and happiness in the future state, according to men's works in the present world. Having quoted 1 Thess. iv. 15, 16, 17, he says, 'A [bb] diversity of translation, and a different glory, 'undoubtedly will be given to every one, according to the me-

[f] Quis autem scripsit in cordibus eorum, nisi Deus digito suo? Legem utique naturalem, quam dedit Deus humano generi, et in cunctorum mentibus scripsit: unde et initia sumimus, ac semina quædam ad perscrutandam capimus veritatem: quæ semina, si bene excolamus, fructum vitæ afferent in nobis in Christo Jesu Domino nostro. In Numeros Hom. x. T. ii. p. 303. C. Bened. [a] Οὐκ ἀπορεῖ ἂν καὶ τῶν ἐπιεικεστάτους εἶναι τοὺς ἰουδαϊσμοῦ καὶ Χριστιανισμοῦ αἱρέσεις, σοφοὺς Χριστιανοὺς γενέσθαι. Contr. Cels. l. iii. p. 119. Cant. p. 455, C. Bened.

[b] Contr. Cels. l. v. p. 273. Cant. p. 627. B. C. D. Bened.

[c] Καὶ ἐκ τοῦ φίλα καὶ ἀρρήτα λέγειν τοὺς ἐν διαφωνίαις. Ibid. [d] Οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ γνῶναι τὴν παραχαραττόντων τὰ Χριστιανῶν εἰς κακίαν καὶ κακηγορίαν τοὺς πεπλανημένους. Ibid. [bb] Diversitas autem translationis et gloriæ ex meritis sine dubio et actibus uniuscujusque præsidetur, et erit unusquisque in eo ordine quem sibi gestorum merita contulerint. In Num. Hom. i. T. ii. p. 277. Bened.

'rits of his actions; and every one will be in that order which 'the merits of his works have procured for him.'

5. He has a fine obſervation in his books againſt Celſus: 'That when God deſigned true religion ſhould obtain among 'the Gentiles, he had ſo ordered things by his providence, that 'they ſhould be under the one empire of the Romans; leſt, if 'there had been many kingdoms and nations, the apoſtles of 'Jeſus ſhould have been obſtructed in fulfilling the command 'he gave them, ſaying, *Go and teach all nations*. . . . . It 'would,' ſays [c] he, 'have been a great impediment to the ſpread-'ing of the doctrine of Chriſt all over the world, if there had 'been many kingdoms. For, not to mention other things, 'theſe might have been at war with each other; and then men 'would have been obliged to be every where in arms, and fight 'for the defence of their country.'

6. I ſhall add here but one paſſage more, concerning the ſucceſs of the Chriſtian doctrine; which, conſidering the age of our author, is very valuable. When Origen wrote his books againſt Celſus, the church had peace. 'By the good provi-'dence of God,' ſays he, 'the Chriſtian religion has ſo flou-'riſhed, and continually increaſed, that it is now preached freely 'without moleſtation, although there were a thouſand obſtacles 'to the ſpreading the doctrine of Jeſus in the world. But as 'it was the will of God that the Gentiles ſhould have the be-'nefit of it, all the counſels of men againſt the Chriſtians were 'defeated. And by [d] how much the more emperors, and go-'vernors of provinces, and the people, every where ſtrove to 'depreſs them; ſo much the more have they increaſed, and 'prevailed exceedingly.'

IV. I now proceed to Origen's teſtimony to the books of the New Teſtament.

In Euſebius's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory is a chapter with this title: 'How [e] Origen mentions the ſcriptures of both Teſ-'taments.' The former part of that chapter contains a catalogue of the books of the Old Teſtament, in a paſſage of Origen taken from his expoſition of the firſt Pfalm; the latter part of the chapter concerns the books of the New Teſtament. I ſhall tranſcribe this part now at length, though it relates to ſe-

[c] . . . . Contr. Cels. l. ii. p. 81. D. E. Bened. [d] . . . . Cont. Cels. l. vii. p. 349. Cant. p. 713. A. Bened. [e] . . . . H. E. l. vi. cap. 25.

veral parts of the New Testament, and is taken from several pieces of Origen; that so we may have the benefit of Eusebius's connection, if indeed there is any benefit in it.

Having then recited Origen's catalogue of the scriptures of the Old Testament, Eusebius proceeds: 'But in the [f] first book 'of his Commentaries upon the gospel of Matthew, [Origen] 'observing the ecclesiastical canon, declares that he knew only 'four gospels, expressing himself thus: "As I have learned by "tradition concerning the four gospels, which alone are re-"ceived without dispute by the whole church of God under "heaven. The first was written by Matthew, once a publican, "afterwards an apostle of Jesus Christ; who delivered it to the "Jewish believers, composed in the Hebrew language. The "second is that according to Mark, who wrote it as Peter dic-"tated it to him; who therefore also calls him his son in his "catholic epistle, 1 Pet. v. 13, saying, *The church which is* "*at Babylon, elected together with you, saluteth you, and so* "*doth Mark my son.* The third is that according to Luke, "the gospel commended by Paul, published for the sake of the "Gentile converts. Rom. xvi. 25; 2 Tim. ii. 8. Lastly, that "according to John." And in the first book of his expositions 'upon the gospel according to John, the same author speaks 'thus of the epistles of the apostles: "Paul [g], who was made" 'an able minister of the New Testament, not of the letter, but 'of the spirit; who fully preached the gospel from Jerusalem 'round about unto Illyricum, "did not write to all the "churches he had taught; and to those, to which he did write, "he sent only a few lines. 2 Cor. iii. 6; Rom. xv. 19. Peter, "on whom the church of Christ is built," against which the 'gates of hell shall not prevail, "has left one epistle [univer-"sally] acknowledged. Matth. xvi. 18. But let it be granted "likewise that he wrote a second; for it is doubted of. But "what need I speak of John, who leaned upon the breast of "Jesus, who has left us one gospel; professing, at the same time, "that he was able to write more than even the world itself could "contain? John, xxi. 20. 5. He wrote also the Revelation, "in which he is commanded to be silent, and not to write the

[f] Εν δε τῳ πρωτῳ των εις το κατα Ματθαιον ευαγγελιον, τον εκκλησιαστικον φυλαπτων κανονα, μονα τεσσαρα ειδεναι ευαγγελια μαρτυρεται, ωδε πως γραφων· ως εν παραδοσει μαθων περι των τεσσαρων ευαγγελιων, α και μονα αντιροητα εστιν εν τῃ υπο τον ουρανον εκκλησια του Θεου· ὁτι πρωτον μεν γεγραπται το κατα τον ποτε τελωνην, υστερον δε αποστολον Ιησου Χριστου Ματθαιον, εκδεδωκοτα αυτο τοις απο Ιουδαϊσμου πιστευσασι, γραμμασιν Εβραικοις συντεταγμενον· δευτερον δε το κατα Μαρκον, ως Πετρος υφηγησατο αυτῳ ποιησαντα· ον και υιον εν τῃ καθολικῃ επιστολῃ δια τουτων ωμολογησε φασκων . . . και τριτον το κατα Λουκαν, το υπο Παυλου επαινουμενον ευαγγελιον, τοις απο των εθνων πεποιηκοτα· επι πασι το κατα Ιωαννην. Ibid. p. 226. B. C.

[g] Ibid. p. 226. D. 227.

"voices

" voices of the ſeven thunders. Rev. x. 4. He has alſo left an " epiſtle of a very few lines. Grant alſo a ſecond, and a third; " for all do not allow theſe to be genuine: however, they do " not both together make a hundred lines." Finally, of the ' epiſtle to the Hebrews, in his Homilies upon it, he gives his ' opinion in this manner: " That the ſtyle of the epiſtle to the " Hebrews has not the apoſtle's rudeneſs of ſpeech, who has " confeſſed himſelf rude in ſpeech, that is, in language. 2 Cor. " xi. 6. But this epiſtle, as to the texture of the ſtyle, is ele- " gant Greek; as every one will allow, who is able to judge of " the differences of ſtyles." Again, he ſays, " The ſentiments " of the epiſtle are admirable, and not inferior to the acknow- " ledged writings of the apoſtle. This will be aſſented to by " every one who reads the writings of the apoſtle with atten- " tion." Afterwards he adds: " If I was to ſpeak my opinion, " I ſhould ſay that the ſentiments are the apoſtle's, but the " language and compoſition of ſome one who committed to " writing the apoſtle's ſenſe, and as it were reduced into com- " mentaries the things ſpoken by his maſter. If therefore any " church receives this epiſtle as Paul's, it is to be commended " even upon that account; for it is not without reaſon that the " ancients have handed it down as Paul's: but who wrote this " epiſtle, God only knows certainly. But the account come " down to us is various; ſome ſaying that Clement, who was " biſhop of Rome, wrote this epiſtle; others, that it was Luke, " who wrote the goſpel and the Acts.'

Thus writes Euſebius. Upon this chapter of his we may make two remarks: Firſt, that it is defective. Euſebius has taken here no notice at all of Origen's opinion about the epiſtles of James and Jude. But perhaps he ſuppoſed his readers would underſtand this omiſſion as an intimation that theſe epiſtles were not received by this writer. However, I wiſh he had been more expreſs, that we might have been in no ſuſpenſe about his meaning. Secondly, it ſeems that Euſebius is to be blamed for curtailing the laſt paſſage of Origen, taken out of his Homilies upon the epiſtle to the Hebrews. We ſhould have been pleaſed to ſee Origen's whole argument relating to that epiſtle, and the author of it; whereas Euſebius makes a break, and when he had tranſcribed a part, he ſays, ' And afterwards Ori- ' gen adds;' or, ' after ſome other intervening words, he ' adds.'

Theſe two general remarks upon this long paſſage from Euſebius may ſuffice for the preſent. We ſhall have occaſion hereafter

hereafter to add divers other particular obſervations upon ſome parts of it, concerning ſeveral books of the New Teſtament.

V. In the next place I ſhall take ſome other paſſages of Origen, which ſeem to contain complete catalogues of the books of the New Teſtament.

One of them is in the thirteenth Homily upon Geneſis, where Origen deſcanting particularly upon Gen. xxvi. 18...22, ſays: 'Thus [h] Iſaac digged again the wells of water which the 'ſervants of his father had digged. One ſervant of his father 'was Moſes, who dug the well of the law; other ſervants of 'his father were David and Solomon, and the prophets, and all 'they who wrote the books of the Old Teſtament.... Iſaac 'therefore again digged new wells; yea the ſervants of Iſaac 'digged. The ſervants of Iſaac are Matthew, Mark, Luke, 'and John: his ſervants alſo are Peter, James, and Jude, 'as likewiſe the apoſtle Paul; who all dig the wells of the New 'Teſtament.'

VI. In his ſeventh Homily upon the book of Joſhua, Origen ſpeaks to this purpoſe: 'But [i] when our Lord Jeſus Chriſt 'came, of whom Joſhua the ſon of Nun was but a type, he 'ſent forth the prieſts, his apoſtles, (A) bearing well-beaten

[h] Hoc ergo modo fodit puteos Iſaac, quos foderant pueri patris ſui. Puer patris ſui erat Moyſes, qui foderat puteum legis. Pueri patris ſui erant David et Salomon, et prophetæ, et ſi qui alii ſunt, qui libros ſcripſerunt Veteris Teſtamenti.... Fodit ergo Iſaac et novos puteos, imo pueri Iſaac fodiunt. Pueri ſunt Iſaac, Matthæus, Marcus, Lucas, et Joannes; pueri ejus ſunt Petrus, Jacobus, et Judas; puer ejus eſt et apoſtolus Paulus; qui omnes Novi Teſtamenti puteos fodiunt. Orig. Hom. in Gen. xiii. p. 95. A. Tom. ii. ed. Bened. [i] Veniens ergo Dominus noſter Jeſus Chriſtus, cujus ille prior filius Nave deſignabat adventum, mittit ſacerdotes apoſtolos ſuos portantes tubas ductiles, prædicationis magnificam cœleſtemque doctrinam. Sacer Matthæus tuba prima in evangelio ſuo Matthæus increpuit. Marcus quoque, Lucas, et Joannes, ſuis ſingulis tubis ſacerdotalibus ecclenerunt. Petrus etiam duabus epiſtolarum ſuarum perſonat tubis; Jacobus quoque et Judas. Addit nihilominus adhuc et Joannes tuba canere per epiſtolas ſuas, et Apocalypſim; et Lucas, apoſtolorum geſta deſcribens. Noviſſime autem ille veniens, qui dixit, 'Puto autem nos Deus noviſſimos apoſtolos 'oſtendit;' et in quatuordecim epiſtolarum ſuarum fulminans tubis, muros Jericho, et omnes idololatriæ machinas, et philoſophorum dogmata, uſque ad fundamenta dejecit. Orig. Hom. in libr. Jeſ. vii. 5. p. 412. A. B. (A) *Bearing well-beaten trumpets.*] *Portantes tubas ductiles....* I ſuppoſe Origen may allude to Numb. x. 2, 3. And, as ſome argument of this, I ſhall tranſcribe a part of another paſſage of Origen, to which the learned reader is referred. Ne forte ergo argenteæ tubæ, quoniam argentum in multis locis pro verbo ſuſcipitur, magna vox verbi intelligitur tuba argentea congregans unumquemque in ordine.... Voces autem argenteorum et productilium tubarum in diebus lætitiæ veſtræ, quæ aſſumuntur in cæremoniis ipſorum, erant umbræ futurarum neomeniarum, de quibus dicit apoſtolus, &c. In Matth. Tract. xxx. p. 151. Tom. iii. Baſil.

I may alſo add a paſſage of Jerom, confirming this interpretation. De hac tuba et apoſtolus loquitur [1 Cor. xv. 1 Thes. iv.]; et in Apocalypſi Johannis legimus [viii.]; et in Veteri Teſtamento tubæ ductiles ex auro, et ære, argentoque, fieri præcipiuntur.... In Matth. xxiv. 31. T. iv. p. 117.

'trumpets,

'trumpets, ſounding the glorious heavenly doctrine. Matthew 'ſounds firſt with his prieſtly trumpet in his goſpel; Mark alſo, 'and Luke and John, ſounded with their prieſtly trumpets. Peter 'likewiſe ſounds aloud with the two trumpets of his epiſtles; James 'alſo and Jude. And John ſounds again with his trumpet in his 'epiſtles and the Revelation; and Luke alſo once more, re-'lating the actions of the apoſtles. Laſt of all comes he who 'ſaid, 1 Cor. iv. 9, *For I think that God has ſet forth us the 'apoſtles laſt:* and ſounding with the trumpets of his four-'teen epiſtles, he threw down to the foundations the walls of 'Jericho, and all the engines of idolatry, and the ſchemes of 'the philoſophers.'

Theſe two paſſages are taken out of the remaining Latin verſions of thoſe works of Origen, made by [k] Rufinus; I am of opinion therefore that theſe catalogues are not to be relied upon. Theſe paſſages run well enough in the ſtyle of Origen: but it was very eaſy for a tranſlator to thruſt in a name or two, or alter a few words, and thereby render the whole agreeable to the ſentiments of the times in which he wrote, without making any very remarkable alteration in the ſtyle of his author. This laſt is one of the catalogues given by [l] Hody. And indeed Rufinus profeſſes to have made an exact tranſlation of Origen's Homilies upon the book of Joſhua; but his word is hardly to be taken in that matter: nor is it impoſſible that ſome alterations may have been made in the copies of Rufinus's verſion ſince his time. It is ſomewhat remarkable, that in the foreciled paſſage there is a various reading, where [m] Peter's two epiſtles are mentioned. And ſoon after, in the ſame Homily, when Origen quotes St. John's firſt epiſtle, it is in this manner: 'This' is what John ſounds in the trumpet of his epiſtle, ſay-'ing, *Love not the world, neither the things that are in the world.*' 1 John, ii. 15.

It is very fit we ſhould be at the pains of examining things more particularly. I ſhall endeavour therefore to ſet Origen's opinion of the ſeveral books of the New Teſtament in a full light. Some prolixity, in conſidering the works of ſo great a man in the third century, will not be diſagreeable.

VII. We tranſcribed (B) juſt now a paſſage from Euſebius

[k] Vid. Huet. Origenian. l. iii. cap. 2. §. 2. l. i. et v. Tillem. Mem. Ec. T. iii. p. 1. Origene, art. 29, 30.

[l] Hody de Biblior. Text. Origen. p. 628. col. 29.

[m] duabus.] Germanenſis: *ex tribus*. Vid. T. ii. p. 412. Bened.

[n] Hoc eſt quod et Joannes epiſtolæ ſuæ perſonat tuba, dicens: 'Nolite diligere mundum, neque 'ea quæ in mundo ſunt.' Ibid. p. 413. D.

(B) See Numb. iv.

concerning

concerning the four goſpels, taken out of the firſt book or tome of Origen's Commentaries upon St. Matthew's goſpel.

1. Again, in the ſixteenth tome of his Commentaries upon the ſame goſpel, he expreſsly mentions [o] 'four evangeliſts.'

2. In his Commentaries upon St. John he ſays, 'That [p] as 'he is one whom many preach, ſo it is one goſpel in virtue 'which is written by ſeveral; for indeed what is written by four 'is one goſpel.' I put down in the margin a few more [q] paſſages where Origen expreſsly mentions 'four evangeliſts' or 'goſpels.' Perhaps this may be of uſe to us hereafter.

3. In his Commentaries upon ſome of the four goſpels he often compares the ſeveral accounts of the other evangeliſts. Thus, ſpeaking of John the Baptiſt's impriſonment and death, he ſays, 'Therefore [r] Matthew now gave this account, and 'Mark much after the ſame manner with him; but Luke has 'omitted a good part of the hiſtory which is in them.' A little after: 'It is [s] obſervable,' ſays he, 'that in Matthew, Mark, 'and Luke, the diſciples ſay, they have *five loaves and two* '*fiſhes*, without ſignifying whether they were wheaten or bar-'ley loaves: John only has ſaid they were *barley loaves*.' Matth. xiv. 17; Mark, vi. 38; Luke, ix. 13; John, vi. 9. So with relation to the hiſtory of Chriſt's bearing his croſs, and its being borne alſo by Simon the Cyrenian, he compares [t] our four evangeliſts by name.

4. In another place ſays he, 'There [u] being then theſe like

[o] Τα δε καὶα τον τοπον και οι λοιποι τοξοι ευαγγελιςαι εξεθεντο, ον τον τροπον αλληλους διαφορων τω προκειμενω καιρω εξι διηγησασθαι, . . . των τεσσαρων ευαγγελιςων διαγεγραμμενων τα καὶα τον τοπον. κ. λ. Comm. in Matth. T. i. p. 439. D. E. Huet. ed. [p] Ου συνιεντες, ὁτι ως εις εξιν ων ευαγγελιζεσθαι τελειως, εἱως εν εξι τη δυναμει το υπο των πολλων ευαγγελιον αναγεγραμμενον· και το αληθως δια τεσσαρων εν εξιν ευαγγελιον. Comm. in Joh. p. 91. C. D. Huet. Tom. ii. [q] Παρεληρεθεν δε ὁτι των τεσσαρων ειρηκεν το, εν υδατι σμαλτος ειναι Ιωαννην ελπιθεναι βαπτιζειν, μειζος Μαθθαιος τω προσεθηκε το, εις μεθανοιαν. Comm. in Joh. p. 124. C. D. Huet. Vid. et p. 127. E. Λεγεσθωσαν γαρ ημιν οι παραδεχομενοι τα τεσσαρα ευαγγελια. Ib. p. 150. E. Vid. et p. 151. E. ως παιδα του Ιησου απο των τεσσαρων ευαγγελιςων μαθειν. Ib. p. 156. A. ὁθεν ισως και επι των τεσσαρων εχειν ευαγγελιςων. p. 153. A. κηρυσσει δε εινα φιλοθεον, και πρεπον τω εν Χριςω φιλομαθει συναγειν απο των τεσσαρων ευαγγελιων παντα τα περι της Καθαριωμ διαγεγραμμενα. p. 159. D. [r] Δια τουτο τον και τουτο διεγραψεν ο Ματθαιος, και ο Μαρκος δε αυτω παραπλησιως· ο δε Λουκας τα πολλα της παρ' αυτοις παρεσιωπησεν ιςοριας. Comm. in Matth. T. i. p. 439. D. E. [s] Παρατηρητεον μειζον ὁτι τους πενθε αρτους και τους δυο ιχθυας οι μαθηται λεγουσιν εχειν παρα τω Ματθαιω, και τω Μαρκω, και τω Λουκα, εθ' ὁτι πυρινοι, εθ' ὁτι κριθινοι ησαν υποσημειωσαμενοι· ο δε Ιωαννης μονους κριθινους ειπεν ειναι τους αρτους. Ibid. p. 235. C. D. [t] Αλλ' ο μεν, ιν' ὁλως σιγησω, καὶα τον Ι[ησ]ουν Ιησους, εαυτω βασταζει τον σταυρον, και βαστ[αζ]ει αυτον εξηλθεν, ο δε καὶα τον Ματθαιον, και Μ[αρκ]ον, και Δουκαν, εχ εαυτω αυτον αιρει, Σιμωνα γαρ [τι]νες αυτον βασταζει. [Conf. Joh. xix. 17. Matth. xxvii. 32. Marc. xv. 21. Luc. xxiii. 26.] Comm. in. Matth. T. i. p. 287. E. 288. A. [u] Εχοντες τοινυν τας ομοιας λεξεις των τεσσαρων φερε καὶα τι δοκουντων ιδιαμειν ιδια των ιδιων εκαςης και της δοκουσης αρξαμενοις απο τω Ματθαιω, ος και πρωτος των κατα τον καιρον εκδεδωκεναι τι ευαγγελιον, τοις εκ περιτομης πιστευσιν. In Joh. p. 123. C.

'expreſſions

'expreſſions in all four, let us, as we are able, explain the 'meaning, and obſerve the leſſer differences between them; be-'ginning with Matthew, who likewiſe, as tradition ſays, wrote 'firſt, and delivered his goſpel to the Hebrews, that is, the 'believers who were of the circumciſion.'

VIII. The Acts of the apoſtles are often expreſsly quoted by Origen, and aſcribed to Luke, as (c) we have ſeen already. However I put down in the margin [w] a paſſage or two more. Origen wrote Commentaries upon this book, or at leaſt publiſhed Homilies upon it. A [x] fragment of his fourth Homily upon the Acts is ſtill extant in Greek. Origen ſpeaks of the Acts of the apoſtles as an uncontеſted book: 'But,' ſays [y] he, 'ſuppoſe ſome one would reject the epiſtle to the Hebrews, as 'not being Paul's; what will he ſay to Stephen's diſcourſes 'concerning the prophets ſlain by the Jewiſh people? or to 'what Paul writes to the Theſſalonians? or to words of our 'Lord himſelf to the like purpoſe?' I have tranſcribed this from a piece in Latin: but there is exactly the ſame argument in Origen's [z] Greek epiſtle to Africanus; where having quoted the epiſtle to the Hebrews, and obſerved that ſome might diſpute the authority of that epiſtle, he proceeds to quote, as undoubted books of ſcripture, the goſpel of St. Matthew, the Acts, and Paul's firſt epiſtle to the Theſſalonians.

IX. It is needleſs to refer to particular places of Origen's works for St. Paul's epiſtles, they having been moſt of them ſo often quoted by him. Beſides, it is well known that St. Paul's epiſtles were all along generally received in the church, except that to the Hebrews. However, I ſhall obſerve a few things relating to ſome of them.

1. In his books againſt Celſus, in anſwer to ſome things objected by that Epicurean, Origen ſays: 'Do [a] you firſt of all 'explain the epiſtles of him who ſays theſe things; and having 'diligently read and attended to the ſenſe of the words there

(c) See num. iv.

[w] Και εν ταις πραξεσι ο Λουκας. Comm. in Joh. T. ii. p. 23. D. ως ο Λουκας εν ταις πραξεσι των αποστολων εγραψε. Contr. Celſ. l. vi. p. 281. Cant. p. 638. C. Benedict.

[x] Vid. παλιν εν τη εις τας πραξεις ομιλια δ. Palæſt. cap. 7. p. 32. Cant. et apud Hieron. T. ii. p. 422.

[y] Sed pone nos quoque abdicare epiſtolam ad Hebræos, quæ non Pauli, nec non et ſecretum abjicere Petri: ſed quid facient in ſermones Stephani, vel Pauli ad Theſſalonicenſes de prophetis interfectis prolatos, vel ipſius Domini noſtri? In Matth. Tract. xxvi. Tom. ii. p. 128. fin. Baſil. 1571.

[z] Ad Afric. § 9.

[a] Πρωτα σκοπειτω τω παντα λεγοντι της επιστολης και εντευξας τα διαφορα ενοησας τα αυτης λεξεως (φημι δε περι της προς Εβραιους, και περι της Κλημεντος, και της προς Θεσσαλονικεις, και της Ματθαιου) αμφιβαλλε λεγειν, και ο τουτοις τοις Ιησου λογοις και παραστασεσι ουδεις πιστος ανηρ θειος. Και γας επειδη εκαστη της μεθ' ημων προσεχει α λεγεται, ου μονον ο διαγινωσκων την τον σωζειν, αλλα και ο δυναμενος την τον σωζειν, ει μηδεν λεγει μεγα η περιεργος, η μη δυναμενος ωφελησαι τους ακροωμενους. Contr. Celſ. l. iii. p. 122. Cant. p. 458. T. i. Bened.

'uſed,

'used, particularly in those to the Ephesians, the Colossians, 'the Thessalonians, the Philippians, the Romans; demonstrate 'these two things—both that you have understood the words of 'Paul, and that you have observed some of them to be absurd 'and silly. For if any man reads him with attention, I am po- 'sitive that he will admire his ability in expressing great things 'in vulgar words; or, if he does not admire him, he himself 'will appear ridiculous.'

2. The epistle to the Ephesians is quoted elsewhere [b] by Origen with that title.

3. In his books against Celsus, having quoted 1 Thess. iv. 15, he says 'he [c] had explained that passage in his Commentaries 'upon the first epistle to the Thessalonians.'

4. The epistle to Philemon is but once quoted in Origen's Greek works published by Huet; but it is very expressly, in this manner: 'Which [d] Paul knowing, in his epistle to Phile- 'mon he says to Philemon, ver. 14, concerning Onesimus, '*That thy benefit should not be of necessity, but willingly.*'

X. I have already transcribed a long passage from Origen's letter to Africanus (D); where having quoted the epistle to the Hebrews, and argued from it, he says: 'But possibly some one, 'pressed with this argument, will take refuge in the opinion of 'those who reject this epistle as not written by Paul. In an- 'swer to such an one, we intend to write a distinct discourse, to 'shew that epistle to be Paul's.' Which passage, as we observed, shews that Origen knew very well that there were some who did not receive the epistle to the Hebrews as Paul's. It may be suspected, likewise, that he had some doubts whether it was received by Africanus, as of authority. He elsewhere also makes a supposal of this epistle's being rejected by some: we cited the passage just now, speaking of the Acts of the apostles. Origen himself however shews his good will to it, and expresses his readiness to write a distinct discourse, to prove it to be an epistle of the apostle Paul.

1. Accordingly we find frequent quotations of this epistle in Origen's works, beside those already referred to. 'To the 'same purpose says the apostle, "When for the time ye ought

[b] Εν τη προς Εφεσιους αναγεγραπται. De Orat. p. 205. C. T. i. Bened. Vid. ibid. p. 250. E. [c] Την δε φαινεσαν ημιν εις τας τοτε διηγησιν εξειθεμεθα εν οις υπεγραψαμεν εξηγησεως της προς Θεσσαλονικεις προτερας επιστολης. Contr. Cels. l. ii. p. 437. A. B. Bened. [d] Οτερ και ο Παυλος επιγραφων... φησι και εν τη προς Φιλημονα επιστολη τω Φιλημονι περι Ονησιμου· ινα μη κατ' αναγκην το αγαθον σου η, αλλα κατ' εκουσιον. In Jerem. Hom. xix. p. 185. C. T. i. Huet.

(D) See chap. xxxvii. num. vi.

[c] Κατα τουτο φησιν ο αποστολος δι ουδενος αλλου διδασκαλει. κ. λ. Comm. in Joh. T. ii. p. 18. B. Huet.

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"to be teachers of others." In the [f] epiſtle to the Hebrews, 'the ſame Paul ſays.' Again, 'Paul [g], in the epiſtle to the 'Hebrews' Theſe citations are taken out of Origen's remaining Greek Commentaries upon St. John's goſpel. In his books againſt Celſus he quotes it expreſsly as [h] Paul's, the ſame who wrote to the Corinthians. In his treatiſe [i] of prayer he quotes it as the apoſtle's, the ſame who wrote the epiſtle to the Epheſians. In a Latin Homily, 'Paul [k] himſelf, the greateſt of the 'apoſtles, writing to the Hebrews, ſays: *For ye are not come 'unto the mount that might be touched*, and what follows.' Heb. xii. 18. 22, 23. He [l] alſo proves things from this epiſtle, as a writing of authority.

2. But the moſt conſiderable paſſage of Origen relating to this epiſtle, is that preſerved (E) by Euſebius, upon which we may make ſeveral obſervations.

1.) This paſſage is taken out of Homilies upon the epiſtle to the Hebrews; which is an argument of the authority of this epiſtle in the place where Origen then reſided. It was publicly read in the aſſemblies of the church, and then expounded and preached upon.

2.) As Origen's Homilies that were publiſhed were preached in the latter part of his life, after he was ſixty years of age, this paſſage muſt be reckoned to contain his laſt judgment concerning this epiſtle.

3.) What Origen ſays here was delivered in a Homily to the people. It may be hence inferred, that what he ſays in this place, though with great freedom, as it may ſeem to us, could be ſaid at that time without danger of offence.

4.) There were different opinions concerning the writer, and probably alſo concerning the authority, of this epiſtle. This difference of ſentiment was well known: 'If any church,' he ſays [or whatever church], 'receives it as Paul's, it is to be com-'mended even upon that account.' Origen would not have expreſſed himſelf after this manner in a Homily, if it had not been generally known that there were doubts about the author of this epiſtle. However, it may be argued from theſe expreſ-

[f] [illegible] τῇ πρὸς Ἑβραίους, ὁ αὐτὸς Παῦλος φησιν. [illegible] p. 50. A. [g] Ὁ δὲ Παῦλος ἐν τῇ [illegible]. Ibid. p. 162. D.

[h] [illegible] γὰρ παρὰ τῷ Παύλῳ ἡμῶν Κορινθίοις [illegible] . . . . ὁ δ' αὐτὸς . . . φησι. Καὶ [illegible] ἔχοντες γαλακτος. [Hebr. v. 12.] Contr. Celſ. l. iii. p. 143. Cant. [illegible] D. Bened. [i] De Oratione, [illegible] E. T. i. Bened. [k] Ipſe [illegible] maximus . . . Paulus . . dicit, ad Hebræos ſcribens. In Num. Hom. iii. p. 231. C. D. T. ii. Bened.

[l] Εἰ δὲ ἐν τούτῳ προσκοπτοῖ τὸ λέγειν ἐλαττοῦσθαι παρὰ τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα τὸν Σωτῆρα ἐπανθρωπήσαντα, προαιτεῖν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἑβραίους λεγομένων ἐπιστολῇ, καὶ ἀγγέλων ἐλαττοῦσθαι διὰ τὸ παθήμα τοῦ θανάτου ἀποφηναμένου τοῦ Παύλου γεγονέναι τὸν Ἰησοῦν φησὶ γάρ. [Hebr. ii. 9.] Comm. in Joh. T. ii. p. 57. E. 58. A. Huet.

(E) See before, numb. 1[illegible].

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ſions, that it was more popular in Origen's audience to call it Paul's, than to deny it. And it is very probable it was received as the apoſtle's in the place where Origen then reſided.

5.) Origen aſſures us that there were ancient writers before him who had ſpoken of this epiſtle as Paul's. His words, which follow thoſe juſt tranſcribed, are theſe: 'For it is not without 'reaſon that the ancients have handed it down as Paul's.' This argument for the genuineneſs of this epiſtle, is repreſented to great advantage by Mr. Hallett; for which reaſon I here put down his words: 'The[m] traditions which Origen mentions are 'more to be regarded than his own private opinion and rea-'ſonings: and as he poſitively ſays, the "ancients did" in fact "hand it down as Paul's epiſtle;" ſo it is plain he laid vaſt 'ſtreſs upon this tradition, ſince he would not give it up, though 'he had ſtrong temptations ſo to do. For he was very hard 'put to it, to reconcile this tradition with the ſtyle of the epiſ-'tle, and with other traditions, which named Clement or Luke 'as the writers of it; but, rather than give up the former tra-'dition, "that it was Paul's epiſtle," he would form ſuch an odd 'hypotheſis as that juſt now mentioned (that the thoughts 'only are Paul's, while ſome other perſon by memory commit-'ted them to writing). It is very certain, then, that the churches 'and writers, who were ancient with reſpect to Origen, had one 'common tradition, that St. Paul was the author of the epiſtle 'to the Hebrews. And their teſtimony cannot but be of great 'weight; ſince thoſe Chriſtians, who were ancients with reſpect 'to Origen, muſt have converſed with the apoſtles, or at leaſt 'with their immediate ſucceſſors.'

Thus far Mr. Hallett. But my good friend cannot ſuppoſe the tradition, that this was one of Paul's epiſtles, to have been conſtant and univerſal till Origen's ††† time; or that he was the firſt

[m] See Mr. Hallett's Introduction to his Paraphraſe and Notes on the three laſt chapters of the Ep. to the Hebrews, p. 8.

††† After the firſt edition of this volume, I received a letter from Mr. Hallett, in which he aſſures me that I have miſtaken his meaning. He does not intend by 'ancients' ſuch as were before Origen; but he ſpoke of ſuch as were 'ancients with 'reſpect to Origen,' that is, at leaſt ſuch as were dead before the year 184, in which he was born; who therefore muſt have converſed with the apoſtles, or at leaſt with their immediate ſucceſſors. What Origen ſays, ſeems to him to be this: 'There are 'traditions, that aſcribe the epiſtle to the 'Hebrews to Clement or Luke; but the 'ancients, who lived before the ſaid tradi-'tions, ſpeak of the epiſtle as Paul's. 'Thoſe ancients, as Mr. Hallett argues, 'ſhould be believed before modern tradi-'tions. As Origen ſpeaks in general of "the ancients," he ſeems to mean, that 'they had one common univerſal tradition, 'that it was Paul's epiſtle. The other 'traditions began among thoſe that were 'modern with reſpect to Origen; and then 'the ancient tradition ceaſed to be univer-'ſal.' So Mr. Hallett: and certainly he has a right to explain his own terms.

For

firſt perſon in the Chriſtian world who made a queſtion whether this epiſtle was written by Paul. This Homily gives ground to think, that doubts about the author of this epiſtle were very common even in the eaſt. It may be ſuſpected from what Origen ſays here, that not only particular perſons, but ſome whole churches, rejected this epiſtle; that is, did not receive it as Paul's. When Origen wrote his letter to Africanus, he argued from the epiſtle to the Hebrews; but then he ſtarts an objection, that ſome would ſay it was not Paul's. It is not reaſonable to think that Origen would weaken his own argument by a ſuppoſition of his own invention, and entirely without foundation. There were therefore, a good while before Origen delivered this Homily upon the epiſtle to the Hebrews, Chriſtians who did not allow it to be Paul's.

Though Origen ſays that the ancients had handed it down as one of Paul's epiſtles, he cannot be underſtood to mean all ancient Chriſtians before his time, but only ſome. Undoubtedly Origen ſpeaks truth, according to his knowledge; there were ancients who had ſpoken of this epiſtle as Paul's: in particular, Clement of Alexandria, Origen's maſter, and predeceſſor in the catechetical ſchool of that place, received this epiſtle as Paul's, and was acquainted (F) with a preſbyter who gave him a reaſon why the apoſtle did not put his name to that epiſtle. But to ſuppoſe Origen to mean all ancients in general, is to charge him with great ignorance. We know very well that there were Chriſtians before Origen, as well as others about his time, who did not conſider this as one of Paul's epiſtles. It is not eaſy to prove that any Chriſtians of the firſt two centuries, or ſomewhat lower, who lived in that part of the Roman empire where the Latin tongue was chiefly uſed, received this as an epiſtle of Paul. Mr. Hallett [n] is one of thoſe who do not think it a clear point, that Clement of Rome alluded to the epiſtle to the Hebrews, or borrowed any thing from it. I apprehend it to be very probable that Irenæus (G) did not receive this epiſtle as Paul's; and his opinion is very conſiderable in this caſe. Though he lived in Gaul, he wrote in Greek, and came from Aſia. Caius alſo wrote in Greek; and yet when he enumerated thirteen epiſtles of Paul, he omitted that to the Hebrews, ſaying nothing about it. It appears to me probable, that Caius had never heard that epiſtle called Paul's; which I am apt to think was Irenæus's caſe,

For my own part, I am ſtill of opinion, that by 'ancients' Origen means ſome one, or many, of the ancients, not all: and I rely upon what I have ſaid already, without adding more. (F) See before, ch. xxii. p. 211. 224.

[n] See his Introduction, as before, p. 2, 3.

(G) See before, ch. xvii. p. 164—166.

as well as his. And, to add nothing more at preſent, Tertullian, though an African, was a man of extenſive knowledge, a great maſter of Greek as well as Latin, and had no prejudices againſt this epiſtle; but with all his heart would have quoted it as Paul's, if he had had any ground for ſo doing. Nevertheleſs, with a great deal of formality, he quotes it as written by (H) Barnabas, a 'companion of apoſtles; a fit perſon,' as he ſays, 'to ſhew, at 'the next remove, what was the ſentiment of the maſters.' It is therefore highly probable, that in all the information which Tertullian had received concerning this epiſtle, he had never once heard it aſcribed to the apoſtle Paul. Theſe things, if I miſtake not, are ſufficient to make us think that the tradition, that the epiſtle to the Hebrews is Paul's, is not of the utmoſt antiquity; or that, if it is, it muſt have lain for ſome time in a very few hands. Dr. Mill °, remarking upon this paſſage of Origen, ſays, among all the fathers of the firſt and ſecond centuries whoſe writings are come down to us, he hardly knows any one who has expreſsly cited this epiſtle, except Clement of Alexandria, who certainly has done ſo in a very ample manner. But to proceed in our obſervations.

6. There is an ambiguity in ſome of Origen's expreſſions in this paſſage. His words are: 'If therefore any church receives 'this epiſtle as Paul's, it is to be commended even upon that 'account. For it is not without reaſon that the ancients have 'handed it down as Paul's: but who wrote this epiſtle God 'only knows. The account come down to us is various; ſome 'ſaying that Clement, who was biſhop of Rome, wrote this 'epiſtle; others, that it was Luke, who wrote the goſpel and 'the Acts.' It is difficult to ſay what is meant by the word 'write,' when uſed of this epiſtle; whether Origen intends writing as an author, or only penning or writing down the ſenſe of another. When Origen ſays, 'But who wrote this epiſtle 'God only knows,' one is diſpoſed to underſtand him of writing as an author, for the ſake of the oppoſition to what precedes. Moreover, he plainly uſes the word in that ſenſe, when he ſays, 'Luke wrote the goſpel and the Acts.' On the other hand it is argued, that when Origen ſays, 'God only knows 'who wrote this epiſtle,' he means only, 'who penned it,' or

(H) See ch. xxvii. p. 270. ° Quanquam autem ex dictis conſtet, plurimis in eccleſiis, et quidem a viris magni nominis, epiſtolam hanc Paulo haud fuiſſe adſcriptam; certum tamen eſſe, quod ipſi αρχαιοι, ſeu primi apoſtolorum ſucceſſores, eam tanquam Pauli receperint, teſte ipſo Origene, Hom. in Ep. ad Hebræos, apud Euſebium. Utinam vero αρχαιους illos nominaſſet; qui quidem ex patribus primi et ſecundi ſeculi quorum ſcripta ad nos pervenerint, hanc quempiam norim qui hanc epiſtolam expreſſe citaverit, præter Clementem Alexandrinum. Mill, Prol. n. 218.

'to

'to whom the language and compoſition are owing:' otherwiſe Origen is inconſiſtent with himſelf. For to ſay, firſt, that 'the ancients have handed it down as Paul's;' and preſently after, that 'the account come down to us is various,' ſome aſcribing the epiſtle to Clement, others to Luke, 'as authors,' would be a contradiction. Therefore when he ſays that 'God 'only knows who wrote' the epiſtle; and that ſome ſay 'Cle-'ment wrote it, others Luke;' he muſt be ſuppoſed to ſpeak only of 'penning' what had been heard from Paul: and in this latter ſenſe the words are underſtood by two learned writers in our own language, [p] Mr. Hallett and [q] Mr. Twells, who have both lately examined this matter with care and exactneſs.

7. Origen did not ſuppoſe this epiſtle to have been written originally in Hebrew or Syriac, but in Greek: for he ſays it has not the 'apoſtle's rudeneſs of ſpeech,' or homely ſtyle; but, as to the texture of the words, has a good deal of the elegance of the Greek language. This, he ſays, is very plain, and will be owned by every one who is able to judge of ſtyles; whence he concludes that the ſenſe being admirable, and worthy of the apoſtle, but the ſtyle very different from that of all his other writings, the ſentiments are and muſt be Paul's, but the compoſition is that of ſome other perſon, whoſe he cannot ſay; God only knows: but ſome ſay it was written by Clement, others by Luke.—Here is not one word of a tranſlation, nor any thing founded upon that ſuppoſition: on the contrary, the whole, or a main part of the argument at leaſt, is founded upon a ſuppoſition that the epiſtle was written in Greek. It is true, Euſebius has omitted a part of Origen's argument relating to this epiſtle, which I heartily wiſh he had rather inſerted at length; but I think we may be well ſatisfied there could be nothing here ſaid of this epiſtle having been written in Hebrew, at leaſt in Origen's opinion.

Indeed Euſebius does ſay, in a paſſage (1) which we formerly cited, 'that whereas Paul wrote to the Hebrews in their 'own tongue, ſome think the evangeliſt Luke, others that 'Clement, tranſlated it into Greek; which laſt,' Euſebius ſays, 'is the moſt likely, ſince there is a great reſemblance between 'the ſtyle of Clement's epiſtle and that to the Hebrews, as 'well as between the ſentiments of theſe writings.' But it ſeems that Origen was not able to form any notion of this epiſtle having been written in Hebrew; therefore he does not

[p] See Mr. Hallet, as before, p. 7. [q] Mr. Twells's Critical Examination, &c. P. II. p. 58—61. (1) See before, ch. ii. p. 26.

say that some thought it was translated by Clement, others by Luke; but some said that Clement, others that Luke wrote it: and, to speak freely, all present appearances are in favour of its having been written in Greek, the language in which we now have it, and in which it was read by the most ancient Christians, so far as we know. As for Eusebius's opinion, that Clement translated it out of Hebrew, certainly it must be without all good ground; there being no reason to suppose that Clement understood Hebrew or Syriac, though perhaps Luke might.

8. We ought to consider on what account, or in what respect, Origen quotes this epistle so often in his works as Paul's. It must be, I think, either out of deference to the commonly received, and more generally prevailing, opinion of the Christians with whom he lived; or perhaps rather, on account of what he says in his Homilies upon this epistle, he quotes it as delivering and containing the real sentiments of the apostle Paul; which he supposed to be here truly represented, though the phrase and composition were not Paul's, but of some one else; probably one of his most intimate friends and constant companions, but which of them he did not certainly know. However, as there was a tradition in the church that the epistle was Paul's, so likewise there were accounts handed down to his time concerning the writer of it; some saying that it was written by Clement, others by Luke. This then was Origen's opinion of this epistle, in which [r] Dr. Mill supposes him to have been singular. And thus we may reckon Origen to have performed at last, in this Homily, what he had intimated in his letter to Africanus he intended to do, and there was occasion for, considering the different sentiments about this epistle.

XI. The epistle of James we find thus cited by Origen in one of his tomes upon St. John's gospel: 'For [s] though it be called 'faith, "if it be without works, it is dead," as we read in the 'epistle ascribed to James.' This seems to shew that there were doubts about this epistle; if there is not likewise an intimation of some doubt about it in his own mind. Nor do I know of any other place where this epistle is quoted in Origen's Greek works, published by Huet; excepting only one more, in another tome of his Commentaries upon John, where the [t] same

[r] Denique Origenis sententia hac in re peculiaris fuisse videtur. Adjudicat epistolam hanc Paulo, quoad ipsa νοήματα ex quibus constat; abjudicat autem ei, quoad stylum ac verborum compositionem, eo quod majorem Græci sermonis elegantiam præferre ipsi videntur hæc quam reliquæ Paulinæ. Mill. Prol. n. 217.

[s] Εαν δε λεγηται μεν πιστις, χωρις δε εργων νεκρα εστιν, ως εν τη φερομενη Ιακωβου επιστολη. Com. in John. Tom. xix. T. ii. p. 284. D.

[t] . . . η ευχη δια τουτο τον παραδεχθηναι τον Πατερα εφησεν παρα. In Joh. T. xxi. p. 294. E.

words are mentioned again—'faith without works is dead,'—without saying whence they are taken; intimating, however, that the sentiment itself, or the writing where it is found, was not admitted by all as of authority. Mill [u] therefore says, that Origen cites this epistle as of doubtful authority with some; though in his works, translated into Latin by Rufinus, it is alleged as the 'epistle of James, apostle and brother of the Lord,' and 'divine scripture.'

In the books against Celsus Origen says, 'It is [w] very usual 'for the divine scriptures to call the evils that befal men in 'this life, temptations; by which, as gold in the fire, the soul of 'man is tried:' and, in the Benedictine edition, over against these words are placed 'James, i. 2. 1 Pet. i. 7.' And to the text in Peter there does appear to be a reference; but I perceive no sign of a reference to James, since afflictions are very often spoken of in scripture as temptations.

XII. In Origen's passages before cited from Eusebius, we saw a sufficient attestation to St. Peter's two epistles; that one is without all question genuine, and the other doubted of. However, I shall here observe farther, that the first epistle of this apostle is often quoted by Origen expressly. Thus in his well-known books against Celsus: 'As [x] it is said by Peter, *Ye, as* '*lively stones, are built up a spiritual house.*' 1 Pet. ii. 5. And in his Greek Commentaries upon St. John's gospel: 'Peter [y], in his catholic epistle, *Being put to death*, says he, *in the flesh*, '*but quickened in the spirit.*' 1 Pet. iii. 18, 19, 20.

I do not remember any quotation of the second epistle of Peter in the books against Celsus, nor in any of Origen's Greek works published by Huet; nor has Huet any reference to this epistle in his Index of Scriptures. There is, however, a passage in Origen's Greek Commentaries upon St. Matthew, that may not be overlooked. 'But,' says Origen, 'when I have alleged

[u] Imo vero ut in ipsius Origenis operibus a Rufino Latinis factis, allegetur hæc Epistola tanquam 'Jacobi apostoli fratris 'Domini,' et 'scriptura divina;' [Hom. v. in Gen. iii. et viii. in Exod. et Hom. ii. in Levit. et Comm. in cap. v. ep. ad Rom.], in Commentariis tamen in Joannem Græcis, ab omni interpolatione liberis, ceu dubie apud quosdam auctoritatis citatur. [p. 284 et 294. Edit. Huetianæ]. Mill. Prol. n. 203.

[w] . . . ὡς πειρασμοὺς τὰς κατὰ τὸν βίον τοῦτον συμφορὰς λέγειν τὰς θείας γραφάς· ἐν οἷς ὡς χρυσὸς ἐν καμίνῳ τὸ ἀνθρώπου δοκιμάζεσθαι λέγεται. Contr. Cels. l. viii. p. 415. Cant. p. 783. F. Tom. i. Bened.

[x] Καθὼς μὲν τῷ Πέτρῳ λέγεται· Ὑμεῖς δὲ οἰκοδομεῖσθε λίθοι ζῶντες, κ. τ. λ. Contr. Cels. l. viii. p. 393. Cant. T. i. p. 757. Ben.

[y] Καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐν φυλακῇ πεφυλαγμένης παρὰ τῷ Πέτρῳ ἐν τῇ καθολικῇ ἐπιστολῇ· Θανατωθεὶς μὲν, φησὶ, σαρκὶ, ζωοποιηθεὶς δὲ πνεύματι. κ. τ. λ. In Johan. p. 126. A. B. T. ii. Huet.

[z] Παρελαβόν δὲ ἐγὼ τοῦτο ἀπό τε τῆς τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐπιστολῆς, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Παύλου πρὸς Κορινθίους πρώτης ἐμοὶ, ὡς γέγραπται, ἐξηγουμένου τὸ λεγόμενον· Εἷς ἐν ἀρτῷ μία ἐσμὲν, διλονότι Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς, καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς, ἕως τέλους. Εἰς ὃ ἐπιθυμοῦσιν ἀγγέλοι παρακύψαι. Ὁ δὲ Παῦλος, κ. τ. λ. Comm. in Matth. p. 396. D.

'words to this purpose out of the first epistle of Peter, and the 'former of Paul to the Corinthians, you will assent to what has 'been said. For Peter says, *In whom, though now ye see him* '*not*, namely, Jesus Christ, *yet believing ye rejoice*; and what fol- 'lows, to those words, *which things the angels desire to look into.* '1 Pet. i. 8—12. And Paul, 1 Cor. vi. 3, *Know ye not* '*that we shall judge angels? how much more things that pertain* '*to this life?*' So Huet would give us this passage. But from his notes upon this place, if I understand them, it appears that he had not in his manuscript copy the word 'first;' but [a] only four letters, which I think we may be positive mean Peter, written in an abbreviated manner; and then this passage will stand thus: 'When I have alleged some words to this purpose 'out of the epistle of Peter, and out of the former of Paul to 'the Corinthians, you will assent to what has been said.' So then here is no mention made of two epistles of Peter, or of a first epistle of Peter; but only Peter's epistle is expressly quoted by name, for what Origen there takes out of it. I suppose this may be reckoned a clear and certain emendation: I wonder Huet did not perceive the right reading. This observation is so easy, that there is no merit in it.

Nor have I observed the first epistle of Peter any where quoted in Origen's Greek works in that manner. But the usual forms of quotation are such as those already mentioned, [b] 'Peter says,' 'Peter teaches,' [c] 'Peter in his catholic epistle;' which forms [d] appear also in the Latin translations, though indeed we do find also in them expressly, 'in [e] the first epistle of 'Peter;' but in the original it may have been only, 'and Pe- 'ter in his epistle.'

The second epistle is not often quoted in Origen's Latin works. In a Homily upon the book of Numbers, speaking of Balaam: 'And [f] as the scripture says in a certain place, *The* '*dumb ass speaking with human voice, forbad the madness of the* '*prophet.*' 2 Pet. ii. 16. And in another Latin Homily: 'For

[a] Παραλαβων δε εις τουτο απο τε της πρωτης επιστολης.] Legendum videtur, της Πετρου πρωτης επιστολης. Scripserat librarius Πρου, quod cum syllaba priore sequentis vocabuli propter soni similitudinem facile coaluit. Huet, notis, p. 70. 'Sed meo judicio le- 'gendum Πρου, ut scripserat librarius, id est, 'Πετρου: sic, απο τε της Πετρου επιστολης.

[b] Πετρος ημας διδασκει, λεγων. In Jerem. Hom. v. p. 87. D. T. i. Huet. ως ο Πετρος ονομασε. Com. in Matth. p. 292. A. παρα δε τω Πετρω ειρηται. Ib. p. 422. C. ισε οτι, κατα τον Πετρον. Exh. ad Martyr. p. 300. B. T. i. Bened.

[c] Κατα λεγομενα ε τη καθολικη επιστολη παρα τω Πετρω. In Psalm. [illegible] p. 553. D. Bened.

[d] Quomodo [illegible] Petrus. De Prin. l. ii. p. 95. A. T. [illegible] Ben. Sicut ait Petrus apostolus. Ib. l. [illegible] p. 145. F.

[e] De qua spe Petrus [illegible] in prima epistola sua ita ait. De Princ. l. ii. c. 5. p. 88. D. T. i. Bened.

[f] Et ut ait quodam in loco scriptura: Mutum animal, humana voce respondens, arguit prophetæ dementiam. In Num. Hom. xiii. T. i. p. 321. C. Bened.

'I know

'I know it is written, that *of whom a man is overcome, of the 'same is he brought in bondage.*' Ver. 19. Thus this epiſtle is quoted in a general way, without giving it any authority, ſo far as appears. In a Latin tranſlation of a Homily: 'And [h] again 'Peter ſays, 2 Pet. i. 4, *Ye are made partakers*, ſays he, *of the 'divine nature.*' In that place are ſeveral texts to the like purpoſe quoted from St. Paul and St. John. Perhaps the tranſlator thought fit to add this alſo from St. Peter's ſecond epiſtle; and I think it looks ſomewhat ſuſpicious, as if it were an addition. It is certain that Rufinus took a great liberty [i] of adding, in his tranſlations of ſome of Origen's Homilies, particularly thoſe upon Leviticus (whence this quotation is taken), according to his own acknowledgment.

XIII. In Origen's paſſages cited from Euſebius, when we firſt entered upon the conſideration of this writer's teſtimony to the books of the New Teſtament, St. John's firſt epiſtle is expreſsly owned to be his; and it is frequently cited elſewhere. In his Greek Commentaries upon St. Matthew: 'As [k] in the 'epiſtle of John, 1 John, ii. 18, *It is the laſt time.*' He quotes it often by the title of 'John's catholic epiſtle,' in his [l] Greek Commentaries ſtill extant, and [m] in the treatiſe of Prayer; he quotes it likewiſe [n] as the epiſtle of the ſame John who wrote the goſpel. A like form of quotation, ſuch as [o] 'John the 'apoſtle, in his epiſtle,' appears not ſeldom in the Homilies which we now have in Latin only.

In the paſſage cited from Euſebius, Origen informed us, there were doubts about the ſecond and third epiſtles of John,

[h] Scio enim ſcriptum eſſe, Quia unuſquiſque, a quo vincitur, huic et ſervus addictus. In Exod. Hom. xii. p. 174. D.

Et iterum Petrus dicit, 'Conſortes,' inquit, 'facti eſtis divinæ naturæ.' In Lev. Hom. iv. p. 200. B. Bened.

... dum ſuppleri cupimus ea quæ ab Origene in auditorio eccleſiæ ex tempore, ut fit explicationis quam ædificationis gratia dicta, perorata ſunt: ſicut in Homiliis, quas in Genesim et in Exodum habemus, et præcipue in his quæ in librum Levitici, ab illo quidem perorandi ſolo dictata, a nobis vero explanandi ſpecie tranſlata ſunt, &c. Ruſin. laudat. Huet. Origenian. l. ii. ſect. 3. p. 245. C.

[i] Εἰδὼς ὅτι γέγραπται ὑπὸ τοῦ ἑτέρου καὶ ἡττᾶται τις ὑπὸ τοῦ ἑτέρου δεδούλωται. Comm. in Matth. p. 234. B. Huet. [k] Ὅτε δὲ τὸ, ἔσχατον ἐστὶν ἡ ὥρα καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰωάννου καθολικῆς. In Joan. Hom. ix. T. i. p. 106. B. Huet. [l] Ἐκ τῆς Ἰωάννου καθολικῆς ἐπιστολῆς. Comm. in Matth. p. 476. E. ib. Ἐκ τῆς καθολικῆς ἐπιστολῆς Ἰωάννου, κ. λ. Com. in Joan. p. 22. C. Ὅμως καθ' ὑπόνοιαν καὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ καθολικῇ ἐπιστολῇ εἰρημένον Ἰωάννου ὄφεται τις, εἰ ἀληθὲς, κ. λ. Com. in Jo. p. 299. E. [m] Δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ ἡ πρώτη ἐπιστολὴ, ἣν φησὶν ὁ τῆς καθολικῆς Ἰωάννου, ἐν τῷ Θεὸν εἶναι. De Orat. p. 233. B. Bened. [n] Ἐν τῇ καθολικῇ τοῦ Ἰωάννου ἐπιστολῇ. Ib. p. 232. A. [o] Ἐν δὲ τῇ καθολικῇ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἰωάννου ἐπιστολῇ λέγεται. Com. in Jo. p. 70. A. Vid. et p. 261. C. ib. [p] Unde credo et Joannes apoſtolus in epiſtola ſua dicit, quædam eſſe peccata ad mortem, quædam non eſſe ad mortem. In Exod. Hom. x. p. 176. B. Tom. ii. Bened. Annon et apoſtolus Joannes in epiſtola ſua eadem ſentit? In Num. Hom. ix. p. 297. E. Quas apoſtolus Joannes in epiſtola ſua diſtinctione comprehendit; ait enim, 'Scribo vobis, pueri; 'et ſcribo vobis, adoleſcentes; et ſcribo 'vobis, patres. Ib. p. 300. F.

for 'all did not allow' them to be genuine: 'but,' ſays he, let 'them alſo be granted to be his.' However, I do not know of any one quotation of either of theſe in Origen's remaining works.

XIV. We muſt be ſomewhat particular in our obſervations upon St. Jude's epiſtle. In the Greek Commentaries upon St. Matthew, immediately after what was cited juſt now, relating to St. Peter's ſecond epiſtle, Origen goes on: 'Conſider, [p] 'therefore, whether they were not more excellent, and ſuperior to 'men [or perhaps rather, governors or lords of men], ſo long 'as they "kept their firſt eſtate, and left not their own habita-"tion;" which are words of Jude, ver. 6. And preſently after he has likewiſe the following words of the ſame verſe: *Reſerved* [q] *in everlaſting chains, under darkneſs, unto the judgment of the great day.*

In the ſame Commentaries, having taken notice of theſe words, Matth. xiii. 55, 56: *Is not this the carpenter's ſon? Is not his mother called Mary, and his brethren James, and Joſes, and Simon, and Judas?* beſide other remarks, he ſays that James is the ſame whom Paul, in his epiſtle to the Galatians, ſpeaks of, as having been ſeen by him. Gal. i. 19. He alſo obſerves a paſſage in the Antiquities of Joſephus, relating to the ſame James; and then adds: 'And [r] Jude wrote an epiſtle, of a 'few lines indeed, but full of powerful words of the heavenly 'grace; who at the beginning ſays, *Jude, the ſervant of Jeſus* '*Chriſt, and brother of James.*' This paſſage is of uſe to ſhew us whom Origen took to be the author of this epiſtle; and I would farther obſerve, that it is ſomewhat ſtrange that in this place nothing ſhould be ſaid by Origen concerning the epiſtle of James, if he ſuppoſed it to be written by the James before mentioned.

Again, in the ſame Commentaries: 'And [s] in the epiſtle of 'Jude, To "them that are beloved in God the Father, and "preſerved in Jeſus Chriſt, and called." Hence it appears that inſtead of 'ſanctified,' in our preſent copies, Origen read 'beloved.'

Once more, in the ſame Greek Commentaries upon St. Mat-

[p] Ὁρα ϖν, ει μη ἀξιοι μειζονος τιμης εστιν ἑκαστον των εαυτων κριτη, και ουκ απελιπον το ιδιον αξιωμα, αλλα κυριοτητα διεφθειραν, και ησαν αυτων αρχοντες. Com. in Matth. p. 396. E. Vid. et p. 397. A.

[q] Εις κρισιν μεγαλης ημερας δεσμοις αϊδιοις ὑπο ζοφον τηρουμενοι. p. 397. B. [r] Και Ιουδας εγραψε επιστολην ολιγοστιχον μεν, πεπληρωμενην δε των της υγιους χαριτος εξηγησεων λεγων, τις ὁ των φωστηρων εφησεν· Ιουδας, Ιησου Χριστου δουλος, αδελφος δε Ιακωβου. Ibid. p. 223. D. E.

[s] Και εν τη Ιουδα επιστολη· Τοις εν Θεω Πατρι ηγαπημενοις, και Ιησου Χριστω τετηρημενοις και κλητοις. Ib. p. 332. A.

thew's

thew's goſpel, having cited 1 Pet. i. 12, he ſays: 'But 'if any 'one receives alſo the epiſtle of Jude, let him conſider what will 'follow from what is there ſaid, ver. 6. *And the angels which 'kept not their firſt eſtate, but left their own habitation, he hath re-'ſerved in everlaſting chains, under darkneſs, unto the judgment of 'the great day.*' This ſhews that there were ſome at that time who doubted of, or denied, the authority of this epiſtle.

Theſe are quotations of this epiſtle in Origen's remaining Greek works. We find it alſo quoted in his Latin works, particularly in his books of Principles, in Rufinus's tranſlation: 'Of 'which, in the [u] Aſcenſion of Moſes, which book the apoſtle Jude 'quotes in his epiſtle, Michael the archangel, diſputing with the 'devil about the body of Moſes, ſays, the ſerpent, moved by 'the devil, was the cauſe of the ſin of Adam and Eve.' This epiſtle is [w] quoted ſeveral times in a Latin epiſtle of Origen. We likewiſe ſaw Jude mentioned in the Latin catalogues (κ) tranſcribed above.

XV. The Revelation is mentioned, as we ſaw before, in Origen's Greek paſſages tranſcribed from Euſebius, among the other writings of St. John, the apoſtle of Chriſt, and allowed to be his. Origen ſeems to have had no doubt about it; and it is often cited by him. He ſpeaks of it in this manner, in his Commentaries upon St. John's goſpel: 'Therefore [x] John, the ſon of Zebedee, 'ſays in the Revelation, "I ſaw an angel fly in the midſt of "heaven." Rev. xiv. 6.

In another [y] place he ſays, 'The ſons of Zebedee drank of 'that cup, and were baptized with that baptiſm; foraſmuch as "Herod killed James, the brother of John, with the ſword." 'Acts, xii. 2: and [z] a Roman emperor, as tradition informs us, 'baniſhed John to the iſland of Patmos, for the teſtimony of the 'word of truth. Of his teſtimony John himſelf ſpeaks, though 'he does not inform us by whom that ſentence was paſſed upon 'him, ſaying thus in the Revelation, i. 9: "I John, your brother "and companion in tribulation, and in the kingdom and pa-"tience of Jeſus Chriſt, was in the iſle which is called Patmos,

[u] [illegible] Ιουδα περιεχει τις επιστολη, εμφερ[illegible] λεγομενα. Αγγελους τε μη τηρησαντας [illegible] αρχην, κ. τ. λ. Ib. p. 488. E.

[w] De quo in Aſcenſione Moyſi, cujus [illegible] memini in epiſtola ſua apoſtolus Jud[illegible], Michael archangelus cum Diabolo [illegible] patans de corpore Moyſi, ait, a Diabolo [illegible] ſuaſum ſerpentem, cauſam extitiſſe prævaricationis Adæ et Evæ. De Prin. lib. iii. cap. 2. in. T. 1. p. 138. A.

[w] Vid. Orig. p. 5. T. i. Bened.

(κ) See Numb. v. vi.

[x] Φησιν ο ιω εν τη αποκαλυψει ο του Ζεβεδαιου Ιωαννης. Com. in Joh. p. 14. E.

[y] Com. in Matth. p. 417. B. C.

[z] Ο εις Ρωμαιους βασιλευς. Ib. B.

"for

" for the word of God;" and what follows: and [a] it seems that he ' saw the Revelation in that island.' Perhaps it will be thought remarkable by some, that Origen does not name the emperor who pronounced this sentence against St. John.

Again, he calls the writer of the [b] Revelation ' apostle and ' evangelist; and, on account of the Revelation, prophet.'

In his books against Celsus he mentions John's [c] Revelation, and divers other books of scripture, particularly of the Old Testament; and soon after adds: ' But [d] let Celsus and they that read ' his book know, that no where, in any of the scriptures that are ' genuine, and believed to be divine, is there any mention of ' seven heavens. Nor have any of our prophets, or the apostles ' of Jesus, or he himself the Son of God, borrowed any thing ' from the Persians or the Cabirians.' The Revelation therefore was among those books which were reputed genuine and divine scriptures.

And finally, [e] Origen intended to write a commentary upon the Revelation, though we do not certainly know that he did so.

XVI. There is a place in Origen where he has been supposed to say, that from the beginning Christians had been divided about the books that ought to be received as scripture. It is in his books against Celsus, who had said of the Christians, that at first, and so long as they were few, they were all of one mind; but afterwards, when they were increased into a great number, they were miserably divided. In answer to what is said in the first part of this objection, Origen observes, ' That Celsus [f] was so ' ignorant as not to know, that from the very beginning there ' were differences among the believers about the books that ' should be received as divine scripture.' So Origen has been understood to say; and so Spencer [g] had translated this passage. But the Benedictine editor of Origen has translated it thus: ' That

[a] Και εοικε την αποκαλυψιν ει τη ιντσω τεθεαρηκεναι. Ibid. C. [b] Καλως μεν ουν γε διεγραψατο περι του λογου του Θεου εν τη αποκαλυψει ο αποστολος και ευαγγελιστης, επι δε και δια της αποκαλυψεως και προφητης, φησι, κ. λ. Com. in Jo. p. 51. D. [c] Διαγνοια δε και εκ της Ιωαννου αποκαλυψεως τα περι της πολεως. κ. λ. Contr. Cels. l. vi. T. i. p. 647. E. Bened.

[d] Ιστω δε Κελσος, και οι συνευχαισθωσαν αυτω τα βιβλια, ὃτι ουδαμου των γινομενων και θειαν πιστευομενων γραφων επτα ειρηται ουρανοι. Ουτ' απο Περσων η Καβειρων λαβοντες ημων οι προφηται λεγουσι τινα, ουτ' αυτος ο Ιησους απεστειλε, ουτ' αυτος ο Υιος του Θεου. Ibid. p. 648. B.

[e] Omnia hæc exponere singillatim, et capitibus septem diaconis [Rev. xii. 5.] non est temporis hujus; exponentur ad tempore suo in Revelatione Joannis. In Matth. Tr. 30. p. 147. in Tom. ii. Bened.

[f] Ειπε δε και οτι ει εφησεν παυλος· ου δυ εγω, ὃτι αρχηθεν περι των εν τοις πιστευ Θεου ειναι βιβλους ενδεχεται γεγονεναι διαφωνιαν πιστευομενων.

[g] Ne hic quidem videns, quod mox initio non conveniebat inter credentes de delectu divinorum sacræ scripturarum volumen. Vers. Spencer.

' Celsus

'Celsus [h] was so ignorant as not to know, that from the beginning there were differences among the believers about the sense [interpretation, or meaning] of the books believed to be divine.' And that this is what Origen means, appears very evident from what he says presently afterwards in support of his assertion: 'That [i] there were in the times of the apostles disputes among the Jewish believers, whether the converts from among the Gentiles should observe the rites of the Mosaic law, or not.' He insists also upon the question about the resurrection, 1. Cor. xv. 12, and some other matters mentioned in the New Testament. And, as he proceeds, he several times speaks of 'misunderstandings of doctrines [k], and of the [l] writings and words of Moses and the prophets:' and says that [m] 'from different interpretations of words believed by all to be divine, arose various sects:' using all along phrases that confirm De la Rue's version of the foregoing passage.

XVII. Origen has a long argument concerning the books of the New Testament, in the first tome of his Commentaries upon St. John's gospel. It may be of use to us to take a large part of it. 'We [n] may then be bold to say, the gospel is the first-fruit of all the scriptures..... It may be therefore not unfitly said, that [o] of all the scriptures commonly received, and believed to be divine, in all the churches of God, the law of Moses is the first-begotten, the gospel the first-fruit. . . . If [p] any object to this, that beside the gospels there are the Acts and the epistles of the apostles, . . . we [q] need not scruple to say that the writings also of the apostles are in some sense gospel; forasmuch as it belongs to the office of an evangelist by exhortations to recommend a belief of the things concerning Jesus. And whereas it may be still objected, that we do not rightly call the

[h] Νῦν μὲν οὖν ἐνταῦθα ἀγνοεῖ ὁ Κέλσος ἐξ ἀρχῆς γεγονέναι διαφορὰς τοῖς πιστεύουσιν ἐν τοῖς δοκοῦσι θείοις εἶναι βιβλίοις περὶ τῆς διανοίας. p. 454. B.

[i] Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις τῶν ἀποστόλων ἦν ζητήσεις τοῖς ἐξ Ἰουδαίων πιστεύουσιν, εἰ δεῖ καὶ τοὺς ἐξ ἐθνῶν ἐπιστρέφοντας τοῖς τοῦ Μωσέως νόμοις προσέχειν. Ib. E.

[k] Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἀναστάσεως λόγοις, διαφορὰς ἐκδέχεσθαι τοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα πιστεύοντας εἶναι θείας λέξεις, τῆς ... ἀκριβείας. κ. λ. p. 455. A.

[l] Καὶ γὰρ τὸ μέγιστον τίτλου, φασὶν τὰ γράμματα εἶναι ἀπαρχὴν τῶν εὐαγγελίων. Com. in Johan. p. 5. E.

[m] Τῶν τοιούτων φέρεται τὰ γράμματα καὶ ἡ ἀσαφὴς ἐννοιολογία θεῶν ἀποτετυφλωκέναι τινὰς ... ὥστε ἀποτυχεῖν τῆς λεγομένης ψυχικῆς μὲν τῶν Μωσέως καὶ προφητῶν, ἀπαρχῆς δὲ τῶν εὐαγγελίων. Ib. p. 4. A.

[n] Καὶ δὲ τις αἰδυσωπήσῃ διὰ τὸν εἶναι τῆς αἱρετῆς ... τὸν ἀπαρχὴν φάσκειν μετὰ τὰ εὐαγγέλια τὰς πράξεις καὶ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς φέρεσθαι τῶν ἀποστόλων, καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο μὴ ἂν εἶναι σχολάζοντα τὸ πρωτοτόκιον περὶ ἀπαρχῆς, τὸ ἀπαρχὴν πᾶσαν γραφῆς εἶναι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον. Ibid. B.

[o] Οὐκ ἀκαίρως γοῦν γραφῆς ἁπάσης εὐαγγελίου, καὶ ἐν περιτομῇ λόγου τοῦ εἰς περιτομὴν τοῦ περὶ Ἰησοῦ εὐαγγελίου ... τὸ νόμου τοῦ ἀπαρχὴν γεγράμμενα. κ. λ. Ibid. p. 4. E. 5. A.

'whole

'whole New Testament gospel, because the epistles do not bear 'the inscription of gospel; it may be allowed that, since it is not 'uncommon for several scriptures to have two or more names, 'one name may be, strictly speaking, more proper than the other. 'So the scripture called by the name of epistles, is not gospel, 'when compared with the history of the actions, and sufferings, 'and words of Jesus: nevertheless the gospel is the first-fruit 'of the whole scripture. . . . . And 'I think that, there being four 'gospels, which are as it were the elements of the faith of the 'church, of which elements the whole world reconciled to God 'by Christ consists, . . . the gospel of John, which you have de- 'sired me to explain, is the first-fruit of the gospels. This I say 'with regard to him who writes the genealogy, and him who 'begins with him who had no genealogy. For Matthew writ- 'ing for the Hebrews, who expected him who was to descend 'from Abraham and David, says, *The book of the generation of* 'Jesus Christ, *the son of David, the son of Abraham.* Mark writes, '[Here some things are wanting, and it seems very plain that 'Luke also was mentioned in this place]. . . But he reserves the 'greater and more perfect discourses concerning Jesus for him 'who lay in the bosom of Jesus. For none of them have so 'distinctly declared his Deity as John, who introduces him say- 'ing, "I am the light of the world; I am the way, and the "truth, and the life; I am the resurrection; I am the door; I am "the good shepherd:" and in the Revelation, "I am alpha "and omega, the beginning and the end, the first and the last." 'We may be bold to say, then, that the gospels are the first- 'fruits of all the scriptures, and the gospel according to John 'the first-fruit of the gospels.'

This passage is observable upon divers accounts; particularly, we see that Origen received four gospels, and no more. He owns without scruple the genealogy in St. Matthew: and we perceive what were the several scriptures of the New Testament generally received by Christians—the gospels, Acts, epistles of apostles, and St. John's Revelation.

XVIII. This leads us to what comes next in order to be

Δαυὶδ, τὸν Ἀβραάμ· καὶ Μαρκος . . . αλλα μετ- τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ σώου αἰρετεσθαι τὰ Ἰησᾶ τοῦ μείζονα καὶ τελειότερα περὶ Ἰησοῦ λόγια· ἱδοὺ γὰρ ἐνεμανεκτὸς ἐμπεσεῖται αὐτῷ τοῦ Δαυὶδ, ὁ ἐξ Ἰακωβ, ἀκούσεται αὐτοῦ λεγοντος· Ἐγὼ εἰμι . . . τὸ μυστήριον τοῦτο ἐπὶ ἀπαρχὴν μὲν πάντα γεγραφθαι τὰ εὐαγγέλια, τὸ δὲ εὐαγγέλιον στοιχεῖν τὸ κατὰ Ἰωαννην. Ibid. p. 5. C. D. E. p. 6. A.

Ἐγὼ δ' οἶμαι δὲ καὶ δ' οἶδεν τὰ εὐαγγέλια ἐστὶ στοιχεῖα τῆς πίστεως τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἐξ ὧν στοιχείων ὁ πᾶς συνέστηκε κόσμος, ἐν Χριστῷ καταλλαγεὶς τῷ Θεῷ, ... ἀπαρχὴν τῶν εὐαγγελίων εἶναι τὸ πρωτότοκον πάσης κτίσεως καὶ δύναμιν ἐχειν τὸ καθ' Ἰωαννην· τὸν γεγαλογημένον εἶναι, καὶ ἀπὸ ἀγενεαλογήτου ἀρχόμενον. Ματθαῖος γὰρ γ τὴν προσδοκῶντι τὸν ἐξ Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Δαυὶδ Ἑβραίοις γράφων, Βίβλος, φησι, γενέσεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, υἱοῦ

confidered,

considered, the several titles and divisions of the books of sacred scripture.

1. The most general division is that of [t] the Old and the New Testament, between both which Origen says there is a perfect harmony. There are other places where Origen speaks [u] of the 'ancient' and the 'new' scriptures: in the former part he reckons the law and the prophets; in the latter the gospels and apostles, and asserts their complete harmony throughout.

2. Accordingly such titles and divisions as these are very frequent: 'The law [v] and the prophets, the gospels and apostles; 'prophets, [w] gospels, and apostles; The [x] scriptures of the 'prophets of God, and of the apostles of Jesus.'

3. 'They [y] who mind earthly things . . . suffer a famine of the 'word of God. They hear not the commands of the law, they 'know not the reproofs of the prophets, they are ignorant of 'the consolations of the apostles, they receive not the medicine 'of the Gospel.'

4. 'That we may be able to bring forth out of our treasure 'things new and old, and may be scribes instructed unto the 'kingdom of heaven,' he says, 'we [z] must give diligent at-'tendance to reading, . . . and meditate in the law of the Lord 'day and night; not only the new oracles of the gospels and the 'apostles, and their revelation, but likewise the ancient oracles 'of the law and the prophets.'

5. Origen professes his own resolution [a] to improve the talent he had received, 'whether of the gospel, or the apostle, or 'the prophet, or the law.'

6. These several titles and divisions of scripture, I think, must be of use to satisfy us that Origen received no books as sacred scripture, and of authority, beside those which we so receive at

[t] Πεντεκαιδεκα συμβολαις δογμασιν κειται τη παλαιᾳ προς τη τετραξυλῳ καινη διαθηκη. Com. in Joh. p. 92. A. Huet.

[u] Ει δε και τριτος εισηγητης, ο σταυρος των δυο ανθρωπων και την εφεστιον ταλαν, ηδη παλαιαν προς καινην, η νομικας προς ευαγγελικας και αποστολικας. κ. λ. E secundo tomo in Matth. Philoc. cap. vi. p. 30, 31. Cant. p. 204. Huet.

[v] Quæ recitata sunt in lege, puteus est, et omnis simul scriptura Legis et Prophetarum: Evangelica quoque et Apostolica, scripta simul omnia, unus est puteus, &c. In Num. Hom. xii. T. ii. p. 314. C. Bened.

[w] Εχ. δε και παρα τοις προφηταις, και παρα τοις αποστολοις, και δια τουτο εν μιᾳ τασι παρεξηγησις συναγεται. In Joh. p. 22. A.

[x] Και επι αλλα λεγοιτ' αν τις, αυξανεται των περι θεου και των αποστολων του Ιησου γραφων. Contr. Cels. l. v. T. i. p. 580. C. Bened.

[y] Qui enim de terra sunt, et terrena sapiunt . . famem verbi Dei patiuntur, legis mandata non audiunt, conceptiones prophetarum nesciunt, apostolicas consolationes ignorant, non sentiunt Evangelii medicinam. In Gen. Hom. xvi. T. ii. p. 104. D.

[z] Και εν τω νομω Κυριου μελετωμεν ημερας και νυκτος, ου μονον τα καινα τα ευαγγελια, και των αποστολων, και της αποκαλυψεως αυτων λογια, αλλα και τα παλαια. κ. λ. Com. in Matth. p. 220. C. D.

[a] Εγχειται την μιαν εις ευαγγελιον, εις αποστολον, εις προφητην, εις νομον ποτε ποτε πολλαπλασια. In Jerem. Hom. xix. p. 186. D. Huet.

this

this time. More inſtances of theſe, or the like diviſions, will appear in the article of the reſpect ſhewed to the ſcriptures, to which we now proceed.

XIX. There are in Origen many evidences, not only of his own great reſpect for the ſcriptures, but alſo of the high eſteem they were in with Chriſtians in general.

1. Diſcourſing of a ſeeming difference between the evangeliſts, he ſpeaks of it as the common opinion of Chriſtians, 'That 'the goſpels were written exactly according to truth, with the 'aſſiſtance of the Holy Spririt, and that the writers had made no 'miſtakes.' And afterwards, in the ſame diſcourſe, 'After this 'Mark ſays, x. 50: "And he, caſting away his garment, leaped "and came to Jeſus." Shall we ſay that [c] the evangeliſt wrote 'without thought, when he related the man's caſting away 'his garment, and leaping, and coming to Jeſus? and ſhall we 'dare to ſay that theſe things were inſerted in the goſpels in vain? 'For my part, I believe that not one jot or tittle of the divine in-'ſtructions is in vain.'

2. In another place he argues: 'We [d] are never to ſay that 'there is any thing impertinent or ſuperfluous in the ſcriptures 'of the Holy Spirit, though to ſome they may ſeem obſcure: 'but we are to turn the eyes of our mind to Him who commanded 'theſe things to be written, and ſeek of Him the interpretation 'of them; that, if our ſoul is diſtempered, He may heal us who 'healeth all its ſickneſſes; or, if we be yet children in under-'ſtanding, the Lord that receiveth little children may train us 'up, and bring us to the perfection of mature age.'

3. Again, he ſpeaks of it as a common opinion, 'That 'the 'ſacred books are not the writings of men, but have been written 'and delivered to us from the inſpiration of the Holy Spirit, by 'the will of the Father of all, through Jeſus Chriſt.'

[b] Ὑπερ γαρ ακριβους πιστευομεν απογεγραφθαι, ενεργουντος και του Αγιου Πνευματος, τα ευαγγελια, και μη εσφαλησθαι εν τη απομνημονευσει τους γραψαντας αυτα, κ. λ. Com. in Matth. p. 227. B. Huet. [c] Αν, ει ωδη ειπωσι σιγγραφεις περι του αποβαλοντα αυτου το ιματιον αναπεπηδηκεναι ελθειν προς τον Ιησουν, και τολμησομεν φησαι ματαια ταυτα προστεθησθαι τη ευαγγελιω; εγω μεν ουδε εν η μιαν κεραιαν η στιγμην νομιζω ειναι θειαν μαθημαθων. In Matth. p. 428. E.

[d] Sed non poſſumus hoc dicere de Sancti Spiritus literis, quod aliquid in eis otioſum ſit aut ſuperfluum, etiamſi aliquibus videntur obſcura. Sed hoc potius facere debemus, ut oculos mentis noſtræ convertamus ad Eum qui hæc ſcribi juſſit, et ab Eo horum intelligentiam poſtulemus: ut, ſi infirmitas eſt in anima noſtra, ſanetur ab eo qui ſanat omnes languores ejus; ſive parvulus ſenſus ſumus, adſit nobis cuſtodiens parvulos Dominus, et enutriat nos, atque in menſuram ætatis adducat. In Num. Hom. xxvii. T. ii. p. 375. B. Bened.

[d] Διοπερ τας περικοπας μη συφορους συγγραμματα τας τυχουσας βιβλους, αλλ' εξ ιστορουμεν του Αγιου Πνευματος βουλεσθαι τον Πατερα των ολων δια Ιησου Χριστου ταυτας αναγεγραφθαι και εληλυθεναι, τας φανερωσεις αυτου αποδεξασθαι. Philoc. c. i. p. 7. Cant. De Prin. l. iv. T. i. p. 166. in. Bened.

4. In answer to some objections of Celsus, Origen [e] says, 'With his good leave he will venture to affirm, that the disciples 'of Jesus, after their understandings were enlightened by the 'grace of God, knew better than Plato what to write, and how 'to write, and what things were fit to be published to the world, 'either by writing, or discourse, and what not.'

5. In a Latin Homily upon Jeremiah: 'The [f] sacred scriptures 'come from the fulness of the Spirit; so that there is nothing 'in the prophets, or the law, or the gospel, or the apostle, which 'descends not from the fulness of the divine majesty.'

6. In a Homily upon the same prophet, still extant in Greek: 'If [g] the oracles of God are contained in the law and the pro-'phets, and in the gospels and the apostles, it becomes him, 'who is instructed in the divine oracles, to own God for his 'teacher.'

7. In his Commentaries upon St. Matthew: 'These things,' says [h] he, 'we must understand in a manner worthy of the wisdom 'of God, by which the gospels were written.'

8. Speaking of some doctrines he says, 'That [i] one and the 'same Spirit, proceeding from the one God, teaches the like 'things in the scriptures written before the coming of Christ, 'and in the gospels and apostles.'

9. All these observations afford abundant proofs of the peculiar authority and esteem of the holy scriptures. It will be easy to add a few passages, where it is asserted that the proofs of doctrines ought to be taken from them.

10. 'We must [k] seek,' says Origen, 'for a good proof of this 'truth. This must be fetched from the scriptures; for our af-'fections and discourses are unworthy of credit. In the mouth 'of two or three witnesses shall every word be established. . . . In

[e] Καὶ εἰ μὲν ἦν ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος . . . Hoc. in Num. Hom. xxvii. p. 299. C. Huet. Comm. in Matth. p. 447. E. Huet. [f] Omnia quæ in scripturis sanctis dicuntur, de plenitudine Spiritus dicuntur. Nihilque est, in prophetis, sive in lege, sive in evangelio, sive in apostolo, quod non de plenitudine divinæ majestatis descendat. In Jerem. L. Hom. ii. p. 577. Bas. 1571.

[g] Εἰ τὰ λόγια τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ, καὶ προφήταις, καὶ εὐαγγελίοις τε καὶ ἀποστόλοις, δίκαιος ὁ μαθητεύεσθαι τοῖς θείοις λογίοις διδασκάλου ἐπιζητεῖν τὸν θεόν. Orig. in Jerem. Hom. x. p. 107. A. Huet.

[h] Ἐπὶ δὲ τοιαύτῃ λαμβάνειν δεῖ ἀπὸ τῶν τοιούτων ἀκολουθίαν ἐπὶ τοῦ τρόπου ἀξίου τῆς σοφίας τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀφ' ἧς τὰ εὐαγγέλια γέγραπται. Com. in Matth. p. 447. E. Huet. [i] Οὐχ ἕτερον δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον τὸ ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς ταῖς πρὸ παρουσίας Ἰησοῦ, καὶ ἐν τοῖς εὐαγγελίοις καὶ τοῖς ἀποστόλοις, καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐπιδημήσασι. Philoc. p. 12. fin. De Prin. l. iv. p. 174. n. 16. Bened. [k] Ἀποδείξεως ἀγαθῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ προκειμένου ἡμῖν ζητουμένου δεῖ καὶ ἐντεῦθεν τὴν . . . ἀπὸ τῶν γραφῶν τῶν ἁγίων· ἐν στόματι δύο καὶ τριῶν μαρτύρων σταθήσεται πᾶν ῥῆμα. In Jerem. Hom. i. p. 55. H. Huet.

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'order to establish this interpretation, I shall bring two witnesses 'out of the New and the Old Testament. Yea I shall bring 'three witnesses; from the gospel, from the prophet, from the 'apostle.'

11. In another place and work he speaks [l] of the 'scriptures 'believed to be divine, both those of the Old and New 'Testament,' which were generally used for confirming any doctrine.

12. Discoursing of the duty of prayer: 'But [m] what we 'have said may be proved from the divine scriptures in this 'manner.'

13. 'It would [n] be tedious,' says he, 'to insist upon all the 'texts of the gospels, wherein it is taught that one and the same 'God is the God of the law and the gospel. I shall nevertheless 'touch upon a place or two of the Acts of the apostles, where 'Stephen and the apostles direct their prayers to that God who 'is the maker of the heaven and the earth, and who spoke by 'the mouth of the holy prophets.'

14. He [o] says, 'Christians believe Jesus to be the son of God, 'in a sense not to be explained and made known to men by any 'but by that scripture alone which is inspired by the Holy 'Ghost; that is, the evangelic and apostolic scripture, as also that 'of the law and the prophets.'

15. In his books against Celsus: 'But [p] that our religion 'teaches us to seek after wisdom, shall be shewn both out of the 'ancient Jewish scriptures, which we also use; and out of those 'written since Jesus, and which are believed in the churches to 'be divine.'

XX. The respect for the scriptures appears farther in frequent and earnest exhortations to read and study them, taken from the consideration of the benefit of such a practice.

1. Origen does mightily recommend the reading of the scrip-

[l] Vid. Philoc. p. 1. Cant. De Prin. l. iv. § 1. p. 156. Bened.

[m] Καλως ευαγεσιν δε απο των θειων γραφων τα εισημενα, τελος του τροπου. De Orat. p. 210. F. Bened. [n] Longum erit, si ex omnibus evangeliorum locis testimonia congregemus. . . . Contingemus tamen breviter etiam de Actibus apostolorum, ubi Stephanus et apostoli preces suas dirigunt ad eum Deum, qui fecit cœlum et terram, &c. De Prin. l. ii. cap. iv. p. 85. C. Bened.

[o] . . . . eminentiorem divinioremque rationem de Filio Dei, nullius alterius possibilitatis esse credimus exponere, atque in hominum cognitionem proferre, nisi ejus solius scripturæ, quæ a Spiritu Sancto inspirata est, id est, evangelicæ, et apostolicæ, necnon legis et prophetarum, sicut ipse Christus asserit. De Prin. l. i. cap. iii. p. 60. A.

[p] Οτι δε βουλεται ημας επι σοφιαν, δειξω και απο των παλαιων και Ιουδαικων γραμματων, ας και ημεις χρωμεθα, εχ' ητις δε και απο των μετα Ιησουν γραφεισων, και εν ταις εκκλησιαις θειαν επι σοφιαν. Con. Celf. l. iii. p. 138. Cant. T. i. p. 476. C. Bened.

tures.

tures. He [q] ſays, 'that if the Lord Jeſus find us employed in 'ſuch ſtudies, he will come and partake with us; yea, if he 'ſees ſuch a feaſt prepared by us, he will bring his Father with 'him.'

2. He ſays likewiſe, 'that [r] the greateſt torment of dæmons, 'and above all the other pains they endure, is to ſee men read-'ing the word of God, and ſtudying and labouring to under-'ſtand the divine law, and the myſteries of the ſcriptures; and 'that for this reaſon, becauſe hereby men are delivered from 'that darkneſs and ignorance of God and religion, which they 'had brought into the world, and on which all the intereſts of 'their kingdom depend.'

3. Origen is for ſtudying carefully all the ſcriptures, and every part of them. In a Greek fragment of a Homily upon Ezekiel, particularly upon chap. xxxiv. 17, 18, 19, he [s] ſays, 'there are 'ſome who receive the New and reject the Old Teſtament. '... But,' ſays he, 'never let us tread down the prophetical 'paſture, nor foul the water of the law. And whereas there are 'ſome likewiſe who offend againſt the evangelical paſture, and 'the apoſtolical water, inſomuch that they tread down ſome 'parts of the goſpels [or 'ſome of the goſpels'], and feed on 'other parts as good paſture; and ſome either reject the apoſtles 'entirely, or take only a part of them; let [t] us feed on all the 'goſpels entire, and tread down no part of them; and drink-'ing of all the writings of the apoſtles, as much as in us lies 'let us preſerve the water pure that is ſet before us, and not 'foul any part thereof with unbelief, which diſturbs thoſe who 'are not able to underſtand them.'

4. To the like purpoſe in another place: 'Let [u] us read the 'ſcriptures of the Old Teſtament, and imitate the virtues for 'which any are commended, and carefully avoid the things for 'which they are blamed. Let us [w] alſo read the books of the

[q] Ipſe Dominus noſter Jeſus Chriſtus, ſi nos inveniat his vacantes, et hujuſcemodi ſtudiis & exercitiis operam dantes, non ſolum poſci et reſici dignatur in nobis, verum etiam, ſi has epulas apud nos viderit apparatas, Patrem ſecum dignatur adducere. In libr. Jeſu Hom. xx. p. 44. A. Bened.

[r] Super omnia vero eis tormentorum genera, et ſuper omnes pœnas, ſi quem videant verbo Dei operam dare, ſcientiam divinæ legis et myſteria ſcripturarum intentis ſtudiis perquirentem: in hoc eorum omnis flamma eſt, in iſto utuntur incendio, quoniam quidem ignorantiæ tenebris humanas obſcuraverant mentes, et hæc obtinuerant, ut Deus quidem ignoraretur, ad ipſos vero divini cultus ſtudia transferrentur. In Num. Hom. xxvii. p. 378. D. E.

[s] Τοιουτοι δη εισιν οιτε την μεν καινην εγκρινοντες, την δε παλαιαν αποδοκιμαζοντες διαθηκην. xx. Tom. Com. in Ez. p. 200. C. Huet.

[t] Ημεις και ολα ευαγγελια νεμηθωμεν, και μηδεν αυτων πατησωμεν, και παντα τα αποστολικα πινοντες, το οσον εφ' ημιν καθεστηκος υδωρ, αυτα τηρησωμεν, και μηδεν των εν αυτοις απιστιᾳ ταρασσουσῃ τους εκ ειδοτας συνιεναι των λεγομενων ταραξωμεν. Ib. p. 201. G.

[u] In Jerem. Hom. iv. p. 74. B. Huet.

[w] ... αναγνωναι τα βιβλια της καινης διαθηκης, των αποστολων τους λογους. κ. λ. Ibid.

'New Testament, the words of the apostles; and having read 'them, let it be our care that they be written in the table of 'our hearts, that a bill of divorce may not be given unto us, 'but we may enter into the holy inheritance.'

5. He is for reading the scriptures, though we there find some things which we do not understand: 'Food,' he [x] says, 'is 'eaten, physic is taken: though the good effect is not presently 'perceived, a benefit is expected in time, and may be obtained. 'So,' he says, 'it is with the holy scriptures: though at the 'very time of reading them there be no sensible advantage, yet 'in the end they will be found profitable for strengthening vir- 'tuous dispositions, and weakening the habits of vice.' This seems to be said particularly for the encouragement of meaner persons; that, though they should not understand every thing, and there be no interpreter at hand to explain a difficulty; nevertheless they should read the scriptures with good hopes of more advantage in the end than is perceived at first, and that by continual reading they may improve.

6. Mr. Lowth, in a book [y] designed for the use of meaner people, says, 'The primitive church cannot be accused of en- 'couraging ignorance in the people; and yet Origen [z] informs 'us that there was a distinction made then between books 'of scripture which lay open to every body's use, and such as 'were read only by persons of better understandings: a distinc- 'tion which, if it had been observed in these latter days, would 'have not a little contributed to the peace of the church.'

But I am apt to think, that learned writer mistook the meaning of Origen's passage, to which he refers. Celsus had put into the mouth of Christians some words, which Origen says were never spoken by any Christian, learned or unlearned. 'However,' as Origen [zz] adds, 'it is not in any private books, or 'such as are read by a few only, and those studious persons, but 'in books read by every body, that it is written: *The invisible*

[x] Solent medici præbere interdum cibum aliquem, interdum etiam potum dare, verbi gratia ad dilutiendam caliginem vitiosi: nec tamen in edendo ipso cibo vel in porrigendo sentimus, quia utilis est, et prodest oculis. . . . Hoc ergo modo credendum, et etiam de scriptura sanctâ, quia utilis est, et animæ prodest, etiam si sensus noster ad puriens intelligentiam non capit: quoniam, ut diximus, et bonæ virtutes, quæ nobis adsunt, reficiuntur in his sermonibus et pascuntur; et contrariæ torpescunt his meditationibus et effugantur. . . . Non ita de causâ hæc diximus, nec excusantes nos ista protulimus, sed ut ostenderemus in scripturis sanctis esse vim quandam, quæ legenti etiam sine explicatore fructum. In Ser. Jesu Hom. xx. p. 455. A. B. C. Bened.

[y] Directions for the profitable Reading of the Holy Scriptures, ch. 1. p. 9, 10. Third ed. 1726.

[z] Cont. Cels. l. vii. p. 356. Cant.

[zz] Καὶ ταῦτα ἐν ταῖς ἰδιοχειρίοις καὶ σπανίοις συγγράμμασιν ὑπὸ ὀλίγων μετὰ καὶ φιλομαθῶν, ἀλλ' ἐν δημοσιευομένοις γεγραμμένα, ἅτε τῶν ἀεὶ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν κλίσεις κειμένων τὴν παροιμιακὴν ἀναγράφειν. Ibid. p. 720. C. Bened.

[a] *Things*

'*things of God, from the creation of the world, are clearly ſeen,* '*being underſtood by things that are made,*' Rom. i. 20: ſo that the epiſtle to the Romans was a writing open to all ſorts of people. And yet from thence diſputes have been raiſed, which have ſometimes given no ſmall diſturbance to the church; and Chriſtians of [a] ancient as well as later times have been ſenſible it is a part of ſcripture in which are many things not eaſy to be underſtood. But I apprehend that there is no ground to conclude, from this paſſage, that there were any books of ſcripture that were not read by all. The private books, thoſe read by a few only, and thoſe ſtudious men, do not appear to be books of ſcripture, ſacred ſcripture. So far as I am able to perceive, it would be reaſonable to look for all the books of ſcripture, where we find the epiſtle to the Romans, among writings uſed by all mankind.

It is true, Origen allows that there are difficulties in the ſcriptures; but he does not therefore diſſuade any from reading them, but adviſes them to labour the more to underſtand their meaning. And if this were a reaſon againſt reading any part of ſcripture, it would hold againſt all; for Origen was of opinion that there were difficulties in all the books of the New Teſtament, even the plaineſt of them, the goſpels themſelves, as we may ſee hereafter.

Origen often [b] ſpeaks of a threefold ſenſe of ſcripture—hiſtorical, moral, and myſtical; and he [c] ſays that if any ſenſe is difficult to be attained, he will never ceaſe reading, ſtudying, enquiring, and praying, till he has found it. And he exhorts others to do the like, and blames thoſe who never read the ſcriptures at home, and ſeldom come to church except on feſ-

[a] Omnis quidem ad Romanos epiſtola explanatione indiget, et tantis obſcuritatibus involuta eſt, ut ad intelligendam eam Spiritus Sancti indigeamus auxilio, qui per apoſtolum hæc ipſa dictavit. Hieron. Hadibix, § 10. Totus hic apoſtoli ſenſus, et in ſuperioribus et in conſequentibus, imo omnis epiſtola ejus ad Romanos, tenebris obſcuritatibus involuta eſt. Id. Algaſiæ Qu. viii. [b] Prima enim ex præcellit, hiſtorica eſt, veluti fundamentum quoddam in inferioribus poſita. Secunda hinc myſtica, ſuperior et excelſior ſita. Tertiam ſi poſſumus moralem tentemus adjicere. In Geneſim Hom. ii. p. 65. B. C. Bened. Triplicem namque in ſcripturis divinis intelligentiæ inveniri ſæpe diximus modum—hiſtoricum, moralem, et myſticum. Unde et corpus ineſſe ei, et animam, ac ſpiritum intelleximus. In Levit. Hom. v. p. 209. C.

[c] Si vero non ſolam ſecundum literam, ſed aliquid et ſecundum ſpiritum attingere, biduum videbor feciſſe apud puteum viſionis. Quod et ſi moralem locum contigero, fecerim triduum; vel certe eorum ſi non potuero omnia intelligere, affideo tamen ſcripturis divinis, et in lege Dei meditor die ac nocte, et omnino nunquam deſino inquirendo, diſcutiendo, tractando, et certe (quod maximum eſt) orando Deum. . . . Sin vero negligam, neque domi exercear in verbo Dei, neque eccleſiam ad audiendum frequenter ingrediar, ſicut nonnullos in vobis video, qui diebus tantummodo ſolemnibus ad eccleſiam veniunt, qui hujuſcemodi ſunt, non habitant apud puteum viſionis, &c. In Gen. Hom. xi, p. 91. D. E.

tival days; because in this way they are never likely to attain all these senses, scarce any one of them. Thus argues Origen in his Homilies, to excite the diligence of all sorts of people.

In his Prologue, as it is called, to the Canticles, if [d] it be his, Origen [e] informs us that the wise men among the Jews put all the books of scripture into the hands of young people, except the beginning of Genesis, the beginning and end of Ezekiel, and the book of Canticles: and he himself there dissuades some people, who are, what they should not be, carnal and sensual, from reading that book. Nevertheless it does not appear that any part of scripture, esteemed by Christians to be divine, was withheld from persons of any rank or age. I think Origen's writings alone are a sufficient proof, that none of the scriptures were concealed in privacy: for, not to mention now any other things, he wrote [f] upon the beginning of Genesis, and upon the prophecies of Ezekiel; and upon the book of Canticles he wrote [g] two works in the way of tomes, or commentaries, beside his Homilies upon the same book. Jerom [h] speaks particularly of one of those Commentaries, which was a large work, consisting of ten volumes; and he admires and commends it, as if it were the best book that Origen ever wrote. He likewise translated, and, as he says, faithfully, two Homilies of Origen upon the Canticles, composed by him in a familiar style for the benefit of people of small proficience. But to proceed.

7. 'Every thing,' says [i] Origen, 'needs a suitable food for 'its nourishment: the true food of the rational nature is the

[d] See Tillemont, Origene, art. 31. Huet. Or. lib. iii. sect. 3. n. vii. [e] Ob hoc ergo moneo, et consilium do omni qui nondum carnis et sanguinis molestiis caret, neque ab affectu naturæ materialis abscedit, ut a lectione libelli hujus, eorumque quæ in eo dicuntur, penitus temperet. Aiunt enim observari etiam apud Hebræos, quod nisi quis ad ætatem perfectam maturamque pervenerit, libellum hunc ne quidem in manibus tenere permittatur. Sed et illud ab eis accepimus custodiri, quandoquidem moris est apud eos, omnes scripturas a doctoribus et sapientibus tradi pueris, simul et eas quas διδασκαλίας appellant, ad ultimum quatuor ista observari, id est, principium Geneseos, in quo mundi creatura describitur, et Ezechielis prophetæ principium et finem . . . et hunc Cantici canticorum librum. p. 492. T. i. Bas.

[f] Ει δε τις βουλεται . . . λαβειν τα πραγματευθεντα ημιν εις την Γενεσιν, απο της αρχης βιβλιω μεχρι των Αδαμ και Παραδεισου γενεσεως πληρες. Cels. l. vi. p. 309. Cant. p. 670. E. Bened. [g] See Tillem. Origene, art. 31. T. iii. P. iii. p. 234.

[h] Origenes, cum in cæteris libris omnes vicerit, in Cantico canticorum ipse se vicit. Nam decem voluminibus explicitis, quæ ad viginti usque versuum millia pene perveniunt: . . . Itaque illo opere prætermisso, quia ingentis est ocii, laboris, et sumptuum, tantas res, tamque dignum opus, in Latinum transferre sermonem, quos in morem quotidiani eloquii parvulis adhuc lactantibus composuit, fideliter magis quam ornate interpretatus sum. Hier. Prol. ad Dam. p. 481. Tom. i. Bas.

[i] Omnis natura rationabilis propriis et sibi competentibus nutriri indiget cibis. Cibus autem verus naturæ rationabilis est sermo Dei. In Num. Hom. xxvii. p. 374. A. E. Bened.

'word

'word of God.' And soon[k] after he presses the reading of the scriptures, even those books or parts of scripture that appear obscure and difficult. Otherwise, he says, we must lay aside all; for there are difficulties in the plainest book, in the gospels, and the epistles of the apostles.

8. Having argued that[l] there were some things in the scriptures mysterious and difficult, others easy and obvious, and understood of themselves without any farther help, he infers: 'If 'then[m] we study the whole scripture, we shall become skilful 'money-changers.'

9. Because the scriptures are the proper food of our souls, he is for reading them daily. 'Let us,' says[n] he, 'come daily to 'the wells of the scriptures, the waters of the Holy Spirit, and 'there draw, and carry home a full vessel.'

10. He concludes a Homily upon Jeremiah, which we have in Greek, in this manner: 'These[o] things being so, let us re-'collect the words of scripture, and lay them up in our heart, 'and endeavour to live according to them; that being purified 'from sin before our departure out of this world, we may be 'saved through Jesus Christ, to whom be glory and power for 'ever and ever. Amen.'

XXI. Another proof of a peculiar respect for the holy scriptures, and of the great authority they were in with Christians, is, that they were read and explained in their assemblies of public worship. This was common to the books both of the Old and the New Testament.

1. In a Latin Homily upon Exodus: 'Let[p] us therefore take 'heed,

[k] Ita ergo et in cibis rationalibus, divinorum dico voluminum, non continuo aut culpanda aut refutanda est scriptura, quæ difficilior aut obscurior ad intelligendum videtur. . . . Quamvis, et si diligentius requiramus (verbi causa) in evangelii lectione, vel apostolica doctrina, in quibus delectari, et in quibus tibi aptissimum et suavissimum deputas cibum; quanta sunt quæ te latent, si discutias et perscruteris mandata Domini. Quod si ea quæ obscura videntur et difficilia, refugienda sunt protinus et vitanda, invenies etiam in illis, in quibus valde confidis, tam multa obscura et difficilia, ut si hanc sententiam teneas, sit tibi etiam inde recedendum. . . . Hæc autem in præfatione præmisimus, ut suscitemus animos vestros, quoniam quidem hujusmodi lectio habetur in manibus quæ difficilis ad intelligendum, et superflua videatur ad legendum. Sed non possumus hoc dicere de Sancti Spiritus literis, quod aliquid in eis sit otiosum aut superfluum, etiamsi aliquibus videntur obscura. Ibid. p. 374. C. D. E. F. 375. A.

[l] Και επι των λεγομενων εν ταις γραφαις, α μεν εστιν απορρητοτερα και μυστικωτερα· α δε αυτοθεν χρησιμα τοις νουσι. In Jerem. Hom. xii. p. 123. C.

[m] Ολην ουν την γραφην εαν εξετασωμεν, ερουμεν δοκιμοι γενομενοι τραπεζιται. κ. λ. Ibid. D.

[n] Rebecca quotidie veniebat ad puteos, quotidie hauriebat aquam . . . animarum est ista eruditio, et spiritalis doctrina, quæ te instituit et docet quotidie venire ad puteos scripturarum, ad aquas Spiritus Sancti, et haurire semper, et plenum vas domum referre. In Gen. Hom. x. p. 87. F.

[o] In Jerem. Hom. ii. p. 67. A. B. Huet.

[p] Videamus ergo, ne non solum cum Moyses legitur, sed et cum Paulus legitur, velamen sit positum super cor nostrum. Et manifeste, si negligenter audimus, si nihil studii ad eruditionem et intelli-

'heed, lest not only when Moses is read, but also when Paul is 'read, the veil be upon our heart. And certainly, if we hear 'carelessly, if we take no pains to obtain instruction and un- 'derstanding, not only the scriptures of the law and the pro- 'phets, but also of the apostles and gospels, will, as to us, be co- 'vered with a thick veil.'

2. When he shews how a Christian sabbath ought to be kept, beside meditation upon heavenly and invisible things, he mentions 'coming' to church, and hearing the divine readings and 'discourses,' or sermons: and says likewise, 'That on that 'day the reader of the divine law, and the preacher, does not 'cease from his labour, and yet the sabbath is not pol- 'luted.'

3. In another Homily: 'And' this we do, when the scrip- 'tures are read in the church, and when the discourse for expli- 'cation is pronounced to the people.'

4. In one of his Homilies he represents strange negligence of some in hearing the readings and the expositions of the scriptures. 'Some' went away as soon as the readings in the public 'assemblies were over; some hardly stayed so long; others 'there were who scarce knew whether the scriptures were read 'or not, but entertained themselves with secular discourse in the 'remoter parts of the Lord's house. Of such,' he says, 'he 'may affirm, that when Moses is read, not a veil, but some par- 'tition, or even wall, is upon their heart.' This comparison, and the foregoing words, 'the remote parts of the Lord's house,' may afford some reason for thinking that the Christian churches at that time had very seldom any magnificence. It may be suspected that they were only private houses, or buildings very like them, consisting of several rooms, separated from each other by walls and partitions.

intelligentiam conferimus, non solum legis et prophetarum scriptura, sed et apostolorum et evangeliorum grandi nobis velamine tegitur. In Exod. Hom. xii. p. 174. A. q Si ergo desinas ab omnibus sæcularibus operibus, et nihil mundanum cures, sed spiritualibus curis vaces, ad ecclesiam convenias, lectionibus divinis et tractatibus aurem præbeas, et de cœlestibus cogites . . . hæc est observatio sabbati Christiani. . . . Lector autem divinæ legis vel doctor non desinit ab opere suo, et tamen sabbatum non contaminat. In Num. Hom. xxiii. p. 358. D. E. r Hoc ergo etiam nunc, vel cum scripturæ in ecclesia leguntur, vel cum sermo explanationis profertur ad populum, scripturæ auctoritatem sequentes, dicimus, &c. In libr. Jesu Hom. ix. p. 421. D. s Aliqui vestrum, ut recitari audierint quæ leguntur, statim discedunt. . . . Alii ne hoc ipsum quidem expectant, usquequo lectiones in ecclesia recitentur. Alii vero nec si recitantur sciunt, sed in remotioribus dominicæ domus locis sæcularibus fabulis occupantur. De quibus ego ausus sum dicere, quia cum legitur Moyses, jam non velamen super cor eorum, sed paries quidem et murus est positus. In Exod. Hom. xii. T. ii. 173. B. C.

5. 'Take

5. 'Take heed leſt by a love of earthly things, or by any 'other means, you be a ſtranger to that food of wiſdom, which 'is conſtantly diſpenſed in the churches of God. For, if you 'turn away your ear from hearing thoſe things which are read 'or diſcourſed in the church, doubtleſs you will ſuffer a famine 'of the word of God.'

6. I might enlarge very much upon this point out of Origen, but it is not neceſſary at preſent: I ſhall add therefore only a fine paſſage in the books againſt Celſus, which I think relates to this matter. Celſus had compared the Chriſtians to jugglers and mountebanks, that gathered weak and ſilly people together to hear their tales. 'But,' ſays[u] Origen, 'how unjuſt is this re-'proach! wherein do we reſemble thoſe perſons? we who by 'readings, and by diſcourſes upon them, excite men to piety to-'ward the God of the univerſe, and to other virtues of a like 'excellence; and diſſuade men from a contempt of the Deity, 'and from all things contrary to right reaſon? The philoſo-'phers would have been glad if they could have gathered to-'gether ſuch [mean] people to hear diſcourſes recommending 'the practice of virtue.'

XXII. In the next place we are to conſider whether there were any other books, beſide thoſe in our preſent canon, for which Origen had the ſame reſpect which he appears to have had for theſe. And, in order to judge of this, we ſhall firſt of all obſerve his quotations of thoſe which we now generally eſteem only ancient eccleſiaſtical writings, ſuch as Barnabas, Clement, Hermas, Ignatius; then thoſe which we uſually call ſpurious or apocryphal.

It is to be obſerved that we are now chiefly concerned about books that may be thought to have ſome claim to be inſerted in the canon of the New Teſtament; for which reaſon we need not be ſo particular in our obſervations upon his quotations of ancient writings, which rather belong to the Old Teſtament, though we may take ſome notice of theſe likewiſe.

XXIII. I begin then with obſerving Origen's citations of Chriſtian eccleſiaſtical writings.

1. The epiſtle aſcribed to St. Barnabas is twice or thrice

[u] Vide ne, . . . alienus efficiaris a ſapientiæ cibis, qui ſemper in Dei eccleſiis eroganter. Si enim averſus auditum ab his, quæ vel leguntur in eccleſiis, vel diſputanter, ſine dubio famem verbi Dei patieris. In Gen. Hom. xvi. T. ii. p. 104. F.

. . . . τ. τελ. παραπλησια πραττουσι, οι . . . συγγραμμασι, και δια των εις αυτα διηγησεως, προτρεπτικοι γινονται προς το μετα της των ολων ευσεβειαν, και τας αλλας τας προς αρετην αποτεινουσας. Ου γαρ απο του καταφρονειν του θειου, . . . παυσαι των παρα τοις πολλοις πραττομενων; ειπερ ο φιλοσοφος γ' αν ηδεως ηγειρε τοιουτον οχλον, ακροασεως λογων επι τοις καλοις προτρεπτικων. Con. Celſ. l. iii. p. 480. E. T. i. Bened.

quoted by Origen in his remaining works, either Greek or Latin. In the books of Principles it is quoted in this manner: 'The [w] same things teaches Barnabas likewise in his epistle, 'when he says there are two ways, one of light, the other of 'darkness, over which also he says some certain angels preside; 'over the way of light the angels of God, over the way of dark-'ness the angels of Satan.' We may observe here that Origen had just before quoted Tobit and Hermas, after several quotations of the commonly received books of the Old and New Testament.

Celsus had reviled the apostles of Christ, as infamous men. Origen answers: 'It is [x] indeed written in the catholic epistle 'of Barnabas (from whence perhaps Celsus took occasion to 'call the apostles infamous and wicked men), that Jesus chose 'for his own apostles men who were very great sinners.'

Origen is thought by some to refer also to this [y] epistle in his Commentaries upon the epistle to the Romans. But that is not plain: the books he quotes, or refers to particularly, for what he there advances, are such as are universally received as canonical.

2. St. Clement's epistle to the Corinthians is twice quoted by Origen. In the books of Principles [z] Origen cites him, calling him Clement, 'a disciple of the apostles.' In the Commentaries [a] upon John this epistle is again cited; and the writer is called 'faithful Clement, to whom Paul bears testimony, saying, '*with Clement, and other my fellow-labourers, whose names are* '*in the book of life.*' Philip. iv. 3.

I shall here take the liberty to mention an observation which

[w] Eadem quoque Barnabas in epistola sua declarat, cum duas esse vias dicit, unam lucis, alteram tenebrarum, quibus et præesse certos quosque angelos dicit: viæ quidem lucis, angelos Dei; tenebrarum autem viæ, angelos Satanæ. De Princ. lib. iii. cap. 2. T. i. p. 140. E. Bened.

[x] Γεγραπται δη εν τη Βαρναβα καθολικη επιστολη (οθεν ο Κελσος λαθων ταχα ειπειν ειναι επιτριβεις και πανουργους τους αποστολους) οτι εξελεξατο τους ιδιους αποστολους Ιησους, οιους υπερ πασαν αμαρτιαν αμαρτειν. Contr. Cels. l. i. p. 49. Spenc. T. i. p. 378. B. Bened.

[y] Sunt præterea (sicut in multis scripturæ locis invenimus) etiam utriusque partis vel utriusque viæ fautores quidem et adjutores angeli. Nam carnis concupiscentiæ adversus spiritum favet Diabolus et angeli ejus, et omnes spirituales nequitiæ in cœlestibus, cunctique adversus quos hominibus luctamen est principatus et potestates, et mundi hujus rectores tenebrarum. [Eph. vi. 12. Rom. viii. 38.] In Ep. ad Rom. lib. i. cap. 1. p. 468. Basil.

[z] Meminit sane Clemens, apostolorum discipulus, etiam eorum quæ ἀλληλαις Græci nominarunt . . . cum ait, 'Oceanus intransmeabilis est hominibus, 'et hi qui trans ipsum sunt mundi, qui his 'eisdem dominatoris Dei dispositionibus 'gubernantur.' [Vid. Clem. Ep. ad Cor. c. 20.] Orig. de Princ. l. ii. c. 3. p. 82. D. Bened. Paulo post. Ex his tamen quæ Clemens visus est indicare, cum dicit, 'Oceanus intransmeabilis est hominibus, 'et hi mundi qui post ipsum sunt.' Orig. ibid. p. 83. B. C.

[a] Και παρεκβαλλεται τουδ' ολου γεγραπται εκ αλλης πιστης των ιερων ο πιστος Κλημης, υπο Παυλου μετ' ονομαστος, λεγοντος, Μετα Κλημεντος, κ. λ. [Vid. Clem. Ep. cap. 55.] Orig. Comm. in Joan. p. 143. A. Huet.

I have

I have met with ſince I wrote the chapter of Clement of Rome. Mr. Wolff of Hamburgh thinks [b] him to be different from Clement whom St. Paul mentions in the epiſtle to the Philippians; ſo likewiſe Dr. Wall: they think this laſt not to have been a Roman, but a Philippian. Says [c] Dr. Wall, 'This 'Clement ſeems to be a Philippian; yet many ancients take 'him to be Clemens Romanus, without any ground but the 'name, which was a very common name. Clemens Romanus 'muſt have been but a young man at this time. The moſt that 'Irenæus ſays of him is, that he had ſeen, and heard, and con-'verſed with Paul and Peter, before their death; and that 'many in Clement's time were living who could remember the 'apoſtles. But this Clement had been St. Paul's fellow-'labourer, (at Philippi, I ſuppoſe) ten or twelve years before 'this time;' that is, before Paul's writing the epiſtle to the Philippians in his impriſonment at Rome.

Upon which I would obſerve, that theſe learned men, I think, would not diſpute what has been ſo often ſaid by the ancients, that Clement, biſhop of Rome, who wrote the epiſtle from thence to the Corinthians, was well acquainted with ſome of the apoſtles of Chriſt; whether he be the perſon mentioned by St. Paul in his epiſtle to the Philippians, or not. But I ſee no proof that Clement there mentioned by the apoſtle was a Philippian; if ſo, St. Paul's ſalutations of Aquila and Priſcilla would prove them to be of ſeveral places, that is, natives of them. [See Rom. xvi. 3; 2 Tim. iv. 19. See likewiſe Acts, xviii. 2. 18. 26; 1 Cor. xvi. 19.] And if Paul's calling Clement his helper or 'fellow-labourer,' in his epiſtle to the Philippians, is a proof that Clement had laboured with him at Philippi, his ſalutation of Aquila and Priſcilla, in the epiſtle to the Romans, would prove that they had been the apoſtle's 'helpers' at Rome, before he had been there. Nor is there any weight at all in Dr. Wall's argument from the age of Clement: there is no great diſtance between the ſuppoſed times of his and St. John's death; and yet St. John had been an apoſtle of Chriſt ſome while before Paul was converted. Clement therefore, biſhop of Rome, without any inconſiſtence, may be ſuppoſed to have been a companion and fellow-labourer of Paul at ſeveral

[b] De Clemente, qui Romanæ eccleſiæ poſtea præfuerat, accipit Euſebius, H. E. l. iii. cap. iv. xv. Veri autem ſimilius eſt, talem hic Clementem intelligi, qui Philippis verbi evangelici præconem egerit, quod de altero illo nuſquam memini deceri. Jo. Chriſt. Wolf. Curæ in N. T. ad Philip. iv. 3.

[c] Brief Critical Notes upon the N. T. p. 279, 280.

places,

places, and yet live to the end of the first century, or thereabout.

I shall place here also Origen's quotations of the Recognitions, though they are not so generally allowed to be written by Clement of Rome as the epistle to the Corinthians.

In his Commentaries[d] upon Genesis, Origen has a long passage out of the Recognitions, which he quotes by the title of Circuits, or Travels, written by Clement the Roman, disciple of the apostle Peter. In another work he quotes[e] some words of Peter in Clement, meaning the Recognitions ascribed to him.

3. The Shepherd, or Pastor, of Hermas is often quoted by Origen. The places are too numerous to be all inserted here; and a large part of them may be seen by the learned reader among the testimonies to Hermas, in Le Clerc's Patres Apostolici. I shall, however, produce the most remarkable of them.

1.) It is quoted, as I said just now, with Barnabas[f] and Tobit. Again,[g] in the books of Principles, it is quoted by Origen as scripture, together with the book of Enoch. In[h] the same work it is quoted as scripture together with the Maccabees: it is mentioned by him likewise with the Maccabees in[i] his Commentaries upon St. John's gospel.

2.) In the Commentaries upon the epistle to the Romans, at chap. xvi. ver. 14, *Salute Asyncritus, Phlegon, Hermas, Patrobas, Hermes, and the brethren which are with them*, Origen observes,

[d] Και Κλημης δε ο Ρωμαιος, Πετρω απτομενος μαθητης συνοδοι τυχας εν τω πρωτω περι Κληντος των πραξεων, εν Ασσυριοις, ειπων ε. τοις περι ουδεις, απαγκαιοτατον τι εστι τελος των γινομενων φησι, κ. τ. ε. [Vid. Recogn. l. x. n. x. et seq.] Orig. Comm. in Gen. T. ii. p. 20. E. Bened. Vid. et Philocal. cap. 23. p. 81, 82. Spencer. [e] Tale aliquid dicit et Petrus apud Clementem, quoniam opera bona quæ fiunt ab infidelibus in hoc seculo prosunt, non et in illo ad consequendam vitam æternam. [Vid. Recogn. l. vii. n. xxxviii.] Orig. in Matth. Tractatus 35. p. 172. Basil. 1571.

[f] Sed et Pastoris liber hæc eadem declarat, dicens, quod bini angeli singulosque quosque hominum comitentur: et si quando bonæ cogitationes cor nostrum ascenderint, a bono angelo suggeri dicit; si vero contrariæ, mali angeli dicit esse instinctum. [Vid. l. ii. mand. 6. cap. 2.] Orig. de Princip. l. iii. c. 2. p. 140. D. Bened.

[g] Quod autem a Deo universa creata sint . . . ex multis scripturæ assertionibus comprobatur. . . . Nam et in libello qui Pastoris dicitur Angeli pœnitentiæ, quem Hermas conscripsit, ita refertur: 'Primo 'omnium credo, quia unus est Deus qui 'omnia creavit et composuit, . . .' Sed et in Enoch libro his similia describuntur. Verum tamen usque ad præsens tempus nullum sermonem in scriptis sanctis invenire potuimus, per quem Spiritus Sanctus factum esse vel creatura diceretur. De Princip. l. i. c. 3. p. 61. C. D. Bened.

[h] Ut autem etiam ex scripturarum auctoritate hæc ita se habere credamus, auctoritatem quoque in Machabæorum libris . . . sed et in libro Pastoris in primo mandato ita positum est: 'Primo omnium credo quia unus est 'Deus, qui omnia creavit atque composuit, 'et fecit ex eo quod nihil erat ut esset 'universa.' De Princ. l. ii. cap. 1. p. 70. A. B. Bened. [i] Αλλ' ο παρα τω . . . γραφη εν μια των . . . Comm. in Johan. p. 17. E. T. ii. Huet.

'To

'To[k] theſe there is only ſent a ſimple ſalutation, nor is there 'added any high commendation. Nevertheleſs I think that 'this Hermas is the author of the book called the Shepherd; 'which ſcripture [or 'writing'] appears to me very uſeful, and, 'as I think, divinely inſpired. And that he gave them [perhaps it 'ſhould be 'him'] no commendation, the reaſon may be this: 'that he ſeems, as that book itſelf ſhews, to have been converted 'and brought to repentance after the commiſſion of many 'ſins.'

3.) In other places this book is quoted after this manner: In a Homily upon the book of Numbers he[l] ſays, 'Thus we are 'taught in this book, in which there is nothing at all that can 'be queſtioned. The like things are alſo to be found in the 'book of the Shepherd, if indeed any one thinks that ſcripture '[or 'writing'] ought to be received.'

4.) In his Commentaries upon St. Matthew: 'If[m] I may 'dare quote a certain ſcripture, uſed indeed in the churches, but 'not accounted of all to be divine, let us take a paſſage out of 'the Shepherd.'

5.) Once more: 'In[n] the little book of the Shepherd, de-'ſpiſed by ſome.'

6.) Theſe, I think, are the moſt remarkable quotations of this book in Origen, and ſufficient to enable the reader to judge for himſelf in this point. It appears hence that this book was not univerſally received as divine; that by ſome it was much deſpiſed; that there were in it ſome things which were not approved by all: and ſometimes it is ſpoken of as if it was received by very few, hardly by any one. Nevertheleſs Origen quotes it as an uſeful book, and as ſcripture, and thinks it divinely inſpired. However, upon the whole, he ſeems to quote it only as ſcripture in a ſecondary ſenſe, or lower rank. This may be concluded from his quoting it ſo often with the books of the Maccabees, and Tobit, and Enoch; which Origen knew

[k] De iſtis eſt ſimplex ſalutatio, nec aliquid eis inſigne laudis adjungitur. Puto tamen, quod Hermas iſte ſit ſcriptor libelli hujus qui Paſtor appellatur, quæ ſcriptura valde mihi utilis videtur, et ut puto divinitus inſpirata. Quod vero nihil eis [forte 'ei'] laudis aſcripſit, illa opinor eſt cauſa, quia ipſe, ſicut ſcriptura illa declarat, poſt multa peccata ad pœnitentiam fuiſſe conversus, et ideo nec opprobrium ei aliquod ingerit. In Epiſt. ad Rom. cap. 16. T. iv. p. 708. Bonii. [l] Quod autem dies pœnitentiæ reputetur, non ſolum hoc libro, in quo nihil omnino eſt quod dubitari poſſit, oſtenditur, ſed et in libello Paſtoris; ſi cui tamen ſcriptura illa recipienda videtur, ſimilia deſignantur. In Num. Hom. viii. T. ii. p. 294. B. Bened. [m] Ει δε χρη τολμαν τινα και απο της φερομενης μεν εν τη εκκλησια [al. ταις εκκ.] γραφης, ου παρα πασι δε ομολογουμενης ειναι θειας, το τοιουτον παραμυθησασθαι, λεγειν αν τι απο της ποιμενος. Comm. in Matth. T. i. p. 361. E. Huet. [n] Διο τοιουτοις χρεις και το εν τω υπο τινων καλα βιβλιαριω ε βλιαρ του ποιμενος, περι του προτρεπεσθαι την Ερμαν δυο γραψαι βιβλια. κ. λ. De Princip. l. iv. cap. 1. T. i. p. 168. Vid. Philocal. cap. 1. p. 9. ex. ed. Spencer.

very

very well, and ſometimes expreſsly obſerves, were not in the Jewiſh canon. That Origen ought to be ſo underſtood, is the more probable, becauſe Euſebius, Jerom, and [o] others, who were well acquainted with Origen's writings and opinions, give no higher authority to this book, as we ſhall ſee more fully hereafter. In the mean time I ſhall juſt obſerve Rufinus's account of this matter, who, after he had put down the canonical books of ſcripture, adds: 'But [p] it ought to be taken notice of that 'there are other books which are not canonical, but were called 'by the ancients eccleſiaſtical, as the Wiſdom of Solomon, 'and another Wiſdom of the Son of Sirach. In the ſame rank 'are the books of Tobit, Judith, and the Maccabees; and 'in like manner, in the New Teſtament, the book of the Shep-'herd, or of Hermas.'

4. Origen's two quotations of Ignatius have been ſufficiently taken notice of (L) formerly. He calls him 'one of the ſaints,' a 'martyr,' and 'the ſecond biſhop of Antioch after Peter;' but without any intimation that his epiſtles were part of ſacred ſcripture.

XXIV. We now proceed to writings generally called ſpurious, or apocryphal: and here I ſhall begin with placing at length the preface to Origen's firſt Homily upon St. Luke's goſpel, as it is called; or his obſervations upon St. Luke's introduction or preface to his goſpel.

1. 'As [q] of old among the Jewiſh people many pretended to 'the

[o] Vid. Pearſon, Vind. Ignat. P. i. cap. 4. p. 274, 275.

[p] Sciendum autem eſt, quod et alii libri ſunt qui non canonici, ſed eccleſiaſtici a majoribus appellati ſunt; ut eſt Sapientia Salomonis, et alia Sapientia quæ dicitur filii Syrach . . . Ejuſdem ordinis eſt libellus Tobiæ, et Judith et Macchabæorum libri. In Novo vero Teſtamento libellus qui dicitur Paſtoris, ſive Hermatis . . . Rufin. Expoſ. in Symbolum Apoſt.

(L) See chap. v. p. 66.

[q] Sicut olim in populo Judæorum multi prophetiam pollicebantur, et quidam erant pſeudoprophetæ, e quibus unus fuit Ananias, filius Agor: alii vero prophetæ: et erat gratia in populo diſcernendorum ſpirituum, per quam alii inter prophetas recipiebantur, nonnulli quaſi ab exercitatiſſimis trapezitis reprobabantur: ita et in Novo Teſtamento multi conati ſunt ſcribere evangelia, ſed non omnes recepti. Et ut ſciatis non ſolum quatuor evangelia, ſed plurima eſſe conſcripta, ex quibus hæc quæ habemus electa ſunt, et tradita eccleſiis, ex ipſo proœmio Lucæ, quod ita contexitur, cognoſcamus: Quoniam quidem multi conati ſunt ordinare narrationem. Hoc quod ait, 'conati ſunt,' latentem habet accuſationem eorum qui abſque gratia Spiritus Sancti ad ſcribenda evangelia proſilierunt. Matthæus quippe et Marcus, et Joannes et Lucas, non ſunt conati ſcribere, ſed Spiritu Sancto pleni ſcripſerunt evangelia. Multi igitur conati ſunt ordinare narrationem de his rebus quæ manifeſtiſſime cognitæ ſunt in nobis. Eccleſia quatuor habet evangelia, hæreſes plurima; e quibus quoddam ſcribitur ſecundum Ægyptios, aliud juxta duodecim apoſtolos. Auſus fuit et Baſilides ſcribere evangelium, et ſuo illud nomine titulare. Multi conati ſunt ſcribere, ſed et multi conati ſunt ordinare. Quatuor tantum ſunt evangelia, ex quibus ſub perſona Domini et Salvatoris noſtri proferenda ſunt dogmata. Scio quoddam evangelium, quod ſecundum Thomam, et juxta Matthiam; et alia plura legimus, ne quid ignorare videremur, propter eos qui ſe putant aliquid ſcire, ſi iſta cognoverint. Sed in his omnibus nihil aliud probamus, niſi quod eccleſia;

'the gift of prophecy; and there were some false prophets, one 'of whom was Ananias son of Agor, but others were prophets; 'and there was among the people the gift of discerning spirits, 'by which some were owned as prophets, others were rejected 'as it were by skilful money-changers; so also now, under the 'New Testament, many took in hand to write gospels, but all 'have not been received. And that not four gospels only, but 'very many, were written, out of which those we have were 'chosen, and delivered to the churches, we may perceive even 'from Luke's preface, which is thus: *Forasmuch as many have 'taken in hand to set forth in order a declaration.* Luke, i. 1. 'His expression of their "taking in hand," contains a tacit ac-'cusation of those who without the gift of the Holy Spirit took 'upon them to write gospels; for Matthew and Mark, and 'John and Luke, did not take in hand to write, but being full 'of the Holy Ghost wrote gospels. "Many therefore took in "hand to set forth in order a narration of those things which "are most surely known amongst us." The churches have 'four gospels, heresies have very many; of which one is in-'titled "according to the Egyptians," another "according to the "Twelve Apostles." Basilides likewise had the assurance to write 'a gospel, and call it by his own name. Many took in hand 'to write, many also took in hand to set forth in order. Four 'gospels only have been approved, out of which the doctrines 'of our Lord and Saviour are to be learned. I know a certain 'gospel, which is called "according to Thomas," and "accord-"ing to Matthias;" and many other we read, that we may not 'seem to be ignorant of any thing, for the sake of those who 'think they know something, if they are acquainted with these '[gospels]: but among all these we approve of none but the 'four gospels received in the church.'

I have hitherto translated only the beginning of this Homily, as we have it in Origen's Latin works: Mr. Simon has published the same thing in Greek, from manuscripts, at Paris. As there is some small difference between these, I shall now translate the Greek of Mr. Simon.

'As [r] among the people of old there were many who pre-'tended

ecclesia; id est, quatuor tantum evangelia recipienda. In Proœm. Lucæ Hom. i. T. ii. p. 210. Basil.

[r] Ὥσπερ δὲ ἐν τῷ παλαιλαῷ πολλοὶ προφητείαν ἐπηγγέλλοντο· ἀλλὰ τίνες μὲν ἦσαν ψευδοπροφῆται, τινὲς δὲ ἀληθῶς προφῆται, καὶ ἦν χάρισμα διακρίσεως πνευμάτων, ἀφ' οὗ ἐκρινεῖτο ὁ ἀληθῆς προφήτης καὶ ὁ ψευδοπροφήτης· οὕτω καὶ νῦν ἐν τῇ καινῇ διαθήκῃ τὰ εὐαγγέλια πολλοὶ ἐθέλησαν γράψαι· ἀλλ' οἱ δοκίμοι τραπεζῖται οὐ πάντα ἐκρίναν, ἀλλὰ τινὰ αὐτῶν ἐξελέξαντο. Ταχὰ δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐπεχείρησαν λεληθυίαν ἔχει κατηγορίαν τῶν χωρὶς χαρισμάτος, ἐλθοίτων ἐπὶ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν τῶν εὐαγγελίων. Ματθαῖος γὰρ οὐκ ἐπεχείρησεν, ἀλλ' ἔγραψεν ἐξ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος κινούμενος· ὁμοίως καὶ Μάρκος καὶ Ἰωάννης, παρὰ πλήσιον δὲ καὶ Λουκᾶς. Τὸ μὲν τοι ἐπιγεγραμμένον τῶν δώδεκα εὐαγγελίων,

'tended to prophesy, but some of them were false prophets,
'and others truly prophets; and there was the gift of discern-
'ing spirits, by which a true and false prophet were distin-
'guished: so also now, in the New Testament, many would
'write gospels; but skilful money-changers did not approve of
'all, but chose some of them. Possibly the expression, "they
"took in hand," contains a tacit accusation of those who set
'themselves to write gospels without the gift of the Spirit; for
'Matthew did not take in hand, but wrote, being moved by
'the Holy Ghost: in like manner Mark and John, as also
'Luke. But they who composed the gospel, intitled the Gospel
'of the Twelve, took in hand. There is also a gospel according
'to Thomas. Moreover Basilides had the assurance to write a
'gospel [intitled] according to Basilides. Many therefore took
'in hand, as the writers of the gospel according to Matthias,
'and many more; but the church of God approves four
'only.'

I have thus translated the Greek as it is in Simon's Critical History of the Commentators of the New Testament. The reader will observe the differences between this and the Latin preface; particularly, here is no mention of the gospel according to the Egyptians. But I suspect this to be the fault only of Simon's impression; for he puts that gospel there in his French translation together with the gospel according to the Twelve: however, I have thought myself obliged to follow his Greek. I hope father De la Rue, of whose edition of Origen's works I have as yet seen only the first two volumes, will give us this more exactly; for where the mistake lies I cannot say. It is nevertheless observable, that St. Ambrose, who in his Exposition of St. Luke's gospel seems to have copied this preface of Origen, though without naming him, or giving any hint that he copied any author at all, omits [s] the gospel according to (M) the Egyptians, whilst he mentions those of the Twelve, and Basilides, Thomas, and Matthias.

If this passage be really Origen's (as I think there can be no

ευαγγελιον, οι συγγραψαντες επεχειρησαν. Θωμαν δε και το κατα Θωμαν ευαγγελιον. Ηδη δε εστολμηται και Βασιλειδης γραψαι κατα Βασιλειδην ευαγγελιον. Πολλοι μεν ουν επεχειρησαν, και το κατα Ματθιαν και αλλα πλειονα· τα δε τεσσαρα μονα παρεδοθη εν τη Θεου εκκλησια. Orig. Procem. in Luc. ex Cod. MS. Bibl. Reg. n. 2330. et ex duobus Codd. Bibl. Coib. nn. 2259 et 4112. See Simon. Hist. Crit. des Comment. du N. T. chap. v. p. 81, 82. à Rotterdam, 1693.

[s] Et aliud quidem fertur evangelium, quod duodecim scripsisse dicuntur. Ausus est etiam Basilides evangelium scribere, quod dicitur secundum Basilidem. &c. Ambros. Exp. Evan. secund. Luc. init.

(M) Mr. Jones says, that the gospel according to the Egyptians is mentioned by St. Ambrose in the same manner as by Origen. New and Full Method, &c. vol. i. p. 246. But it is plainly a slip of memory. See there, p. 193, 194.

reason

reaſon to doubt but that for the main it is ſo), it ſhews us very much what was his opinion concerning the ſpurious apocryphal books of the New Teſtament, and particularly the goſpel of the Twelve, or according to the Twelve; which is generally ſuppoſed to be the ſame which is alſo called the goſpel according to the Hebrews. If the goſpel according to the Egyptians was not mentioned by Origen in this place, he has [u] no where taken any notice of it, that I remember, in his now remaining works. But allowing him to have mentioned it here, ſtill this affords full proof of the obſcurity of this goſpel, and the vaſt neglect of (N) it by catholic Chriſtians, that ſo little notice is taken of it by Origen, who lived ſo long at Alexandria in Egypt, and the reſt of his days in Paleſtine, or near it.

2. Origen, in his Commentaries upon St. Matthew's goſpel, diſcourſing on the hiſtory of the rich man that came to Chriſt, and having compared the ſeveral accounts given by the evangeliſts Matthew, Mark, and Luke, adds: 'But let us conſider this 'place otherwiſe. It is written in [w] a certain goſpel, which is 'called "according to the Hebrews," if indeed any one is pleaſed 'to receive it, not as of authority, but for illuſtration of the pre-'ſent queſtion: "A certain rich man," ſays that goſpel, "ſaid "to him, Maſter, what good thing ſhall I do, that I may live? "He ſaid unto him, Man, keep the law and the prophets. "He anſwered him, That I have done. He ſaid to him, "Go, ſell all that thou haſt, and diſtribute among the poor; and "come, follow me. But the rich man began to ſcratch his "head, and it did not pleaſe him. And the Lord ſaid to him, "How ſayeſt thou, I have kept the law and the prophets? ſee-"ing it is written in the law, Thou ſhalt love thy neighbour as "thyſelf; and behold, many of thy brethren, ſons of Abraham, "are clothed with rags, ready to periſh for hunger, whilſt thy "houſe is filled with all ſorts of good things, and nothing goes "out of it to them. And turning about, he ſaid to his diſciple

[u] Vid. Grabe, Spicil. T. i. p. 31. and Jones, as before, p. 246. (N) Compare what is ſaid of Clement of Alexandria, p. 235, 236. [w] Scriptum eſt in evangelio quodam, quod dicitur ſecundum Hebræos: ſi tamen placet alicui recipere illud, non ad auctoritatem, ſed ad manifeſtationem propoſitæ queſtionis. Dixit, inquit, ad eum alter divitum, Magiſter, quid bonum faciens vivam? Dixit ei, Homo, leges et prophetas fac. Reſpondit ad eum, Feci. Dixit ei, Vade, vende omnia quæ poſſides, et divide pauperibus, et veni ſequere me. Cœpit autem dives ſcalpere caput ſuum, et non placuit ei. Et dixit ad eum Dominus, Quomodo dicis, Legem feci et prophetas? quoniam ſcriptum eſt in lege, Diliges proximum tuum ſicut teipſum: et ecce multi fratres tui, filii Abrahæ, amicti ſunt ſtercore, morientes præ fame; et domus tua plena eſt multis bonis, et non egreditur omnino aliquid ad eos. Et converſus dixit Simoni diſcipulo ſuo ſedenti apud ſe, Simon, fili Joannæ, facilius eſt camelum intrare per foramen acûs, quam divitem in regnum cœlorum. Tract. viii. in Matth. T. i. p. 73. Baſ.

" Simon,

" Simon, who was ſitting by him, Simon, ſon of Joanna, it is " eaſier for a camel to paſs through the eye of a needle, than " for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of heaven."

This paſſage is not in the Greek Commentaries upon St. Matthew, but only in the Latin tranſlation of them; and [x] Huet therefore thinks it an addition of the tranſlator. But perhaps ſome late Greek copier thought fit to omit it; it might be in the more ancient copy uſed by the tranſlator.

In the Greek Commentaries upon St. John: 'But [y] if any 'one admits the goſpel according to the Hebrews, where our 'Saviour himſelf ſays, " Juſt now my mother, the Holy " Ghoſt, took me by one of my hairs, and carried me to the " great mountain Thabor." This paſſage we have alſo in Origen's Greek Homilies [z] upon Jeremiah, publiſhed by Huet.

Theſe two are the only paſſages of this goſpel found in Origen's remaining works, as has been obſerved by [a] Dr. Grabe and [b] Mr. Jones. However, [c] Jerom, ſpeaking of the goſpel according to the Hebrews, ſays that Origen made frequent uſe of it. If that be true, he muſt refer to works of Origen now loſt. But perhaps Jerom ſpeaks in a careleſs hyperbolical manner; and, if all Origen's works were now extant, we might not ſee this goſpel very often quoted in them. I apprehend that theſe remaining quotations are ſufficient to ſhew, not only that this goſpel was not generally received by Chriſtians, but likewiſe that Origen himſelf had no great regard to it; if he had, this goſpel would have appeared much oftener in his works. It may therefore be concluded that he did not take this goſpel according to the Hebrews to be St. Matthew's goſpel; or, if he did, he muſt have ſuppoſed it to have been ſo altered and interpolated, as to be no longer of any authority, and of but little uſe.

3. In the Greek Commentaries upon St. Matthew, ſays Origen, 'Suppoſing him to be the ſon of Joſeph, they ſay, *Is not this the* 'carpenter's ſon? Matth. xiii. 35; and deſpiſing all who ſeemed 'to be his neareſt kindred, they expreſs themſelves in this manner: '*Is not his mother called Mary? and his brethren, James, and*

[x] Ad hæc vetus ille interpres tract. viii. inſignem locum profert ex evangelio ſecundum Hebræos. Atqui id de ſuo addidit, quippe quod in exemplaribus Græcis nuſquam appareat. Ac proinde temporum illorum, quibus hoc ſupererat evangelium, æqualis fuit. Origenian, l. iii. ſect. 3. n. 12. p. 252. [y] Εαν δε τις παραδεξαιτο το καθ' Εβραιους ευαγγελιον, ειθα αυτος ο Σωτηρ φησιν· Αρτι ελαβε με η μητηρ μου το Αγιον Πνευμα επι μια των τριχων μου, και απηνεγκε με εις το ορος το μεγα Θαβωρ. Comm. in Joan. p. 58. D. E. [z] In Jerem. Hom. xv. T. i. p. 148. A. Huet. [a] Spicil. T. i. p. 27. [b] Vol. i. p. 335.

[c] Evangelium quoque, quod appellatur ſecundum Hebræos, . . . quo et Origenes ſæpe utitur. De Vir. Ill. cap. ii.

[d] *Joſeph,*

'*Joſeph, and Simon, and Jude? and his ſiſters, are they not all* '*with us?* Matth. xiii. 55, 56. They thought him therefore to 'be the ſon of Joſeph and Mary: and ſome, [d] induced thereto 'by a tradition in the goſpel according to Peter, or the book 'of James, ſay, that theſe brethren of Jeſus are ſons of Joſeph 'by a former wife, that had cohabited with him before Mary.'

This is the only place in which this piece (or theſe pieces, if they are two) is quoted in Origen's remaining works; which alone may be reckoned a good argument, that it was not much eſteemed by him. The manner likewiſe in which this goſpel is quoted, ſeems to ſhew that he did not reckon it to have been written by Peter, or James, or by any companion or diſciple of either of them; but that he ſuppoſed it to be rather a work compoſed after their time, containing traditions relating to Chriſt, of things reported to have been ſaid or done by him. It is not unlikely that here were ſome diſcourſes aſcribed to Peter, others to James, which occaſioned different titles of this work.

4. In the preface to the books of Principles, which we have in Latin: 'But [e] if any one ſhould bring an objection out of 'that little book which is called the Doctrine of Peter, where our 'Saviour ſeems to ſay to his diſciples, "I am not an incorpo-"real dæmon," I would anſwer, in the firſt place, that that book 'is not accounted an eccleſiaſtical book; and then make it ap-'pear that it is neither a writing of Peter, nor of any other 'perſon that was inſpired by the Spirit of God.' This book then is entirely rejected by Origen.

In his Commentaries upon St. John, which we have in Greek, ſays Origen, 'But it [f] would be tedious to tranſcribe 'now the words of Heracleon, taken out of the book intitled 'the Preaching of Peter, and to ſtay to enquire concerning the 'book itſelf, whether it be genuine, or ſpurious, or mixed.'

We are to obſerve here, that [g] it is ſuppoſed by divers learned men, that the Doctrine of Peter, and the Preaching of Peter,

[d] Τινες δε και τον Ιωσηφ, φασι τουτο ειναι, εκ προτερας γυναικος αυτου γεγαμηκοτος, πριν την Μαριαμ συνοικησαι αυτω, ου δια τον ευαγγελιον κατα Πετρον, η την βιβλον Ιακωβου, ενα τους αδελφους του Ιησου ειναι φασιν εκ της προτερας ταυτης γυναικος του Ιωσηφ. Comm. in Matt. T. x. p. 253. D. E. Huet. [e] Si quis vero nobis proferat ex illo libello qui Petri Doctrina inſcribitur, ubi Salvator videtur ad diſcipulos dicere, 'Non ſum dæmonium incorporeum;' primo reſpondendum eſt ei, quod ne hic liber inter libros eccleſiaſticos non habetur; et oſtendendum eſt, quia neque Petri eſt ſcriptura, neque alterius cujuſcumque ſpiritu Dei dictata. De Princip. in Præf. p. 49. B. T. i. Bened. [f] Και ουδε εστι του παρον σκοπου, τας λεξεις του Ηρακλεωνος, τας εκ του επιγραφομενου Κηρυγματος Πετρου φερομενας, ενταυθα αντιγραφειν, και περιεργαζεσθαι περι της βιβλου αυτης, ει γνησιος, η νοθευομενος, η μικτος... Comm. in Joan. T. ii. p. 211. D. E. Huet. [g] Civ. Hiſt. Lit. P. i. in Peter, p. 5. Grab. Spic. T. i. p. 56. Jer. Jones, New and Full Method, &c. vol. i. p. 449.

are one and the ſame book, under different titles. If this be ſo, as is very probable, then in the former place Origen abſolutely rejects it; and in this expreſſes himſelf in a modeſt manner, as a fair and candid antagoniſt, becauſe it was not a proper place to prove at large the character of that book: and theſe quotations afford a good argument, that the Preaching of Peter was not eſteemed a book of canonical ſcripture by Clement, Origen's maſter, though (o) he has made frequent uſe of it.

5. In the books of Principles, Origen [h] ſays, 'Wherefore 'that ſaying ſeems to me to be right, which is written in the 'Acts of Paul: "That this is the word, a living animal."

Theſe Acts of Paul are allowed by learned men [i] to be different from the Acts of Paul and Thecla. So particularly father De la Rue upon this place of Origen, who likewiſe makes no doubt but this notion is corruptly borrowed from Heb. iv. 12, which is alſo the opinion of [k] Dr. Grabe; if ſo, it would be a proof that the author of this book had a reſpect for the epiſtle to the Hebrews. Beſides, we have here only a Latin verſion, which perhaps is not exact; if we had the Greek, the reference to that epiſtle might be plainer.

Again, in Origen's Greek Commentaries upon St. John: 'But [l] if any one pleaſe to admit what is written in the Acts of 'Paul, as ſpoken by our Saviour: "I am about to be cruci-"fied again."

Perionius conjectured, that for 'Paul' in this place ſhould be read 'Peter;' and [m] Grabe profeſſes himſelf to be of the ſame opinion: he therefore, in his collection of theſe things, has placed this fragment not among thoſe of the Acts of Paul, but of Peter; but [n] Huet chooſes to follow his Greek copies, and writes 'Paul.' It may be added, that [o] in the ancient Latin verſion of theſe Commentaries upon John, we have 'Paul.' However, theſe Acts may have been ſometimes called Paul's, and at other times Peter's, as containing ſome matters relating to both theſe apoſtles.

If the Acts cited here be the ſame with thoſe in the foregoing paſſage, then, though Origen ſuppoſed that ſaying taken from

(o) See before, chap. xxii. p. 236—239.

h Unde et recte mihi dictus videtur ſermo ille qui in Actibus Pauli ſcriptus eſt, quia hic eſt verbum, animal vivens. De Princ. l. i. c. 2. T. i. p. 54. E. Bened.

i Vid. Grab. Spic. T. i. p. 128. Jer. Jones, v. i. p. 392. k Ib. p. 128.

l Εἰ τῷ δὲ φίλον παραδέξασθαι τὸ ἐν ταῖς Πράξεσι Παύλου [illegible] ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ Σωτῆρος εἰρημένον· Ἐγὼ ἄλλος μέλλω σταυροῦσθαι. In Joan. T. i. p. 298. E. H et.

m Ib. p. 80.

n Sed tamen nihil muto, nam Actorum Pauli mentio fit apud noſtrum Origenem, lib. i. περὶ ἀρχῶν, cap. 2. Huet. not. p. 118.

o Quod ſi cui placet admittere quod in Actibus Pauli ſcriptum eſt, tanquam a Servatore dictum. T. ii. p. 373. Basil.

th

them to be right, yet it appears from this second passage that the book was of no authority.

I have now set down, I think, all the particular quotations of apocryphal books of the New Testament, found in Origen's remaining works. Beside the general notice taken of these things in the observations upon the introduction to St. Luke's gospel, the pieces of this kind cited by him are, the Gospel according to the Hebrews, the Gospel according to Peter, or book of James, the Doctrine or Preaching of Peter, and the Acts of Paul.

6. I shall add here a general citation of some book without a name. In the Latin Homilies upon Leviticus, Origen [p] says: 'There is also another sort of religious fast, which is commended in the writings of some apostles; for I find in a certain book a saying of the apostles: "Blessed is he that fasts "that he may feed the poor." The fast of such a one must be 'very acceptable in the sight of God.' Certainly this manner of quoting affords no ground to think that Origen esteemed this piece of any authority, though he approved the saying.

Thus at length I have given a full and particular representation of the passages of Origen, concerning both ecclesiastical and apocryphal writings; and yet I flatter myself the reader will not complain of prolixity in this article.

XXV. I should now proceed to make remarks upon these citations; but I suppose this work will be more complete, and the sentiments of Christians at that time concerning the scriptures be more distinctly understood, if I first take some brief notice likewise of Origen's citations of apocryphal books of the Old Testament.

1. Origen, in his explication of the first Psalm, or preface to his Commentaries upon the Psalms, in a passage preserved by [q] Eusebius and [r] others, gives a catalogue of the books of the Old Testament received by the Jews: he says they are in number twenty-two. They are much the same [s] with those commonly received by Protestants.

2. Having quoted a text from Tobit, Origen adds: [t] 'But 'because the Jews reject the book of Tobit as not canonical

[p] Hæc ergo Christianis jejunandi ratio [illegible] sed et alia adhuc religiosa, cujus [illegible] quorundam apostolorum literis prædi[illegible]. Invenimus enim in quodam libello [illegible] postolis dictum, 'Beatus est qui etiam 'jejunat pro eo, ut alat pauperem.' Hujus [illegible]ium valde acceptum est apud Deum, [illegible] digne satis. In Levit. Hom. v. [illegible] p. 246. A. Bered. [q] H. E. l. vi. cap. 25. [r] Origen. Philocal. Basil. v. Origen. Niceph. Hist. lib. v. cap. 16. [s] See Cosin's Scholastical History of the Canon of Scripture, chap. 5. [t] Τὸ δὲ τὴν Τωβὶτ βίβλον οὐκ ἐν τοῖς ἀφεγράφοις παρὰ Ἑβραίοις [illegible] ἐν τοῖς ἀπο[illegible]. De Orat. p. 220. v. i. Bened.

'[or, 'no part of the Teſtament'], I ſhall take a paſſage out of the firſt book of the Kings.'

In another place he ſays, 'The [u] Jews do not uſe Tobit nor 'Judith, nor have they them at all in Hebrew among their 'apocryphal books; but the churches make uſe of Tobit.'

He likewiſe ſpeaks of 'Eſther, [w] Tobit, Judith, the book of 'Wiſdom, as books of ſcripture which pleaſed the common 'people, becauſe they were eaſy, or free from obſcurity.' But I think it reaſonable to ſuppoſe, nevertheleſs, that an equal reſpect was not ſhewn to thoſe ſcriptures which the Jews rejected, as to thoſe they received.

3. In a Latin Homily he quotes Eccleſiaſticus cautiouſly: 'In [x] a book which among us uſes to be joined with the writ-'ings of Solomon, and to be called Eccleſiaſticus, but by the 'Greeks is called the Wiſdom of Jeſus the ſon of Sirach, it is 'written, "All wiſdom cometh from the Lord." Though, therefore, this was placed, ſometimes at leaſt, with the other books of Solomon, it was not reckoned to be his.

And in the prologue to the Canticles, Origen [y] ſays, that neither the Jews nor the Chriſtians reckoned any more than three books of Solomon in the canon, meaning the Proverbs, Eccleſiaſtes, and the Canticles. It is here ſaid, likewiſe, that the 'oracles of God,' in the Old Teſtament, were derived to the Chriſtians from the Jews.

4. As for the hiſtory of Suſanna, added to the book of Daniel, Africanus, in his letter to [z] Origen, tells him he wondered he ſhould not know it was ſpurious, and ſays it was a piece lately forged: he obſerves [a] likewiſe that all the ſcriptures of the Old Teſtament generally received were tranſlated from He-

[u] Πῶδι δὲ λαβεῖν ἐλέγχει τὸ . . . ν. ὅτι ἐστ' ἐκ γραφῆς, ἀπὸ τῆς Τωβὶτ ; ὅτι μὲ γραφὴς ἔχ . . . ται, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἑλλήνων τῆς Τωβὶτ ὑ . . . ται, ἀλλ' ὑ . . . λαβ. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔχουσιν ἐν . . . ν τὰ ἀπόκρυφα Ἑβραῖοι· ἀλλ' ἀπ' ἐκ . . . μεθόδου ἐγράφη τ . . . ἀλλ' ἐστὶ χρῆσθαι τῇ Τωβὶτ αἱ ἐκκλησίαι, κτλ., κ. τ. Ep. ad Afric. § 13. p. 26. D.

[w] Apertior ſcilicet ſimplicioreque doctrina, ut de moralibus eſſe ſolet, quæ præberi conſuevit iis qui initia habent in divinis ſtudiis, et prima eruditionis rationabilis elementa ſuſcipiunt. His ergo cum recitatur talis aliqua divinorum voluminum lectio, in qua non videatur aliquid obſcurum, libenter accipiunt; verbi cauſa, ut eſt libellus Heſter, aut Judith, vel etiam Tobiæ, aut mandata Sapientiæ. Si vero legatur ei liber Levitici, offenditur continuo animus, &c. In Num. Hom. xxvii. p. 374. F. A. T. ii. Bened. [x] In libro qui apud . . . quidam inter Salomonis volumina habetur, et Eccleſiaſticus dicit, apud Græcos vero Sapientia Jesu filii Sirach appellatur, ſcriptum eſt: Omnis ſapientia a Deo eſt. In Num. Hom. xviii. p. 350. E.

[y] Sed nos quomodo recipiamus hanc modi intelligentiam, cum neque ecclesia Dei ullo extrinſecus Salomonis Canticum legendum ſuſceperit; neque apud Hebræos, a quibus eloquia Dei ad nos videntur eſſe tranſlata, aliquid præter hos tres libellos Salomonis, qui et apud nos ſunt, amplius habent in canone? Prolog. in Cant. Cant. p. 591. T. i. Basil. [z] Θαυμάζω δὲ, πῶς ἔλαθέ σε τὸ γράφος τῆς βίβλου τῆδε κἀκεῖνα . . . ἡμᾶς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν χάριτι μὲν ἀλλὰς συγγράμματα, πεπλασμένα δὲ καὶ πεπλασμένα δηλοῦσι. κ. τ. λ. Afr. ad Orig. p. 10. A. [a] Ἐξ Ἑβραίων δὲ τὰς ἑλλην . . . μεθερμηνεύθη πᾶσ' ἐστὶ τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης φησὶ . . . Ibid. p. 11. A.

brew.

brew. I think this is enough to satisfy us, that this story could not be a part of the Christian canonical scriptures: and though Origen says all he can think of to prove this history true and genuine, and [b] affirms that it was made use of in Greek by all the churches of Christ among the Gentiles; yet he owns that it was not received by the Jews, nor to be found in their copies of the book of Daniel. They who desire to know more of this matter may consult [c] Du Pin.

5. The books of the Maccabees are expressly said by Origen not to be a part of the Jewish canonical scriptures, [d] in the passage cited at length by Eusebius, in his Ecclesiastical History.

6. I think it clear, that none of these books were canonical among the Christians. It was well known among them that they were not extant in Hebrew, nor owned by the Jews, from whom the Christians received the scriptures of the Old Testament. Nor does it appear that Origen wrote commentaries, or preached homilies, upon any of these books.

7. Beside these, Origen has cited divers other books in use among the Jews, as he says, and called secret or apocryphal; such as the book of Enoch, the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, the Assumption and Ascension of Moses.

8. In the Commentaries upon St. John: 'As [e] it is written 'in the book of Enoch, if any think fit to receive that as a sa-'cred book.'

Origen remarks upon a passage of Celsus, in which were some things which he supposes might be taken from the book of Enoch: 'But' he questions whether Celsus had read the book 'itself; and he adds, that Celsus seemed not to know that those 'books called Enoch's were not looked upon by the churches as 'divine.'

Again, soon after: 'Celsus [f] jumbling together and con-'founding every thing which he has heard or read, not caring 'whether the books he quotes are esteemed by Christians divine 'or not, says, "that sixty or seventy of those sons of God, when "they had descended, were bound under the earth to be punished

[b] Orig. ad Afr. p. 13. A.

[c] Dissertation Preliminaire sur la ... liv. i. ch. 1. § 5. p. 15. note (r).

[d] ... Apud ... cap. 25. p. 226. B.

[e] ... Com. in Joh. p. 132. C. Huet.

[f] ... Contr. Cels. l. v. p. 619. C. Bened. ... Ibid. p. 620. B. C.

" for their ſins:" and adds, as if taken out of the book of Enoch, ' though without naming it, that " from their tears aroſe hot " ſprings:" a thing neither ſaid nor heard in the churches of ' God.'

In a Homily upon the book of Numbers, Origen having quoted Pſal. cxlvii. 4, *He telleth the number of the ſtars; he calleth them all by their names*, adds: ' Of [h] which names ' there are many ſecret and myſterious things ſaid in the books ' called Enoch's; but ſince thoſe books are not in authority with ' the Jews, I forbear to allege any thing from them at this time.' Which ſhews that the opinion of the Jews, concerning ancient books, ſuppoſed to have been derived from their anceſtors, was not deſpiſed.

The books of Enoch are quoted [i] by Origen in ſome other places. But I have put down already more than enough to ſhew that they were not canonical ſcriptures.

9. How he quotes the Teſtaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, was (p) ſhewn formerly.

10. Origen has quoted a piece called the Aſcenſion of Moſes: we ſaw an inſtance, when we conſidered his citations of St. Jude's epiſtle. He is ſuppoſed to mean this book in another place, though he does not name it: he calls [k] it a ' certain little book ' not in the canon.'

11. To proceed. Says [l] Origen, ' We read (if indeed any ' one pleaſes to receive ſuch a kind of writing) that the angels of ' righteouſneſs and unrighteouſneſs diſputed about the ſalvation ' and damnation of Abraham, each ſide claiming him to them- ' ſelves.' A ſtrange diſpute! The title [m] of this piece is not certainly known: it is plain it was not canonical, nor much valued.

12. ' As [n] for the change of names, the Jews, I know not well ' upon what ground, but upon the authority, it is likely, of ſome ' ſecret books or traditions, have a tradition among them, that ' Phineas the ſon of Eleazar, who undoubtedly lived out the time ' of many judges, as we learn from the book of Judges, is the ' ſame as Elias; and that immortality was promiſed him in the

[h] De quibus quidem nominibus plurima in libellis, qui appellantur Enoch, ſecreta continentur et arcana: ſed quia libelli ipſi non videntur apud Hebræos in auctoritate haberi, interim nunc ea quæ ibi nominantur ad exemplum vocare differamus; ſed ex his quæ habemus in manibus, de quibus dubitari non poteſt, rerum proſequamur indaginem. In Num. Hom. xxviii. p. 384. E. T. ii. Bened. [i] De Prin. l. i. cap. 3. p. 61. C. D. T. i. Bened. et ibid. lib. iv. p. 193. D. et E. (p) See p. 331.

[k] Denique et in libello quodam, licet in canone non habetur, myſterii tamen hujus forma deſcribitur. In libr. Jeſu. Hom. ix. p. 400. E. Tom. ii. Bened.

[l] Legimus (ſi tamen cui placet hujuſcemodi ſcripturam recipere) juſtitiæ et iniquitatis angelos ſuper Abrahæ ſalute et mercede diſceptantes, dum utræque turmæ ſuo eum volunt cœtui vendicare. In Lucam Hom. xxxv. in. [m] Vid. Fabric. Cod. Pſeud. N. T. p. 401, 402.

[n] In Johan. p. 108. A. Huet.

' book

'book of Numbers, by the covenant of peace, as it is called, as 'a reward of his zeal for God.' Origen therefore was not acquainted with the Jewish apocryphal book whence this tradition was taken, if indeed it was recorded at all.

13. I formerly (Q) cited a passage from Origen's letter to Africanus, where he supposes that the author of the epistle to the Hebrews refers to some apocryphal book or books of the Jews. There are some other places in Origen's works where he speaks in the like manner, and supposes that our Saviour and his apostles did refer to apocryphal writings.

14. Upon Matth. xxvii. 9, *Then was fulfilled that which was spoken by Jeremiah the prophet, saying*. . . . says Origen, 'This [o] 'prophecy is no where found in the books of the prophecies of 'Jeremiah, read in the churches, and received by the Jews: 'however, if any one knows where it is written, let him shew it. 'But I suppose that here has been made a mistake in writing this 'text, and that 'Jeremiah' has been put for 'Zachariah;' or else 'that there is some apocryphal book of Jeremiah where this is 'written: but there is such a text in the prophet Zachariah, 'ch. xi. 12, 13. If any one does not like this supposition [of 'an error in transcribing], let him see whether this prophecy be in 'any secret book of Jeremiah; forasmuch as the apostle also al-'leges some texts of apocryphal books, saying somewhere, that '*eye hath not seen, nor ear heard*. 1 Cor. ii. 9. For this is not 'found in any canonical book, but only in a secret book of the 'prophet Elias. Again the apostle says, 2 Tim. iii. 8, *As Jan-'nes and Jambres withstood Moses*. This is not found in the pub-'lic scriptures, but in a secret book intitled "Jannes and Jam-"bres:" for which reason some have been so daring as to argue 'against that epistle to Timothy, though in vain. But I never 'heard of any who pretended to say the first epistle to the Corin-'thians is spurious because of the forementioned citation.'

(Q) See chap. xxxvii. p. 440.

[o] 'Tunc impletum est quod dictum 'fuerat per Hieremiam prophetam, dicen-'tem,' &c.] Inter ea quæ scripta sunt, non invenitur hoc Hieremias alicubi prophetasse in libris suis, qui vel in ecclesiis leguntur, vel apud Judæos referuntur: si quis autem potest scire, ostendat ubi sit scriptum. Suspicor autem errorem esse scripturæ, et pro Zacharia positum Hieremiam, aut esse aliquam secretam Hieremiæ scripturam in qua scribitur. Talis est autem textus apud Zachariam: 'Et dicam ad eos,' &c. [Zach. cap. xi. 12, 13.] Si autem hæc dicens aliquis existimat se offendere, videat ne alicubi in secretis Hieremiæ hoc prophetatur; sciens Coloniam et apostolus scripturas quasdam secretorum profert, sicut dicit alicubi, 'quod 'oculus non vidit, nec auris audivit:' in nullo enim regulari [in Græco procul dubio fuit κατῳκὴ. Grabe, Spic. T. i. p. 136.] libro hoc positum invenitur, nisi in secretis Heliæ prophetæ. Item quod ait, 'sicut 'Jamnes et Mambres restiterunt Mosi,' non invenitur in publicis scripturis, sed in libro secreto qui suprascribitur Jamnes et Mambres. Unde ausi sunt quidam epistolam ad Timotheum repellere, quasi habentem in se textum alicujus secreti, sed non potuerunt. Primam autem epistolam ad Corinthios propter hoc aliquem refutasse quasi adulterinam, ad aures meas nunquam pervenit. In Matth. Tract. 35. p. 193. Tom. ii. Basil.

This may be eſteemed by ſome a curious paſſage, for which reaſon I have made no ſcruple to tranſcribe it ſo much at length: I would likewiſe make the following remarks upon it.

1.) It ſhews that Chriſtians read and ſtudied the books of the New Teſtament with a great deal of care.

2.) It ſhews the averſion of Chriſtians for apocryphal books.

3.) Nevertheleſs Origen knew of none who had rejected the firſt epiſtle to the Corinthians; and poſſibly few or none ever ſuſpected that citation to be taken from any apocryphal book, as Origen did. The generality of people might ſuppoſe thoſe words to be taken from Iſ. lxiv. 4: St. Jerom, in his Commentary[p] upon this text of Iſaiah, declares that to be his opinion. As for the citation in St. Matthew, Jerom[q] was of the ſame opinion with Origen, that thoſe words were not taken from ſome apocryphal piece of Jeremiah, but from the genuine prophecies of Zachariah.

4.) It deſerves to be conſidered, whether the quoting or referring to ſome apocryphal book, or the ſuppoſition of ſuch quotation or reference, was not one reaſon of ſuſpecting or doubting of the genuineneſs and authority of ſeveral books of the New Teſtament; particularly the ſecond epiſtle of Peter, the epiſtle of Jude, and likewiſe that to the Hebrews. St. Jerom[qq] actually ſays that this was one reaſon why many in his time rejected the epiſtle of Jude.

15. In the long paſſage formerly cited out of Origen's letter to Africanus, concerning the hiſtory of Suſanna, Origen argues, that hiſtory might have been dropped out of the book of Daniel by ſome of the Jews, as being diſhonourable to their great men; and affirms (as was juſt mentioned) that in the New Teſtament are references to ſome Jewiſh apocryphal book. He writes again much to the ſame purpoſe in his Greek Commentaries upon St.

[p] Paraphraſin hujus teſtimonii, quaſi Hebræus ex Hebræis, aſſumit apoſtolus Paulus de authenticis libris in epiſtola quam ſcribit ad Corinthios: non verbum ex verbo reddens, quod fecere omnino contemnit; ſed ſenſuum expreſſione veritatem, quibus utitur ad id quod voluerit roborandum. Unde apocryphorum deliramenta conticeant, quæ ex occaſione hujus teſtimonii ingeruntur eccleſiis Chriſti. Hieron. lib. xvii. Comm. in Iſa. cap. 64.

[q] Hoc teſtimonium in Jeremia non invenitur. In Zacharia vero, qui pene ultimus eſt duodecim Prophetarum, quædam ſimiliter ſonare fertur. . . . . Legi nuper in quodam Hebraico volumine, quod Nazarenæ ſectæ mihi Hebræus obtulit, Jeremiæ apocryphum, in quo hæc ad verbum ſcripta reperi. Sed tamen mihi videtur magis de Zacharia ſumptum teſtimonium: evangeliſtarum et apoſtolorum more vulgato, qui verborum ordine prætermiſſo, ſenſus tantum de Veteri Teſtamento proferunt in exemplum. Comm. lib. iv. in Matth. cap. 27.

[qq] Judas, . . . parvam . . . epiſtolam reliquit. Et quia de libro Enoch, qui apocryphus eſt, in ea aſſumit teſtimonium, a plerisque rejicitur. De V. I. cap. 4.

Matthew.

Matthew. 'And it is related,' says [r] he, 'that Isaiah was sawn 'asunder by the people. But if any one receive not this history, 'because it is in the apocryphal Isaiah, let him believe what is 'written in the epistle to the Hebrews, *They were stoned, they were 'sawn asunder, were tempted.* Heb. xi. 37. For that particular, "they were sawn asunder," relates to Isaiah; as that, "they were "slain with the sword," to Zacharias, who was slain between the 'temple and the altar, as our Saviour has taught; referring, as I 'suppose, to some scripture, not received indeed in the common 'and public books, but it is likely to be found among the apo-'cryphal.'

Here is no authority given to this book of Isaiah, for he calls it apocryphal; nor is he certain that our Saviour referred to such a book: nor does it appear that Origen knew of any apocryphal book where that particular, concerning the place of Zacharias's death, was to be found.

16. In the books against Celsus: 'And [s] in the Acts of the 'apostles Stephen makes mention of the learning of Moses, which 'he had learned from ancient writings, and not generally known: "And Moses," says he, "was learned in all the learning of the "Egyptians." Acts, vii. 22.

17. In a Homily upon St. Matthew, which we have in Latin, Origen mentions again all these things together: Our Saviour's saying, Luke, xiii. 34, that 'Jerusalem had killed the prophets, 'and stoned them that were sent unto her,' though [t] the history of these things is not contained in the ancient scriptures read in the Jewish synagogues: What Stephen says, Acts, vii. 51, 52, *Ye stiff-necked, and uncircumcised in heart and ears, ye do always resist the Holy Ghost: as your fathers did, so do ye. Which of the prophets have not your fathers persecuted? and they have slain them which shewed before of the coming of the Just One:* What St. Paul writes, 1 Thess. ii. 14, 15, and again, 2 Tim. iii. 8, of 'Jannes and Jambres withstanding Moses:' and the quotation, 1 Cor. ii. 9. And then adds: '[u] We have mentioned 'all

[r] [illegible] In Matth. p. 225. B. C. Huet.

[s] [illegible] Cant. Cels. l. iii. p. 139. Cant. p. 478. A. Bened.

[t] . . cum non satis talis prophetetur historia in scripturis veteribus quæ legebantur in synagogis eorum. In Matth. Tr. 26.

[u] Hæc omnia diximus dissentientes sermonem: non ignorantes, quoniam multa secretorum facta sunt a quibusdam impiis et iniquitatem in excelsum loquentibus: et utuntur

'all these things by way of argument. Nevertheless we are not 'ignorant that many of the secret [or 'apocryphal'] books have 'been composed by impious men. And the Hypythians use 'some forged writings, the followers of Basilides others. We 'ought therefore to use caution, that we neither receive all the 'apocryphal books which there are in the world, because of the 'Jews, who perhaps have forged some writings in order to over-'throw the credit of our scriptures, and to support error; nor re-'ject all which may tend to confirm our scriptures. It is there-'fore becoming a great man to attend to and fulfil that direction: "Prove all things; hold fast that which is good." Nevertheless, 'for the sake of those who are not able, like skilful money-'changers, to distinguish words whether they be true or false, nor 'to secure themselves from all imposition, so as to hold fast that 'which is good, and avoid every kind of evil; no man ought to 'allege any books which are not in the canonical scriptures, for 'the confirmation of doctrines.'

18. In his prologue to the Canticles (if it be Origen's, as divers critics of no small note suppose [w]), translated by Rufinus, Origen writes to this purpose: 'This [x] however is manifest, that many 'passages are cited either by the apostles or the evangelists, and 'inserted in the new Testament, which we do not read in those 'scriptures [of the Jews] which we account canonical; but are 'nevertheless found in apocryphal books, and are evidently taken 'from thence. But neither will this give authority to apocryphal 'writings; for the bounds which our fathers have fixed are not to 'be removed. And possibly the apostles and evangelists, full of 'the Holy Ghost, might know what should be taken out of those 'scriptures, and what not. But we cannot without great danger

utuntur quibusdam fictis Hypythiani, aliis autem qui sunt Basilidis. Oportet ergo caute considerare, ut nec omnia secreta quæ feruntur in nomine sanctorum suscipiamus, propter Judæos, qui forte ad destructionem veritatis scripturarum nostrarum quædam finxerunt, confirmantes dogmata falsa; nec omnia abjiciamus quæ pertinent ad demonstrationem scripturarum nostrarum. Magni ergo viri est audire, et adimplere quod dictum est: 'Omnia probate; quod bonum 'est tenete.' Tamen propter eos qui non possunt quasi trapezitæ inter verba discernere, vera habeantur an falsa, et non possunt semetipsos caute servare, ut verum quidem teneant apud se, ab omni autem specie mali abstineant, nemo debet uti ad confirmationem dogmatum libris qui sunt extra canonizatas scripturas. In Matth. Tract. 26. p. 128, 129. Tom. ii. Basil.

[w] Vid. Huet. Origenian. lib. iii. sect. 3. n. vii. Pearson. Vind. Epist. Ignat. P. i. cap. vii. p. 300, &c. ap. Cleric. Pat. Apost. 1698. Tillemont, Mem. Ec. T. iii. P. iii. p. 234, 235.

[x] Illud tamen palam est, multa vel ab apostolis vel ab evangelistis exempla esse prolata, et Novo Testamento inserta, quæ in his scripturis quas canonicas habemus nunquam legimus; in apocryphis tamen inveniuntur, et evidenter ex illis ostenduntur assumpta. Sed nec sic quidem locus apocryphis dandus est; non enim transeundi sunt limites quos statuerunt patres nostri. Potuit enim fieri, ut apostoli vel evangelistæ, Sancto Spiritu repleti, scirent quid assumendum ex illis esset scripturis, quidve refutandum; nobis autem non sit absque periculo aliquid tale præsumere, quibus non est tanta Spiritus abundantia. Prolog. in Cant. Cant. p. 501. Tom. i. Basil.

'præsume

'presume to act in that manner, who have not such a measure 'of the Spirit.'

19. In the Greek Commentaries upon St. Matthew's gospel, Origen has an argument upon those words, Matth. xxii. 29, *Ye do err, not knowing the scriptures, nor the power of God*; where he says, 'That perhaps [y] some, having recourse to apocryphal books, in 'which the happiness of the future life is more clearly described, 'will say that there is a reference to them in these words, *Ye 'do err, not knowing the scriptures.* But,' says he, 'they who 'have recourse to apocryphal books will take a method not ap-'proved by the faithful.' This therefore was not a method approved by the faithful or catholic Christians, but only, or chiefly at least, by heretics.

20. From these several passages it appears, that there was in Origen's time a large number of Jewish secret books, or apocryphal books of the Old Testament. Some of these might be composed by the Jews; others of them probably had been composed, or rather forged, by Christians; some by catholics, some by heretics: the Nazarene Christians might be the authors of some of them, but not of all. It seems not unlikely that one view of the Christians in forging these books, was to verify by clear passages some things said in the New Testament, which were not so found in the ancient scriptures generally received by the Jews as canonical: these passages just cited from Origen give ground for such a suspicion. We actually saw formerly one forgery of this sort; for the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs may be reckoned a work of this kind, as appears from the extracts out of it, and the remarks then made upon it: the collection of Sibylline Oracles is another like work. But I think it evident, that though some considerable number of Christians were deceived about the age of those writings, none esteemed them canonical, or of authority. And in many of the passages alleged above, are traces of the peculiar respect which the Christians had for those ancient Jewish books which the Jews themselves most respected, and esteemed canonical, and were written in the Hebrew tongue.

XXVI. I am now to make some remarks; but they will chiefly concern the citations of ecclesiastical and apocryphal writings of the Christians. And I apprehend that it will appear from several considerations, and from a brief review of the whole which has been here set before the reader, that Origen did not

[y] Ἴσως τινὲς δ' ἂν εἰσὶ τὰς ἀποκρύφους καλαφεύγοντες λόγους, ἐνθα δοκεῖ σαφέστερον τὰ περὶ μακαριότητος [illegible] ἐπ' ἐκείνοις τὴν ἀναφορὰν εἶναι τῶν εἰρημένων ὑπὸ τῶν [illegible] εἰδὼς γραφὰς μηδὲ [illegible] εἰδὼς ἔτι τὰς ἀποκρύφους καλαφεύξεται, οὐκ ἐπιτηδεύσαντος [illegible] τοῦ πιστοῦ τὸν ἀναγνῶναι. Comm. in Matth. p. 498. C. D. T. i. Huet.

receive

receive as sacred scripture, in the strictest and highest sense of that character, any books beside those we now receive under that character and denomination.

1. And, first of all, this may be argued from the catalogues of the books of scripture found in Origen's works. One of these ought to be reckoned that which we have in Eusebius's Ecclesiastical History, though collected by him out of several of Origen's works. Eusebius there mentions not any books beside those in our present Canon; indeed he does not put down all these, because probably Origen did not look upon every one of them as of undoubted authority: but if he had received a great number of ecclesiastical and apocryphal books as divine scripture, Eusebius would have been obliged to take some notice of it. The two other catalogues, transcribed above from Origen's Latin works, deserve likewise some consideration; for though we cannot rely upon them as exactly conformable to the Greek originals, yet it is likely that there would have been particular mention made of several ecclesiastical and apocryphal books, if such had been accounted by him divine scriptures.

2. We have no knowledge or information that Origen wrote commentaries upon any books now out of the canon; though it is certain he published commentaries or homilies upon all or most of those which are now esteemed canonical.

3. The many passages we have alleged, containing Origen's general divisions of the books of scripture, assure us, he received no other as divine and sacred, in the highest sense, but those we do: his expressions suit these and no other. I need not recollect them here; the reader cannot but remember that common division of 'Gospels and Apostles:' sometimes he is more particular, and mentions 'Gospels, Acts, Epistles of Apostles;' 'Gospels, Apostles, and their Revelation.' The ecclesiastical and apocryphal books sometimes cited by him for the sake of illustration, cannot be comprehended in these divisions of sacred scripture which were of authority.

Mr. Richardson, speaking of this matter, and particularly of the Shepherd of Hermas, the piece cited by Origen more frequently, and sometimes with greater marks of respect, than any other ecclesiastical writing, says: [z] 'We find Origen several 'times distinguishing the books of the New Testament into the 'writings of the Evangelists and Apostles. Now it is certain that 'the Pastor of Hermas can be reduced to neither of these heads, 'and therefore, in the judgment of Origen, was not canonical.

z Mr. Richardson's Canon of the New Testament vindicated, p. 30.

This

This obſervation is eaſily and rightly applied to all the writings of this kind.

I ſhall add here another paſſage not yet tranſcribed, which likewiſe may be reckoned full to our purpoſe. It is in Origen's Greek Commentaries upon St. Matthew's goſpel, particularly theſe words: *Again, the kingdom of heaven is like unto a net that was caſt into the ſea, and gathered of every kind.* Matth. xiii. 47. Beſide other things, Origen here ſays, 'That [a] the kingdom of heaven is 'compared to a net of various texture, on account of the ſeveral 'parts of the ancient and new ſcripture: that the ſea into which the 'net is caſt, is the whole world; and that ſome men are taken by 'one part of the net, ſome by another; ſome by the words of 'Iſaiah, or Jeremiah, or Daniel; ſome by the law, others by the 'goſpels, others by the apoſtles: and that this net was not com-'pletely finiſhed before the coming of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt; 'for he was wanting to the texture of the law and the prophets 'who ſaid, *Think not that I am come to deſtroy the law or the 'prophets; I am not come to deſtroy, but to fulfil.* Matth. v. 17. 'And the texture of the net was completed in the goſpels, and 'the words of Chriſt [ſpoken] by the apoſtles.'

4. There is a paſſage of Origen which I ſhall put [b] in the margin, though ſomewhat obſcure, where he makes a great difference between apoſtles and their diſciples; allowing the apoſtles only to be 'the light of the world,' after Chriſt, and capable of 'enlightening others,' though their diſciples alſo had been 'enlightened.' I think it may be hence argued, that Origen would ſcarce receive any doctrinal and preceptive work as of authority, unleſs it were dictated or written by an apoſtle; though he might well receive the hiſtorical writings of a companion of apoſtles, containing an account of their preaching; as he undoubtedly received the goſpels of Mark and Luke, and the Acts of the apoſtles, written alſo by the latter of theſe two.

Here it will be objected that Origen received the epiſtle to the Hebrews, though not written by an apoſtle, which is inconſiſtent

[a] Σαγήνη [al. σαγήνης] δε σύνεσις γραφῆς παλαιᾶς καὶ καινῆς, καθ' ἑκάστην τῶν ἁρμονιῶν, καὶ τῶν συγκειμένων ἐκ τούτων καὶ ποικίλων τὴν ἰδέαν καὶ ποικίλων τὴν ἰδέαν . . . . εἰς ἣν βληθεὶς ἀγαθὸς καὶ ἐπὶ τὰν . . . τὸν σαγήνην τὸ γράμμα ἐλκύσαντα, τὸν μὲν ἐκ τοῦ προφήτου Ἡσαΐου, φέρ' εἰπεῖν, ἢ Ἱερεμίου, ἢ Δανιὴλ . . . . ἐκ δὲ τοῦ νόμου, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῶν εὐαγγελίων, τοὺς δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἀποστόλων [λόγων] . . . . ἐπεὶ γὰρ πεπλήρωται ἡ σύνεσις τῶν γραφῶν διὰ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ [Χριστοῦ] . . . . καὶ τοιαύτην ἐπιδέδωκεν ἡ εἰπὼν . . . . καὶ ἡ σύνεσις τῶν γραφῶν πλήρωσιν τὴν εὐαγγελικὴν, φησὶν Χριστὸς καὶ ἀποστολικὸς λόγος. Comm. in Matth. p. 215. E, 216. A, B, C. Huet.

[b] Ὅταν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ὦ, φῶς εἰμὶ τοῦ κόσμου. Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τοῖς μαθηταῖς φησιν· ὑμεῖς ἐστε τὸ φῶς τοῦ κόσμου· καὶ, λαμψάτω τὸ φῶς ὑμῶν ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων . . . . Τὸ δ' ἀκριβὲς σκόπει καὶ ἀκριβῶς ἀπολαμβάνειν εἰπὼν περὶ τοῦ τοιούτου ἐκκλησίας, καὶ τὸ, ὑμεῖς ἐστε φῶς τοῦ κόσμου, ἢ ὅτι τῷ ἀληθῶς ὄντι τοῦ κόσμου φωτὶ δύνασθαι φωτίσαι μὴ δυνάμενος ἄλλος, ἢ διδασκάλους φῶς εἶναι Παῦλος καὶ Πέτρος φασὶ τοῦ κόσμου· τοὺς δὲ τυχόντας παρ' ἑκάστοις μαθητὰς τούτων φωτίζεσθαι ἡμᾶς, ἢ μὴ φωτίζεσθαι ἐνίους· διὰ τοῦτο, τοῦ κόσμου, ἢ κόσμῳ φῶς ἀπόστολοι. Comm. in Joh. p. 25. C, D.

with the juſt-mentioned obſervation. But I do not perceive it to be ſo; for Origen always quotes the epiſtle to the Hebrews as Paul's: and in the paſſage preſerved in Euſebius, he ſays it had been handed down to his time by the ancients as Paul's; and though he ſays the phraſe and compoſition are not the apoſtle's, he affirms that the thoughts or ſentiments are 'admirable, and 'not inferior to the acknowledged writings of the apoſtle:' which is enough to ſhew that he thought the apoſtle's ſentiments had been exactly repreſented by the writer or compoſer of this epiſtle, whoever he was; otherwiſe it was impoſſible that the thoughts of this epiſtle ſhould be equal to thoſe of the acknowledged writings of the apoſtle Paul. According to this opinion of Origen, the epiſtle to the Hebrews will be of the like authority with the goſpels of Mark and Luke, who record the diſcourſes of Chriſt which they had heard and received from apoſtles; or with the book of the Acts of the apoſtles, where are diſcourſes of apoſtles in the ſtyle of the hiſtorian St. Luke. Juſt ſo Luke or Clement, or whoever was the writer of the epiſtle to the Hebrews, has there recorded, in his own phraſe and ſtyle, the ſenſe or thoughts of the apoſtle Paul.

However, there can be no ground to conclude from Origen's quotations of the epiſtle to the Hebrews, that he would receive as of authority the epiſtle, or any other doctrinal work, of an apoſtolical man; ſince, whenever he quotes that epiſtle to prove any thing, he always calls it Paul's.

5. Origen's quotations of eccleſiaſtical and apocryphal books, which I have tranſcribed ſo largely, ſhew he did not receive thoſe books as ſcripture. The citations of them are few in compariſon of the numerous paſſages taken out of the commonly received books of the New Teſtament: and uſually thoſe citations are accompanied with ſome expreſſions, that ſhew the books from whence they are taken were not received by himſelf or others as of authority.

6. The diſtinction which we lately (R) obſerved to be made by Origen of ſeveral ſorts of books—ſome genuine, others ſpurious, others of a mixed nature—is of great uſe to ſatisfy us that he did not eſteem all books cited by himſelf, or uſed and read by Chriſtians, as of equal authority; and that there were different degrees of reſpect due to ſuch writings, according to their ſeveral kinds: nor can it be doubted that Origen paid a juſt regard to writings, ſuitably to their real character. Another thing which ſhews the diſtinction made between writings, and that there were ſome of ſuperior authority to all others, from whence

(R) See before in this chapter, num. xxiv. 4. p. 503.

this

the Christian doctrines were to be learned, is that character frequently used by him, of scriptures 'received in the churches as 'divine.'

7. It is manifest from the whole strain and tenor of Origen's numerous works, and from his arguments upon any points that come before him, and particularly from his defence of the Christian religion against Celsus, that our gospels, and the other books of our canon, are the books which Origen, and all catholic Christians, relied upon. To give here one proof: In answer to some reflections of Celsus upon Christ's disciples, whom he calls sailors and publicans, Origen having observed that Matthew was a publican, and that James and John, the sons of Zebedee, and Peter and Andrew, were fishermen, adds: 'As [c] for the rest 'of them, we have not learned what were the employments by 'which they subsisted before they became disciples of Jesus.' Which shews that our gospels were the only histories of Christ and his disciples that were reckoned authentic: and that either there were no other pretending to give information about them; or, if there were any such, they were quite disregarded, or at least esteemed of no authority.

8. There is nothing extraordinary or unreasonable in Origen's citations of books not in the canon: if those books were still extant, we should still now and then occasionally make use of them. Sometimes we should remark a tradition preserved in them, without giving it more weight than it deserved; sometimes we should quote a pious or a beautiful saying in them; sometimes we might think proper to take notice of an objection that might be formed from some things contained in them; and yet all the while preserve that high and peculiar veneration which we now have for the books of the present canon. The great number of books published in those early ages concerning Christ and his apostles, though they were many of them mean and trifling, are an argument of the vast extent and reputation of the Christian doctrine. And so long as there were men of judgment in the world to distinguish the real merit of books; and Christians were extremely cautious of receiving any book or epistle as written by an apostle, or an apostolical man, without good evidence of its genuineness; such compositions were of small consequence, and could do no great harm. However, being in themselves of little value, and not being much esteemed, most of them have been entirely lost, except a few fragments; whilst all the books of the New Testament, received from the beginning, have been carefully

[c] Τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς ου μεμαθηκαμεν τα εργα, οθεν προ της μαθητειας του Ιησου περιεποιουν εαυτοις τας τροφας. Contr. Cels. l. i. p. 376. D. Tom. i. Bened.

preserved

preſerved, and frequently copied, becauſe of their real worth, and the great reſpect paid them by all Chriſtians in general.

XXVII. Origen's works afford aſſurance of the integrity of our preſent copies of the New Teſtament. And, as [d] Dr. Mill ſays, if we had all his works remaining, who publiſhed ſcholia, or commentaries, or homilies upon almoſt all the books of the Old and New Teſtament, we ſhould have before us almoſt the whole text of the Bible, as it was read in his time. Mr. Wetſtein [e] has ſince expreſſed himſelf much after the ſame manner; and ſays, if we now had Origen's copy, or all his works entire, we might expect thence better help for an exact edition of the New Teſtament, than from all the fathers beſides.

There are in Origen ſeveral paſſages relating particularly to the integrity or corruption of the text of the New Teſtament: and there are in him divers readings different from ours. It is fit my readers ſhould have ſome account of theſe matters.

1. Celſus charges the Chriſtians with having often deſignedly altered the text of the goſpels. Origen anſwers, 'That [f] he 'did not know of any that had altered the text of the goſpel, except the followers of Marcion and Valentinus, and perhaps of 'Lucanus:' therefore the catholics were innocent of this charge. Nor were all heretics guilty in this reſpect, ſo far as Origen knew. And I think that, from the ingenuity of this anſwer, it may be concluded he ſpoke the truth, according to the beſt of his knowledge.

2. Matth. xix. 19. *And thou ſhalt love thy neighbour as thyſelf.* Origen argues that theſe words were not originally here, becauſe this precept is not found in the parallel places of St. Mark's or St. Luke's goſpels [ſee Mark, x. 19. Luke, xviii. 20.], and for ſome other reaſons which he there inſiſts upon: but he does not ſeem able to ſupport his conjecture and reaſonings by the authority of any copy. He has however theſe words, which it is proper for us to put down here at length: 'It [g] would be impious,' ſays he, 'to ſuſpect this commandment, *thou ſhalt love thy neighbour* '*as thyſelf*, to have been inſerted though not ſpoken by our 'Saviour to the rich man, if there were not many differences 'in the copies of Matthew's and the other goſpels. But indeed

[d] Mill. Proleg. n. 672. [e] Wetſtein, Proleg. cap. vi. p. 66. [f] Μεμαχηται δε το ευαγγελιον αλλος ουκ οιδα, η τους απ. Μαρκιωνος, και τους απο Ουαλεντινου. ισως δε και τινα απο Λουκανου. Contr. Celſ. l. ii. p. 77. Cant. p. 411. B. Bened.

[g] Και ει μη ην και περι αλλων πολλων διαφωνια εν τοις αλλοις των ευαγγελιων, ουκ ειρηκεν προς τον πλουσιον τουτο, αγαπησεις τον πλησιον σου ως σεαυτον, ειδωλον ουν ο δοκει παρα γραφειν η των αντιγραφων διαφορα, ειτε απο τολμης τινων γεγραφοτων, ειτε απο τυφλης τινος μεταθεσεως των διορθουντων η των γραφομενων, ειτε και απο των τα εκαστοις δοκουντα εν τη διορθωσει πεπαιδευκοτων η αφελομενων. Comm. in Matth. p. 381. C. D. T. i. Huet.

'it

'it is manifeſt that there is a difference between copies, whatever 'it is owing to; whether to the negligence of tranſcribers, or to 'the wicked raſhneſs of ſome in altering what is written, or to a 'liberty taken by ſome of adding or leaving out ſome things by 'the way of correction and emendation, as they apprehend.'

Here ſeem to be hinted three ſeveral cauſes of various readings, or differences, in the copies of the goſpels. The firſt is the negligence of tranſcribers, which is very likely to happen, or rather is impoſſible to be entirely prevented. The ſecond is the wicked raſhneſs of ſome men, who deſignedly altered the goſpels, to make them agreeable to their own particular ſentiments. This, we may ſuppoſe, was the fault of a few only: for in the foregoing paſſage Origen aſſured us, that he did not know of any who had ſo altered the goſpels, except ſome of the heretics. In the third place, ſome differences in the copies of the ſcriptures might be owing to the critics, who took a liberty of leaving out ſome things, or adding others, and thus to correct or amend ſome readings in their copies, which they thought to be wrong. And I think that Origen himſelf here acts the part of a critic, though perhaps he did not eaſily take the liberty to alter his copies.

We cannot deny the truth of what Origen ſays here ſo poſitively, that there were then many various readings in the copies of the New Teſtament. But perhaps he aggravates a little to carry a point, and ſupport a bold conjecture. However we may hence infer, that theſe books were much eſteemed, and had been often tranſcribed before Origen's time; otherwiſe there had not been ſo many differences in the copies of them: and as it is a thing in itſelf highly probable, that differences ſhould happen in the copies of books frequently tranſcribed, ſo it is no ſmall ſatisfaction to find that ſuch differences were taken notice of. This would increaſe the care and concern for the exactneſs of the copies of books ſo much valued and reverenced as thoſe of the New Teſtament.

3. We may place here, as a general obſervation of Origen relating to this matter, what he ſays of the names of places: that [h] there were frequent errors of that ſort in the copies of the goſpels, which were owing to the ignorance of the Gentiles in the geography of the land of Judea. He gives two inſtances. John, i. 28. *Theſe things were done in Bethabara, beyond Jordan.* In [i] moſt copies

[h] Τοιαυτα δε και περι των τοπων των εν τη Παλαιστινη της αγνοιας τα περι την ιστοριαν πολλαχου, και απο τουτων αν τις ευροι τα πλειστα των διαφορων. Com. in Joh. p. 131. B. Huet. [i] Οτι μεν εχεδον εν ασι τοις αντιγραφοις ευρισκεται Βηθανια, και ουκ αγνοω· και τινες τουτο και εν τοις περαν γεγραπται· και παρα τουτο Βηθαβαρα ανεγνωσαν. Επιστρεφει δε με δυο, Βηθανια, ανεγνωσται, αλλα Βηθαβαρα. Com. p. 131. D. E.

in his time here was Bethany. He obſerves likewiſe that this was an ancient reading; nevertheleſs he prefers Bethabara, for divers reaſons which he there mentions.

4. He ſays likewiſe, that of the ſwine [k] which ran violently down a ſteep place, and were choked in the ſea, it was written in ſome copies, that this was done in the country of the Geraſenes; in a few copies, in the country of the Gadarenes; but [l] Origen is perſuaded that the right name is Gergeſenes. He adds, that there were like errors in the Greek copies of the Old Teſtament. But notwithſtanding what Origen ſays, there does not appear ſufficient reaſon for rejecting Gadarenes, whatever becomes of Geraſenes, as has been ſhewn by ** divers critics. Therefore the readings in our preſent copies may be all right; Gergeſenes in Matthew, and Gadarenes in Mark and Luke.

5. Matth. vi. 33. *But ſeek ye firſt the kingdom God, and his righteouſneſs, and all theſe things ſhall be added unto you.* Origen in his treatiſe of Prayer, diſcourſing of the proper matter of our petitions, ſays: 'Theſe [m] are things we ought to pray for: "Aſk "great things, and ſmall things ſhall be added unto you." 'And, "Aſk heavenly things, and earthly things ſhall be added "unto you." And, *Pray for them which deſpitefully uſe you.* 'Matth. v. 44. And, *Pray ye the Lord of the harveſt, that* '*he will ſend forth labourers into his harveſt.*' Matth, ix. 38. The ſame direction concerning great and ſmall things, heavenly and earthly things, is alluded to again in the [n] treatiſe of Prayer, and called an evangelical word; as alſo in the [o] books againſt Celſus. It is expreſsly put again in the fragments of [p] Origen's Commentaries upon the Pſalms: 'It is a ſmall matter to aſk 'of God earthly things. Such a petition our Saviour forbids to 'be offered to the Father, ſaying: "Aſk great things, and ſmall

[k] See Matth. viii. 28; Mark, v. 1; Luke, viii. 26. [l] Διαγεγραπται μεγονεναι εν τη χωρᾳ των Γεργεσηνων . . ετεροι δε εν ολιγοις ευρισκειν εις την χωραν των Γαδαρηνων, και ουκ εις τουτο λεγειν . . Αλλα Γεργεσα, αφ' ης οι Γεργεσαιοι, πολις αρχαια περι την νυν καλουμενην Τιβεριαδα λιμνην, περ. ην κρημνος παρακειμενος τη λιμνη, αφ' ου δεικνυται τους χοιρους ετι και δαιμονας καλασεβλησθαι. Ibid. p. 131. C. D.

** Vid. Adr. Reland. Palæſt. Il. p. 774. 806, 807. Wolf. Cur. Wirth. Wall in Marc. v. 1. [m] Τα μεν ουν ειναι τα μεγαλα και τα μικρα ημας αιτεισθαι και παρα του Θεου, παρακειται τω ειδοτι τα μεγαλα αιτειν και μικρα. . . . εαν δε τις αιδεσθεις τα καθ' ημαιτειν εκ περιουχης της αγιας διδαχης, οιδε και τον τω ευαγγελιω φωνη διδασκοντα τα μεγαλα περιγιγνεσθαι και μικρα. p. 224. B. C. Ibid.

[n] Ευκαθεκτον γαρ απο του Ενος μεγαλου μικρον τυγχανειν αισθησεως ζητειν, αλλα μονα τα μεγαλα και ουρανια δια. κ. λ. Con. Celſ. l. vii. p. 720. F. ibid. [o] Εχομεν δε και περι των περι και μικρων, και ταυτα δι' ων δει, και αιτεισθαι απο Θεου κ. ατυγχανειν. Και περιουσιον τα περι των. Αδε τα μεγαλα και τα μικρα ημων περιουσιουσθαι. αδε τα επουρανια και τα επιγεια περιποιησασθαι ημας. Scholia in Pſalmos, p. 560. E. Tom. ii. Bened.

" things

" things ſhall be added unto you: aſk heavenly things, and " earthly things ſhall be added unto you."

Theſe words are found cited in part by Clement of Alexandria, as was (s) obſerved formerly: 'Aſk,' ſays he, 'great things, 'and ſmall things ſhall be added unto you.'

Grabe [q] ſuppoſed this citation might be made out of the goſpel according to the Hebrews. Mill [r] thinks theſe words were in Origen's copies, added to Matth. vi. 33, and taken poſſibly from the goſpel according to the Hebrews, or ſome other apocryphal goſpel. Fabricius is unwilling [s] to allow, that Origen made this citation out of the goſpel according to the Hebrews: he is rather inclined to think that theſe words were in Origen's copies, having been inſerted there by interpolation. Dr. Wall ſays, that paſſage [t] ſeems to have been in ſome old copies, though it is in none now. Mr. Jones [u] ſays, that Clement, in the paſſage under conſideration, reſpected the ſenſe of Chriſt's words, without preciſely tranſcribing them; that is, he rather choſe to expound the words, than literally cite them. Hence alſo Origen, ſays he, who was one of Clement's ſcholars, does more than once in his works paraphraſe theſe words of Chriſt in the ſame manner. Such are the ſentiments of theſe learned writers. It is not fit to be poſitive in a thing of this nature: but I do not ſee but Mr. Jones's opinion may be reckoned as probable, and as near the truth, as any. Then this paſſage is no various reading: however I thought fit to take notice of it in this place, and give ſuch an account of the uſe Origen has made of it, that every one may judge for himſelf.

6. Matth. x. 29. *And one of them ſhall not fall to the ground.* Origen read, 'Fall [w] into the ſnare.' So likewiſe [x] Chryſoſtom: and, as Dr. [y] Mill ſays, the Clementine Homilies; but I cannot find the place. That learned man however thinks, that 'the ground,' or 'the earth,' is the true reading, and 'ſnare' an interpretation. I take this to be a kind of proverbial expreſſion. It might be ſometimes ſaid 'to the ground,' at other times 'into the ſnare.' Poſſibly the true reading is as Mill ſuppoſes: nevertheleſs it was very natural for ſome, in citing this text, to expreſs it after the other form, 'into the ſnare.' There are frequent compariſons in ſcripture to this ordinary event, of catching a bird in a ſnare: as Pſal. cxxiv. 7; Prov. vii. 23;

(s) Chap. xxii. p. 241. [q] Spicileg. T. i. p. 44. [r] Mill, in loc. Matth. et Prol. n. 695. [s] Cod. Apocr. N. T. Tom. i. p. 329. De Dict. Chriſti, § 8. [t] Wall's Critical Notes upon the N. T. p. 8. [u] Jones, vol. i. p. 553. [w] Παγις. [x] Ουδε εν παγιδι ο θηρευτης αυτο πιπτειν εασει. Com. Col. l. viii. p. 754. F. Edit. Bened. [y] In Matth. x. Hom. xxxv. [z] Mill, Prol. num. 670.

Eccl. ix. 12. I put down one place, where both the snare and the earth are mentioned. Amos, iii. 5. *Can a bird fall in a snare on the earth, where no gin is for him?*

7. Matth. xix. 24. *It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of heaven.* See also Mark, x. 25; Luke, xviii. 26. Some have thought, that instead of 'camel' we should read 'cable.' Origen [z] plainly read 'camel,' speaking of the animal so called, and describing it.

8. Matth. xxv. 23. *Thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will make thee ruler over many things: enter thou into the joy of thy Lord.* Compare Luke, xix. 17. Origen, in his books against Celsus [a], has these words: 'To whom it may be said, "Thou hast been faithful in a small city; enter thou into a great "one." I apprehend here is no proof that [b] this was in any gospel; it may be only an expression representing the sense of several places in the gospels.

9. Mark, vi. 3. *Is not this the carpenter, the son of Mary...?* Celsus [c] had reflected upon our Saviour, calling him a 'carpen-'ter by trade.' Origen says, 'That [d] nevertheless Jesus himself 'is never called a carpenter in any of the gospels used in the 'churches.' It is not easy to determine what [e] was the reason of Origen's saying this; whether his memory failed him, or whether in his copies of St. Mark's gospel this place was, *Is not this the carpenter's son?* as in Matth. xiii. 55.; which possibly might be only an alteration made in St. Mark's gospel by some person out of respect to Christ.

10. The most considerable variation from our copies of the New Testament which I have observed in Origen, is in the Lord's Prayer, as recorded in St. Luke's gospel. In his treatise of Prayer he has given us distinctly this prayer from Matthew and Luke. The prayer in Matthew is very little different from our present copies; therefore I need not put it down. That in Luke being very different, I shall transcribe it here at length. Says Origen, 'The [f] words in Luke are thus: "Father, hal-

"lowed

[z] Ευκοπωτερον εστι καμηλον δια τρυπης ραφιδος διελθειν, η πλουσιον εισελθειν εις την βασιλειαν των ουρανων. Εν η παραβολη ο μεν πλουσιος παραβαλλεται καμηλω, δια το ακαθαρτον της ζωυ μονης, ως ο νομος εδιδαξεν, αλλα και την ολην αυτου σκολιοτητα. Comm. in Matth. p. 387. E. 388. A. Huet. Vid. et Con. Celf. l. vi. p. 642. A. B. Bened.

[a] Προς ους λεγεσθω αν εν ελαχιστη πολει πιστος ησθα, ελθε και επι την μεγαλην. Con. Celf. l. viii. p. 798. B.

[b] Utcunque vid. Mill, Proleg. n. 695, 696.

[c] Η επι τεκτονι αντι των τεκτονος. Con. Celf. l. vi. p. 299. Cant. p. 659. D. Bened.

[d] Αλλα και ο βλεπων, ως εδαμου των εν ταις εκκλησιαις φερομενων ευαγγελιων τεκτονα αυτον ο ιησους αναγεγραπται. Ibid.

[e] Vid. Grot. Annot. ad Matth. xiii. 55. Spencer, in locum Origenis. Mill, Prol. 698.

[f] Τυ δε Λυκα ειπε· Πατερ, αγιασθητω το ονομα σου, ελθετω η βασιλεια σου· τυ

" lowed be thy name; thy kingdom come; give us day by day " our daily bread; and forgive us our ſins, for we ourſelves alſo " forgive every one that is indebted unto us; and lead us not " into temptation."

Here Origen omits 'our,' and 'who art in heaven:' and from his particular explication of that part of the prayer afterwards, it appears [g] again that 'Father' only was in Luke; nevertheleſs [h] Mill ſuppoſed that theſe words, 'our,' and 'who art 'in heaven,' were in Origen's copies of St. Luke's goſpel. This miſtake has been already obſerved by [i] the learned author of the Notes upon Origen's treatiſe of Prayer, publiſhed by Mr. Reading, which ought to be conſulted.

Origen afterwards ſays expreſsly that St. Luke [k] omits theſe words, 'thy will be done, as in heaven ſo on earth.' He obſerves the difference [l] between the two evangeliſts in that which is generally called the fourth petition; and ſays likewiſe, that [m] 'deliver us from evil' is omitted by St. Luke. So that we have from Origen a moſt diſtinct account how this prayer was read in his time, in both evangeliſts.

The text of St. Luke in the Latin vulgate, agrees with Origen throughout: and [n] St. Auguſtine has informed us, that in his copies of St. Luke were wanting theſe words, 'thy will be 'done, as in heaven, ſo in earth;' and, 'but deliver us from 'evil.' He likewiſe makes judicious remarks upon the various readings, as in St. Luke. However [o] Whitby defends our preſent reading in that goſpel.

Origen has taken no notice at all of the doxology which we now have in our copies of St. Matthew's goſpel. Matth. vi. 13. Whether it was originally there, or a part of the prayer delivered by our Lord, is diſputed [p] by learned men: but no one, that I

[g] ... τας επιουσιον δος ημιν καθ' ημεραν ... ημων τας αμαρτιας ημων, και γαρ αυτοι ... τοις εφειλομενοις ημιν· και μη εισενεγκης ... πειρασμον. Orig. de Orat. p. 227. A. Hom. 1. Bened. [h] Ο Ματθαιος ουτε ... ουτε ημων, ουτε ο εν τοις ουρανοις, λεγει, Πατερ, ... ως ο Λουκας γεγραπται. Ib. p. 232. A. Vid. Mill in Lucæ locum, et Proleg. ... 919. [i] Vid. Orig. de Oratione, ... not. 4. p. 108. not. 4. ex edit. ... Reading, et p. 919. D. E. 920. C. ... 1. Bened. [k] Παυομαι το Θελη... ... ως εν ουρανω και επι γης. ο Λουκας μονα το... ... Γενηθητω σου, ταυτα παρασιωπησας, ειληφε... ... p. 240. C. Bened. ... p. 243. C. [l] Το δε, αλλα ρυσαι ... το πονηρου, παρα τω Λουκα ουκ εστιν. p. 256. C. Vid. et p. 265. A.

[m] Evangeliſta vero Lucas in Oratione Dominica petitiones non ſeptem, ſed quinque, complexus eſt. . . . Oſtendens ergo Lucas tertiam petitionem duarum ſuperiorum eſſe quodammodo repetitionem, magis eam prætermittendo fecit intelligi. Deinde tres alias adjungit, de pane quotidiano, de remiſſione peccatorum, de tentatione vitanda. At vero quod ille in ultimo poſuit, 'ſed libera nos a malo,' iſte non poſuit, ut intelligeremus ad illud ſuperius quod de tentatione dictum eſt, pertinere. Auguſt. Ench. ad Laur. cap. 116. [o] Whitb. Exam. var. lect. Mill, p. 31.

[p] Vid. Mill, ad Matth. cap. vi. 13. et in Prolegomenis.

know of, has considered this matter more fully and accurately than [q] Mr. Hallett.

11. Luke, xxiii. 43. *And Jesus said unto him, Verily I say unto thee, To-day thou shalt be with me in paradise.* Origen observes, 'That this saying has so disturbed some people, as appearing 'to them absurd, that they have ventured to suspect that it has 'been added by some that corrupt the gospels: "To-day shalt "thou be with me in the paradise of God." Here we may observe two things: first, that Origen read, 'in the paradise of 'God,' for so he writes this text several times: secondly, it may be concluded from what Origen says, that these words were in all copies; and that they who objected against them had no copy to allege in support of their suspicion, but only the absurdity of the thing itself in their opinion: for that is all that Origen mentions.

12. John, vii. 39. *For the Holy Ghost was not yet given, because that Jesus was not yet glorified.* Origen reads, 'For' 'the Spirit was not yet.'

13. 1 Cor. ix. 10. *That he that ploweth should plow in hope; and that he that threshеth in hope should be partaker of his hope.* Origen reads the latter part of the verse thus: 'And 'that he that thresh-'eth [should thresh] in hope of partaking:' or, 'and he that 'thresheth in hope of partaking;' which is also the reading of the Alexandrian, and several other manuscripts: and so Colinæus had published this text in his edition of the New Testament; and I do not see but this may be the true reading. I am satisfied our present common reading is wrong, which we have from Robert Stephens: I should think it must appear strange and absurd to every one that looks upon the Greek.

14. 1 Thess. v. 21. *Prove all things, hold fast that which is good.* 22. *Abstain from all appearance of evil.* Here I propose to transcribe several passages of Origen, in order to judge whether he read this place of the apostle differently from us.

1. In the Greek Commentaries upon St. Matthew's gospel, Origen has these words: 'But whether we perceive the fitness 'and excellence of this law or not, [w] in the first place God will

[q] See Mr. Hallett's Notes and Discourses, vol. i. p. 133—251.

[r] ἡμεῖς τε ἐξέλθωμεν ἐπὶ τὸν παραδείσου ἐπιλλέγεσθαι τοῦτο. εἰ δὲ ἔφαξε τινας ὡς ἀσυμφώνον τοῖς ἐφ' ἡμῶν, εἰς τοῦτο ἦλθον αὐτοὺς ὑπονοῆσαι φθείρεσθαι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἀπὸ τῶν φθειρόντων αὐτὸ τὸ σημεῖον μὴ ἔχον ἐν τοῖς παρ' ἡμῖν τοῦ Θεοῦ. Comm. in Johan. p. 421. D. Huet.

[s] Οὕτω γὰρ ἡ φύσις, ἢ ἵνα ἀπὸ ἀρχῆς. Com. in Joh. p. 422. B.

[t] ἐν τῷ τὸν μισθὸν. Com. Cat. l. [illegible] 147. Cant. p. 541. D. Bened.

[u] Vid. Mill, in loc.

[illegible] τὸν μὲν Θεὸς ἀπὸ [illegible] καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς ἀπὸ [illegible] πρωτοτόκος, καὶ εἷς πολὺς ἀδελφοὺς [illegible] καλὸς ἀδελφὸς, ἀπηγόρευται δὲ [illegible] Com. in Matth. p. 489. C. Huet.

[illegible]

'see it, and his Christ; and then he who, according to the scripture, is called a skilful money-changer, who knows how to "prove all things, and to hold fast that which is good, and to "abstain from all appearance of evil."

2. In the Greek Commentaries upon St. John's [x] gospel: 'And observing the command of Jesus, which says, "Be ye "skilful money-changers;" and the doctrine of Paul, who 'says, *Prove all things, hold fast that which is good, abstain from 'all appearance of evil.*'

3. In a Latin Homily upon Exodus: 'But [y] as the apostle 'says, "proving all things, holding fast that which is good."

4. Again, in a Latin Homily upon Leviticus: 'Hear [z] the 'prophet, saying, "Your silver is reprobate" [referring to 'Isa. i. 22, or Jer. vi. 30]. And because some money is good, 'other bad, therefore the apostle says, as to skilful money-changers, "proving all things, holding fast that which is good."

5. Origen refers or alludes to this saying in several other places; but I think I need not put down any more here at length. It may be proper however to observe, before we proceed any farther, that this same thing is mentioned by Clement of Alexandria [a] as scripture. In the Clementine Homilies it [b] is called a saying of Christ; by St. Jerom likewise [c] it is ascribed to our Saviour; and by the heretic Apelles [d], in Epiphanius, it is cited as from the gospel: and in a like manner some [e] other ancient writers, particularly Chrysostom. But [f] Dionysius

[x] ... και τηρων το τε Ιησου λεγοντος· Γινεσθε τραπεζιται δοκιμοι· και τον Παυλον διδασκοντα· Παντα δοκιμαζετε, το καλον κατεχετε, απο παντος ειδους πονηρου απεχεσθε. In Joh. p. 368. E. [y] Nec ... convenit nos [illos] superbire, et spernere verba prudentium, sed sicut apostolus dicit: 'Omnia 'probantes, quod bonum est tenentes ...' In Exod. Hom. xi. Tom. ii. p. 171. B. Paris. [z] Audi prophetam dicentem, 'Argentum vestrum reprobum.' Quia ergo aliquando proba, quædam vero non proba, propterea apostolus, velut ad probabiles trapezitas, 'Probantes,' inquit, 'omnia, quod bonum est obtinentes.' In Levit. Hom. iii. p. 199. A.

[a] ... και η γραφη τουτους τους τρεις τροπους τους προς σωτηριαν φερουσας ειδεναι παραινει, λεγουσα· Γινεσθε τραπεζιται δοκιμοι· τα μεν αποδοκιμαζοντες, τα δε δοκιμαζοντες. Clem. Str. I. i. p. 354. P. Conf. Str. II. p. 365. B. I. vi. p. 655. B. et alib. p. 754. A. B. [b] Ειλογας ουν τους τραπεζιτας λεγειν· Γινεσθε τραπεζιται δοκιμοι. Clem. Hom. ii. § 51. Vid. et Hom. iii. § 52. Recog. § 20. [c] ... Salvatoris ipsius apostolum libenter audite: 'Omnia 'probate, quod bonum est tenentes:' et Salvatoris verba dicentem, 'Estote probati 'nummularii.' Hieron. Ep. 152. ad Minervium et Alex. Conf. eund. in Ep. ad Ephes. v. 10. [d] Ο [illegible] φησι, γινεσθε τραπεζιται δοκιμοι τα μεν αποδοκιμαζοντες, τα δε δοκιμαζοντες. Epiph. Her. xliv. § 2. [e] ... ουτως ουν τον τοτε, φησι, Ιησουν τραπεζιτας δοκιμους ειναι τους μαθητας εκελευσε, τα μεν αποδοκιμαζοντας, τα δε δοκιμαζοντας. Hesychius in Serm. Cur in Pentecoste Acta Apost. legantur, p. 940. D. Probabiles efficiamur secundum præceptum Domini probabiles trapezitæ.' Cassian. Collat. i. 20.

[f] Αποδεξαμενοι τα παρα ... τα δε αποδοκιμασαντες, ... τους δοκιμους τραπεζιτας. Ap. Euseb. l. vii. cap. 7. p. 253. C.

of Alexandria, and [g] other writers, cite this as an apostolical saying, and seem to have read it together with those other directions of St. Paul in his first epistle to the Thessalonians. Socrates, the ecclesiastical historian, mentions it [h] as the precept both of Christ and his apostle, according as some understand him: but I think he ought to be reckoned with those who seem to ascribe it to Christ, as does [i] Fabricius. I shall add no more authors at present. Cotelerius [k] and Fabricius [l] have large collections of places of the ancients where this saying is quoted or alluded to.

6. The judgments of learned men concerning this precept are different. Archbishop Usher thought it [m] was taken out of the gospel according to the Hebrews; whose opinion is approved by [n] Valesius and [o] Huet. Cotelerius delivers his judgment in this manner: That [p] this saying was received by oral tradition, or from some apocryphal writing of good note, as a divine oracle of the New Testament, 'Be ye skilful moneychangers:' whereupon some one put it in the margin of his copy, at Matth. xxv. 27, and Luke, xix. 23; another thought proper to place it as a marginal note at the side of a like text of the apostle, 1 Thess. v. 21; and perhaps a third put it down in the margin of all these three places. He suspects likewise that it might be written by some one over against 1 John, iv. 1. From thence in time these spurious words were inserted in the sacred context; and afterwards were quoted as words of scripture, of 'Christ,' and the 'gospel;' or of the 'apostle' and 'Paul.' So Cotelerius.

Croius [q] and [r] Suicer think we ought not to suppose that this precept or saying was read any where exactly in these words; but

[g] Ταυτόν τι καὶ ὁ μακάριος Παῦλος φησὶ γενέσθε γὰρ φησὶν ἔμπειροι τραπεζῖται· πᾶλιν δοκιμάζετε, τὸ καλὸν κατέχετε, ἀπὸ παντὸς εἴδους πονηροῦ ἀπέχεσθε. Cyrill. Alex. ad Es. iii. 3. Tom. ii. p. 56. E. Vid. eund. lib. iv ad Joh. vii. 12. Tom. iv. p. 497. A. et adv. Nestor. l. i. Tom. vi. p. 2. C. Ab his vero qui Origenis libros legunt, illud penitus exclusum putant esse mandatum, quo probabiles jubentur esse trapezitæ, scientes quod bonum est retinere, ab omni specie mala se abstinere. Pamphil. Apol. pro Origene, init.

[h] Ἄλλως τε παρήγγειλεν ἡμῖν ὁ τε Χριστὸς καὶ ὁ τοῦ αποστόλος, γίνεσθαι τραπεζίται δοκιμοι, ὡς τὰ παντὰ δοκιμάζειν, τὸ καλὸν κατέχειν. Socrat. Ecc. H. l. iii. cap. 16. p. 189. B.

[i] Cod. Apocr. N. T. Tom. i. p. 331.

[k] Coteler. ad Ap. Const. lib. ii. cap. 36.

[l] Fabric. cod. Apocr. N. Test. Tom. i. p. 360. &c.

[m] Usher. Prolegom. in Ignat. Ep. cap. 8. § 7.

[n] Vales. Annot. in Eus. l. viii. p. 142. B.

[o] Huet, Not. in Orig. p. 114, 115.

[p] Coteler. ut supra.

[q] Existimat Croius [Observ. in N. T. cap. 28.] verba hæc non ἀποκειμένα a Patribus Christianis, sed e parabola de talentis, quæ habetur Matth. cap. xxv. et Luc. cap. xix. Sententiam fuisse collectam a Patribus et conflatam. Huet, Not. ad Origen. p. 114. Vid. loc. Croii citatum a Suicero, Thesaur. Ecc. v. Τραπεζίτης.

[r] Vid. Suicer, ibid.

that

that it was formed or collected out of the parable of the talents, Matth. xxv. or Luke, xix.

7. I would now deliver my own opinion, if it may be of any value. In the first place, I think it plain that Origen had not this saying in his copies of the first epistle to the Thessalonians; for he calls it Christ's, and cites the two verses in that epistle as we have them: I take this also to be very clear concerning St. Chrysostom, and several other authors, that they had not this saying in any of Paul's epistles. Secondly, I am not satisfied that this direction was read as text in any part of the New Testament, either the gospels or the epistles; or if indeed it was inserted in any copies, I think they were very few. My reasons are these: (1.) It appears from divers passages of Origen [s], and other ancient Christian writers, that it was very common to compare truth and falsehood to good and bad coins; and accordingly in recommending enquiry and examination, the trying or discerning of spirits, the [t] study of the scriptures, a love of truth, and a care not to be deceived by the specious appearances of erroneous opinions and their abettors, it was very natural to advise men to act like good money-changers, or bankers. Sometimes the advantages or talents vouchsafed men by Providence, are compared [u] to good coin; and the right improvement of them called, acting [w] the part of a good banker. The scripture led them to these similitudes, and they appear to have borrowed

[s] [illegible] μη δοκιμοι τραπεζεται, μηδε επιστασμενοι [illegible] πνευματα τα ενεργουντα, ποια μεν απο [illegible], ποια δε αφεστηκοτα αυτου. Orig. in Matth. Tom. xii. p. 265. De Huet. Multi enim venient in nomine meo, dicentes, Ego sum Christus, et multos seducent. Vere enim qui implet illud mandatum quod ait, Estote prudentes nummularii; et illud quod ait, Omnia probate, quod bonum est tenete; ab omni specie mala abstinete vos: multos [illegible] seduci a multis intellectibus et verbis profitentibus esse se Christum, Dei Verbum. Id. Tract. xxvii. in Matth. p. 132. [illegible] Basil. [t] Unde omnes studio legendæ nobis scripturæ sunt, et in lege Domini meditandum die ac nocte: ut probati [illegible], sciamus quis nummus probus [illegible] adulter. Hieron. in Ep. ad Ephes. [illegible] ver. 31. [u] Siclus pecuniæ [illegible] nomen est, et in multis scripturarum locis, diversis appellationum nominibus, pecunia dominica memoratur. Sed [illegible] bona, quædam vero reproba dicitur. Proba erat illa pecunia, quam paterfamilias peregre profecturus, vocatis servis [illegible] dedit unicuique secundum virtutem suam. Proba erat et illa pecunia, quæ denarius nominatur, qui cum mercenariis pactus est, et a novissimis datus est usque ad primos. [Vid. Matth. xxv. 14. . . . 30. et Matth. xx. 1. . . . 16.] Orig. in Levit. Hom. iii. p. 198. F. Tom. ii. Bened. [w] Verbi gratia, cum docet Paulus, et assistunt ei auditores, Paulus est qui pecuniam fœnerat dominicam, auditores autem sunt qui ex ore ejus pecuniam verbi suscipiunt fœneratam. Et si quidem justus sit qui suscipiat ab eo pecuniam, reddet integrum fœnus, et dicet: Quinque minas mihi dedisti, ecce acquisivi alias quinque. . . . Ecce et nunc vos omnes quibus hæc loquor, pecuniam accipitis fœneratam verba mea; hæc pecunia Domini est. Aut si dubitas, audi prophetam, dicentem, quia 'eloquia Domini eloquia casta, argentum igne probatum, terræ purgatum septuplum.' Ps. xii. 6. Si ergo male doceo, pecunia mea reproba est. . . . Si autem bene doceo, pecunia vel argentum non est meum, sed Domini est, et probatum est. Orig. Select. in Psalm. p. 669. B. C. Tom. ii. Bened. Vid. et quæ sequuntur.

or

or improved them thence. Moreover Origen says that God[x] may be called a banker, on account of his discerning between good and bad, and trying the reins and the heart. St. Jerom[y] says, it is difficult for us to fulfil the part of a good money-changer, in judging of the virtues of men. It is possible that this comparison might be in use before the writing of the books of the New Testament, and before the preaching of Christ and his apostles: Fabricius[z] has actually alleged two examples from ancient writings. It is an excellent precept, and applicable on many occasions, 'Be ye skilfull money-changers.' Whenever the comparison was put into this form, it would be much used, especially by Christians; it being so suitable to the nature of the Christian religion, and so becoming Christians of all ranks to put the precept in practice; it being also of so great importance to them to distinguish between truth and error; finally, it being not only so agreeable to divers parables in the gospels, but likewise to numerous cautions and directions of (T) Christ, as well as to that of Paul to the Thessalonians, and in other epistles. (2.) If this direction was any where in the text of the New Testament, it was as likely to be in the first epistle to the Thessalonians as any where. But that it was not there, I think to be very plain from Origen, St. Jerom, and St. Chrysostom; not to mention now Socrates, or others, who call this a command of Christ. Therefore they who mention this as a precept of the apostle, or of Paul, do not intend to quote it as a text of Paul, but only represent in these words the sense of that text, *prove all things*, or other directions in the apostle's epistles. Consequently it is likewise probable that the other writers who call this a command of Christ, or of the 'gospel,' only intend in these words to represent the sense of divers things taught by Christ in the gospels. We have a plain instance of this method in one of the passages before cited from Origen; for though

[x] Ο Κυριος δοκιμαζει μεν δικαια, αποδοκιμαζει δε αδικα, και εστιν, ινα ουτως ονομασω, τραπεζιτης δικαιων και αδικων. In Jerem. Hom. xix, p. 197. E. Huet.

[y] Quis putas e nobis probandis numismatibus callidus trapezita, non errabit in discretione sanctorum? Hieron. in Ep. ad Philem. ver. 5.

[z] Eodem simili utitur Philo Judæus, libro De Judice, p. 557. Ο δικαζων εισιων καθαπερ αργυρομοιβος αγαθος, διαιρειτω και διακρινετω ταις φυσεις των πραγματων. Cebes in Tabula: Δια τουτο το δαιμονιον κελευει μη θαυμαζειν ο, τι αν πραττῃ αυτη, μηδε γιγνεσθαι ομοιους τοις κακοις τραπεζιταις. Και γαρ εκεινοι οταν μεν λαβωσι το αργυριον παρα των ανθρωπων, χαιρουσι, και ιδιον νομιζουσιν ειναι. Fabric. Cod. Ap. N. T. p. 331.

(T) To this purpose may be reckoned the following things: *Beware of false prophets*, Matth. vii. 15. . . . 20. See likewise chap. xxiv. 23. . . . 26. and the parallel places in other gospels. Of 'discerning the times.' Matth. xvi. beginning, and in other gospels. *Search the scriptures*. John, v. 39. *If I do not the works of my Father, believe me not. But if I do, though ye believe not me, believe the works*. Ch. x. 36, 37. And the saying, *He that hath ears to hear, let him hear*: and many other things, beside the parables, Matth. xx. xxv. Luke, xix.

this

this command, 'be ye skilful money-changers,' was not in his copies of the epistle to the Thessalonians, as is most evident, yet he observes that 'the apostle says, "as to skilful money-"changers, proving all things, holding fast that which is good:" and I think that John Cassian, who speaks of it as a precept of the Lord and of the gospel, does in one[a] place represent it as a lesson taught us by the sense and design of the parable of the talents. So Victor of Capua[aa] supposes Paul to have directed us to be good money-changers, when he said, *Prove all things, hold fast that which is good*; plainly ascribing these last words only to St. Paul, and putting the sense and design of them into that precept, 'Be ye good money-changers,' as did Origen in the place just cited from him. (3.) This direction is not now in any Greek copy of the New Testament, nor in any version, that I know of: therefore it never was a part of the text of the New Testament; for if it had, it could not have been lost. If this command had been mentioned but once or twice in all antiquity, this argument perhaps might be of little weight; but since it is found very frequently in the writings of ancient Christian authors, in several centuries, I think this argument unanswerable: a saying so often mentioned, and by so many writers, could not have been lost out of all the copies of the New Testament, if ever it had been there. I suppose these considerations may be of use to confirm the sentiment of Croius and Suicer.

15. 1 Tim. iii. 16. *And without controversy great is the mystery of godliness: God was manifest in the flesh, . . . received up into glory.* It has been disputed whether the true reading of this text is, 'God' was manifest, or 'which,' or 'who' was manifest. In Origen are these words: 'But[b] if my Jesus be said to be re-'ceived up into glory, I perceive the reason of it; that God, 'who wrought this, appointed him master to those who saw it.' When one reads this place, there arises some suspicion that Origen read Jesus, or Christ, where we now have God: I cannot tell whether it will not be allowed me therefore to put the question, whether Ιησους, 'Jesus,' or Χριστος, 'Christ,' written in a contracted

[a] Quomodo ergo acquiri debeat, cupimus nobis exponi, aut quemadmodum ut una vera et ex Deo, an falsa et diabolica sit, possit agnosci, ut secundum illam evangelicam, quam superiore tractatu disseruisti, parabolam, qua jubemur fieri probabiles trapezitæ, numismati impressam veri regis imaginem pervidentes, deprehendere valeamus, &c. Cassian. Collat. ii. cap. 9.

[aa] — precantes ut nos in veritate scripturarum suarum erudire dignetur, et discretionis gratiam tribuat, quatenus, ut optimi trapezitæ, omnia probemus, secundum Paulum, et quæ sint bona sectemur. Vict. Præf. in Tatian. al. Ammon. Harm. Bib. Patr. T. iii. p. 266. E.

[b] Εαν δε ο εμος Ιησους αναλαμβανεσθαι εν δοξῃ λεγηται, ορω τον οικονομιαν, ειν τοις θεωρησασι συνιστ. τον διδασκαλον ο τουτ' ενεργησας γενεσθαι Θεος. Con. Cels. l. iii. p. 467. C.

manner,

manner, has not been read Θεος, 'God;' which might occasion this last to be so common a reading in our present manuscript copies *. This remarkable quotation, or reference to 1 Tim. iii. 16, is not placed in the index of texts of scripture by the Benedictine editor of Origen. I think it should not have been omitted, especially considering how rarely this text has been quoted by the ancient Christian writers: which is particularly taken notice of by [c] Mill, though I do not see that he himself had observed this citation of it in Origen.

16. We do not find in Origen the disputed text of St. John's first epistle concerning the heavenly witnesses, 1 John, v. 7, 8. It seems probable that he did not know of it. Having quoted Matth. iii. 11; John, vi. 53; Luke, xii. 50, he adds: 'And '[d] agreeably hereto his disciple John writes in his epistle, of "the Spirit, the water, and the blood; these three are made "one."

17. It ought to be observed, that every difference of Origen's citations from our copies ought not to be reckoned a various reading; because, as Huet [e] says, Origen often trusts his memory, and writes in haste, without consulting the text, and for that reason quotes differently from himself. I shall give an instance, which perhaps will be allowed to be to the purpose. Our present reading of Gal. iv. 21, is, *Ye that desire to be under the law, do ye not hear the law?* In the books against [f] Celsus, Origen twice cites this place thus: 'Ye that read the law, do ye not 'hear the law?' but in a Greek fragment of the books of [g] Principles he uses and argues upon the common reading. Either therefore Origen's copies differed, and he used at different times different readings; or in one place he quoted by memory, and in the other exactly; which I take to be the case here, and that his reading was the same as ours; and that when he said, 'Ye that read the law,' he depended upon his memory, and quoted wrong.

XXVIII. I must now put down some of Origen's explications of scripture.

1. He treats those as heretics [h] who allegorize the history of Christ's

* See before, p. 131, 132, a quotation from the epistle to Diognetus.

[c] Vid. Mill, in notis ad 1 Tim. iii. 16.

[d] Τουτῳ δε συμφωνως εν τῃ επιστολῃ μαθητης Ιωαννης το πνευμα, και το υδωρ, και το αιμα ανεγραψε, τα τρια εις εν γενομενα. Com. in Joh. p. 133. D. Huet.

[e] Huet, in notis, p. 61.

[f] Λεγετε μοι οι τον νομον αναγινωσκοντες τον νομον ουκ ακουετε. Con. Cels. l. ii. p. 388. D. et lib. iv. p. 537. D. Bened.

[g] Λεγετε μοι, φησιν, οι υπο νομον θελοντες ειναι, τον νομον ουκ ακουετε; γεγραπται γαρ . . . Παρατηρητεον γαρ εκαστον των ειρημενων υπ' αυτου· οτι φησιν, οι υπο νομον θελοντες ειναι, ουχι οι υπο τον νομον οντες. κ. τ. λ. De Prin. l. iv. p. 171. Tom. i. Bened. et Philoc. p. 10. Cantabr.

[h] Και μαλιστα ταυτα προσακτεον τοις ετεροδοξοις, χαιρουσι ταις αλληγοριαις,

Chriſt's miracles of healing diſeaſes, as if nothing elſe was meant but healing the ſoul, when it is ſaid, that Jeſus healed *all manner of ſickneſs, and all manner of diſeaſe.* Matth. iv. 23.

2. Origen himſelf believes that the 'dæmoniacs' mentioned in the goſpels were diſturbed by an evil ſpirit. But [l] he ſays that phyſicians endeavoured to account for thoſe caſes in a natural way; not allowing the agency of any impure ſpirit, but calling them bodily diſtempers.

3. He ſays many unhappy people are called [k] lunatics; but he [l] thinks that their diſtempers are not owing to the moon, but that evil ſpirits, having obſerved its changes, inflict thoſe diſtempers at certain times, the better to deceive men, and induce them to aſcribe ſuch diſtempers to that great light in the heaven, which are really cauſed by themſelves.

4. Origen [m] ſeems to have thought that there was really a legion of dæmons in the poor man at the tombs; becauſe, when Chriſt aſked him what was his name, he anſwered, Legion. Mark, v. 9; Luke, viii. 30. But I ſhould think it had been eaſy for Origen to perceive, that this is ſlight authority upon which to build any doctrine; whether we ſuppoſe this man to have been diſtracted, or to have had in him one or more dæmons. If the former, this is only the word of a mad man; if the latter, of a dæmon. However, undoubtedly, it was likewiſe the opinion of many ſober and underſtanding perſons, at that time, that dæmons were the cauſes of divers grievous and tormenting diſeaſes.

There is a place in Origen, where he is ſuppoſed to ſay, by way of objection to ſomewhat before mentioned, 'That [x] it is 'not neceſſary to take the ſpeech of Rhoda for doctrine.' Huet

[k] ... ἢ ὅτι τὴν περὶ τὰς ἐπιστήμονας ἱστορίαν ἐπὶ τὰς ... ἐκφέρεται, ἀποδιδόμενοι ὑπὸ ἐνὸς πάντες ... καὶ πάσης μανίας. Comm. in Joh. p. 308. A. Huet.

[l] Ἐάσωμεν μὴ φυσιολογεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' μηδὲ ἀκαθάρτου ... τοῦτο εἶναι τιμωρίας καὶ τὸν τόπον, ἀλλὰ σεληνιάζεσθαι σημαίνεσθαι, καὶ φυσιολογεῖσθαι τὰ ὑγρὰ πλεονάζειν κινεῖσθαι τὰ ἐν κεφαλῇ, καὶ τινα σύμπαθειαν τοῦ περὶ τὸ σέλας ἀέρος, ὑγρὸν ὄντα φύσει. καὶ ἑξῆς κ. λ. Com. in Matth. p. 311. A.

[m] Ζητήσαι περὶ ἐκείνου τοῦ σεληνιάζεσθαι λεγομένου τὸν δαιμόνιον ἀκαθάρτου, καὶ κωφοῦ, καὶ ... καὶ καλοῦσι λεγιῶνα, κ. λ. Comm. in Matth. p. 311. A. [x] Τὸ ἀκαθάρτου τοῦτο ... ἐπὶ τῆς σχηματίσεως τῆς σελήνης, ... ἐκ τῆς τοιαύτης τοῦ κοινοῦ τοιοῦδε τοῦ σελήνης σχηματίσεως κακοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, τὴν αἰτίαν δοξῆ τοῦ τοιούτου κακοῦ, μὴ τὸ ἀλλὰ ... καὶ κωφὸν λαμβάνειν δαιμόνιον, ἀλλὰ ὁ μέγας ἐν ἑρμῇ φησιν. κ. λ. p. 311. C.

[m] ... redeat ad evangelii auctoritatem, et inveniet illum qui in ſepulchris habitabat, dæmonem patiens, cum interrogaretur a Salvatore, quod tibi nomen eſt, reſpondiſſe, Legio; 'Multa enim,' inquit, 'dæmonia 'ſumus.' Quid vero mirum videtur, ſi per ſingula genera peccatorum ſinguli dæmones aſcribantur, cum ſcriptum ſit in uno homine integram fuiſſe dæmonum legionem. In libr. Jeſu Hom. xv. p. 435. A. Tom. ii. Bened. [x] Ὁ δὲ περιεσμένος εἰς περιέχειν φησὶν, ὅτι οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι δόγμα τοῦ τῆς ῥόδης λόγου. κ. λ. Comm. in Matth. p. 333. A. Huet. Conf. p. 331. C. D.

ſays

ſays he [y] cannot conceive what ſpeech of Rhoda is here meant. But I apprehend that Origen does not intend what Rhoda ſaid, but what was ſaid to her, ſpeaking of Peter, *It is his angel.* Acts, xii. 14, 15. I think the connection ſhews it to be very probable that this is Origen's meaning; if ſo, this paſſage is applicable to the preſent ſubject: perhaps the Benedictine editor of Origen, when he comes to this place, will ſet it in a clearer light. They might be common notions among the Jews, in the time of our Saviour and his apoſtles, that divers grievous diſeaſes were cauſed by dæmons, and that every good man had a guardian angel; but certainly vulgar opinions, though received by ſome good men, and recorded in ſcripture as their opinions, need not to be taken for undoubted truths, or doctrines of revelation.

5. Origen ſuppoſed likewiſe that [z] ſome people were poſſeſſed and acted by evil ſpirits from their childhood. However Optatus of Africa, in the fourth century, is yet more out of the way; for [a] he ſuppoſes every man that is born into this world to have an evil ſpirit, even though he be born of Chriſtian parents: but perhaps he ought to be underſtood figuratively.

6. By the *wedding garment* in the parable, Matth. xxii. 12, Origen underſtands a pious diſpoſition of mind, and a ſuitable behaviour. 'All [b] are to be invited,' ſays he, 'good and 'bad; but the bad are not to continue ſo, but changing their 'garments, and putting off the habit unſuitable to the wedding 'ſolemnity, they muſt put on wedding garments, *bowels of mer-* '*cies, kindneſs, humbleneſs of mind, meekneſs, long-ſuffering*; for 'theſe are wedding garments. Therefore the king comes in 'to ſee the gueſts, before the dinner he has prepared is ſet be-'fore them: and . . . finding one of them who had been in-'vited indeed, and had come at the invitation, but had not re-'formed his manners, nor put on the wedding garment, he ſays 'to him, *How cameſt thou in hither, not having on the wedding* 'garment?' To the like purpoſe in another place [ſee Rom.

y Quamnam Rhodes orationem hic ſignificat, non video. Nam Act. xii. non aliud ipſa dicit, quam 'ſtare Petrum ante 'januam: illi dicebant, Angelus ejus eſt.' Huet, Not. p. 81.

z Et e contrario parvuli licet, et pene lactantes, malis replentur ſpiritibus, et in divinos atque hariolos inſpirantur, in tantum ut etiam Dæmon Pythonicus quoſdam a tenera ætate poſſideat, &c. De Principiis, l. iii. cap. 3. p. 145. A. Tom. i. Bened. ex Verſione Hieronymi. Vid. et ibid. Rufin. verſ.

a Nam neminem fugit, quod omnis homo qui naſcitur, quamvis de parentibus Chriſtianis naſcatur, ſine ſpiritu immundo eſſe non poſſit, quem neceſſe ſit, ante ſalutare lavacrum, ab homine excludi et ſeparari. Hoc exorciſmus operatur, per quem ſpiritus immundi depellitur, et in loca deſerta fugatur. Optat. lib. iv. § 6. edit. Du Pin.

b Com. in Matth. p. 473. D. E. Huet.

xiii. 14, Gal. iii. 27], 'They [c] who are baptized into Chriſt, 'put on Chriſt, that is, righteouſneſs and wiſdom.' St. Auſtin diſcourſes largely upon this ſubject in [d] two ſermons. He ſays [e] that the wedding garment muſt be ſomething not common to good and bad; that it is not baptiſm, nor the euchariſt, nor faith, nor prophecy, nor miracles; but [f] *charity, out of a pure heart, and* [out] *of a good conſcience, and of faith unfeigned.* 1 Tim. i. 5. It will not diſpleaſe any, if I add in the margin a reference to a paſſage of St. Cyril of Alexandria [g], to the like effect.

7. In a Homily which we have now in Latin only, Origen commenting upon Numb. xxiii. 24, having cited John, vi. 54, 55, goes on: 'And indeed he who ſaid theſe things was wounded 'for men; for he himſelf was *wounded for our tranſgreſſions*, 'as Iſaiah ſays, liii. 5. But [h] we are ſaid to drink the blood of 'Chriſt not only ſacramentally, but alſo when we receive his 'words, in which is life, as he himſelf likewiſe ſays, John, vi. '63, *The words that I ſpeak unto you, they are ſpirit, and they 'are life* *. He therefore was wounded, whoſe blood we drink; 'that is, we embrace the words of his doctrine. But neverthe-'leſs they alſo were wounded, who have preached to us his 'word. For when we read their words, that is, the words of 'his apoſtles, and obtain life by them, we "drink the blood of "the wounded," or "of the ſlain." Numb. xxiii. 24.

8. He argues that the precept, John, xiii. 14, 15, *to waſh one another's feet*, ought [i] not to be underſtood literally. He ſays likewiſe that [k] it was formerly in uſe; but in his time it was practiſed by very few, and thoſe mean and ignorant people.

[c] In Pſalm xxxiii. p. 651. D. Tom. ii. Bened. [d] Auguſt. Serm. 90. et 94. ed. Bened. Tom. v. [e] Quid est vestis nuptialis? Sine dubio aliquid est quod mali et boni commune non habent. Serm. 95. § 7. [f] Finis autem præcepti est, apostolus dicit, caritas de corde puro, et conscientia bona, et fide non ficta. Hæc est vestis nuptialis. Serm. 90. § 6. Conf. eund. contr. Faustum, l. xix. c. 12. T. viii. [g] Cyrill. Hom. xxiv. p. 283. C. D. E. Tom. v. P. ii.

Bibere autem dicimur sanguinem Christi, non solum sacramentorum ritu, sed cum sermones ejus recipimus, in quibus vita consistit, sicut et ipse dicit. . . . Ille ergo ipse vulneratus, cujus nos sanguinem bibimus, id est, doctrinæ ejus verba percipimus. Sed et illi nihilominus vulnerati sunt, qui nobis verbum ejus prædicaverunt. Ipsorum enim, id est, apostolorum ejus, verba cum legimus, et vitam ex iis consequimur, vulneratorum sanguinem bibimus. In Numeros Hom. xvi. p. 334. F. A. T. ii. Bened. * Upon this passage of Origen may be seen Dr. Waterland's Review of the Doctrine of the Euchariſt, ch. 6. p. 164, 165.

[i] Και ο ευαγγελιστης γε εν τελει μεν ταυτα διεξιων ημιν τον περι του τελους του καθ' ημας τυπου, μη τετηρηκεναι μεν σαφεστατα περι του νιπτηρος, την εκκλισιαν, κ. λ. Comm. in Joh. p. 374. E. Huet. [k] Οτερ εθος ην ποτε γινεσθαι, κατ' ολιγον υπεξελθον, σπανιαζεται, και παρα τοις πασι απο μερους και αγεννεστερων γινεται. Ibid. p. 391. A. Vid. Huet, Not. p. 125. Vid. et Orig. in Eſaiam Hom. vi. p. 564. Tom. i. Baſil.

9. Origen [l] ſeems to underſtand the decree of the council at Jeruſalem, Acts, xv, as binding Gentile Chriſtians even in his own time. He [m] mentions 'things ſacrificed to idols, things 'ſtrangled, and blood.'

10. In a paſſage before cited (v) Origen intimated, that when Paul in his epiſtles ſpeaks of 'his goſpel,' he means 'Luke's 'goſpel.' But he ſeems to depart from that ſenſe in another place: 'But,' ſays [n] he, 'that the whole New Teſtament is go-'ſpel, may be argued from words of Paul, when he writes, '*according to my goſpel*, Rom. ii. 16, and xvi. 25; for we have 'no writing of Paul which is wont to be called a goſpel, but 'whatever he preached and ſaid was goſpel. And the things 'he preached and ſaid, theſe he alſo wrote; therefore the things 'written by him are goſpel. And if what Paul ſaid or wrote 'is goſpel, conſequently what Peter ſaid or wrote is goſpel.'

11. 1 Cor. xv. 7. *After that he was ſeen of James, then of all the apoſtles.* I ſhall tranſcribe a paſſage, ſhewing how Origen underſtood this text. He ſays that Chriſt's divinity, after his reſurrection, ſhone brighter than could be ſeen by all; 'which [o] 'however Cephas Peter might ſee, as being the firſt-fruit of the 'apoſtles, and after him the twelve, Matthias being added to 'them in the room of Judas: after that he was ſeen of above 'five hundred brethren at once: after that he was ſeen of James, 'then of all the other beſide the twelve apoſtles [or rather, "by "all the other apoſtles beſide the twelve"], meaning perhaps 'the ſeventy; "and, ver. 8, laſt of all of Paul, as of one born "out of due time." Compare ver. 5.

12. Phil. ii. 6. Origen underſtands thoſe words of St. Paul, which we have rendered *thought it not robbery to be equal with God*, of Chriſt's humiliation. For thus he writes: 'But [p] we

l Cum tam validis præceptis cibus ſanguinis interdicatur a Deo, ut etiam nos qui ex gentibus vocati ſumus, neceſſario jubeamur abſtinere, ſicut iis quæ idolis immolantur, ita et a ſanguine. In Num. Hom. xvi. p. 334. D. Tom. ii. Bened.

m Το μεν γαρ ειδωλοθυτων θυεσθαι δαιμονιους· . . . τα δε πνικτα, του αιματος μη εκκριθεντος, . . αποτρεπει ο λογος. κ. λ. Cont. Celſ. l. viii. p. 763. C. (v) See Numb. iv. p. 466.

n Ειπαι δε προσαχθησεται απο των υπο Παυλου λεγομενων περι του πασαν την καινην ειναι τα ευαγγελια, οταν που γεγραφη· κατα το ευαγγελιον μου· εν γραμμασι γαρ Παυλου ουκ εχομεν ευαγγελιον ονομα καλουμενον. Αλλα παν ο εκηρυσσε και ελεγε το ευαγγελιον ην· α και ενηρυσσε και ελεγε, ταυτα και εγραφε· και α εγραφε ουκ ευαγγελιον ην. Ει δε τα Παυλου ευαγγελιον ην, αναγκαιως λεγειν, οτι και τα Πετρου ευαγγελιον ην. Comm. in Joh. p. 6. C. D.

o Ην τινα Κηφας ο Πετρος, απαρχη απαρχη αποστολων δεδομενος ιδειν . . επειτα αφ' ου Ιακωβος, επειτα τοις ιερευσι παρα τους, δωδεκα αποστολοις [forte αποστολης. Vid. not. Ed. Benedict.] πασι, τυχα τοις εβδομηκοντα, εσχατον δε πασιν Παυλω. κ. λ. Con. Celſ. l. ii. p. 100. Cant. p. 436. B. C. Bened.

p Τολμωντων γαρ ειναι, φησιν, και θεοειδεραν, και αληθως καλον τινα του Πατερος την αληθειαν φαινεσθαι τω Χριστω, ος εαυτον εταπεινωσε, γενομενος υπηκοος μεχρι θανατου, θανατου δε σταυρου, η ει αρπαγμον ηγησατο ειναι το ειναι, και μη δουλους ειπε τους του κοσμου σαλευειν γενεσθαι δουλους. Comm. in Joh. p. 34. E.

'may be bold to say, that the goodness of Christ appeared 'greater and more divine, and truly according to the image of 'the Father, when he "humbled himself, being made obedient "unto death, even the death of the cross, than if he had affect-"ed [or chosen] to be like God," and had refused to become 'a servant for the salvation of the world.'

This passage is taken from the Greek Commentaries upon St. John, and does most plainly shew Origen's intention. But it is also evident from a passage [t] in the books against Celsus, where this same text is quoted, that he understood these words of Christ's humiliation. This sense appears likewise in the Latin version of one of Origen's tracts or homilies [s] upon St. Matthew. It is well known how [s] archbishop Tillotson understood this text. Dr. Wall's note [t] is thus: "Who, being in "the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with "God:" who, though he was of the divine nature, yet did not, 'in his conversation on earth, claim or insist upon it to be 'treated, dealt with, or spoken to as God.'

13. Among the ancients [u] Jerom, and Estius [w] among the moderns, understand St. Paul to include himself in what is said in those words, Tit. iii. 3: and Dr. Benson [x] has lately argued very strongly, that the apostle there particularly represents his own case. I think it will appear that Origen also applies the [y] same text to St. Paul, admitting only the emendation of one word, which appears to me probable. However I would not be too positive, till I see whether this conjecture be confirmed by De la Rue's edition, or by some manuscripts which he has the sight of. Nor do I adopt that interpretation. But as it is well known that Jerom often inserted in his Commentaries explications of divers more ancient writers than himself, without naming them, it is very possible he might borrow this from Origen.

XXIX. Before I conclude this chapter, I would put down two or three general observations upon the scriptures of the New Testament, which we find in this learned writer of the third century.

[t] Con. Cels. l. vi. p. 285. fin. Cant. p. 641. C. D. Tom. i. Bened.

[s] Et dicet Patrem talia miranda dignare Filio suo, qui se ipsum humiliavit, et propter directionem non rapinam arbitratus est [illegible] aequalem Deo, &c. In Matth. Tract. xvi. p. 148. Tom. ii. Basil.

[s] Sermon xliv. vol. i. folio.

[t] Wall's Brief Critical Notes upon the N. T. p. 277.

[u] Hieron. Com. in Ep. ad Tit.

[w] Estius in loc.

[x] See Dr. Benson's Paraphrase and Notes upon St. Paul's Ep. to Titus, in imitation of Mr. Locke's manner, p. 43. . . . 45.

[y] [illegible] [legit [illegible]] [illegible] . . . [illegible] . . . Com. in Matth. p. 397. C. Huet.

1. In the books againſt Celſus he [z] ſays, 'That Chriſtians 'are induced to believe the writers of the goſpels, by obſerving 'the evidences of piety and probity that appear in their writ-'ings; in which there is no deceit, or artifice, or cunning, or 'deſign.'

2. Origen was of opinion, that there are ſome things obſcure and difficult in the ſcriptures, not only in the Old, but likewiſe in the New Teſtament. I have already alleged (w) a paſſage to this purpoſe from a Latin Homily. We find the ſame obſervation in a Greek fragment of his books [a] of Principles, where he ſays, 'There are many difficulties in the ſcriptures, not only 'in the prophetical writings, which all allow to have many ob-'ſcure and enigmatical expreſſions, but likewiſe in the goſpels, 'and in the Revelation of John, and the epiſtles of the apoſtles.' This paſſage alſo ſerves to ſhew in part what were the ſcriptures which Origen, and other Chriſtians, eſteemed divine, and of authority.

3. In his books againſt Celſus, Origen more than once [b] ſpeaks of the ſimple and popular, or even low ſtyle, of the writers of the New Teſtament; which, however, he affirms to be moſt for the general benefit of mankind: particularly [c] he ſays, 'That the 'Jewiſh prophets, and the diſciples of Jeſus, renounced all 'artful compoſition of words, and what the ſcripture calls "man's wiſdom," and "fleſhly wiſdom." 1 Cor. ii. 4. 2 Cor. i. 12. In the Philocalia is a fragment of Origen's fourth tome upon St. John's goſpel, which is introduced, and begins, as follows: Then [d] after what he had ſaid of the ſoleciſm of the goſpel [or the evangeliſt], he goes on: 'But the apoſtles be-'ing ſenſible of their imperfection in this reſpect, and that they 'had not been educated in human learning, own themſelves "rude in ſpeech, though not in knowledge." For theſe words

[z] Πιστευομεν δε και ταις προαιρεσεσι των γραψαντων τα ευαγγελια, καλλιεπαζομενοις της ευλαβειας αυτων και συνειδησεως, εμφαινομενοις εν τοις γραμμασιν ειναι νοθον και κυβειλικον, και πεπλασμενον και παντοιον εχθρον. Con. Celſ. l. iii. p. 473. A. Tom. i. Bened.

(w) See Numb. xx. 7. p. 494.

[a] Και τι δει λεγειν περι των προφητικων, ας παντες ισμεν πολυμαθων και συνεσει εν περιεργοτητι λογων; και ετι τα ευαγγελια δε φασκομεν, κρυπτειν τι ακριβως νομιζομεν, ατε νους Χριστου, δεομενοι χαριτος της δοθησομενης. τον εισηκοοντα ημας δε νουν Χριστου εχοντας. . . [1 Cor. ii. 12, 13.] και τα αποκεκαλυμμενα δε τοις ιδιωταις της γε αποκαλυψεως καθαπτεσθαι την επικρυψιν των απορρητων μυστηριων . . .; οι δε των αποστολων επιστολαι τοις των βασιλειων επιστημονων λογους δοξαιεν αν ειναι σαφεις και εμφατικους; και ευχερως νεμεται; κ. λ. Philoc. cap. i. p. 8. Cant. De Prin. l. iv. p. 167. Bened. Conf. Orig. p. 38. B. C. p. 39. B C. Tom. i. Huet.

[b] Con. Celſ. lib. iv. p. 210. Cant. p. 556, 557. Bened. et lib. vi. init.

[c] Οι δε εν Ιουδαιοις προφηται, και οι παντες μαθηται οι μακραν χαιρειν ειπομενοι τη περιλαλητω λεξει συνεθεσαν, κ. τ. λ. Cont. Celſ. l. vii. p. 372. Cant. p. 737. Bened.

[d] Τοινυν, ειπων τι τω ευαγγελιστη σολοικισμος επαρσει· Αλλ δε ουκ απαιδευτοι απηντλημενοι τους εν τοις προτεροις, και περι α ουκ ηπιστασθαι, φασιν, κ. λ. Philoc. cap. iv. p. 25. Cant. Tom. ii. p. 86. Huet.

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'are not to be underſtood of Paul only, but likewiſe of the reſt 'of the apoſtles: *But though we be rude in ſpeech*, &c.; and, *But 'we have this treaſure in earthen veſſels, that the excellence of the 'power may be of God, and not of us.*' 2 Cor. xi. 6. iv. 7. By this means, he ſays, the truth of the goſpel has been rendered more conſpicuous: men have not been allured into it by the elegance of ſpeech, but overcome by the mere force of truth alone.

XXX. It appears to me worth the while to conſider, whether Origen thought St. Matthew's goſpel was originally written in Hebrew. We have ſeen three places where Origen ſpeaks of this matter. In the paſſage (x) cited from Euſebius, he ſays that Matthew 'delivered his goſpel to the Jewiſh believers in the 'Hebrew language.' In the (y) ſecond paſſage he obſerves, there was a 'tradition that Matthew wrote firſt, and delivered 'his goſpel to the Hebrews, that is, the believers of the cir-'cumciſion.' In the (z) third he ſays, that Matthew 'wrote 'for the Hebrews, who expected him that was to deſcend from 'Abraham and David.' Having thus reminded the reader of theſe places, I would obſerve ſome other paſſages of Origen.

In his Treatiſe of Prayer, explaining the fourth petition of the Lord's Prayer, he obſerves, 'that [e] the Greek word επιουσιος, 'which by us is rendered 'daily,' is not uſed by any of the learned 'Greeks; nor is it,' ſays he, 'in uſe with the vulgar: but it 'ſeems to have been coined by the evangeliſts; for both Mat-'thew and Luke agree in uſing it without any difference.' He goes on to ſay, that 'they alſo who tranſlated the Old Teſta-'ment into Greek, had ſome words peculiar to themſelves.' It is ſomewhat ſtrange that Origen ſhould here take no notice of St. Matthew's Greek goſpel being a tranſlation, if he thought ſo.

In his Commentaries [f] upon the ſecond Pſalm, he makes mention of two Hebrew copies which he had ſeen, and obſerves a difference between them in diſpoſing the firſt two Pſalms, and then how they were diſpoſed in the Septuagint verſion. Again (to mention no more inſtances of this ſort) upon Pſ. iii. 7, he

(x) Numb. iv. (y) Numb. vii. 4.
(z) Numb. xvi. p. 486. [e] Πρὸς δὲ τ[illegible] επιουσιος, παρ' οὐδενι των [illegible] τῶν σοφῶν αἱρεσεως, οὐδὲ ἐν τῇ ἰδιωτῶν [illegible] τῶν ῥητῶν, ἀλλ' ἐοικε πεπλασθαι υπο των [illegible]. Συνεχρησαντο γαρ ὁ Ματθαιος και ὁ Λουκας μηδεμιας διαφορας [al. διαφερουσης] αὐτοι ἑαυτοις. Το ὁμοιον δε και επ' ἀλλων ἑρμηνευτων τα ἑξαπλα πεποιηκασι. De Orat. p. 245. D. 246. A. Tom. i. Bened.
[f] Διὸτι εὑρηκαμεν Ἑβραικας ἀντιγραφας, εν μεν τῃ ἑξης τυχουσι ἀρχην δευτερῳ ψαλμῳ τιθεντα· εν δε τῃ ἑβδομῃ συνταττοντα τῳ πρωτῳ. Και εν ταις πλειοσι δε των ἀντιγραφων τοιουτοι τινες μεν εἰσι, ἐγω σπανιως γεγενημενας, ελεγχεις εἰναι τον πρωτον ψαλμον [Acts, xiii. 33.] τα Ελληνικα μη ουτως ἀντιγραφα δυνασθαι εἰναι τοιαυτα. In Pſ. ii. p. 537. F. Tom. ii. Bened.

conſults the Hebrew copies [g], and finds a difference from the Seventy. Well, why did not Origen enquire alſo for Hebrew copies of St. Matthew's goſpel?

In his Commentaries upon St. John he obſerves, 'John [h] 'Baptiſt, in the three (A) goſpels, ſays, "I am not ſufficient;" 'but in John, "I am not worthy." It is wonderful that Origen, who was ſo nice and exact, and minded ſuch little things, did not compare likewiſe the Hebrew of St. Matthew, if he thought this evangeliſt had written in that language.

It is true that in two or three places of Origen's works, which (B) were tranſcribed formerly, we find the goſpel according to the Hebrews cited; and in one of thoſe places it is brought into a kind of compariſon with a hiſtory related in the firſt three evangeliſts: but then it is in ſuch a manner as to afford no ground at all for ſuppoſing he thought that an authentic edition of St. Matthew's goſpel. In the place where he ſays [i] there were many differences in the copies of the goſpels, he makes mention of what he had done for correcting the errors crept into the Greek edition of the Old Teſtament then in uſe; and takes notice of the helps and advantages he had for that purpoſe, by comparing the Hebrew original and the ſeveral Greek verſions of it; intimating, at the ſame time, that he had not ſuch helps for attaining the right readings in the goſpels. But certainly, if St. Matthew's goſpel had been written in Hebrew, the original edition might have been of great uſe for correcting the Greek copies of that goſpel at leaſt; and it was an advantage very fit to be taken notice of, and could not eaſily have been omitted.

I cannot but think, therefore, Origen was not fully ſatisfied that St. Matthew wrote his goſpel in Hebrew. Undoubtedly there was ſuch a tradition, as he [k] himſelf owns; but it is likely he did not altogether rely upon it. This was ſaid by ſome; but perhaps the account was not ſo atteſted as to demand a ready aſſent. If Origen had believed St. Matthew's goſpel to have been written in Hebrew, in all probability he would have been induced to enquire for it; and if his belief had been well

[g] Οἶδα συ επαλαξας πασας τας εχθεσιδας μετ μαλαιας, κ. λ.] Τω Εξαπλω εἰλυχοιλις, τω μαλαιας, εδαμως ευρομεν δυναμενοι διλεσθαι. Ibid. p. 554. A.

[h] Ο τοιων Ιωαννης φησι παρα μεν τοις πλειοσιν, ουκ ειναι ικανος, παρα δε τω Ιωαννη, ουκ ειναι αξιος. Comm. in Joh. p. 127. A. Huet.

(A) See Matth. iii. 11; Mark, i. 7; Luke, iii. 16; and John, i. 27.

(B) See Numb. xxiv. 2. p. 505, 506.

[i] Τα μεν ων εν τοις αντιγραφοις των παλαιων διαφωνιαι, θεω δοκει μοι ευρομενοι διαπεφευγεναι, και τοις χρησαμενοις τοις λοιποις ενδεσιν. κ. λ. Comm. in Matth. p. 382. A. Tom. i. Huet.

[k] Ος και παραδεδωκεναι τινας λογους των Εξαπλων εν δυο τοπαρχιαις, τας εν περαια κειμενας. In Joh. p. 123. C. See above, p. 471.

grounded,

grounded, it can hardly be doubted but he might have found it upon enquiry. Origen had an intimate friendſhip with the chief biſhops of Paleſtine; he could not but be well known to all the Chriſtians in general in that country, none of whom would have refuſed to lend him their copies of any book of the New Teſtament in their poſſeſſion. At one word ſpoken by him, Ambroſe, and the notaries employed by him, and many others, would have ſought for Hebrew copies of St. Matthew's goſpel; and if there had been any ſuch in that country, or near it, there would have been brought to him as many as he deſired. Nevertheleſs Origen does not appear to have ever ſeen ſuch a copy; therefore there was no ſuch thing in being as an authentic Hebrew goſpel of St. Matthew: if there had, how could it have eſcaped the induſtry and inquiſitiveneſs of Origen?

XXXI. Origen then received as divine ſcripture the four goſpels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John; the Acts of the apoſtles, written by the evangeliſt Luke; thirteen epiſtles of the apoſtle Paul; and likewiſe the epiſtle to the Hebrews, which he continually quotes as Paul's, though in one place he delivers his opinion that the ſentiments only of the epiſtle were the apoſtle's, the phraſe and compoſition of ſome one elſe, whoſe he did not certainly know. He received likewiſe the firſt epiſtle of Peter, and the firſt of John. We learn from him alſo that the epiſtle of James, the ſecond of Peter, the ſecond and third of John, and the epiſtle of Jude, were then well known, but not univerſally received as genuine; nor is it evident that Origen himſelf received them as ſacred ſcripture. He owns the book of the Revelation for the writing of John the apoſtle and evangeliſt: he quotes it as his without heſitation; nor does it appear that he had any doubt about its genuineneſs or authority. Origen does mightily recommend the reading of the ſcriptures of the Old and New Teſtament, received in the churches as ſacred and divine. From the large collection here made of his quotations of eccleſiaſtical and apocryphal writings, and from the obſervations that have been made upon them, I preſume it appears that none of theſe were eſteemed by him as books of authority, from whence doctrines might be proved; or ſcripture, in the higheſt ſenſe of that word. Indeed it is not evident that Origen received, as ſacred books of the New Teſtament, all that we now receive; but that he admitted no other beſide thoſe in our preſent canon, may be reckoned certain, or however in the higheſt degree probable. If this has been made out to ſatisfaction, it is a material point, and worth all the labour of this long chapter; though I hope it may likewiſe anſwer ſome

other

other good purpoſes. Particularly, we may perceive hence, as well as from other parts of this work, that this was not with Chriſtians an age of groſs darkneſs; at leaſt the miniſters of Chriſt did not encourage ſloth and ignorance in the people, but earneſtly excited all men to a diligent purſuit of religious knowledge, according to their ſeveral abilities and opportunities, eſpecially by ſtudying the holy ſcriptures. The various readings, explications of texts, and other matters, are left with the reader, who is able to make a proper uſe of them.

CHAP. XXXIX.

St. Firmilian.

Firmilian, as we are aſſured by Euſebius [a] in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, and by others, was biſhop of Cæſarea in Cappadocia. If we may rely upon [b] Gregory of Nyſſa, he was deſcended from an honourable family in that country; but that account [c] has been diſputed. Cave [d] ſuppoſes that Firmilian was ordained biſhop of the forementioned city in the year 233; Baſnage [e] and Tillemont [f] think he obtained that honour ſooner. They argue this from ſome words of [g] Euſebius, where he ſpeaks of Firmilian's flouriſhing at the tenth year of the emperor Alexander, when Origen left Alexandria, in the year 231.

Firmilian was preſent at a council [h] in Iconium, which Tillemont thinks [i] could not be held later than 231, though Valeſius [k] and Cave [l] place it in 235. There ſeems to have been a council at [m] Antioch in the year 252, on account of Novatus, at which Firmilian was preſent. He was likewiſe [n] at the council of Antioch, in the cauſe of Paul of Samoſata, in the year 264 or

[a] Διατρίβει δὲ ἐν τῇδε Φιρμιλιανὸς Καισαρείας τῆς Καππαδόκων ἐπίσκοπος. Euſ. H. E. l. vi. cap. 26. Vid. et lib. vii. cap. 28. init.

[b] Φιρμιλιανῷ τῶν ἐντεῦθεν Καππαδόκων. Greg. Nyſſ. T. iii. p. 542. C. Vit. Thaumat.

[c] Vid. Baſn. Ann. 269. viii.

[d] Hiſt. Lit. P. i. p. 86. [e] Ut ſupra.

[f] Tillem. Tom. iv. P. ii. p. 646. St. Firmilien. [g] I have cited Euſebius's words, note [a].

[h] Quod totum nos jampridem in Iconio, qui Phrygiæ locus eſt, collecti in unum, convenientibus ex Galatia, et Cilicia, et cæteris proximis regionibus, confirmavimus, &c. Firmilian. ap. Cyprian. p. 221.

[i] Tillem. ibid. [k] Val. Not. ad Euſ. p. 143. [l] Cav. H. L. P. ii. p. 62. [m] Vid. Euſeb. l. vi. cap. 46. p. 247. D. [n] Euſ. l. vii. cap. 28.

265.

265. He is ſaid to have been [o] twice at Antioch upon that account; but when the council was met at Antioch, in which Paul was condemned and depoſed, as he was coming thither, he died at Tarſus [p], in the latter part of the [q] year 269, of a great age, as may be well concluded from the commencement of his epiſcopate.

Firmilian ſided with St. Cyprian in the diſpute about baptizing heretics that returned to the catholic church, and upon that ſubject wrote a long letter to St. Cyprian, which is ſtill [r] extant; but whereas undoubtedly it was written in Greek, we have now only a Latin tranſlation: however it may be reckoned a good one, ſince learned men [s] are generally agreed in allowing it to have been made by St. Cyprian himſelf, whoſe ſtyle it reſembles. This letter was written [t] in the year 256, and near the end of it.

St. Baſil [u] makes a general mention of writings which Firmilian had left behind him, without ſaying expreſsly what they were. It may be argued that they were not very numerous, or not much known, ſince Jerom has not allotted any diſtinct article in his catalogue of eccleſiaſtical writers for this eminent biſhop.

As the letter to St. Cyprian, the only remaining piece of our author, was not written before the year 256, perhaps I ſhould have choſen to place him about that time: but ſince Cave, and other learned moderns, ſpeak of Firmilian as flouriſhing about the year 233 (and according to Euſebius himſelf he was a perſon of note at that time, or ſooner), and the matter is of no great importance, I have determined not to innovate.

Firmilian had an earneſt zeal for what he thought to be the truth, as his letter to St. Cyprian ſhews; which is alſo confirmed by what the council at Antioch, in 269 or 270, ſay [w] of his condemning the opinions of Paul of Samoſata, biſhop of that city. He was, beſides, a man of prudence and moderation; for to him it is aſcribed [x] by the ſaid council, that Paul was not depoſed in a former council met at the ſame place. And who knows whether Firmilian, if he had lived to be preſent at this

[o] Euſeb. ib. cap. 30. p. 279. D.

[p] Ib. 280. A. B.

[q] Tillem. as before, p. 654; and Baſnage, as before.

[r] Inter Epiſtolas Cyprianicas. Ep. 75. p. 217, &c. Oxon. 1682.

[s] Cav. H. Lit. P. i. Rigalt. notis. Tillemont, p. 652.

[t] Vid. Baſnag. A. 269. viii. Tillem. p. 651.

[u] Ταυτην και Φιρμιλιανου τῳ ἡμετερῳ μαρτυρουσι την πιστιν οι λογοι ους κατελιπε. Baſil. De S. Sp. cap. 29. Tom. ii. p. 360. E.

[w] Ο δε Φιρμιλιανος και δις αφικομενος, κατεγνω μεν των υπ' εκεινου καινοτομουμενων, κ. λ. Ap. Euſ. l. vii. c. 30. p. 279. D.

[x] Επαγγειλαμενου [Παυλου] δε μεταθησεσθαι, πιστευσας και ελπισας ανευ τινος περι τον λογον λοιδοριας το πραγμα εις δεον καταστησεσθαι, ανεβαλετο, κ. λ. Ibid. p. 280. A.

last assembly, might not have prevented the deposition of Paul, or at least once more deferred the sentence then pronounced?

Though Firmilian seems not to have made any great figure as an author, he was well known in the world, and highly esteemed by his contemporaries, and by following ages. There is honourable mention made of him by [y] Dionysius of Alexandria in one of his letters, and [z] by the council of Antioch by which Paul of Samosata was deposed. Theodoret gives this Cappadocian bishop the character [a] of 'an illustrious person, 'equally master of divine and human knowledge.' It is a further argument of his great reputation, that (A) both Eusebius and Jerom have so particularly insisted upon his respect for Origen, as a considerable testimony to the extraordinary merit of that great man.

This may suffice for the history and character of Firmilian. I proceed to observe the quotations of the books of the New Testament which are to be found in his forementioned letter to St. Cyprian.

I. 'Hence [b] we may be able to understand what Christ said 'to Peter only: *Whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth, shall be also* 'bound in heaven; *and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, shall* 'be also loosed in heaven.' Matth. xviii. 18.

II. 'The [c] Lord himself declaring, *Many shall come in my* 'name, saying, *I am Christ, and shall deceive many.*' See Mark, xiii. 6. But it must be owned that there are exactly the same words in Matth. xxiv. 5.

III. 'For [d] union, and peace, and concord, afford the 'greatest joy not only to "faithful men, and those that know "the truth," but also to the "heavenly angels," who, the di- 'vine word says, "rejoice over one sinner that repenteth." Luke, xv. 10. And in the preceding words is a plain reference to 1 Tim. iv. 3.

IV. 'And [e] again in the gospel, when Christ breathed on the

[y] Eus. H. E. l. vii. c. 5. p. 251. D.

[z] Ib. cap. 30. p. 279. D.

[a] Και Φιρμιλιανος ο Καισαρειας της Καππαδοκιας επισκοπος, θειοτατος ανηρ, και γνωσιν εκαλλιων εχων, και την Συριαδα, και την θειαν. Theodoret. Hæret. Tab. l. iv. cap. 8. p. 222. D.

(A) See the preceding chapter, p. 449.

[b] Hinc intelligi potest quod soli Petro Christus dixerit: 'Quæcunque ligaveris 'super terram, erunt ligata et in cœlis; et 'quæcunque solveris super terram, erunt so- 'luta et in cœlis.' Inter Ep. Cyprian. 75. p. 225. Oxon.

[c] ... Dominus ipse manifestat, dicens, 'Multi venient in no- 'mine meo, dicentes, Ego sum Christus, 'et multos fallent.' Ib. p. 222.

[d] Adunatio enim, et pax, et concordia, non solum hominibus fidelibus et cognoscentibus veritatem, sed et angelis ipsis cœlestibus voluptatem maximam præstat; quibus dicit divinus sermo esse 'gaudium 'in uno peccatore pœnitentiam agente.' p. 217.

[e] Et iterum in evangelio, quando in solos apostolos insufflavit Christus, dicens, 'Accipite Spiritum Sanctum.' p. 225.

'apostles

'apoſtles only, ſaying, *Receive ye the Holy Ghoſt.*' John, xx. 22. He has likewiſe quoted [f] John, xvii. 21.

V. 'Accordingly [g] the bleſſed apoſtle Paul baptized again 'with a ſpiritual baptiſm thoſe who had been baptized by John, 'before the Holy Spirit had been ſent by the Lord; and then 'laid his hands upon them, that they might receive the Holy 'Ghoſt.' See Acts, xix. 1. . . . 7.

VI. 'Though [h] the Jews were in great ignorance, and guilty 'of much wickedneſs, the apoſtle owns they *had a zeal of God.*' Rom. x. 2.

VII. 'This [i] will be the *wiſdom* which Paul writes to be in 'them that are *perfect.*' 1 Cor. ii. 6. He likewiſe quotes [k] 1 Cor. xiv. 30, and [l] 1 Cor. xi. 27.

VIII. 'Nor [m] are there many ſpouſes of Chriſt, ſince the apo- 'ſtle ſays, *I have eſpouſed you unto one huſband, that I may pre- 'ſent you as a chaſte virgin unto Chriſt.*' 2 Cor. xi. 2. He alſo refers to [n] ver. 13 of the ſame chapter.

IX. 'For [o] if the apoſtle does not lye when he ſays, *As many 'of you as have been baptized into Chriſt, have put on Chriſt.*' Gal. iii. 17.

X. 'But [p] what ſays the apoſtle Paul? '*One Lord, one faith,* 'one baptiſm, one God.' Eph. iv. 5, 6. A little before [q] he quoted the firſt four verſes of this ſame chapter.

XI. 'But [r] as to what they pretend in favour of heretics, that 'the apoſtle has ſaid, *Whether in pretence, or in truth, Chriſt is 'preached*; we muſt anſwer, that it is impertinently alleged.' Which, he ſays, will appear to any one who reads the epiſtle of the [s] apoſtle whence thoſe words are taken.

XII. He ſays of all heretics in general [t], 'It is manifeſt they

[f] p. 219. [g] Secundum quod et beatus Paulus apoſtolus eos qui ab Joanne baptizati fuerant, priuſquam miſſus eſſet a Domino Spiritus Sanctus, baptizavit denuo ſpiritali baptiſmo, et ſic manum impoſuit, ut acciperent Spiritum Sanctum, &c. p. 221.

[h] Judæos tamen, quamvis ignorantia cæcos et gravillimo ſic nocte conſtrictos, 'zelum Dei' apoſtolus habere pronuntiat. p. 225. [i] Deinde, hæc erit ſapientia, quam ſcribit Paulus eſſe in his qui perfecti ſunt. p. 221. [k] p. 219.

[l] p. 227. [m] Neque enim multæ ſponſæ Chriſti, cum dicat apoſtolus, 'Deſpondi vos uni viro, virginem caſtam 'aſſignare Chriſto.' p. 224.

[n] p. 229. [o] Nam ſi non mentitur apoſtolus, dicens, 'Quotquot in Chriſ- 'to tincti eſtis, Chriſtum induiſtis.' . . . p. 223. [p] Sed quid ait apoſtolus Paulus? 'Unus Dominus, una fides, 'unum baptiſma, unus Deus.' p. 229.

[q] p. 228. [r] Ad illud autem quod pro hereticis ponunt, et aiunt apoſtolum dixiſſe, 'Sive per occaſionem, ſive 'per veritatem, Chriſtus annuntietur,' ut reſpondeamus, impertinens eſt. p. 226.

[s] Quando manifeſtum ſit apoſtolum, in epiſtola ſua qua hæc dicit, neque hereticorum, neque baptiſma eorum, mentionem feciſſe, ſed locutum eſſe de fratribus tantum. . . . Nec oporteat hoc longo tractatu excutere, ſed ipſam ſatis ſit epiſtolam legere, &c. Ibid. [t] Quos omnes manifeſtum eſt a ſemetipſis damnatos eſſe, et ante diem judicii inexcuſabilem ſententiam adverſus ſemetipſos dixiſſe. p. 220.

'are condemned of themſelves, and before the day of judgment 'they have paſſed an inconteſtable ſentence againſt themſelves.' It is very probable he refers to Tit. iii. 10, 11: and we before (B) ſaw a plain reference to St. Paul's firſt epiſtle to Timothy.

XIII. This writer ſays, that Noah's ark was a figure of the church of Chriſt. He adds, 'As [u] alſo the apoſtle Peter 'teaches, ſaying, "In like manner alſo will baptiſm ſave you;" or 'us,' as in ſome copies. 1 Pet. iii. 21.

XIV. 'And [w] moreover abuſing the bleſſed apoſtles Peter 'and Paul, as if they alſo had delivered this doctrine; though 'they in their epiſtles have curſed heretics, and admoniſhed us 'to avoid them.' This paſſage may be thought to ſhew that Firmilian owned two epiſtles of Peter, becauſe he ſpeaks of epiſtles in the plural number: and, beſides, what is here ſaid does well enough ſuit the ſecond epiſtle aſcribed to that apoſtle. Here one cannot help wiſhing that we had this letter in its original language. It would be a particular ſatisfaction to know, that Firmilian received two epiſtles of St. Peter.

XV. He ſeems to refer to the firſt epiſtle of St. John, when he ſays of heretics in general, 'That [x] ſince they have not the true 'Lord the Father, they cannot have the true Son, nor the true 'Spirit:' and of the Cataphrygians or Montaniſts, in particular, That [y] they have not the Father, nor the Son, nor the Holy Spirit; and that they [z] have not in them the *ſpirit of truth, but the ſpirit of error.* See 1 John, ii. 22, 23; and iv. 6.

XVI. I forbear tranſcribing any more, though I might inſiſt on ſome other alluſive expreſſions. Here are ſufficiently clear references to the goſpels of St. Matthew, St. Luke, and St. John; to the Acts of the apoſtles; to the epiſtle to the Romans; the firſt and ſecond to the Corinthians; the epiſtles to the Galatians, the Epheſians, the Philippians; the firſt to Timothy, and to Titus; the firſt, if not alſo the ſecond, of St. Peter; and the firſt epiſtle of St. John: and ſometimes the names of the apoſtles Peter and Paul are expreſsly mentioned when their words are quoted. And there appear marks of a peculiar

(B) At Numb. iii. p. 546.

[u] Quemadmodum et apoſtolus Petrus poſuit, dicens, 'Sic et vos ſimiliter ſalvos 'faciet baptiſma.' p. 224.

[w] Adhuc etiam infamans Petrum et Paulum beatos apoſtolos, quaſi hoc ipſi tradiderint; qui in epiſtolis ſuis hæreticos execrati ſunt, et ut eos evitemus monuerunt. p. 220.

[x] Satis eſt illud in compendio dicere, eos qui non tenent verum Dominum Patrem, tenere non poſſe nec Filii nec Spiritus Sancti veritatem. p. 220. fin.

[y] Nec Patrem poſſunt habere, nec Filium, nec Spiritum Sanctum. p. 221. init.

[z] In quibus cum animadvertamus non veritatis ſpiritum, ſed erroris fuiſſe. Ibid.

reſpect for theſe books, ſince they are quoted as writings of authority. It cannot be well queſtioned but Firmilian's canon of the New Teſtament was much the ſame as ours. It is plain that our ſcriptures were well known at this time in Cappadocia: and in particular it may be obſerved, that the epiſtle of St. Paul to the churches of Galatia, and the firſt epiſtle of St. Peter, both addreſſed to Chriſtians in that country, or near it, were received as genuine and divine ſcriptures by this learned and diſcreet biſhop, who had his reſidence in thoſe parts.

THE END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.